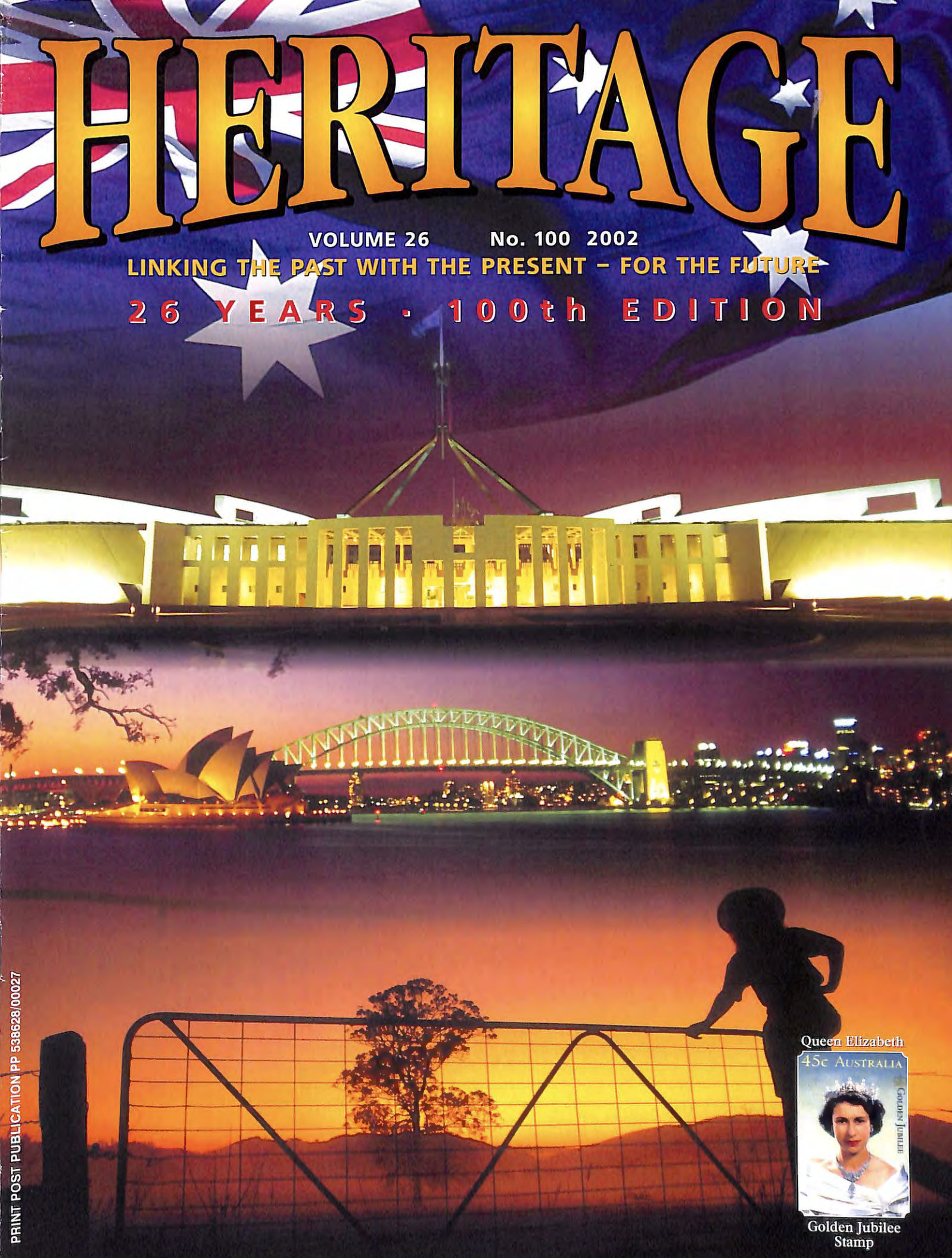


HERITAGE

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REVIVAL FOR ROYALTY

Nigel Jackson

THE glorious pageantry and restrained good taste of the funeral of the Queen Mother, together with the huge attendance of ordinary Britons of all ages, suggested the possibility of a revival of support for the monarchy.

Inevitably republican voices were quickly to be heard in the British and Australian media attempting to downplay the damage to their cause.

It was proposed that the mass outpouring of national grief must be seen as a once-off event - something only made possible by the unique personality and long life of the Queen Mother, linked to the particular era in which she lived.

However, while it is true that the British Empire is now a part of history and that "the past cannot be held" (as David Malouf put it), there is no reason why some future member of the British royal family may not live an equally long life and earn equal affection from the British people in years to come.

What is more to the point, such a phenomenon as the life of the Queen Mother, wreathed in the deep and noble affection of a whole people, is natural to an inherited, constitutionally limited monarchy but quite impossible to find in the history of republics.

The monarchy we share with Britain enables depth of trust and affection between Sovereign and subjects which can suffuse the body politic with an ennobling influence to the general betterment.

Another republican ploy has been to renew calls for a "democratisation" of the monarchy, for a mode of royal behaviour which is less luxurious and aloof.

The beauty and splendour of the funeral service for the Queen Mother, with its exquisite ritual and liturgy, shows up the hollowness of such insidious proposals.

It is precisely the mystique and the glory of royalty which enables it not only to give inspirational leadership but to mirror the greatness of the national soul.

To remove such qualities from the monarchy would be to bleed it slowly to death, to make it easier and easier for its republican foes to destroy it.

Such stealth, alas, has often been part of republican strategy; and the removal of the symbol of the crown from Victoria's car number plates is merely the latest little effort by republicanism to lessen the stature of that which it longs to overthrow.

A third republican approach has been to try to explain away the massive interest in the royal funeral in Britain and Australia as a mere nostalgic yearning for an epoch past and gone.

CONTINUING VITALITY

This amounts to an attempt to persuade the public to close their eyes to the obvious: that what we saw was a heartfelt participation by British and Australian people of all types and classes in a living majesty of royal tradition that continues in vitality and vigour after over eleven centuries here and now.

No republic on earth offers its people such an opportunity of sharing in public ceremonies of comparable historical grandeur and spiritual lucidity.

Yet another republican complaint is that the example of family harmony which the royal family once offered is no longer in existence. Without hiding from the degree of truth in this point, it is worth noting that the Queen, her consort and her children were magnificently united in their public professions of grief at the Queen Mother's funeral.

It has also been argued that the Crown is less relevant to Australia because our nation has become more diverse and independent. The counter to this dubious view is that our adherence to the loyalty we share with the folk of our mother-country remains a profound source of national unity, more needed now precisely because of that diversity.

Nor is such loyalty out of date, as republicans have also rushed to aver, since it is linked to the warp and woof of our nation: to our language, our constitution, our legal tradition and the majority religion of the people - all of which, together with the monarchy, remain part of modern, contemporary Australia.

Perhaps the most sinister aspect of the latest republican responses is the argument that 'the monarchy must face the reality of a new world order', as *The Australian* put it in its leading article of 13-14 April.

Is this a pointer to the real cause of the extraordinary campaigns, in Britain and in Australia, against one of the most successful monarchies in world history? Is the British monarchy seen as an obstacle to the establishment of a world government?

The next constitutional referendum in Australia is already being fought between monarchists and republicans. And we monarchists urge those Australians not wholly committed to either side to remember that there is one basic question to be answered before they cast their vote.

Which system will serve Australia best?

If the republicans cannot clearly show that a republican constitution will give Australians better government, it will be only common sense to retain our present royal status, with all its gifts and glories.

The monarchy is not an egalitarian institution, of course; it has its basis in a traditionally structured society of hierarchy and class division.

Egalitarianism is not, however, a sound basis on which to build a successful political order.

A nation always needs leadership from the minority of persons able to comprise the elites needed to carry out the arduous business of government. The abiding question is what kind of leadership and from whom?

The Peril of Immigrant Invasion

In the April/June 2002 issue of *RIGHT NOW!* (PO Box 2085, London W1A 5SX UK, or P.O. Box 160, Bankstown, NSW 2200) Dwight Murphey reviews Patrick Buchanan's important new book

PATRICK BUCHANAN continues to write what are arguably the most thoughtful and informative books appearing today on culture, ideology and policy - and they certainly rank among the best ever written by an American political figure.

Their importance is derived in part from subjects which are central to the survival of the West: In *A Republic, Not an Empire*, he discussed the dangers of the United States' well-intended intervention into problems all across the globe, a process that makes "everybody's business Americans' business". Those dangers were brought home with startling clarity on September 11. Now, in *The Death of the West* (St. Martin's Press, 2002), Buchanan describes how western civilisation is allowing itself to die and, as it dies, to be suffused by a Third World civilisation that is arising within the very corpus of the older society.

His earlier four books on politics and economics all show the quality of a mind that is penetrating, independent and refreshingly original.

Clear and Present Danger

In this book, Buchanan points to four "clear and present dangers" for peoples of European origin. The first is the reduction of the existing population everywhere throughout the West (except in Muslim Albania) through aging, dying and a far-below-replacement birthrate. The second is the massive influx of Third World immigration, which at an historically surprising pace is changing the face of their culture, their way of life, the types of their people, and even their core beliefs and loyalties. Third, he speaks of the continuing attacks upon national sovereignty as existing nations come under attack both from a centralizing "global order" and a secessionist fragmentation.

Multicultural ideology

Fourth, he devotes much attention to the "adversary culture" that for many years has sought with considerable success to make the traditional culture in all Western countries loathsome and to replace it with a new ideology of 'multiculturalism'. This ideology is backed by emerging demographic

realities. Contrary to the past, it does not seek the assimilation of newcomers into the already-existing culture, which it seeks to replace.

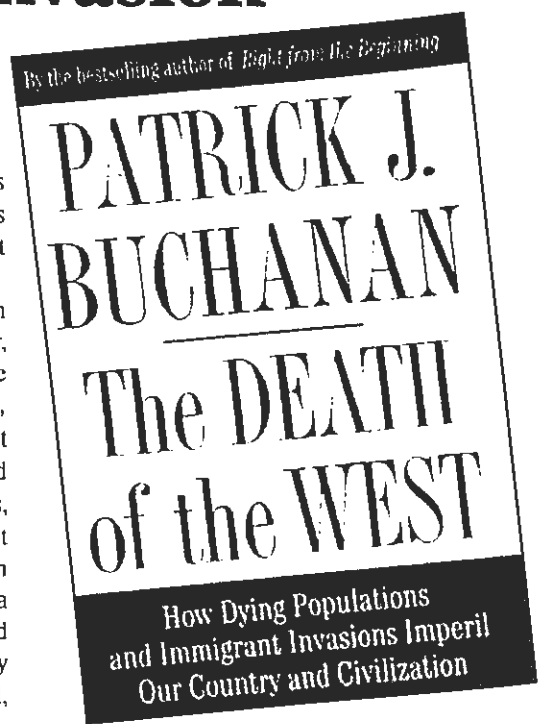
Although in this book Buchanan doesn't make a point out of a fifth danger, he could just as well cite the unspeakable risks he emphasised so well in *A Republic, Not an Empire*. There is no question but that hatreds building around the world in response to American interventions, which proceed on the assumption that Americans have a legitimate role in problems all over the world, constitute a "clear and present danger" to the United States and its allies. This is especially true in an age of potential biological, chemical, nuclear, cyber and other 'asymmetrical' warfare.

The role of the Frankfurt School

On all these subjects his discussion is cogently reasoned and supported by abundant statistics and factual detail. His examination of the intellectual roots of the adversary culture gives the clearest treatment I have seen of the role of the Frankfurt School - Georg Lukacs, Antonio Gramsci, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and their followers - in fashioning the "march through the institutions" that has occurred in recent decades as the Left has come to occupy virtually all the opinion-forming high ground in the United States and Europe.

That "march" is no accident; it has long been an ideological goal of the Left, and in fact goes back far earlier than the Frankfurt School and the 1920s. It is traceable to Rousseau and his tens of thousands of followers in the intellectual community since the 18th Century. Their alienated critique of 'bourgeois culture' has provided the steady drumbeat of modern art, literature and ideology. While Marxism-Leninism and much early socialist thought placed the 'proletariat' at the centre of revolution, it became apparent quite early to many on the Left that the alienated intelligentsia should seek allies in any unassimilated or disaffected group. The alienation and ally-seeking has determined the content of and set the tone for the adversary culture.

Buchanan's facts about the loss of population among peoples of European origin are startling. Demographers



say that an average of 2.1 children per woman is necessary to hold a population at a steady rate. Western fertility rates have, however, been falling for many years. Here are some of those rates, as given by Buchanan: Britain, 1.66; Spain, 1.07; Italy, 1.2; Germany, 1.3; Russia, 1.35. The result? Of Europe's 47 nations, only one, Muslim Albania, was, by 2000, maintaining a birthrate sufficient to keep it alive indefinitely. The population of Europe in 2000 from Iceland to Russia, was 728 million. Without immigration, this is expected to fall to 600 million within fifty years.

Buchanan sees this as ominous in itself, but we can note that the 600 million will still be much larger than Europe's population historically. What makes the decline threatening so far as the survival of Europe's unique civilisation is concerned would seem to be the decline's combination with the second danger - that of demographic swamping. The West has for several years been allowing a wave of Third World immigration.

Demographic swamping

"In 2000, England took in 185,000 immigrants, a record. In 1999, 500,000 illegal aliens slipped into the European Union, a tenfold increase from 1993". In the United States, the effect is that the burgeoning Hispanic population is becoming "a nation within a nation". Buchanan gives a short history of the relations between the United States and Mexico, and accurately observes that

"Mexico has an historic grievance against the United States that is felt deeply by her people". It is no surprise that the new immigrants often strongly assert their own ethnic prerogatives. There is even a movement spoken of as "the reconquista" that calls for a "mestizo nation".

The Death of the West doesn't limit itself to the issues I have mentioned. Buchanan ponders, too, for example, why the opposition has been so feeble. His critique of the Republican Party in the United States, in which he was prominent for so many years, is worth noting; he sees the GOP as "in thrall to libertarian ideology and controlled by corporate interests". He says the party "has thrown in the towel on the social issues", choosing to focus instead on cutting marginal tax rates and removing the capital gains tax. He refers to the notion held widely among many conservatives that the defining characteristic of America is a commonly held creed - which is seen as able to exist even in the absence of a shared origin. Buchanan sees that this is an article of faith that quite precariously counts on the efficacy of ideas without roots.

Because of Buchanan and commentators like him, it is clear that if the West is transformed and supplanted by the forces he discusses, it will not be because the public in the mainstream society was not warned and provided the necessary facts and analysis. The alarm has been sounded for many years.

'Politically correct' acceptance

The reason the threatening trends are so intractable is that so few people within the West's mainstream population (ie, its majority population of European origin) are paying, or are even willing to pay, the slightest attention. Exhortations don't work with them. I can only state what I observe in the United States. Those around me are busy people preoccupied by the concerns of daily life: for the most

part, after leaving college they don't read serious books (no doubt a commentary on their education); they don't want to be disturbed in the niche, often very dynamic and productive, each has carved out in life; and they even have a strong predisposition toward not taking a 'larger view' of anything if that is going to turn it into an issue with which they will need to deal. They feel little motivation to react to anything that doesn't impinge upon their immediate interests, narrowly conceived. Since it involves no sacrifice, requires little thinking on their own part, and is in fact self-protective, many are willing to hold and sometimes even to act upon attitudes that are 'politically correct' (ie, that are respectable within the worldview of the opinion-makers, who overwhelmingly belong to the adversary culture).

"Buchanan describes how Western civilisation is allowing itself to die and, as it dies, to be suffused by a Third World civilisation that is arising within the very corpus of the older society."

Indifference

In some contexts, it could be thought that this passivity is caused by intimidation of the majority. After all, the core culture has for many years been under slashing attack and its members made to feel guilty. But intimidation isn't fully explanatory. No one forces a couple, say, to attend the many films that now flaunt the four-letter words that were first insisted upon by Mario Savio's Free Speech Movement at Berkeley. Middle class women often come out of theatres muttering about "all that foul language", but that is as far as their reactions go. And when a movie is loaded with propaganda, most people are defensive in support of

it, finding it profoundly uncomfortable to see beyond the story. In like manner, no one forces an American family to travel to Disney World to enjoy the amusements despite the Disney organisation's open sponsorship of 'homosexual days', even though most people find that offensive in itself. We must conclude that it is indifference and a desire not to be disturbed that is more fundamentally explanatory than intimidation.

This passivity may be endemic to a commercial civilisation, and it is sometimes a strength, creating an immunity to social infection. An interesting fact that goes back a long way is that this same passivity was the reason Marx a century and a half ago, excoriated all forms of socialist thought that counted on exhortation as the way to change society. In place of that, he claimed to understand the "objective conditions" that impelled society toward socialism. This, to him, was "scientific socialism", while all else was impotent blather.

