

INTO HISTORY

ANN CURTHOYS

AS EARLY AS June 1978 the annual Premiers' Conference agreed that there should be a national commemoration during the bicentennial year. The federal government's commitment was officially announced by Malcolm Fraser in April 1979, and the Australian Bicentennial Authority was created in January 1980 to manage the celebrations. These, however, were official decisions only. Formal designations of anniversaries do not necessarily result in a genuine celebration; and the activities for Australia Day, divided between 26 January and the next Monday, have long been desultory, especially outside New South Wales. Would 1988 be celebrated in a truly popular fashion?

By the mid-1980s the official moves had brought into prominence some major issues for public discussion. Debate arose on whether, or how, the bicentenary year of European settlement on the Australian continent ought to be celebrated. While these questions face all Australians to some degree, they have been particularly pressing and troublesome for those of Aboriginal descent. Confronted with an Australian Bicentennial Authority which sought to celebrate 200 years of European settlement and to include, at least in a minor way, Aboriginal people in that celebration, Aborigines have had the choice of ignoring the bicentennial activities altogether, or of participating for their own purposes—for example, by using them as a forum or base for pursuing political demands such as those for extended land rights.

Aboriginal activists responded diversely. Some saw bicentennial money as an attempt to forestall Aboriginal spoiling of the birthday party, and as a diversion of attention from the halt in the gaining of land rights. In August 1985 the Aboriginal author Kevin Gilbert rejected a \$6500 grant to support his writing from the Australian Bicentennial Authority as 'blood money', and was applauded for this action by another Aboriginal writer, Kath Walker, who is a contributor to this book. Many Aborigines supported their stand, seeing the bicentennial activities as nothing more than a celebration of their own people's dispossession and loss of sovereignty. Some of them expressed this opinion eloquently in 1985 on an