Those who champion Western civilisation indulge in no such pretensions. This makes them fall back on saying "here's what can be done - if only people will become alert to the dangers and do it". Buchanan, as one of them, gives many suggestions about how the dangers can be reversed. But inevitably he runs up against the question of whether his contemporaries within the West will even read his book, much less act upon it. Every such thinker will draw some satisfaction from knowing that "I, at least, did my best"; but there will later be little satisfaction in saying "I told you so". Did the shock of September 11 change any of this? That remains to be seen.

Dwight D Murphey is a professor of business law at Wichita State University and a patron of *Right Now!*



"Showing a leg"!

In Nelson's time, when His Majesty's ships were in harbour, ladies were allowed to sleep on board. The sailors were required to get up at the usual hour, but the ladies might please themselves. A nice problem of discipline thus arose. A solution was found in the fact that the ladies wore their stockings in bed, while the men slept bare-footed. If (as usually happened) all the sailors did not appear punctually on deck, it was necessary for the Boatswain to search for defaulters. He went along the bunks calling out "Show a leg! Show a leg!". The owner of a bare leg was promptly dealt with; but any leg wearing a stocking was allowed to return where it came from, and doubtless the Boatswain would apologise to the lady in nautical terms. Evidently our sailors, being innocent fellows, never thought of borrowing the ladies' stockings.

Arthur Stanley, in *The Bedside Book* (1932)



THE SIEGE OF ROYAL AUSTRALIA

Edited for publication in *Heritage*

A TITANIC struggle is being waged to fundamentally change the nature of the Australian nation; and the most important battleground is that wherein republican forces are endeavouring to end Australia's monarchy shared with the mother-country, Britain.

In a nutshell the nature of this challenge can be studied in an opinion article published in *The Age* in Melbourne on 6th March 2002. "Blind to their armbands", subtitled "Those who mourn the old Australia do so at the expense of today's nation", was written by Dr Richard Devetak, lecturer in the School of Political and Social Inquiry at Monash University.

The basic postulate of this article – that a valid distinction can be made between "the old Australia" and "today's nation" – is questionable. Perhaps the truth is that there is only one Australia, in which case the real questions to be answered are "What is Australia's identity?" and "What are the best pathways for the future growth of our nation?" This approach is vindicated by a quotation made by Devetak from William Faulkner: "The past is never dead, it is not even past."

The traditionalist answer to these questions is perfectly clear and straightforward. Australia is a fundamentally European nation whose foundations were laid in a period lasting more than a century before Federation in 1901. It is essentially Christian in religion and British in its constitutional structure. The best pathways forward will consist in a wise adherence to that heritage, tempered by prudent and cautious adjustments made in accordance with the inevitably changing context of passing time.

Australia is not and never can be an Aboriginal nation. A variety of Aborigine tribes were living in the continent when the Europeans began to arrive; but they did not constitute a unified and self-aware nation. They proved unable to defend their control of the land against Europeans gifted with superior technology.

There is no doubt that this was a tragedy for the Aboriginal people, just as there is no doubt that the European seizure of the continent was opportunistic rather than idealistic. That seizure, however, followed

the practice of millennia, whereby stronger peoples have conquered weaker peoples and taken their land. Moreover, there is some evidence that today's Aborigines themselves conquered earlier indigenous inhabitants, of whom the Tasmanian natives may have been one remnant.

Given this natural context of "survival of the fittest", there can be little if any argument against the proposition that by the time of Federation Australia was a *de jure* nation, although not yet totally independent of the mother-nation, Britain.

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

To understand political development in Australia during the first century after Federation, it is necessary to adopt a global perspective. We have to remember that the scientific revolution within Europe was followed by the industrial revolution and that this in turn led to the modern world in which all peoples have been brought closer together, willy-nilly, by the development of international transport, communication and trade. We also have to remember that whereas power was once measured by land or cattle or armed soldiery, it is now essentially measured by money, so that those who control the financial system of a people will largely be the controllers of that people.

Contemporaneous with this profound shift in the balance of power among groups within and beyond Europe has been the erosion if not collapse of the Christian religion. While enemies of Christianity played a part in this disaster, which began with the Renaissance and developed through the Enlightenment to arrive at the present age of Confusion, it must be admitted that so-called Christian orthodoxy (whether Orthodox, Catholic or Protestant) has been shown in certain respects not to have been orthodox after all. That is to say, the basic sacred foundation of European culture and the nations within that culture has proved to be unstable and undependable. More than anything else this places the welfare of a nation like Australia at very great risk.

Carl Jung was correct to state in *Dreams, Memories and Reflections* that

Christianity during the second millennium failed to adequately develop its myth. Here the word "myth" does not connote fiction or falsity but rather the informing story, joining together Heaven, mankind and earth, upon which a culture and a people can base their self-understanding and their political order.

Rene Guenon, founder of the perennialist school of metaphysical philosophy which includes Ananda Coomaraswamy, Frithjof Schuon, Marco Pallis, Titus Burckhardt and Martin Lings, engaged in the necessary restorative work of intellect that has left the Christian churches a legacy for purifying their theological systems and reviving institutional modes for the encouragement of sanctification, which requires initiation into the mysteries that lie beyond theology. For sacred tradition depends upon a central awareness that, as the *Tao Te Ching* puts it, "the way that is a way is not the way". Spirit is superior to, as well as anterior to, all words.

At the same time as the perennialists were labouring to restore the fullness of sacred tradition, a new power was growing within the world, based upon control of money. This power has manifestly developed as both internationalist and anti-traditional in its scope and ideology. In some quarters it is believed, rightly or wrongly, that Jewish influence is very strong or even predominant in this power. Such Jewish influence can hardly be equated, however, with the wisdom of Jewish sacred tradition, as found in the Old Testament of the *Holy Bible* and other Jewish scriptures. Insofar as it exists, it can only be understood as a heresy within Judaism.

This new power appears to prefer covert action to overt action in many contexts, which is not surprising, since its programme seems to be ethically illicit and projected in the interests of a minority of the wealthy and powerful at the expense of the politically disinherited majority. However, the United Nations Organization is surely an overt manifestation of the power, just as the phrase "the New World Order" seems to openly point towards its plans for a world government. Even Switzerland has at last proved unable to resist incorporation into the behemoth.

After World War Two this dubious power began to assert more and more control over Australian affairs, so that what has happened in the last four decades is the gradual replacement of an Anglo-Christian Establishment by a secular internationalist Establishment. An image of Australia 2002 might well depict the former Establishment in the process of being strangled to death by the newer Establishment.

This means that it is necessary to decode carefully the phenomena of contemporary Australian national affairs; for Australia yet retains the façade of an Anglo-Christian nation, although those loyal to such a political order find themselves the enemies of a new Establishment operating behind that façade.

Existentially, we traditionalists face a challenging and dangerous situation. The Chinese have a saying that "Everyone wants to help push over a falling wall." Many decent and ordinary Australians, to say nothing of selfish opportunists, are now being swept up into a national wave of anti-traditional hysteria.

Devetak's article is a droplet in this wave. It is interesting to analyse his text closely, as an example of the errors and misrepresentations into which anti-traditionalists habitually fall, whether intentionally or not.

Based on the postulate that "the old Australia" has gone, having been replaced by "today's nation" – a model that does not reflect the current existential reality but rather the wish-fulfilment of the author – Devetak sets up an antithesis of two contrasting "stories" of Australia. It is a false antithesis which involves a distortion of "the John Howard view" and a celebration of "the Paul Keating view".

For example, Devetak compares "those who view 26th January 1788 as the bloodless birth of a nation" with "those who recognise it as the violent invasion of a nation". He identifies the former view with deceit and the latter view with honesty. However, neither John Howard nor other conservatives argue that the Europeans took over Australia without the shedding of blood, while Devetak's claim that there was a prior nation here is groundless.

Devetak applauds Keating for his insistence that past violence against the Aborigines can "no longer be passed over silently without shaming the nation" as well as for his "broader agenda of cultural

and political transformation", including "engagement with Asia, multiculturalism, the republic and reconciliation", which amounted to a "vision of a renewed Australia".

Under the rubric of "reconciliation" a major assault has currently been launched against traditional Australia, spearheaded by the preposterous demands for a national "apology to the Aborigines" by the Prime Minister and the signing of a treaty between "the Aborigines" and (presumably) Australians who are not Aborigines.

(The legally accepted definition of "Aborigine" has been of dubious validity since "reforms" by the Whitlam ALP government, so that the welfare of full-blood Aborigines has often been neglected to satisfy demands and claims by part-blood Aborigines who cannot claim to represent traditional Aboriginal tribes – and who sometimes, one suspects, have less than 50% of Aboriginal blood.)

**Many decent and ordinary
Australians, to say nothing of
selfish opportunists, are now
being swept up into a national
wave of anti-traditional hysteria.**

The campaign for "reconciliation" involves misrepresentations, sometimes gross misrepresentations, of British treatment of Aborigines in the past. It seeks to disempower the British Australians who still constitute an ethnic majority and who are the heirs of those who founded the nation. Large numbers of idealistic but foolish Australians who are rushing to oppose "unfair treatment" of Aborigines in the past appear to be blind to the unfairness of their treatment of British Australians past and present.

What is more sinister is the very high likelihood that the "reconciliation" campaign is actually a scam organised by the "new Establishment" to satisfy the "power" I have associated with a proposed "New World Order". It is the old "divide and conquer" strategy. In this case a victory for the "reconciliation" programme might turn out to be no liberation at all for "the Aborigines" (however the term be defined) but the handing over of Australians generally to a new imperialistic power likely to be far less benevolent than the British Empire.

Victory for "the republic" may likewise have a similar result: for it is noteworthy that, while republicans lament Australia's

obedience (as they see it – or claim to see it) to a "foreign head of state", they seem to have no difficulties with Australian servitude to the UNO, the International Monetary Fund, a World Court and so on. Nor (at present, at any rate) do they lament the orientation of Catholic Christians to the Pope and the Vatican in Rome, or the orientation of Muslims to the Holy City of Mecca. In short, there are extraordinary inconsistencies in their position which can hardly be explained other than as folly or fraud.

As for "engagement with Asia" and "multiculturalism", it is ridiculous to suggest that John Howard and conservatives are opposed to these. They are facts of life for Australia now. The real issues involve the ways in which these programmes are to be interpreted and enacted.

Keating's vision (as presented by Devetak) is partly very vague ("a more confident, tolerant and diverse nation") but very specific on two associated topics ("shorn of any vestiges of the White Australia policy or dependence on Britain"). Ethnic strife all around the world suggests that the White Australia policy may have been more sensible than its detractors will allow. In any case, there is no doubt that it was dismantled by political stealth, aided and abetted (as former Prime Minister Bob Hawke has admitted) by bi-partisan deception of the then Australian people. We are entitled to ask at whose behest both major political parties deceived the populace, when the prior provision of a public referendum was the only honourable course of action to take.

I suggest it was at the behest of precisely that internationalist, money-based power to which I have referred earlier. In that case, the campaign of removing any "dependence on Britain" may also be correctly viewed as subservience to a new imperialism.

Devetak contrasts with the "Keating vision" what he presents as the John Howard view, but he is unable to resist the temptation to burlesque it a bit. So the "accomplishments" and "heroic achievements", which Howard is said to celebrate, are listed by Devetak as "Federation, Gallipoli, Bradman, the GST and the Sydney Olympics" – a motley list indeed! There is nothing of the nobility of Christian and British royal tradition, nothing of the magnificent legal tradition of Britain including Magna Carta, the Common Law and the division of power.

nothing of British culture and nothing of the heroism and labour of Australia's pioneers! What are "Bradman, the GST and the Sydney Olympics" to these?

Devetak reduces traditionalism (misrepresented as "Howard's view") to the promotion of "mateship, loyalty, self-sacrifice".

"Howard's is a story meant to instil national pride through forgetfulness," he asserts, whereas his own article appears to be a flier for social engineering that can only support itself by massive forgetfulness – or the encouragement of forgetfulness in its readers. Devetak confuses Howard's sensible call to Australians to avoid an unhealthy obsession with past crimes and failings with an alleged "airbrushing away" of "the unpalatable aspects of our history." And he attempts to rubbish a claim by Howard supporter Tony Abbott that Australia "is one of the free-est, fairest and most prosperous nations on earth" with the throwaway line that you cannot argue with that unless you are "unemployed, Aboriginal or an asylum-seeker"!

Devetak ends by attempting to defame supporters of traditional Australia. We are presented as "those who fear or lament social and cultural change, or resent demographic change wrought by modernisation and globalisation". We are said to be wearing "white blindfolds". The "passing of old Australia" (something which I insist has not yet been successfully effected) is said to have been "a traumatic experience" for us. We are those who "refuse to accept" an Australia informed by "new and different values".

We are made to sound like mean-spirited has-beens who will not accept the inevitable – a mode of confidence trickery which is commonly employed by Devetak and his ilk in lieu of truly substantial intellectual arguments. It is in the context of these political realities that the recent extraordinarily vehement campaign against the Governor-General, His Excellency Dr Peter Hollingworth, should be interpreted.

II ATTACK ON THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

Dr Hollingworth was born in 1935 and educated at Scotch College, Melbourne. In 1960 he graduated in theology after studying at Trinity College in the University of Melbourne. I remember him well from Trinity College, as I also remember the

current Anglican Primate, Dr Peter Carnley, who was also in residence in Trinity at the time.

From 1960 to 1964 Dr Hollingworth was priest-in-charge of St Mary's Anglican Church, North Melbourne. Then he undertook his renowned service with the Brotherhood of St Laurence, which lasted until 1990. He began as chaplain and director of youth services and became executive director in 1980. During this period he wrote a book on issues of poverty and society which I taught to a Year 12 VCE class at Carey Baptist Grammar School for one year.

... the campaign of removing any "dependence on Britain" may also be correctly viewed as subservience to a new imperialism.

From 1980 to 1985 he was Canon of St Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne; and from 1985 to 1990 he held the newly created position of Bishop of Inner-City Melbourne. He spent the next eleven years as Archbishop of Brisbane. During this phase a number of honours came his way. In 1990 he was appointed to the University of Queensland Senate; from 1992 to 1998 he was chairman of the Anglican National Social Responsibilities Commission; in 1992 he was named Australian of the Year; in 1993 he won a Rotary International Youth Service Award; in 1998 he was appointed a Fellow of Trinity College, Melbourne; and in 2000 he was chairman of the Council for the Centenary of Federation.

That is the career of the man whom in April last year the Prime Minister chose as our Governor-General to replace the controversial Sir William Deane. During his period in this high office Sir William had politicised the Governor-Generalship in an unprecedented manner by identifying himself openly with the reconciliation campaign and other political programmes associated with the New Establishment in Australia. Naturally he became a hero to adherents of such political positions and was feted by a compliant media and by like-minded intellectuals; but it is reasonable to feel that his popularity was achieved at some constitutional cost. Naturally John Howard sought a successor who would not continue in that line; and it appears that Dr Hollingworth set out initially to restore the office to a strictly impartial and non-interfering role.

His appointment was greeted with mixed feelings in the public forums of the nation. An amount of disagreement with it was expressed by commentators across the political spectrum. These included some Christians and monarchists such as Christopher Pearson, the Reverend James Murray, Philip Benwell and John Stone. There was a belief in some heads that a religious leader was an inappropriate choice; it was also felt that Dr Hollingworth was really a closet republican.

An important letter by Peter Laphorne in *The Age* of 27th February has effectively put to rest the first of these objections. Laphorne was rejecting the claim of Gerard Henderson that the principle of the "separation between church and state" should have precluded the appointment.

Laphorne responded: "Our Constitution, article 116, states that 'no religious test shall be required for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth'. In other words, a religious test cannot be used either to include or exclude a candidate for public office."

Laphorne saw this article as not only validating the appointment of Dr. Hollingworth but as also enshrining "the freedom of religion that is one characteristic of this great country".

Personally, I welcomed the choice made by the Prime Minister and wrote to Dr Hollingworth to congratulate him and wish him well. To me he seemed an inspired selection because he was closely associated with the defence of underprivileged people, he was not associated with any kind of extreme conservatism and because he has seemed to me, whenever I have met him, to be a very able, sensible and fair-minded person. I expected him to stick by the rules, something which I felt Sir William Deane had not done.

It thus surprised me to observe so much criticism of his appointment. I was suspicious of this phenomenon from the start. It immediately reminded me of the outbursts of indignation which greeted the announcement by Sir Robert Menzies in the mid-sixties that our new unit of decimal currency was to be called the royal. Even then, certain forces were implacably opposed to the consolidation of the monarchy in Australia; and, in the face of intense agitation, the Menzies Government backed down with abject rapidity.

It seemed to me that the appointment by a Prime Minister who is Christian-

Anglican and monarchist of a Governor-General who is Christian, Anglican and possibly also monarchist, had again challenged the resentment of the New Establishment. Thus, from early on, I perceived Dr Hollingworth as having become the *de facto* champion of traditional Australia. It should also be noted that he cannot be expected while in office to bend to any attempts by a pro-republican government to introduce a republic by less than honourable means. Thus he may have been early perceived as a dangerous obstacle to constitutional change.

Recently Gerard Henderson summarised various aspects of the controversy over Dr Hollingworth in an article in *The Age* on 12th March entitled "When the mainstream becomes a mob, blame the dingo pack." Henderson noted that the controversy began around December last year and peaked in February. More importantly, he pointed out that political conservatives were among those calling for the Governor-General's resignation, including Andrew Bolt, Piers Akerman, Paul Sheehan and Dennis Shanahan. I am bearing this in mind as I now summarise my own position on the controversy before looking at some aspects in detail.

The Governor-General has himself admitted that he regrets mistakes he now feels he made in handling matters of sexual abuse while he was Archbishop of Brisbane. He has also expressed contrition for remarks he made in his own defence during the controversy in February. He appears to be largely if not wholly correct in his self-criticisms, but is to be admired for his integrity in making such candid confessions so quickly and directly. Some of his defenders may still believe he should have followed royal protocol and remained aloof; but I do not believe that that was politically possible, let alone wise.

Beyond doubt, then, the career of Dr Hollingworth has been shown to be flawed. The controversy now centres upon the question whether it has been flawed sufficiently to warrant his resignation.

At this point it is worth remembering that the career of the Prince of Wales is also flawed, much more badly so than that of Dr Hollingworth; yet few traditionalists would argue that he should not inherit the Crown when Her Majesty the Queen dies. The institution is big enough, powerful enough and important enough to be able to function effectively despite such blemishes in the characters of its holders:

and some previous monarchs were far less admirable persons than is H. R. H. Prince Charles.

The matter becomes a question of balance. Will the welfare of Australia be better served by the Governor-General remaining in his position or resigning?

For me there is no doubt at all at the present time that his resignation would do far more damage than his remaining.

To me it seems clear that his above-mentioned flaws are themselves insufficient to justify calls for his resignation. No evidence has been brought forward to suggest that Dr Hollingworth acted corruptly or criminally. In that sense he remains "above reproach". It seems clear that errors made during his time as Archbishop of Brisbane were largely the result of a proper concern to protect the Church, its institutions and also to be compassionate and just towards those accused (whether known to be guilty or not). Pressure of work and fatigue may also have played a part, as they probably did when Dr Hollingworth sought to explain himself in the media in February.

**The institution is big enough,
powerful enough and
important enough to be able
to function effectively despite
such blemishes in the
characters of its holders ...**

In this perspective, the tidal wave of demands for the Governor-General's resignation or dismissal by Her Majesty on the Prime Minister's advice appears to be grossly excessive and to exhibit a vehemence greatly inappropriate to the objects of complaint. For me, that tidal wave is far more suspicious than any behaviour by Dr Hollingworth and I believe it warrants investigation by the best journalists and political researchers in the land. A number of independent commentators have wondered whether there is not an element of conspiracy at work, aimed collectively against the man, the church, the office, the Prime Minister and the Australian monarchy itself. No proof of such has been produced; and it may be that the tidal wave is simply an orchestra of spontaneous attacks by variegated individuals and interest groups. Then again, even if it is such, that does not preclude the possibility of an occult and malign influence "behind the veil".

For, also to be considered is the

damage that will be done to Australia, given the political state of the nation, if Dr Hollingworth or the Prime Minister succumbs to future pressure. A precedent will be set that a Governor-General can be hounded from office by the New Establishment and its conscious and unconscious agents. The office will have become subservient to media and politicians. And probably no future Prime Minister would dare appoint to the office any person likely to incur the enmity of such groups. All in all, the office of Governor-General and the Australian monarchy itself would be profoundly weakened.

Almost all of the hostility to Dr Hollingworth's office has come from individuals and groups within the nation who are known to be republican rather than royalist. Opinion polls have been published claiming that around sixty per cent of Australians want Dr Hollingworth to go. I am frankly sceptical of their findings and find much more credible the *Herald Sun* Voteline result published on 4th March, in which 66.4% of respondents agreed that he should be representing Australians before the Queen during her recent visit.

What a battery of voices there were calling for Dr Hollingworth to go just as Her Majesty was about to arrive in Australia! *The Age*, *The Australian* and the *Herald Sun*, Melbourne's three major newspapers, were emphatic in their insinuations. The Leader of the Opposition and various ALP state premiers added their voices, along with the majority of columnists in those newspapers. It was almost as if an attempt was made to deliver a knockout psychological blow just at a most embarrassing moment for the Governor-General. Fortunately, he and Mr Howard resisted it.

**III
PRESS BASH**

As a test of my position I have examined a representative selection of editorials published in Melbourne's three main newspapers. All ten editorials call for Dr Hollingworth's resignation. Two if not three of these newspapers showed strong pro-republican bias during the 1999 constitutional referendum and thus cannot claim to be impartial commentators in this controversy. I am not sure whether the same can be said of the *Herald Sun*.

One major line of argument is that Dr Hollingworth will be unable to perform his vice-regal duties because of his tainted

past. This seems to me to be a groundless assertion. The kinds of errors he made as Archbishop of Brisbane bear little if any relation to his tasks and responsibilities as Governor-General. In its 21st February statement the *Herald Sun* wrote: "The crisis is made more acute with the Queen's visit imminent. A Governor-General with a blemished and still controversial past cannot be placed in the position of hosting visiting royalty." That assertion has already been shown to have been incorrect. Curiously, the *Herald Sun* admits in the same editorial that "Men with many human frailties and imperfections have held the post and served the country well."

A second major line of argument is that Dr Hollingworth is no longer able to ensure that the office of Governor-General stands above politics and functions as a source of national unity. He is certainly at a disadvantage when he has so many powerful individuals and groups opposed to his continuation in office.

However, as the first part of my essay has indicated, Australia is currently a very divided country; and these newspapers have not hesitated to promote division by encouraging republicanism, to say nothing of other contexts where "a good story can be found". There seems to me to be quite an amount of hypocrisy in this particular argument in favour of a resignation.

Moreover, is there a hidden bias in favour of the New Establishment at work? The *Herald Sun* on 21st February claimed that "Australians expect their resident at Yarralumla to reflect more than just the highest ideals of citizenship. A Governor-General must have an impeccable past and show compassion and a generosity of spirit. The role was exemplified by the former incumbent Sir William Deane."

Such unqualified support for Sir William does not arouse confidence in the *Herald Sun*'s impartiality; while the reference to "an impeccable past" contradicts its other remark (quoted above) about "human frailties and imperfections"!

A third line of argument consists in the dismissal of claims by Dr Hollingworth and others that he is the victim of a "beat-up" or "witch hunt" that has another agenda. The newspapers dismiss these claims too easily and protest their innocence too glibly.

On 22nd February *The Age* wrote that "To dismiss the issue as a beat-up, to be blamed on the Federal Opposition, the media and 'the clamour of the mob' is to

dismiss the depth of public concern." The newspaper made no attempt to examine the question of whether or not such a beat-up had occurred; nor did it separate public concern over the mistreatment of children and cover-ups thereof from public concern over the fitness or otherwise of Dr Hollingworth to continue in office.

On 27th February the *Herald Sun* commented that "Mr Howard declares that 'these are not issues that can be determined by the volume on talkback radio or on the front page of newspapers.' The media are simply reflecting the anguish of the victims of sex abuse and the deep community unease over the man who holds the nation's top job." There are too many responsible critics who have argued convincingly that the modern mass media function deliberately as social engineers for vested interests for such a protestation to be acceptable without further reasons and evidence.

... Australia is currently a very divided country; and these newspapers have not hesitated to promote division by encouraging republicanism, to say nothing of other contexts where "a good story can be found".

None of the ten editorials fairly placed the controversy within the context of the contemporary struggle between two different visions for Australia. None of them referred to important statements sympathetic to Dr Hollingworth made by a variety of Australian intellectuals and letter writers.

On 27th February *The Australian* made a particularly damaging statement about the Governor-General: "Dr Hollingworth has been less than transparent in explaining his past behaviour.... He wrote a character reference for Anglican priest Ross McAuley recommending him for the Catholic priesthood. This was after the Brisbane archdiocese sexual abuse committee had recommended he be stood down and accept counselling."

On 1st March Mike Nelson responded with an important defence of Dr Hollingworth's issue of two references for McAuley, pointing out that the first open reference "was entirely proper and in accordance with the well-established legal and human resources principles" and that his second reference, in response to a specific enquiry about a specific position, "was also entirely proper."

It was good to observe that on 5th March *The Australian* was at least ready to concede that "the campaign to remove Dr Hollingworth from office has reached the point of hysteria.... There is a whiff of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* as the witch hunt proceeds."

Both the *Herald Sun* and *The Age* stated that the controversy would continue and saw this as another argument in favour of resignation. *The Age* commented that "With Dr Hollingworth having to answer to a church inquiry, further damage to the office of Governor-General is likely for months to come." Some of Dr Hollingworth's most intense opponents are also planning marches against him in several states on 14th April. In my view defenders of traditional Australia need to actively defend and support him during the further attacks that can be anticipated.

Overall, I conclude that the flurry of confident editorials from the three newspapers has failed to mount a successful case in favour of the Governor-General's resignation. Rather, it is further evidence that sections of the Australian press are biased against traditional Australia and those who defend it.

IV COUNTER REACTION & MASSIVE SUPPORT

An important feature of the controversy which I have not yet mentioned is the counter-reaction by many Australians, both those in important positions and those of humbler status, who rose in defence of Dr Hollingworth, so that he himself received massive support in his personal mail, while many perceptively affirmative letters were published in the newspapers as well as a few approbative opinion articles. This public response may be one reason why the onslaught against the Governor-General was abruptly called off during March.

I want to end this essay with a few representative quotations from those who defended this beleaguered man. Firstly, from the opinion articles (far fewer they were than those articles against him!). These quotations enrich and confirm my own position.

In *The Australian* on 28th February Dr John Morgan, warden of St John's College at the University of Queensland, wrote about the man he has known for forty years and closely for twenty-five in "No grounds to guillotine a man of decency." Dr Morgan drew attention to Dr Hollingworth's willingness to be personally

involved in counselling, which arose "from his social working and pastoral disposition to seek to listen and to help people.... Dr Hollingworth is not a self-protective person. This has left him open." Dr Morgan added that the Governor-General was being judged "against protocols that are of fairly recent origin". He concluded: "There is not a shred of evidence to suggest that as archbishop he ever advised or countenanced anything against the legal or moral order."

Tim Colebatch, economics editor of *The Age*, has twice defended the Governor-General. On 19th February in "Imperfect? Yes. But unfit? No." he wrote: "Peter Hollingworth did not know it then (in 1990, when he had just taken over the Brisbane archdiocese), but he was caught up in the first wave of a revolution in attitudes. Parents and activists were no longer prepared to let sexual abuse be swept under the carpet; they demanded disclosure. A new breed of lawyers was aggressively looking for negligence cases that could be launched against firms and institutions with deep pockets, such as the Anglican Church."

Colebatch rejected claims that the Governor-General should be perfect. "I am prepared to settle for a decent, well-meaning, compassionate man who has devoted his life to working with the unemployed, the poor and the homeless, and trying to arouse the politicians and the community to give them better life."

Colebatch added severely: "I do not see the same idealism on the side of his attackers: a shrill, vindictive group of single-issue activists, a Brisbane newspaper (*The Courier-Mail*) that appears to be developing a speciality in character assassination, lawyers seeking to profit by bleeding the church dry, and a TV programme (Channel Nine's Sunday) that so blurred the lines of responsibility that it left viewers with the impression that any sexual abuse carried out within the Anglican Archdiocese of Brisbane was Dr Hollingworth's personal responsibility."

And in "Presumption of innocence falls prey to the media pack" in *The Age* on 26th February, Colebatch remarked: "Now most of the media have joined in the hunt. If they bring down their prey, it will effectively mean that interest groups have been given a veto over the choice of the next Governor-General."

Rosemary Neill in "Leadership on the rocks" in *The Australian* of 22nd February commented on the ABC's *Australian Story*

as follows: "Unlike the Canberra power-brokers, he (Dr Hollingworth) strikes me as a man who has trawled his conscience in an effort to answer his critics.... I admire the way he has attempted to make himself accountable.... Howard was right not to dismiss him, for the simple reason it would have been unfair."

In *The Age* on 25th February Christopher Pearson in "A vice-regal trial by sanctimonious media" wrote that "The collapse of Canadian dioceses as a result of huge payouts in similar circumstances suggests greater prudence (in Dr Hollingworth while he was Archbishop of Brisbane) than his critics concede him." Pearson added: "Unlike Sir William Deane, whose letter of support to the Queen for a delegation of Aboriginal activists, written without informing the Australian Government, was grossly improper, Dr Hollingworth hasn't committed any clear-cut sacking offence." Hugh Mackay in "To stay or to go: a moral dilemma" in *The Age* on 26th February wrote: "Dr Hollingworth is under no legal obligation to resign, nor is there any convention in our system of government that says he should go."

This public response may be one reason why the onslaught against the Governor-General was abruptly called off during March.

Finally, I will refer to two letters to the editor (both dealing with constitutional aspects of the controversy) which will represent the many excellent comments made by members of the public in defence of the Governor-General – comments of which future newspaper editorials on the topic should take more notice.

In *The Australian* on 22nd February Dr Spencer Zifcak, Associate Professor of Constitutional Law at La Trobe University, wrote as follows: "Questions of resignation or dismissal should be treated with utmost care lest a dangerous precedent be created.... The Governor-General's dismissal is being canvassed without any independent inquiry into the allegations made against him. Assessments in the media are inadequate to provide a fair hearing and just determination of the issues in dispute...."

"No criteria exist in the constitution to determine whether and in what circumstances a Governor-General should be dismissed.

This places unfettered power in the

hands of the PM to decide if and when the Governor-General should go...."

"We should think carefully about creating a precedent in which our head of state can be forced to depart in the absolute discretion of the Prime Minister, without adequate criteria to determine the grounds of dismissal, for decisions made prior to assuming office and without independent examination of the matters in dispute."

And in *The Age* on 27th February George McNair Edmiston wrote: "The comments by Australian Republican Movement chairman Greg Barns at last reveal the hidden agenda behind the vicious campaign to oust our Governor-General. The real gripe apparently is that our federal head of state is still appointed (a) by the Sovereign of Australia with the advice and on the sole responsibility of our elected Prime Minister, instead of (b) in accordance with the rejected republican model under which everyone could evade responsibility for the outcome.

"That model would certainly have politicised the office through the inevitable contamination with backroom deals and party politics.

"Against this, the traditional method confers ample authority without the illusion of an independent power base or constituency."

In conclusion, as of today the Governor-General deserves our loyal and active support. The Leader of the federal Opposition, a number of ALP state premiers and several newspaper editors appear to have called for his resignation or dismissal prematurely and without sufficient justification. Perhaps Australian electors should remember this when next they cast their votes.

Melbourne, 1st April 2002



\$18

Posted

The People's Prince
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The Australian Heritage Society proudly offers a selection of major addresses by His Royal Highness Prince Charles, with a Foreword by one of Australia's most distinguished Ambassadors. Sir Walter Crocker, former Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia
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Greatness Abiding

The Passing of the Queen Mother

by Nigel Jackson - Melbourne, Australia. 10th April 2002

God save our gracious Queen!

In her remembrance leading churchmen
Words of the ancient Psalmist watching hills,
Apocalyptic images of Paradise
And One upon the throne
And Pilgrim crossing over in his joy -
A deeper happiness than depth of death!
Grace in her grace, the dignity and strength,
Rejoicing in the times and time to come,
The blessing of blithe smile and tilt of head
And wave of easy hand and noble poise!

Long live our noble Queen!

A century of service to the weal
Of people, nation, church endeared her well
And wove a dress of history about her ways.
We shall not look upon such glory in our time
Again. She has braced the royal tale across
Six reigns, two mighty wars, threat to the isles
Stress in the kingdom, change
On a wild, dark horse! Observe
The soaring abbey walls that lift
The British splendour firmly to the sky.
And such a wall as those her life has been!

God save the Queen!

People and city great with pageantry
Array the day with beauty, stepping slow
In costumes glorious as bells ring out
The pipes and drums recall the misty dreams
Irish mists and the green curl of hills in rain,
Of Weathered moors of Scotland, craggy heights,
Of Welsh and English lands beloved and fair.
Two kings-to-be, God willing, with their kin
Attend the coffin wreathed in regnant lions
And drawn on a gun carriage as befits the end
Of one not only Queen but heroine.

Send her victorious!

She came to the throne when clouds of war
Were building over the water. Shy her King
A stammerer, a man born not to be King -
Or so he thought, but when the nation called,
Two mighty hearts in unison assumed the rule,
Unflinching stood throughout the blitz,
Moved through their people steadily,
In quiet, readiness and sympathy
And bound a nation's heart
To simple, human strength.
Spitfires and Lancaster fly overhead -
Battle of Britain won in cockpit, castle, croft!



Happy and glorious!

Husband and daughters shared the royal hearth,
The care and tending far from banners, flags and pomp,
The talks and laughter by the fire,
The pulse of horses' feet,
The tread of boots across the dewy lawn,
The counsel, firm encouragement and smiles,
The soft clasp of a loving hand and soul,
The twinkling wink behind the glass of gin,
The heart of phoenix, dove and dragon too!

Long to reign over us!

Her widowhood came early and was long
And filled with dignity and stalwart charm.
Here was a power behind her daughter's reign,
A guidance vast with wisdom for the ears
Of children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren
And many others too - relations, subjects, friends.
She had the gift of easy, genial cheer -
Lightness of spirit, appraising, perky gaze,
No-nonsense penetration of all cloying cant
Her motherhood reached out for fifty years
And blessed us all.

God save the Queen!

Destined to see her daughter's golden jubilee,
She leaves another noble Queen in grief, alone,
Deprived of such a mothering as few obtain,
But sterling in endurance, duty, piety and truth.
Black hat, black dress and unpretentious stance -
The lonely, burdened one stood as first mourner,
First of daughters, first of Britain's race.
Her eyes were wide with tears and the hawk's
Sharp glance that takes in acres, centuries.
One has passed on, one passes on!

Faith of our fathers

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(Australian address P.O. Box 160, BANKSTOWN, N.S.W. 2200)

Derek Turner talks to US journalist and politician Patrick Buchanan about his powerful new book *The Death of the West*

CAN you sum up your thesis in *Death of the West*?

According to my research, there is not a single Western nation that has a birthrate today that will enable it to stay alive in its present form after the middle of this century. Between now and 2050, Europe alone will lose about 128 million people. In 2050, the median age of Europeans will be about 50, and 60 million Europeans - a tenth of the population - will be over 80. As Europeans begin to die out - losing the equivalent of the entire populations of Norway, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Germany - the Third World will explode, increasing by three or four billion people - the equivalent of 30-40 Mexicos. Great migrations to fill the West's empty spaces have already begun. Even now the Chinese are moving into Russia, which is dying faster than almost any other country. The Islamic peoples of North Africa and the Middle East are moving in the hundreds of thousands into Europe every year. One-fifth of Mexico's population is now within America's borders.

But is it as bad as you fear? In Peter Brimelow's *Washington Times* review of *Death of the West*, he says that your discussion of demographics could be qualified that "while the West's share of the world's population is failing, this is only after a tremendous growth surge that dramatically expanded its share". Isn't it possible that the present retreat is only a retreat to more defensible cultural, ethnic and psychological borders?

No, I don't think so. In 1960, for example, Western people were 25% of the world's population, and in the middle of the greatest baby boom in history. They are now down to 16%, and by 2050, they will be just 10%. Every single Western nation is dying. The European base of the American nation, which used to be 90%, is now down to 70%. On present trends, European-descended peoples will be a minority in the United States by mid-century. I can't see how Western civilisation can be preserved if the people who carry it in their hearts, minds and souls are dying out.

But in absolute terms, the West's population when we were at our height was far smaller than it is today. A few thousand Englishmen ran India for over 200 years. Whites ran South Africa for more than three centuries, and so on. Population quality is clearly more important than quantity. You have said yourself that "the correlation between power and population is not absolute". Isn't this a possible source of comfort?

I quite agree that Europeans and Americans will be well-to-do, but if you take a look at what is happening inside these countries already, clearly European nations are not what they used to be. For example, some European countries used to have million-man armies when their populations were

"If Christianity goes, the whole of our culture goes"

T.S. Eliot

far smaller than they are today. Now, the European Union is having the devil's time of it fielding a Rapid Reaction Force of 60,000 men! The British used to be able to get that many across the Channel in the first couple of weeks. I don't believe that this can be turned around. I think the West is dying. The birth-rate peaked in the 1960s, and it has been declining ever since, right through the state of zero population growth, and it looks like it will continue declining to the stage of zero population.

An important point is that the correlation between the death of religious faith and the death of peoples and civilisation is absolute. I believe that the death of Christianity in the soul of Western man, and its replacement by a more materialistic, hedonistic, individualistic, *la dolce vita* belief, and the embrace of the sexual revolution combined, mean that Western man has



consumed a carcinogenic that is killing him. Peoples that no longer believe in the cult out of which their culture and civilisation came will not sustain that civilisation. And as T.S. Eliot said: "if Christianity goes, the whole of our culture goes". The Christian faith and belief in which Western man was marinated for 2,000 years was fundamentally the immune system of the West, which warded off all manner of psychic infections. But Christianity has died, and been replaced by a new faith of secular humanism, which is having an effect on the West comparable to that of the HIV virus on a person. Eventually it will kill us.

In *The Death of the West*, you have bemoaned the present lack of civilizatory self-confidence in the West. But doesn't the decisive and ruthless American response to the attacks on the WTC and Pentagon rate that there is still some degree of self-preservation and even self-assertiveness with in the west?

There is no doubt that the United State is a very tough country. Americans rallied behind the President after September 11, and the government managed to finish off the Taliban. But at the same time the government lacks the moral authority to stop illegal immigration into this country cold - even though that is the plain desire of the American people - in order that we can get our melting pot working again, and attempt to Americanise those who have come here since 1965.

On taking office, Dwight Eisenhower found that there were one million illegal immigrants in the country. He set up what he called Operation Wetback, and ordered them out of the country - and they went. If President Bush were to get up today, and say "We're going to conduct Operation Wetback II", and seek to expel eight to 11 million illegal aliens, the American establishment would literally go berserk. [Editor's note: the US House of Congress has just voted by 245 votes to 138 to grant amnesty to millions of illegal immigrants.] I don't think he could do it; there would be a horrible reaction, even within his own party. *Human Events* [Editor's note: a leading conservative newspaper, based in Washington, DC] asked 17 US congressmen and senators a single question that required a Yes or No answer: "if someone has broken into the country illegally, should they be deported and sent home?" Only two congressmen or senators said Yes.

In the wake of September 11, have you detected a greater willingness to talk about immigration?

There is a tremendous willingness to talk about the issue. Led by Peter Brimelow and others (I came much later to the issue), we have convinced the American people, or they have persuaded themselves, that they want legal immigration rolled back to more reasonable levels and illegal immigration halted cold. But we live in a virtual democracy, where the people's will is not translated into policy.

Both party elites are very much beholden to the corporations and the unions, and they are politically intimidated. Both the corporations and the unions want an endless supply of new citizens and cheap labour. The corporations want to keep wages down, and the unions want an amnesty, so that they can organise these illegals and get them paying union dues, so that they can maintain their existing lifestyles.

You have said that it is remarkable coincidence how global capitalism's view of women conforms so precisely to the view of the fathers of global communism. Can you explain what you mean by this?

Global capitalism and Marxism share a belief that it is far better to have women in the marketplace than at home. The old Marxists - Marx, Engels and the others

- wanted to bring down the traditional family, and move women out of the home and into the marketplace, to make them independent of the family. The global capitalists want the same thing. Women who live at home are not consuming or producing enough, they think. Global capitalism seeks to make everyone an employee, everyone a worker. There is a tremendous premium on bringing into the marketplace talented and capable women workers - who are more reliable in many cases - so that they can boost productivity and consume more goods.

In an interview with - of all publications - *Pravda*, you said that Japan has lost her dynamism because of her high median age. How do you define dynamism?

In the 1980s, Japan was considered to be a kind of model nation. But now they are in serious trouble, with the economy getting weaker all the time. It has been said of the Japanese that they have "lost their animal spirits". People are talking

"... the correlation between the death of religious faith and the death of peoples and civilisation is absolute."

Patrick Buchanan

about various investment problems, and so forth, but the fundamental problem that has been ignored is that Japan is today the oldest nation on earth, with a median age of 41. The higher the median age, the lower the dynamism. The median age of Europe by 2050 will be 50, with Italy and Spain even worse off at 54 and 55 respectively. People in their 50s are far less aggressive economic animals than when they are in their 30s.

Won't time solve the 1960s generation problem - albeit only in piecemeal fashion?

I don't think so. Many teachers of the Sixties generation said "We will steal your children", and they did. A significant part of America has converted to the ideas of the 1960s - hedonism, self-indulgence and consumerism. For half of all Americans today, the Woodstock culture of the Sixties is the culture they grew up with - their traditional culture. For them,

Judeo-Christian culture is outside the mainstream now. The counter-culture has become the dominant culture, and the former culture a dissident culture - something that is far out, and 'extreme'.

One of the great western virtues is freedom of enquiry and expression. Yet this very freedom of enquiry surely eventually calls into question religious faith. Does Western civilisation carry within itself the seeds of its own cultural destruction? Haven't Western scientific advances undermined the claims of Christianity?

As a traditionalist Catholic who believes in natural law, I find no real conflict between true science and true faith. I still believe exactly as I have been taught, and I find no conflict between what I was taught and what I think are the truths of science. A lot of what we call science is actually faith in disguise. I think some people were desperately searching for something other than traditional Christianity, and they have elevated to the level of hard truth some things - notably about Darwin - that have not yet been proven beyond dispute. To believe in the theory of evolution is to me as much of an act of faith as to believe in Adam and Eve. I don't think it's been proven at all. I remember Piltown Man, and the bones of that 'prehistoric ancestor of mankind' in Africa that turned out to be the bones of a pig. There is a lot of hoax and fraud in the contentions of science. The theory of evolution contains as much hypothesis as any religion.

Isn't there a contradiction between your general desire for smaller government and your desire for such government functions as censorship of obscene materials, better teaching of history, passing pro-life laws and protectionism?

As the first three of those suggested actions should only be done at local level, there is no contradiction. The federal government is a monstrosity, and there should be as much devolution of power as possible to local communities.

For instance, should children be taught that evolution is absolutely true? The only way to decide these things satisfactorily is to have a majority vote at the most local level possible. Folk who disagree can then go to the school down the street, if they feel that strongly.

On the idea of protectionism, the second bill signed into law by Washington was the Tariff Act of 1789, and the United States pretty much lived on tariff revenues until about 1913. During that period - except for during the civil war - the federal government probably did not consume more than about 3% of the gross national product. So there is no conflict between tariffs and small government. The only alternative to tariffs is the monstrous, intrusive, anti-conservative income tax which requires 100,000 IRS agents to go over every dime and dollar you earned, and where you got it.

You have said that the Democratic Party is "beholden to feminism" and the GOP is "in thrall to libertarian ideology and controlled by corporate interests". Are there any particularly notable individuals within either party who might be prepared to advance at least some parts of your programme?

I don't see any national figures at the moment. But the consequences of free trade are coming home to more and more people, and a reaction is growing. I do believe that many of my ideas are five years ahead of their time, or ten years ahead of their time, and among these policies is that of non-intervention in wars that are none of our business, bringing US troops home and making Americans economically self-sufficient again, by creating new manufacturing jobs. I think we're going to win on these issues. Among the general public, we won on the NAFTA debate; they did not want the GATT or to join the WTO; a majority agree with me on both legal and illegal immigration; they are not persuaded that a global or interventionist foreign policy is the way for America to go. I'm going to be right, but I may be dead - like Joe Chamberlain!

Your admiration for the writings of T.S. Eliot and James Burnham is well known. Is there a line or short verse from either of them that encapsulates everything you feel?

There is one that I use in my book. It comes from *The Hollow Men* -

*"This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang, but a whimper."*

HERITAGE

**26 YEARS
100th EDITION**



In June 1976 the first edition of Heritage rolled off the press. With its bright yellow cover with red and brown print, it looked nothing like its 100th edition.

The sixteen pages contained historical messages from notable Australian leaders such as Sir Eric Willis (then NSW Liberal Party Leader and former Premier), the Hon. Joh Bjelke-Petersen (Queensland Premier), Mr R. J. Hamer (Victorian Premier) and a special message from our first Patron, Sir Raphael Cilento.

The feature story was about how Sir John Kerr stepped into history when he withdrew the commission of the Whitlam government on 11th November 1975. The Australian Heritage Society launched a major defence of the Governor-General and received massive support from around Australia.

After 25 years of continuous publication, we are proud to repeat the editorial from our second edition (September/November 1976).

Editorial No. 2 Sept-Nov 1976

THE demand for "HERITAGE" has greatly exceeded supply and our first issue has now become something of a collector's item.



ITS publication has provided a much needed voice for opinions and aspirations not readily sought by the "popular" media. The Australian Heritage Society has by-passed the media by independently publishing its own literature thus providing refreshing and alternative views hither to unknown in the Australian "popular" press.

"HERITAGE" is the voice of true conservatism. The voice of Australian youth, the voice of wisdom born of experience. We are the custodians of priceless principles and truths entrusted to us by our forebears. Australia has developed to nationhood by the correct application of those principles and truths. But they are under increasing attack by wide-eyed idealists and subversives masquerading as "progressive thinkers."

THE Australian Heritage Society has accepted this challenge. It is proud to be one of the few organisations actively engaged in the defence of Australia's heritage. As we enter a critical stage in history we have faith that loyal Australians everywhere will also take up the challenge.

Coronation salute from on high ...

Compiled by Jeremy Lee
from "The Ascent of Everest" by John Hunt

Fifty years ago, on June 2nd 1953, the young heir to the throne whose 50th jubilee we are celebrating this year traveled from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey for her coronation.

Statesmen, servicemen, diplomats, kings and queens had traveled to Britain to join the celebrations. The uniforms of Britain's Brigade of Guards, Canada's Mounties, Australia's soldiers and many others could be seen in the great procession through the crowds.

AS if to provide an accolade to this tumultuous occasion the announcement was made by loudspeaker to crowds along the route that a British team, led by Sir John Hunt, had conquered the hitherto unconquerable, the highest mountain in the world, Mount Everest. The achievement, along with the coronation, was hailed worldwide.

The team

On September 11 1952 a joint committee of the Alpine Club and the Royal Geographical Society telegraphed Colonel John Hunt, at that time involved in military manoeuvres in Germany, inviting him to lead an expedition to climb Everest the following Spring. It was to be the latest of a number of attempts which had started in 1921. None so far had succeeded. Not a few had ended in tragedy. The loss of Irvine and Mallory in 1924, whose bodies were never recovered, had become an epic ranking with that of Scott of the Antarctic, and there had been speculation that they may have reached the summit before their disappearance. None



Members of the 1953 Everest Expedition

(Back row, L to R) T.R. Stoddart, Dr. L.G. Pugh, C.W.F. Noyce, and Dr. R.C. Evans; (Middle Row) G. Band, Dr. M.P. Ward, E.P. Hillary, T.D. Bourdillon and M.H. Westmacott; (Front Row) A. Gregory, W.G. Lowe, Colonel H.C.J. Hunt, Tenzing and Major C.G. Wylie

will ever know. An ice-axe belonging to Mallory or Irvine had been discovered not far from the Summit in 1932

The new expedition consisted of Charles Evans, a Liverpool surgeon; Tom Bourdillon, a physicist working on rocket motors; Alfred Gregory, director of a Blackpool Travel Agency; Edmund Hillary, a New Zealand bee-keeper; George Lowe, a New Zealand school teacher; Charles Wylie, an officer in the Brigade of Gurkhas; Michael Westmacott, a Rothamsted statistician; Wilfrid Noyce, a schoolmaster at Charterhouse; Michael Ward, a British doctor, and Colonel Hunt.

Preparation

The expedition was to face hazardous conditions, temperatures and heights at which effort could not be maintained without oxygen supplies. The preparation of equipment had to be meticulous. One fault or omission could prove disastrous. Once the party reached Nepal, from whence the assault would begin, they would be joined by a group of twenty specially selected Sherpas, born mountaineers from Eastern Nepal. Included amongst this group was the already famous Sherpa Tenzing, who had accompanied every Himalayan expedition since 1935.

Leaving Kathmandu on March 10 1953, the group traveled eastward some 150 miles through Nepal, reaching the village of Thyanboche some 12,000 ft above sea level, from which they got their first glimpse of the majestic Everest, some 17,000 feet above them. Here they made their base camp and embarked on three weeks of energetic training, particularly aimed at acclimatizing themselves to rarified atmospheres where oxygen



The Final Crest: The Peak of Mt Everest from the south summit

was scarce. During this time an advance party which included Hillary was working long and exhausting hours to establish Camp II at 19,400 feet. The terrain was treacherous, with massive ice fields cut by chasms, crevasses and ice cliffs. Some crevasses were so deep that bridges had to be constructed. High winds never ceased while this stage was accomplished.

Now began the enormous task of lifting supplies and equipment ever higher, to camps above 20,000 feet. By May 2nd ninety loads, with an average weight of 40 lbs, had been shifted to Camp III. Meanwhile, Evans, Bourdillon and Hunt had gone on to establish Camp IV. From here the real climbing would begin.

Footsteps to the heights

At least four more camps would be needed, between 22,000 and 26,000 feet, before the final attempt could be made. The notorious Lhotse Glacier had to be circumvented. The party had experienced trouble with their oxygen equipment and some dangerous falls, including one Sherpa who fell into a deep crevasse from which he had to be hauled by rope. Incredibly, he was frightened but unhurt.

On May 7 two Assault teams were chosen, the first consisting of Bourdillon and Evans, to be followed within 24 hours by Hillary and Tenzing. But it was to be another three weeks before the chosen teams were in a position for the final assault. Sickness and equipment failure had wrought a savage toll. First one and then another were subjected to dizziness, stomach troubles and oxygen starvation.

As Bourdillon and Evans set their sights on the summit on May 26th, conditions deteriorated immediately. Fresh snow made traveling dangerous. The valves on their oxygen canisters continually froze. Progress was painfully slow. By 1 o'clock they gained the South Peak of Everest

at 28,720 feet. Evans and Bourdillon had climbed higher on Everest by many hundreds of feet than anyone had ever climbed before. They had but another 300 feet to climb.

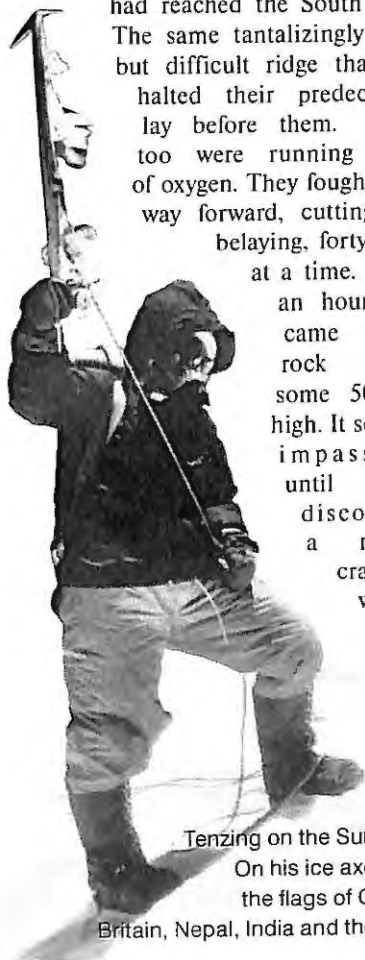
But conditions were appalling. Cloud had closed in all round them. The narrow ridge between them and their goal was marked on one side by an 8,000 ft drop; on the right an even greater drop, masked by massive overhangs of snow. Evans reckoned another three hours to the top, and a further two for the return, by which time their oxygen supplies would have long been exhausted. Reluctantly, they finally decided to return. A major fall which they only just managed to slow, showed their decision had been correct.

Second attempt

That night was, in Hillary's words, "the worst I have ever experienced". The temperature was 45 degrees below zero. The wind, which had been heavy, turned to gale force.

These conditions continued all the next two days. But on May 29th the wind ceased and all was still. By 6.30 am, Hillary and Tenzing shouldered their packs, adjusted their oxygen and set off. Conditions were sunny, and they could see the South Summit reached by Bourdillon and Evans two days before. They had to cut each step in the snow, and frequently had to change the lead. By 9 am. they had reached the South Peak.

The same tantalizingly short but difficult ridge that had halted their predecessors lay before them. They too were running short of oxygen. They fought their way forward, cutting and belaying, forty steps at a time. After an hour they came to a rock step some 50 feet high. It seemed impassable until they discovered a narrow crack, up which



Tenzing on the Summit
On his ice axe are the flags of Great Britain, Nepal, India and the UN

Hillary clawed his way using crampons. Time was passing and the ridge seemed never ending. In Hillary's words:

"I was beginning to tire a little now. I had been cutting steps continuously for two hours, and Tenzing, too, was moving very slowly. As I chipped steps around still another corner, I wondered rather dully just how long we could keep this up.

Our original zest had now quite gone and it was turning more into a grim struggle. I then realized that the ridge ahead, instead of still monotonously rising, now dropped sharply away, and far below I could see the North Col and the Rombok Glacier. I looked upwards to see a narrow snow ridge running up to a snowy summit. *A few more whacks of the ice-axe in the firm snow and we stood on top.*

Jubilation

Enormous excitement met the two after they returned exhausted and with no oxygen left. Colonel John Hunt wrote in his book:

"Devouring an omelette, draining mugfuls of his favourite lemonade drink, Ed Hillary described the events of 28th and 29th May in graphic yet simple terms, while James Morris scribbled in his book the notes for his message to the world. He, perhaps more than the rest of us at that moment, realized the faint but glorious possibility of getting the headlines home in time for the Coronation of Her Majesty the Queen."

And three days later:

"... in our mess after supper we turned on the wireless to hear the Coronation news. George Lowe tuned in to All India Radio. In the second headline of the news summary, the announcer said:

"The wonderful news broke in London



Everest from the air, showing the route taken by the climbers to reach the summit



Back at Camp IV
Hillary and Tenzing relax at Advance Base

last night that Everest has been climbed by the British Expedition"

With growing excitement and amazement we listened further. The Queen and the Prime Minister had sent telegrams of congratulation to us via the British Ambassador in Kathmandu; the news had been announced over the loudspeakers along the Coronation route; the crowds cheered; and so on. It all sounded like a fairy tale." ..."

The news, which broke on a generation steeped in the tradition of heroes and great achievements, thrilled the world. It deserves to be recorded for future generations.



THE CHALLENGE



An appeal to freedom-loving people all over the world

FOR the past three years a small group of concerned people in Britain have been carrying out extensive research into our nation's constitutional law under the guidance of leading counsel, Leolin Price CBE, QC. As a result it now seems clear that successive governments of this, the world's oldest democracy, have exceeded their parliamentary powers by entering into various treaties with the European Union. In so doing, since 1972 they have progressively surrendered our national independence and sovereignty to a foreign power, when the British people originally believed they had only consented to beneficial trade relations with the then EEC. In our view this must be unlawful because it contravenes our ancient Constitution, especially the *Bill of Rights* which is still in force today.

Our Parliament is dependent on being selected by election every five years or less. The electorate chooses the incoming administration to govern on their behalf within the constraints of the Constitution. Parliament does not, in our view, have the right to transfer its authority and responsibilities to an unaccountable and unremovable foreign power, and thereby disenfranchise the electorate. We are therefore mustering support to challenge the Government's legal powers to surrender Britain's sovereignty and self-governance, by pressing for Judicial Review in the highest courts in the land. We are asking the judiciary to declare the law, and Parliament to uphold the law of the land on all issues at home and abroad, in accordance with the Constitution.

No man, be he King or Commoner is above the law. All parliamentarians, the judiciary, the military, the police and senior civil servants, are required to swear oaths of allegiance and loyalty to the Crown. MPs' *Code of Conduct* requires them to abide by the rule of law. The Crown is still the ultimate guarantor of our freedom and independence. The sovereignty of our nation must therefore be staunchly defended by every one of us who wishes to reserve Britain's inalienable rights and liberties.

A powerful legal team has now been assembled to carry the case forward, but in order to launch proceedings within the next few weeks primary funds need to be raised immediately.

This England has pledged a sizeable sum to help promote this vital legal campaign, but we are sure that many thousands of ordinary people right across the English-speaking world will welcome the chance to take part in this new "Battle for Britain" to restore our country's freedom and sovereign independence.

All contributions, large and small, will be gratefully received. Cheques should be made payable to "**Constitutional Challenge**" and sent to *This England*, PO Box 52, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, GL50 1YO.

We look forward to your support.

ROY FAIERS (Editor), NORRIS McWHIRTER CBE, EDWARD FOX, JOHN GOURIET, JOHN BINGLEY, GEOFF SOUTHALL

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KIWIBANK



Helen Clark,
Prime Minister of New Zealand

KIWIBANK, the New Zealand return to a Government-run bank, is going great guns - but much of the Press seems bent on keeping Australians in ignorance of this.

The first branches of Kiwibank opened in February. By May 8 last, *The New Zealander*, a weekly issued in Australia for New Zealanders living here, reported strong support.

"Customers queue to join state-owned bank," said a heading.

People wanting to join the new bank were having to wait up to two weeks for an appointment to open an account, the weekly reported.

Five hundred new customers a day were signing up, and 150 branches were now operating across the country, with a further one hundred expected to open within another month, boosted by the addition of franchise holders for New Zealand Post joining the network. These agencies were in such as supermarkets, which had been negotiating fees they would charge for transactions with Kiwibank.

One such operates from a bookshop in the Christchurch suburb of Sumner, which has taken up an agency of Kiwibank and thwarted the disappearance of local banking services. A big bank had withdrawn a branch, a repetition of a practice across the Tasman that has raised an outcry in bank-battered rural towns in Australia

The chief executive, Sam Knowles, has stated that, to achieve the target of 165,000 customers by June 2005, each of some 300 proposed branches must sign up three customers weekly over the coming three years.

New Zealand lost its Post Office Savings Bank in the same privatisation spree promoted in Australia in the 1980's and '90s.

Kiwibank started with \$A63 million provided by the New Zealand Government, and Jim Bolger, former National Party leader, has been appointed its Chairman.

A 'People's Bank' for New Zealand

by Larry Noye

Hoots of derision from the private banking sector are becoming subdued as the new People's Bank attracts 500 new customers a day, New Zealanders responding enthusiastically to the new bank's promise of having overall fees 50 per cent lower than the main banks for families. Every other bank operating in New Zealand is foreign-owned, and another powerful attraction to Kiwibank is patriotism. Customers understand that Kiwibank profits will remain in New Zealand.

In November last year, Deputy Prime Minister Jim Anderton, Kiwibank's main political champion, remarked on moves by competing bank ANZ to extend its opening hours and introduce cheaper bank accounting for its customers, wondering how these previously "unaffordable" facilities were suddenly available. ANZ denied this was in response to the opening of the new bank. Other banks have also lowered fees since Kiwibank's discount rates were announced.

The new bank has decided not to charge application fees for home loans, and to provide free transactional banking to customers with home loans. The bank is offering fixed home loan rates about 0.5 per cent lower than those of the major banks, and loans up to 95 per cent of valuation - 5 per cent higher than its competitors. Children's accounts were proving popular, Mr. Knowles said, with parents often opening accounts for their children to test the bank before trusting it with their own business.

Where have we heard all this before?

A hundred years ago - give or take ten years - in the face of similar derision and opposition, championed by legendary



Jim Bolger, Kiwibank Chairman



Sam Knowles,
Kiwibank Chief Executive

parliamentarian King O'Malley and the Andrew Fisher Labor government, Australia's Commonwealth Bank was born, with a loan of £10,000 from the Government. So successful was the venture that the government loan was repaid in full within three years, and within another fifteen years the bank had generated total profits for the Government in excess of £21 million. In 1915 it alone provided cheap loans that enabled BHP to found the country's steel industry, based at Newcastle. In 1916, that bank provided finance Prime Minister Billy Hughes needed to buy merchant ships to launch a Government-run shipping line. It thwarted British shippers from loading excessive freight charges on Australian farmers. The new bank facilitated the financing of the Commonwealth Oil Refineries, the Commonwealth Woollen Mills, and the Transcontinental railway, not to mention financing Australia's First World War effort to the tune of £350,000,000.

So what happened?

What happened was that Sir Denison Miller, Governor of the Commonwealth Bank, died quite suddenly in 1923. "His death removed at a critical moment the one man capable of defending the citadel of Australian financial independence" said J.T. Lang, one time Premier of New South Wales, in his *The Great Bust! The Depression of the 30's* (Angus & Robertson 1962).

Nationalist Party leader Stanley Bruce became Prime Minister of Australia in 1923. His government had conservative views on banking and set about undermining the bank, appointing to its board directors from competing financial institutions and private business. In later years Labor's Ben Chifley wrote that "A great deal of the misery, suffering and starvation would have been avoided, . . . and probably 70 per cent of the effect of the Depression . . . removed if there had been wise financial and economic

administration." The policy change which withheld easy terms for farmers and small business had a disastrous effect on those sectors at that time.

In the 1930s, Joe Lyons' United Australia government attempted to legislate to allow private shareholding of the Commonwealth Bank. Staunch opposition from the Labor benches and public outcry forestalled the move, and further attacks on the independence of the bank were postponed.

Bob Menzies - and Howard Liberals might note this - used the Commonwealth Bank to keep private banks in check, ushering in the high employment of the 50's and 60's. Those were the days when the rural Coalition partner was allowed the Treasurership, and the Queensland rural accountant, Artie Fadden, was able to save Australian farmers from being bank-rupted!

Deregulation and Privatisation

The eroding of political will and integrity gradually increased during the following fifty years, however, culminating in outright efforts by Bob Hawke and his Treasurer Paul Keating to deregulate the banking industry and privatise the Commonwealth Bank. They succeeded finally in October 1995, when legislation was introduced for the sell-off of the last 50.1 per cent of the People's Bank.

A campaign on politicians that started with kid-glove persuasion and incentive by the private banks has now developed into straight-out intimidation. The gloves are now off. Our Prime Minister is summoned to attend banking gatherings to receive clear instructions on financial policy. He ignores such direction at his political peril.

Witness the account by the *Australian Financial Review* of June 7, 1996, reporting on the biggest gathering of international financiers ever held in Australia. Prime Minister John Howard, fresh from election victory was 'invited' to address them: "As John Howard swept into the chandeliered

banquet hall to address top executives of 100 of the world's biggest banks this week, he could not have known that a trap had been laid for him.

"The bankers, the most internationally influential audience Mr. Howard has confronted since taking office, had spent half a day discussing the price they would demand from countries round the world for bankrolling them. . . ."

The odd lone voice is heard now and again, questioning the wisdom of bank deregulation. In November last year Will Bailey, former chief executive officer of the ANZ Bank, called for an inquiry into deregulation, and for all the fundamental changes to the financial system caused by deregulation to be the subject of an audit.

"The former Commonwealth Development Bank and state-based finance corporations provided long-term, low-interest loans to agricultural-based industry and small-to-medium sized businesses," he wrote in a letter to the *Weekly Times*. "This type of facility can only be provided to the community through a government-backed institution that is not required to maximise profits for shareholders."

The Mouse that Roared

Helen Clark's government in New Zealand is taking on some extremely powerful forces. It is a long time since politicians of any nation have been game enough to call the banking bluff.

New Zealand's free-market party, ACT, has denounced the use of public funds to establish the bank, and its use of Post Office premises. There is little doubt that this embryo opposition to the bank is likely to receive the publicity so far withheld from Kiwibank's successes.

Press bias

Accounts of the New Zealand banking initiative have been conspicuous by their absence in the Australian press.

The Age, while running stories of negotiations involving airways in New



Kiwibank political champion, former Alliance Party leader Jim Anderton

Zealand, appears to have published little or nothing on Kiwibank. The opening of branches in February has been reported in very few papers. *The Financial Review* ran two brief accounts in one issue in late February.

The Economist, an English-based publication that covers economic and other international news in a comprehensive way, has dealt with the New Zealand initiative only in a meagre way. While covering an OECD report on 25 May, the paper referred to "remarkable resilience" in the New Zealand economy, but stated the report "questions some investment decisions, such as the creation of a retail bank operating through Post Offices."

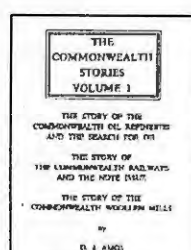
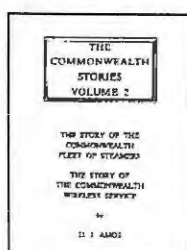
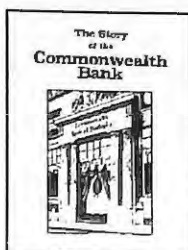
It will take a steady hand and a strong nerve to keep New Zealand's Kiwibank on track.

Helen Clark is confident of electoral support apparently, being prepared to test that support in an early election at the end of July 2002. Indications are that New Zealanders may well reward her with a majority big enough to give her the government benches without the aid of a coalition partner.

ESSENTIAL READING

THE COMMONWEALTH STORIES

by D. J. Amos



A study of events leading up to the establishment of the Commonwealth Bank and subsequent developments, provides an understanding of a vital, but comparatively little-known part of Australian history.

Volume I gives a background history to the establishment of the Commonwealth Oil Refineries, Commonwealth Railways and the Note Issue, and the Commonwealth Woollen Mills. Volume II deals with the Commonwealth Fleet of Steamers and the Commonwealth Wireless Service. Volume III deals with the formation of the Commonwealth Bank (The People's Bank) under the direction of the Fisher Government and which was officially opened in the year 1913 by Prime Minister William Morris Hughes.

For the student of economics, history and finance, a valuable insight into what Australians achieved before 'experts' were given a free rein to plan our economy.

PRICE: \$7.00 per volume, or the set of three \$16.00 posted. Available from The Australian Heritage Society

LE PEN, EUROPE AND RELIGION

ROBERT J. STOVE

contributor to Quadrant, News Weekly and National Observer

NOW that the bellows of mainstream media glee at Jean-Marie Le Pen's defeat in the French Presidential elections on 5 May have died down to mere shouts -- a decrescendo which the shock of Pim Fortuyn's murder in the Netherlands on 6 May probably rendered inevitable -- the blindingly obvious, and blindingly ugly, truth can be stated: Jacques Chirac's "victory" is about as legitimate as were the 1920s "victories" of Ku-Klux-Klan-controlled Governors in Oregon, California and Indiana. At least the Klansmen involved in those electoral rackets hid their moral cowardice behind white hoods. The "Popular Front" goon-squad that kept Chirac in power hid its own moral cowardice, instead, behind not just the usual undergraduate lumpenproletariat but high-school students. "By early afternoon", one British newspaper reported,

"most of the lycées were empty as thousands of children abandoned their classes to demonstrate . . . In Paris it would be a brave student who refused to join in."¹

When even hormone-crazed expectorating adolescents appeared briefly unable to stem the Le Pen tide, the goon-squad commandeered (believe it or not) kindergarteners: whom it inveigled, through whatever laborious varieties of child abuse, into yelling "Down with Le Pen" at mass rallies.²

We need shed few tears for Fortuyn, whose only discernible objection to mass immigration in general -- and to mass Islamic immigration in particular -- derived from fear that it might cramp his own promiscuously homosexual way of "life". Worthier of note than any political repercussions from Fortuyn's slaying (the first assassination of a Dutch political figure since William the Silent was fatally shot in 1584) will be the fall-out from France's campaign of terror and fraud. Even the Reuters news agency, seldom renowned for moral courage, admitted that the 82 per cent electoral support which Chirac ostensibly obtained had been "the most massive -- and the most hollow -- victory in modern French politics."³

The methods which confirmed Chirac's tenure in the Élysée Palace

have been made drearily familiar to us from Third World despots' ballot-box "successes": financial swindles of the most vulgar sort (dating back in Chirac's case to his 1970s tenure as Paris' mayor), and mob intimidation, without the slightest suggestion of political principle, however misguided. Had Chirac not retained on 5 May his Presidential immunity from prosecution, he would now be sitting in a none-too-comfortable gaol cell: a fact admitted even by his defenders, whose campaign slogans included "Vote for the crook, not the fascist".⁴ *Le Monde* went further, describing the choice between Le Pen and Chirac as "between the plague and cholera".⁵ What was it about Le Pen's doctrine -- and for that matter about Le Pen the individual -- which

"Had Chirac not retained on 5 May his Presidential immunity from prosecution, he would now be sitting in a none-too-comfortable gaol cell: a fact admitted even by his defenders, whose campaign slogans included "Vote for the crook, not the fascist"!"

not only inspired Chirac to pull out all the Orwellian stops, but so demoralised Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin that he committed political suicide? ("I assume responsibility for this defeat fully," Jospin announced within hours of his initial trouncing by Le Pen, "and I will draw the conclusion by retiring from politics."⁶ Thanks to Jospin's harakiri, May's poll became France's first Presidential election since 1969 where no overtly leftist candidate survived to the final round.)

To dispose of the "fascist" charge first: even parlour-pink *National Review* columnist Jonah Goldberg felt sufficiently moved by this accusation's meaninglessness to cite with approbation Orwell's 1946 dictum: "The word *Fascism* has now no meaning except in so far as it signifies 'something not desirable'."⁷ The French novelist and essayist Michel de Castillo, who -- born as he was in Madrid (1933), and growing up as he therefore did within shrieking distance of the Spanish Civil War -- might conceivably know more about real fascism than the average early-twenty-first century pundit, flatly stated that in 2002 "Fascism doesn't exist in France." When turning to the French Left's recent revival of 1930s Spanish Marxism's



Jean-Marie Le Pen

catchphrase "*No pasarán!*", Castillo drily noted:

"They shall not pass!?" But they pass every day, every hour. They are called rage, anger, heartbreak, nausea".⁸

Not least rage, anger, heartbreak and nausea at a system designed not merely to keep one trouble-making individual out of power, but to disenfranchise everyone whose political ethics dare to transcend the nihilistic sleaze inseparable from a Chirac's (or a Blair's) reign. Novelist Sophie Masson, who could not in even the most slovenly political lexicon be categorised as "Right-wing", made the point in *The Sydney Morning Herald's* letters pages on 9 May:

"... Whatever the public ego-sparings of such individualistic, even puckish characters as Fortuyn, Le Pen and co., the truth is they are very similar and come out of the same European malaise.

The terrifying thing is not so much that we are witnessing the rise of a populist Right but actually the profoundly anti-democratic reaction to it: the most revolting and hate-filled media and political establishment campaign against all of these figures, who are only expressing out loud what many people think. The recent campaign in France was shameful; when you will not debate your opponents, and consistently block every media or parliamentary avenue open to them, and consistently slander them, the result of the vote is not then endorsement of the establishment so much as banana republic politics.

As *Le Monde* put it so elegantly

in a recent editorial, 'you should not debate, but confront; you do not discuss cooking with a cannibal'. Obviously what you do is pull a gun on them and kill them. Why should people be surprised that a crazed person has acted out the *Zeitgeist*?"

"Hate-filled media and political establishment campaign[ing]": in one short phrase of Mlle Masson's we can comprehend the decisive clue to (a) what makes Le Pen run, (b) still more significantly, what makes his followers run.

He did not always have followers in any quantity. Notwithstanding his three decades' membership of the European Parliament, France's leading twenty-first-century hate-object struck his compatriots as a bad joke for most of his political career (he is now seventy-two years old). At the 1974 Presidential election -- which witnessed Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's photo-finish defeat of François Mitterrand -- only one French voter in a hundred cast his ballot in Le Pen's favour. Seven years afterwards, when Mitterrand paid Giscard back in kind, Le Pen refrained even from entering the race: this despite almost a decade of stagflation and mass unemployment (or what seemed like mass unemployment at the time) which afflicted France even more severely than most of Continental Europe, though less severely than Britain. Not till the mid-1980s -- when the combined effects of intractable double-figure joblessness, Communist pressure on Mitterrand, and barely controlled Muslim immigration had reshaped the political landscape -- did voters view Le Pen in a sympathetic light; but once they arrived, they arrived in droves. When Mitterrand sought a second Presidential term in 1988, capitalising on the fact that Chirac's two-year Prime Ministry (1986-88) had achieved precisely zero towards repairing anti-Socialist fortunes, Le Pen picked up a healthy 14.4 per cent of the vote. In 1995, with Mitterrand on his death-bed -- and with Chirac and Jospin the main Presidential candidates -- Le Pen did still better: 15 per cent. And so to April 2002's boil-over, with Le Pen scoring 17.1 per cent, Chirac scraping through with 19.6 per cent, and the hapless Jospin's hopes of participating

in the run-off dashed when he managed less than 16 per cent.

Enough hard data have accumulated from reportage of all Le Pen's Presidential contests to indicate what he stands for and, simultaneously, what he has never stood for. To *The Spectator*'s John Laughland he made the -- not wholly trivial -- point that during the 1940s, while still in his teens, "I took my father's revolver and joined the Resistance. I'm not saying I was a great hero. But what little I did was on the right side."⁹ The disparity between this youthful enthusiasm and leftist establishmentarians' practical (as distinct from theoretical) wartime activities, while it escaped the average uneducated British reader, clearly registered in France itself: since not only

"The terrifying thing is not so much that we are witnessing the rise of a populist Right but actually the profoundly anti-democratic reaction to it: the most revolting and hate-filled media and political establishment campaign against all of these figures, who are only expressing out loud what many people think. The recent campaign in France was shameful; when you will not debate your opponents, and consistently block every media or parliamentary avenue open to them, and consistently slander them, the result of the vote is not then endorsement of the establishment so much as banana republic politics"

did Mitterrand spend most of the war years in Marshal Pétain's pocket, but the Stalinist hoodlum Georges Marchais -- who from 1972 to 1994 ran the French Communist Party as his personal hacienda -- eschewed mere Vichyite *attentisme* in favour of willingly working for the Luftwaffe.¹⁰

Le Pen's admission, at the very least, complicates the world-view of those determined to interpret him as some sort of goose-stepping *Gauleiter*. Even if we over-generously conclude that the term "anti-Semitism" retains any more meaning than "fascism", none of Le Pen's traducers -- however frenzied -- has unearthed the smallest evidence indicating advocacy on Le Pen's part of violence against any Jews whatsoever, let alone against devout Jews who wish only to live in peace. (From the gutter-mouthed Jew-baiting through which black Americans, notably Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton, continue to make profitable careers,¹¹ Le Pen's utterances have been singularly free.) At the same time, Le Pen's historical literacy -- which enabled him, on 1 May

before an audience numbering more than 100,000, to cram his discourse with the most elaborate references to France's fifteenth-century king Charles VII -- is incompatible with Anglo-Saxon mealy-mouthedness as to the ethnic origins of Marx, Engels, Central and Eastern European Communist Parties (whether Russian, German or Hungarian), American feminist hatreds, or the cultural splendours of present-day Hollywood.¹² When Israeli columnist Ari Shavit painstakingly explained to *New York Times* readers on 27 May 1996 that the latest round of Middle Eastern butcheries had arisen because "now, with the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in our hands, the lives of others do not count as much as our own",¹³ a few American readers might have felt surprise. Le Pen did not. Nor, it must be said, did Norman Podhoretz -- hardly most people's idea of an Israelophobe -- who, less than a year beforehand, had conceded in print the anti-Christian racial animus fuelling his country's mass entertainment, the American Civil Liberties Union, and pro-pomography activism.¹⁴

It is too early to say whether Le Pen will again contest the Presidency. (He remains almost a decade younger, be it noted, than was De Gaulle during his last political campaign.) The parliamentary elections' outcome on 9 June greatly disappointed his followers: his party's vote slumped to 11.1 per cent.¹⁵ Yet what no-one with the slightest knowledge of French administrative life disputes is the core of hard, outspoken and self-motivated cultural -- as well as narrowly electoral -- support from which either Le Pen himself, or his successor,



Pim Fortuyn, leader of the Livable Netherlands Party, murdered on 6th May 2002

will benefit the next time around.

In early 1999 psephologists viewed Le Pen and the *Front National* itself as beyond political redemption; Le Pen's younger rival Bruno Mégret had lately split the party in two, his own sector taking the name *FN-Mouvement National*.¹⁶ The severance, considered in the short term so disastrous for Le Pen's fortunes, worked in the long term to Le Pen's positive advantage. Most of the French intelligentsia who either campaigned for, or at any rate sympathised with, Le Pen's policies stayed with Le Pen himself. Mégret sheared off from Le Pen's faction a disproportionate number of spin-doctors and other such slaves to public-relations idolatry. By spin-doctoring's very nature these apparatchiks had, and could have, no supra-personal convictions to sustain them (especially when they realised the extent to which every time Mégret's wife Catherine sneezed, Mégret himself caught cold). Le Pen and his cohorts do have such convictions; and a vital element in Le Pen's bloc, one infallibly ignored by the clowns who pass in Australia for political commentators,¹⁷ has every reason in mid-2002 to reflect upon Lenin's epigram "the worse, the better".

That element is Le Pen's following among traditional Catholics, both within France itself and outside it. For forty years - and particularly since 1969 - Rome's officialdom has mocked these Catholics, marginalised them, and generally treated them like lepers because of their unflinching allegiance to the Latin Mass. The Second Vatican Council and its apologists yapped without cease about the joys of appeasing Communism, paganism and Islam; this much-vaunted "tolerance" nonetheless stopped well short of tolerating those whose sole crime had been fidelity to the dogmas and liturgical rites of the previous 1,900 years. In every aspect of religious life we can behold the actual, rather than putative, fruits from "the spirit of Vatican II": empty seminaries and convents; contraception and abortion rates as high among *soi-disant* Catholics as among non-Catholics; "Catholic education" systems which achieve the remarkable feat - long deemed impossible - of matching, and often outdoing, the very worst public-sector hovels in their intellectual emptiness and moral

corruption. All this is, however, old news. The crucial factor nowadays (exactly four decades, with hideous appropriateness, after the Council started to unleash its ideological poison on the world) is the publicly acknowledged fact that post-Conciliar Catholic hierarchies exist principally as a dumping-ground for pederasts.

Even if some of the resultant outrages could yet turn out to be malicious fabrications after the manner of *A Rock and a Hard Place* - that allegedly accurate and indubitably tear-jerking memoir of child exploitation, which *The New Yorker*, on 26 November 2001, exposed as a shameless literary hoax - the bulk of them cannot be gainsaid; and the only persons attempting to gainsay them (half-heartedly at that) are those on post-Conciliar payrolls. Conversely, from such scandals traditional Catholicism - save

"The great line of demarcation in modern politics . . . is not a division between liberals on one side and totalitarians on the other. No, on one side of that line are all those men and women who fancy that the temporal order is the only order, and that material needs are their only needs, and that they may do as they like with the human patrimony. On the other side of that line are all those people who recognise an enduring moral order in the universe."

Russell Kirk (1918-94)

for one exceptionally repellent instance of sacerdotal sex which cropped up in the Latin-Mass-offering Society of St John¹⁸ - has been free.

Describing the Vatican's ludicrous attempts at damage-control, American Catholic journalist Christopher Ferrara has defined in the most vigorous fashion what is at stake if Catholicism as an institution (rather than as a mere occasion for Hibernian football-team-style tribalism *à la* Thomas Keneally) hopes to survive the whole paedophilia nightmare:

The wisdom of the Holy Father, then, was to leave the matter right where it had been before the Roman luncheon: in the laps of the same feckless hierarchs who have presided over the scandal and tried to cover it up for decades. The Pope would not even mandate the token gesture of an apostolic visitation of American seminaries . . . Besides withholding our support from the rapidly collapsing *Novus Ordo*,

what else can we do as we await the return of Tradition? We can, and must, support the existing traditionalist orders.¹⁹

A brilliant American political philosopher, Russell Kirk (1918-94), expressed fifteen years back - in less overtly Christian terms than Ferrara but in comparably trenchant language - the unbridgeable abyss (at least as manifest within ecclesial structures as outside them) between what St Augustine called the City of God and the City of Man:

The great line of demarcation in modern politics . . . is not a division between liberals on one side and totalitarians on the other. No, on one side of that line are all those men and women who fancy that the temporal order is the only order, and that material needs are their only needs, and that they may do as they like with the human patrimony. On the other side of that line are all those people who recognise an enduring moral order in the universe.²⁰

Jean-Marie Le Pen knows all this. His adherents know all this. Americans capable of thinking about the matter for five consecutive minutes know all this. One day the boneless and primarily godless wonders of contemporary Australian "Right-wing" thought - the Gerard Hendersons, the Mark Lathams, the Roger Sandalls, the Frank Devines and, let it be said with sorrow, the Greg Sheridans - will learn it too. The sole questions are, how and when?

¹ Philip Delves Broughton, "Children In Protests As Le Pen Claims Plot", *The Daily Telegraph* [UK], 30 April 2002.

² Harry de Quetteville, "Anti-Fascist Slogans Unite the Crowds in Paris", *The Daily Telegraph* [UK], 2 May 2002.

³ Tom Heneghen, "Chirac Scores Huge But Hollow Victory", *Reuters*, 6 May 2002.

⁴ Richard Z. Chesnoff, "Now, France's Real Work Begins", *Jewish World Review*, 7 May 2002.

⁵ Constance Baudry, "Mobilisez-Vous", *Le Monde*, 22 April 2002.

⁶ Philip Delves Broughton, "Le Pen's Poll Triumph Rocks France", *The Daily Telegraph* [UK], 22 April 2002.

⁷ Jonah Goldberg, "Le Pen Fever", *National Review Online*, 26 April 2002.

⁸ Michel de Castillo, "Le Pen. C'est Une Démission Collective", *Le Monde*, 26 April 2002.

⁹ John Laughland, "Why Does Everybody Hate Me?", *The Spectator*, 27 April 2002, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West* (Allen Lane, London, 1999), pp. 392-397; Pierre Lorrain, "Requiescat in PC", *Le Spectacle du Monde*, December 1997, p. 34.

¹¹ Eric Fettman, "Black Anti-Semitism: It's Real", *The New York Post*, 10 November 1999.

¹² Eric Margolis, "France's Wild Ride to Choose a President", *The Toronto Sun*, 28 April 2002.

¹³ Joseph Sobran, "In Our Hands", *The Wanderer*, 17 June 1996, p. 18.

¹⁴ Norman Podhoretz, "In The Matter of Pat Robertson", *Commentary*, August 1995, pp. 27-32.

¹⁵ Agence France-Presse, "L'Extrême Droite Pourrait N'Avoir Aucun Député", *Le Figaro*, 10 June 2002.

¹⁶ Claude Girard, "Le Bateau Ivre", *Monde et Vie*, 24 December 1998, p. 3; Pierre de Villemarest, "D'un Front L'Autre: Bruno Mégret, Président du FN-Mouvement National", *Monde et Vie*, 28

January 1999, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Vide*, e.g., Peter Fray, "Sharp Right", *The Age (Insight)*, 27 April 2002, pp. 1-2; this monument to Fourth Estate misinterpretation accuses Europeans of harbouring "a largely illogical [sic!] fear of Arabs and Muslims".

¹⁸ Michael Chapman, "The Seduction of the Society of St John", *Roman Catholic Faithful*, 10 May 2002.

¹⁹ Christopher A. Ferrara, "Pulling the Plug", *The Remnant*, 15 May 2002.

²⁰ Russell Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles", *IPA Review*, August-October 1987, pp. 37-41.

Irritating Experience!

Pulex Irritans

This is the Latin name for the homely English flea. Those who are fond of French phrases may call him *pousse-pour-tous*. His love of dirt and darkness suggests that he is not a person of culture, but he has his luxurious side, being also fond of warmth, cosiness and quiet situations. Though a great believer in indoor exercise, he is no fresh air fiend. If you keep your windows and doors wide open and lie on your bed quite naked in a thorough draught, he will keep away from you all night, but he will not accept any responsibility for any inconvenience caused to you by such arrangements. Long ago he paid us the compliment of giving up his wings in order to cultivate our society and that of other mammals. His athletic powers, which attracted the attention of Socrates, are very considerable. It is true that he can jump into the air to a height sixty-four times his length, his record on the level being two hundred times his length; but these figures become less impressive if we remember his length is only about one-sixteenth of an inch and that of his wife (truly his "better half") one-tenth of an inch. As a race the *P.I.* are highly intelligent, and our grandparents often paid sixpence to see one of their teams drawing a dainty coach. They are nimble folk and make very lively companions, but it is a mistake to cultivate their society, as they have been known to abuse human hospitality in a distressing manner, causing the most pain to those with whom they are most familiar. There is nothing *P.I.* likes better (after meals) than a game of hide-and-seek, and he seldom gives in until he is compelled to rest by pressure from a piece of soap. The average life of the *P.I.* is only about five weeks; but he lives merrily, if not long.



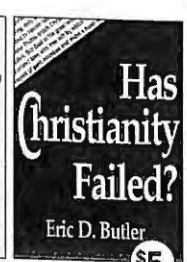
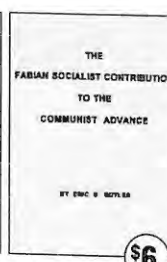
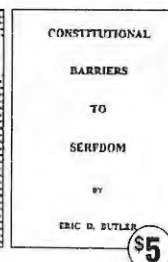
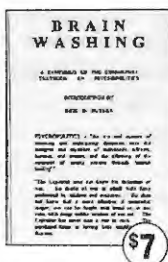
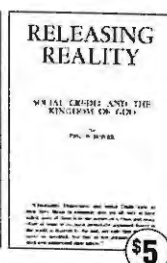
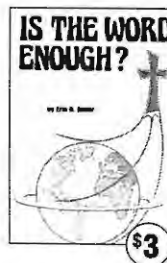
Arthur Stanley, in *The Bedside Book* (1932)



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THE GOLDEN JUBILEE ADDRESS

given by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth at
the Adelaide Festival Hall, February 2002

PRIME Minister, Premier, Mr. Crean, Mr. Rann, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Thank you for your kind words. I am pleased to return again to South Australia. Prince Philip and I are grateful to all South Australians for your warm welcome today.

This is my fourteenth visit to Australia over the fifty years since my accession. During that time I have witnessed a steady and remarkable evolution in the character of Australia and its people. There has been a growing confidence; an increasingly global outlook; a recognition of the distinctive contribution of indigenous Australians; and the natural realisation that Australians can take on the best in the world and excel, whether in the arts, sport, military activity, intellectual endeavour, or business.

EXCEPTIONAL PLACE

Australia long ago came of age. Last year I joined with all Australians in experiencing a sense of pride that, one hundred years earlier, through a free vote of its people, the citizens of six separate colonies chose to put aside parochial difference - instead pledging forever to uphold common values, to accept prosperity and adversity alike, and to share a single destiny. Such a peaceful assumption of national sovereignty is sadly rare in history, and this alone would have marked Australia out as an exceptional place.

But since then, and especially in the two years since I was last in Australia, you have demonstrated to the world that you retain the values so apparent all those years ago. The Sydney Olympics, now perhaps simply a memory here, still resonate around the world as one of the greatest sporting occasions ever - achieved through determination, professionalism, and warm hospitality.

The courage and commitment of Australian service personnel in the fight against international terrorism is widely recognised. They seek to defend this nation, and indeed all nations, from attacks against the democratic values and freedoms on which Australia rightly prides itself. We all pray for their safe and speedy return.

SPIRIT OF AUSTRALIA

The remarkable efforts of firefighters, many of them volunteers, in the devastating New South Wales bushfires over Christmas also reflect the true spirit of Australia. I can only express my deep admiration of all those who so selflessly answered the call to help their fellow Australians.

Across the world, Australians are known for their creative energy. This may not need saying here where the Adelaide Festival opens this week. Your film and theatre industry, your many artists and authors are world class. Many of their successes are seen in the full glare of media attention. But others contribute to Australia's reputation in less obvious ways. Australian farmers grow and export some of the finest produce available anywhere on earth, including the great wines of South Australia. Local medical researchers find new ways to preserve or enhance life. There is a constant stream of innovation and invention, and all this contributes to the high regard in which Australia is held around the globe.

Nowhere is that respect higher than within the membership of the Commonwealth. Over this weekend the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting will be held in Coolom. The discussions will be guided by principles which remain at the heart of this great community of nations. And those principles reflect the ideals by which this country strives to live.

The Commonwealth is underpinned by the conviction that cultural difference can be transcended by a shared belief in higher ideals: the dignity of every individual and the

right of each of them to determine the course of their own lives, unfettered by discrimination or disadvantage. That too is a conviction which drives this country: a respect for diversity, and a recognition of the contribution of those from all backgrounds who have helped build this nation.

Within the Commonwealth, too, no one nation stands above another. The leaders of India and Swaziland, of Dominica and New Zealand have the same weight at the same table. Bound by common ideals, all are accepted. So too an enduring quality of Australian society is its egalitarianism: all are fundamentally equal.

And the Commonwealth, like the Commonwealth of Australia, has evolved. What was once a handful of countries united by their former dependence on the United Kingdom has become a multicultural international body focussing on good governance, development, the digital divide, and the issues confronting the smallest of nations.

As Queen of Australia, under your constitution, and as Head of the Commonwealth, I look forward to the coming few days here. I look around tonight and I am aware both of my responsibilities, and of the pleasure those responsibilities bring.

SERVING AUSTRALIA

And in this Golden Jubilee year, I cannot but reflect on the extraordinary opportunity I have been given to serve the people of this great country. The way Australia evolves over the next fifty years is in your hands. For myself, I thank all Australians, those here today and throughout the country, for your encouragement and support, your strength and wisdom, your honesty and good humour, all of which have sustained me and enriched my life. Whatever may lie ahead, I declare again here tonight that my admiration, affection and regard for the people of Australia will remain, as it has been over these past fifty years, constant, sure and true.

ENGLAND AS SEEN BY FOREIGNERS IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I

I. A Dutch Physician, 1560

AT MY FIRST arrival at Dover, and so along my journey toward London, which I dispatched partly upon horseback and partly by water, I saw and noted many things able to ravish and allure any man in the world, with desire to travel and see that so noble a country. Frankly to utter what I think of the incredible courtesy and friendliness in speech and affability used in this famous realm, I must needs confess it doth surmount and carry away the prick and price of all others. And beside this, the neat cleanliness, the exquisite fineness, the pleasant and delightful furniture in every point for household, wonderfully rejoiced me; their chambers and parlours strawed over with sweet herbs refreshed me; their nosegays finely intermingled with sundry sorts of fragrant flowers in their bedchambers and privy rooms, with comfortable smell cheered me up and entirely delighted all my senses. And this do I think to be the cause that Englishmen, living by such wholesome and exquisite meat, and in so wholesome and healthful air be so fresh and clean coloured: their faces, eyes and countenance carrying with it and representing a portly grace and comeliness, giveth out evident tokens of an honest mind; in language very smooth and allactive, but yet seasoned and tempered within the limits and bonds of moderation, not bombasted with any unseemly terms or enforced with any clawing flatteries or allurements. At their tables although they be very sumptuous, and love to have good fare, yet neither use they to overcharge themselves with excess of drink, neither thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drink in such measure as best pleaseth himself, which drink being either Ale or Beer, most pleasant in taste and wholesomely relished, they fetch not from foreign places, but have it among themselves brewed. As touching their populous and great haunted cities, the fruitfulness of their ground and soil, their lively springs and mighty rivers, their great herds and flocks of cattle, their mysteries and art of weaving and cloth-making, their skilfulness in shooting, it is needless here to discourse - seeing the multitude of merchants exercising the traffic and art of merchandise among them, and ambassadors also sent thither from foreign Princes, are able abundantly to testify that nothing needful and expedient for man's use and commodity lacketh in that most noble island.

LEVINUS LEMNIUS
(from *The Touchstone of Complexions*)

II. An Antwerp Merchant, 1575

The people are bold, courageous, ardent, and cruel in war, fiery in attack and having little fear of death: they are not vindictive,

but very inconstant, rash, vain-glorious, light, and deceiving, and very suspicious, especially of foreigners, whom they despise. They are full of courtly and affected manners and words, which they take for gentility, civility, and wisdom. They are eloquent and very hospitable; they feed well and delicately, and eat a great deal of meat; and as the Germans pass the bounds of sobriety in drinking, these do the same in eating, for which the fertility of the country affords them sufficient means, although in general the fruits have not such strength and virtue as in France or the Netherlands for the want of hot sun. Even the grass, as the herbalists say, is not so nourishing, whereby the meat is in consequence softer and not so firm, although they have a great abundance of it; but it is well-tasted enough.

The people are not so laborious and industrious as the Netherlanders or French, and the most toilsome, difficult, and skilful works are chiefly performed by foreigners as among the idle Spaniards. They have a great many sheep which bear fine wool, of which for these 200 years they have learnt to make fine cloth. They keep many lazy servants, and also many wild animals for their pleasure, rather than trouble themselves to cultivate the land. The island which they inhabit is very large, and abounds with fish; they have likewise the best harbours in Christendom. They are also rich in ships; nevertheless they do not catch as many fish as they require, so that they are obliged to buy more from their neighbours; but they do catch a great quantity of herrings, of which they send away every year more than five or six hundred lasts to Italy and elsewhere. . .

Although the women there are entirely in the power of their husbands except for their lives, yet they are not kept so strictly as they are in Spain or elsewhere . . . They are well-dressed, fond of taking it easy, and commonly leave the care of household matters and drudgery to their servants. They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by . . . The rest of their time they employ in walking and riding, in playing at cards or otherwise, in visiting their friends and keeping company, conversing with their equals (whom they term *gosseps*) and their neighbours, and making merry with them at child-births, christenings, churchings, and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom.

The women are beautiful, fair, well-dressed and modest, which is seen there more than elsewhere, as they go about the streets without any covering either of huke or mantle, hood, veil, or the like. Married women only wear a hat both in the street and in the house: those unmarried go without a hat, although ladies of distinction have lately

learnt to cover their faces with silken masks or vizards, and feathers, - for indeed they change very easily, and that every year, to the astonishment of many.

EMANUEL VAN METEREN
(from *History of the Netherlands*)

III. A Brandenburg Lawyer, 1598

The soil is fruitful and abounds with cattle, which inclines the inhabitants rather to feeding than ploughing, so that near a third part of the land is left uncultivated for grazing. The climate is most temperate at all times, and the air never heavy, consequently maladies are scarcer, and less physic is used there than anywhere else. . . The general drink is ale, which is prepared from barley, and is excellently well tasted, but strong and what soon fuddles. . .

The English are serious like the Germans, lovers of show; followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their masters' arms in silver fastened to their left arms, and are not undeservedly ridiculed for wearing tails hanging down their backs. They excel in dancing and music, for they are active and lively, though of a thicker make than the French; they cut their hair close on the middle of the head, letting it grow on either side; they are good sailors and better pirates, cunning, treacherous, and thievish; above 300 are said to be hanged annually at London; beheading with them is less infamous than hanging; they give the wall as the place of honour: hawking is the common sport with the gentry. They are more polite in eating than the French, consuming less bread but more meat, which they roast in perfection; they put a great deal of sugar in their drink; their beds are covered with tapestry, even those of farmers; they are often molested with the scurvy, said to have first crept into England with the Norman Conquest; their houses are commonly of two stories, except in London, where they are of three and four, though but seldom of four; they are built of wood, those of the richer sort with bricks, their roofs are low, and where the owner has money, covered with lead. They are powerful in the field, successful against their enemies, impatient of anything like slavery; vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that in London it is common for a number of them that have got a glass in their heads to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise. If they see a foreigner very well made, or particularly handsome, they will say, "It is a pity he is not an Englishman."

PAUL HENTZNER
(from *Itinerary of Travels in England, etc.*)

Who Remembers Arthur Mee ?

Compiled by Jeremy Lee from *Child of Wonder; An intimate biography of Arthur Mee*, by Sir John Hammerton

In these days of modern printing and world-wide publishing, the 'block-buster' is common-place. A phenomenon such as A.K. Rowling's Harry Potter series can be promoted in 100,000 bookshops in 100 countries on the same day. The digital camera and printing machine have placed 'instant information' in the brightest colours and the most amazing formats at the disposal of every child who goes to school.

THE modern generation has never heard of the once-renowned "Childrens' Encyclopaedia" which astounded readers at the start of the Nineteenth Century. Yet its fame once spanned the English-speaking world and, judging by the number that can still be found on bookshelves in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States as well as Britain itself, it may be 'gone but not forgotten'.

WHO WAS ARTHUR MEE?

The second in a family of ten, Arthur Mee was born in 1875 in the village of Stapleford, a few miles south of Nottingham. His father was an engineer and a deacon in the local Baptist Church.

At the age of 14, with a sound education in the three "Rs" behind him, Arthur Mee started at the lowly position of copy-holder at The Nottingham Evening Post in 1889. His job was to read handwritten copy to the compositor who made up lead type for printing, working a seven-day week. Under the terms for the indenture of his apprenticeship (to be enforced by his father) the young boy bound himself "not to gamble, drink, waste his employer's time, not enter the state of matrimony"! At the end of his four-year term his pay had increased to sixteen shillings a week.

Such was his talent and proficiency that in his 21st year (1895) he was appointed editor of the Nottingham Evening News, for the princely sum of less than 2 pounds a week. His personal philosophy, written at the age of 20 years and a day, indicated the ideals he was to pursue throughout his life:

"And it is your proud heritage today, young man, as you stand on the verge of a new career, with the world before you, that you have a share in the building up of the new world. You are only one, but the world is a vast collection of ones, and it is astonishing how soon the little one with God on his side becomes a thousand. A small host of noble men has often become a great nation. And, depend upon it, it is a simple truth that you cannot exaggerate the power of a single man with



Arthur Mee, 1916

a great purpose. Nothing is so contagious as real, thorough, honest Christianity. Let your resolve be to be right, and strong, and thorough in all that you do. Let the dominant purpose of your life be to make the world better for your living in it. Guided by that purpose, upheld by faith in eternal right, when at last your death-day comes you will look back on this birthday without a regret."

BRANCHING OUT

In 1897 he married Amelia (Amy) Fratson, a Yorkshire girl from East Collingham, and decided to try his fortune in London. Here he wrote various columns before being offered the editorship of "Black and White", a 6d. illustrated weekly, which he took in addition to his freelance columns. From here he moved to the famous Daily Mail.

In 1905 Sir Alfred Harmsworth, who had started the "Harmsworth Encyclopaedia", invited Mee to take charge of a new and bigger project, "The Harmsworth Self-Educator" which was to be a fortnightly publication averaging 136 pages, each containing 100,000 words as well as hundreds of pictures and diagrams. By the middle of 1906 the gigantic operation, involving its own considerable staff and the gathering of a wide range of technical advice, had become a sensational success. Mee himself, through widespread advertising for the publication, had become known

to millions. Sir Alfred Harmsworth, now Lord Northcliffe, was immensely gratified. The project was expanded into "Harmsworth's History of the World" - described by Arthur Mee as "ten thousand pictures covering ten thousand years".

GROUNDWORK

All this was, it seems, groundwork for Arthur Mee's *opus magnum*, "The Children's Encyclopaedia", which started as a fortnightly serial on March 17, 1908. Against many misgivings, including those of Lord Northcliffe, the project turned into a publishing phenomenon, copied later in the century by such giants as Time, Life, Harper-Collins and Funk and Wagnalls.

Originally designed to appear in 50 parts, "The Children's Encyclopaedia" was a success from the very start. It became necessary to reprint the first parts time and time again, as thousands of new readers from all over the world subscribed.

The last part, No. 50, appeared on February 1, 1910, but well before then the Educational Book Company, a subsidiary of the Amalgamated Press, had begun publishing the set in volume form, selling completed volumes by the thousand, with orders for the whole set of eight rapidly mounting.



First published in 1908



Arthur Mee, 1897

Sir John Hammerton, Mee's biographer, wrote in 1946:

"... I calculate that their total sales to date throughout the Empire in terms of volumes amount to 5,380,000, and this, considering that each volume is sold at an average price of about fifteen shillings, means 'business' beyond the dreams of most book publishing firms in Britain. But in addition to these volume sales, some hundreds of thousands of complete sets would be bound by the subscribers to the two serial

issues, amounting to probably another 1,500,000 volumes!"

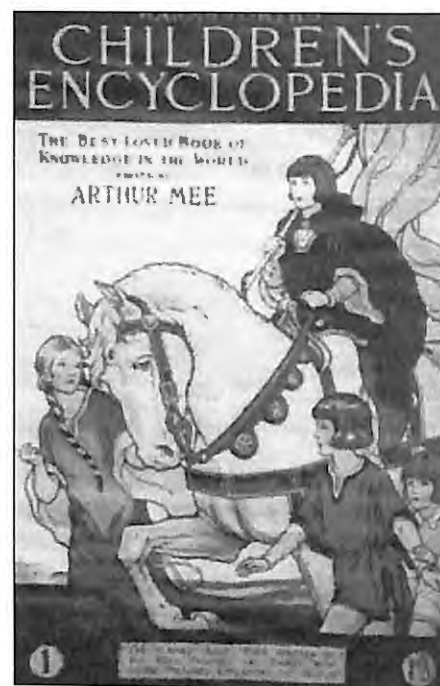
But this was not the end. An astute American publisher, Walter M. Jackson, secured the rights to publish a US edition, under the title "The Book of Knowledge". Publication started in 1910, and was still going in 1946, having sold 3,500,000 sets of the complete Encyclopaedia. With 15 volumes per set, this comes to the astounding figure of 52,500,000 single volumes.

The whole set was subsequently to be published in French, Italian, Spanish and, by 1927, Chinese!

OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR

Much more could be written about the gentle writer from Lincolnshire. His output was prodigious, nearly all reflecting practical Christianity and the English way of life. Included was a Children's Bible, a Children's Life of Jesus, and a Children's Shakespeare. Between 1936 and 1945 he produced "A King's England" – a new Domesday Book of 10,000 Towns and Villages.

When he died, just as World War II was coming to an end, messages poured in by the thousands from all over the world – from national leaders and ordinary folk. Perhaps one, from a school principal in

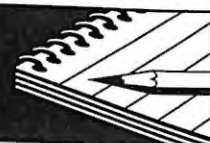


The enlarged and improved serial issue (1922-25) when the diphthong æ was discontinued in favour of 'Enclopediæ'

the Victorian town of Ararat, is a fitting summary:

"... Our school mourned for Arthur Mee, for we knew we had lost our great leader and teacher. We kept the flag at half-mast for a whole week..."

Letters to the Editor



Dear Editor,

I always look forward to my latest "Heritage", No. 99, 2002 was splendid again.

Re. "On The Anvil" By Mr. Nigel Jackson, I am not surprised his letter did not get printed in "The Australian"!

The media is most biased when it comes to "the truth". They don't stick up for our political system, nor the splendour of our first Royal Golden Jubilee celebrations! This is too much to have to endure for an elitist republican, and their movement.

Yours sincerely,

Edith I. Knight,
Montmorency,
Vic. 3094.

Dear Editor,

Members might wish to buy the 45¢ Queen Elizabeth Golden Jubilee 2002 stamp, from Post Offices and The Australian Philatelic Bureau, Reply Paid 4000, PO Box 4000, Ferntree Gully, Victoria 3156.

Minimum order \$10 if paid by credit card. Available from APB until 28 February 2003 or earlier if sold out.

Every year I use the Queen's Birthday stamp for my mail but in 2002 we have the Golden Jubilee stamp.

Yours sincerely,

James F. Hutcheon,
Cooma, NSW 2630.



Letters to the Editor



ON ACTIVE SERVICE WITH ERIC BUTLER

by Neil McDonald
(ex-VX 86482 A.I.F.)

Fascinating - inspiring - the appreciation of Eric D. Butler, and Elma, with tributes from Nigel Jackson and Jeremy Lee in recent Heritage No. 98.

During wartime I had the opportunity of sharing a canvas tent in the tropics. In 1942, we were both young army sergeants in charge of giant 3.7 inch anti-aircraft guns - soldiers sent to pioneer and establish a sturdy base on Horn Island in the Torres Strait, between Cape York and New Guinea.

Four Aussies, Eric, Alan, Ken and I spread blankets on stony ground, then raked from a broken ant hill. Almost immediately, Eric showed us that there is no guarantee of real equality. He grabbed half of the tent space and set up a primitive "office" desk - a wooden upturned crate with a smaller box for a chair. He positioned our sole hurricane lamp and reduced our living space. We were still much more fortunate than lower ranks, crammed from six to eight occupants of other tents.

Our first task was to physically dig and build large gun emplacements. Working two shifts every day, we swung picks and shovels and dragged a sole wheelbarrow up an inclined plank to slowly dig from stubborn, rocky soil a set of four holes - each the size of a double garage and almost as deep. Later, came extras, ammunition shelters and the pouring of reinforced concrete. When the guns were installed, training and practice began. It was often a long day before the comfort of our tents. Also, frequent night "call outs" to follow searchlights and curse mosquitoes.

There had been air raids and strafing, but by 1943 the war moved away and our life became easier. Some soldiers played cricket or went by lugger ferry to a movie picture show at Thursday Island.

Others played cards, wrote letters or practiced parts for an approaching concert.

Eric was often busy, writing until late night when invaders - moths, mosquitoes and other insects crashed into the glow of the hurricane lamp.

All letters were censored - with Eric's the most difficult. His writing is quick and erratic, but down on a farm in Victoria his wife, Elma, had a regular task to interpret and type a succession of stories to a very young Victoria journal - the New Times.

I built a bunk bed and often lay relaxed to wonder what Eric was writing about? He told me a little about Social Credit and its prime exponent, Major C.H. Douglas. Elma Butler posted up several of Eric's published stories. I knew he saw much deeper than others and had the energy to record it. Eric mentioned things over my head. The principles of democracy - the increment of association - the hidden Controllers.

"Why are we at war?" I wondered. "Who organised it?" "Somewhere is a stream of unexplained answers?" I would switch my mind off and write different thoughts to family and girl friend. Then, "What will happen after the war?" And, "Will a military victory bring an economic victory? Will the war victor win the peace?"

One night I asked Eric to nominate one or two books which may be to personal advantage. He suggested a series, written by a Social Crediter, C. Barclay-Smith. I posted a small portion of my army pay and received a package which would still be a favourite selection if stranded on a desert island. There are ten hardcover books - each a fountain of knowledge. (1) Get more out of life, (2) Use your leisure time, (3) Good health for all, (4) How to master fear, (5) The power of words, (6) The conquest of success, (7) What books shall I read? (8) Your guide to music, (9) Science made simple, (10) The art of being happy.

C. Barclay-Smith later became editor of The New Era, which had a large circulation in New South Wales. I met him once at a Melbourne New Times dinner. With modesty, he quoted the words of Coleridge: "I have gathered a garland of other men's flowers and nothing but the string that binds them together is my own."

After the war, I married and raised a small family. I kept in touch with Eric and Elma Butler - privileged to be invited to their home in outer Melbourne. I have been able to observe their rapport and dedication over many years. For sheer energy, both

are supreme. Eric could edit three journals, speak two or three times weekly, visit interstate and overseas. Elma would drive off before dawn to the Melbourne office. Eric would be writing and typing deadlines - often until well after midnight.

Both deserve the leisure they have earned.

I have a large collection of Eric's books and subscribe to The New Times and On Target. Following their footsteps is a journey into reality.

Memories of the Butlers, bring joy and a song of comfort.....

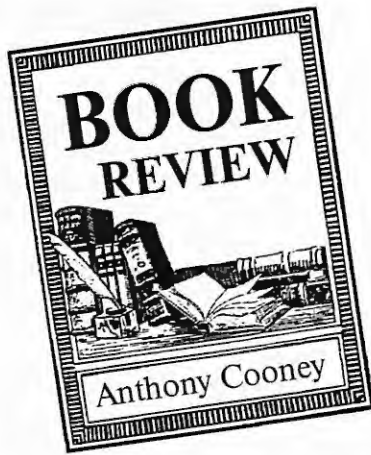
*And when he sings to you, though
you're deep in blue,
You will see a ray of light creep through
And so remember this,
Life is no abyss.
Somewhere there's a Bluebird
of Happiness.*



Eric Butler,
34th Heavy Anti-Aircraft Battery, 1942



Eric Butler, Alan Boucher, Neil McDonald,
Ken Spillane, Leo Webb - Horn Island 1942



Jane Austen

"Jane Austen", Carol Shields, papers 177 pages with index,
Phoenix, £6.99, ISBN 0-75381-256-8

THE biographies and studies of Jane Austen, beginning with her nephew's memoir are without number, so why another? Carol Shield's newly published work, entitled simply "Jane Austen," does not add any new facts to what is already known of Jane Austen's life, and indeed handily summarizes the chief events in a "Chronology of Jane Austen's Life," and a "Chronology of her Times," leaving the authoress free to concentrate upon interpretation and an analysis of the novels.

Carol Shields brings to this task her own experience as an author whose domestic novels have been compared to those of Jane Austen. She repudiates the criticism that her heroine was a parochial authoress who had no interest, or indeed conception of, the great events of her time, but was a mere narrator of domestic affairs and village life. The most obvious vacuum, this criticism argues, is that there is no mention of the Napoleonic wars in any of her novels. Carol Shields' defence is that on the contrary the novels are coloured by the unstated background of the war. For example, the arrival of the soldiers in *Pride and Prejudice*, which so excites the Bennet girls, is part of the background of subsequent events.

Carol Shields is also concerned to refute the ideas that the novels are "autobiographical." Certainly Jane Austen used incidents in her own life; for example she has Fanny Price's younger brother joining the Royal Navy and following a successful career, just as her own younger brother did. Many incidents in Jane Austen's life and the lives of her family and friends which have their parallel in the novels, can be quoted to support the "autobiographical" criticism.

but Carol Shields argues, and I think convincingly, that their appearance is not the regurgitation of unassimilated experiences, such as we find in the "confessional" works of the tyro, but experience successfully assimilated and generalized to illumine character and the human condition.

Of great interest is Carol Shields application of her own experience as a novelist to the understanding of Jane Austen's work. The writer, she argues does not, as is commonly supposed, write best in solitude, but is "at least partially dependent on establishing a delicate balance between solitude and interaction." Solitude Jane Austen



never had, living in close proximity with her mother and sister, yet she was nevertheless isolated, especially from other authors with whom she might have exchanged ideas and criticism. It was in this isolation from intellectual life however that she wrote her best novels, including the masterpiece *Emma*.

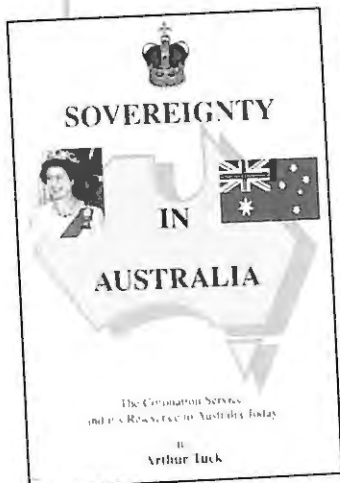
Carol Shields is uncomfortable with Jane Austen's religious position. One suspects that she does not know what it is. She is puzzled that a parson's daughter should be so irreverent in her portrayal of clergymen. Should, more often than otherwise, depict them as foolish, vain, stupid and, in the case of Henry Crawford, utterly unsuitable as a candidate. How can this be reconciled

with the prayers, strong and simple, which Jane Austen composed? After several attempts she finally grasps that Jane Austen was not only not "pie", but detested pioucity, and further, that pioucity is not to be confused with a real religious sense. Jane Austen with her high intelligence and great sensibility had the latter and had no need of the former. If Jane Austen presents her clergy as often absurd, it is because she had firm views of what they should be, views masterfully understated to the point of being only implied in the holding up to the clergy of a mirror that they might see themselves.

The book is marred, for this reviewer at any rate, by the intrusion of a dreary feminism. We are assured, more or less, that women in the 18th century suffered "male oppression," "lack of education," etc., and were certainly not permitted to publish books, - this latter intelligence is conveyed in a paragraph which mentions three female novelists contemporary with Jane Austen. It is odd that these complaints, which have been made from that day to this, are always made against the immediately preceding generation, since when of course women have bravely overcome the opposition and prejudice.

Carol Shields concludes, "What is known of Jane Austen's life will never be enough to account for the greatness of her novels," and with that we can wholeheartedly agree. Where did the scintillating prose, witty and elegant, of the opening chapter of *Pride and Prejudice* come from? Did the Austen family habitually speak a high, literary English? How did Jane Austen gain the insight into human personality to create the hateful bully, "Aunt Norris," of *Mansfield Park* or the cad, Frank Churchill, of *Emma*? No biography, no academic thesis, has yet solved that mystery. Perhaps the only explanation, which has so wide a meaning as not to explain anything, is in the word "genius," which Jane Austen would have prefaced with the words, "More particularly."

RECOMMENDED READING



SOVEREIGNTY IN AUSTRALIA By Arthur Tuck

This attractively produced booklet focuses on the Coronation service and its relevance to Australia today. Within the context of the republican assault on the Constitution, it offers an excellent educational tool to highlight almost unknown but vital aspects of our Constitution. Christianity offers a philosophical bedrock upon which our social, political and legal heritage is based, beginning with the crowning of our Head of State during a Holy Communion service in a Christian church. The monarchy symbolises the sovereignty of God and represents and protects the political sovereignty of its subjects, submitting government itself to the law of God. It examines the spiritual richness of Australia's constitutional heritage, and by comparison, the various republican models appear shallow and barren. "Men will be governed by God or they will be ruled by tyrants." Which is it to be? It is up to us! Compelling Reading.

Softcover – 54 pages. Price \$5.00 posted.

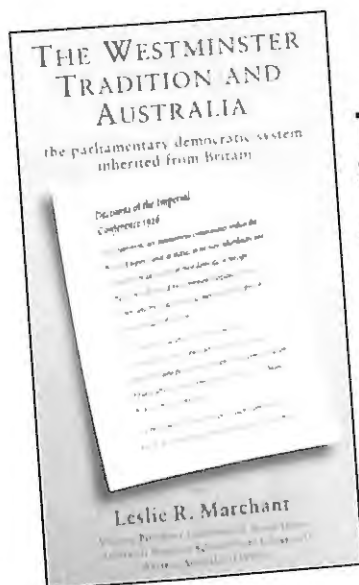
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Leslie R. Marchant

Visiting Professor University of Notre Dame Australia; Resident Scholar State Library of Western Australia (LISWA)

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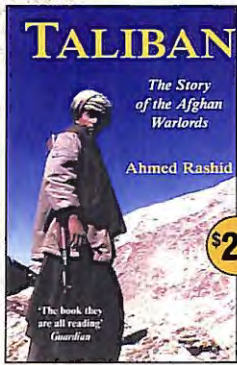
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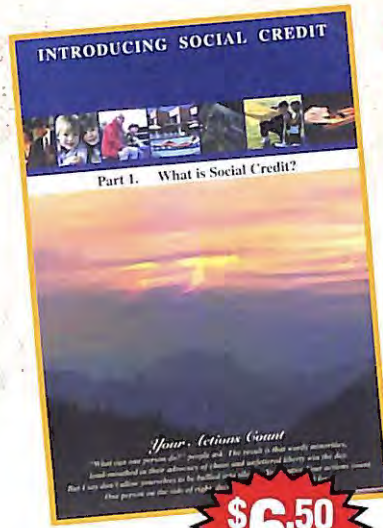
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Ahmed Rashid

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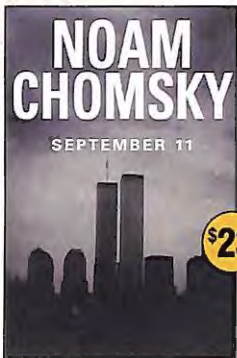
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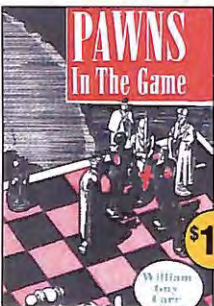


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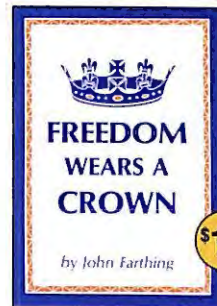


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Arthur Tuck

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John Farthing

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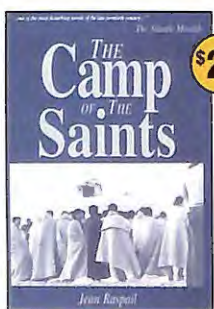


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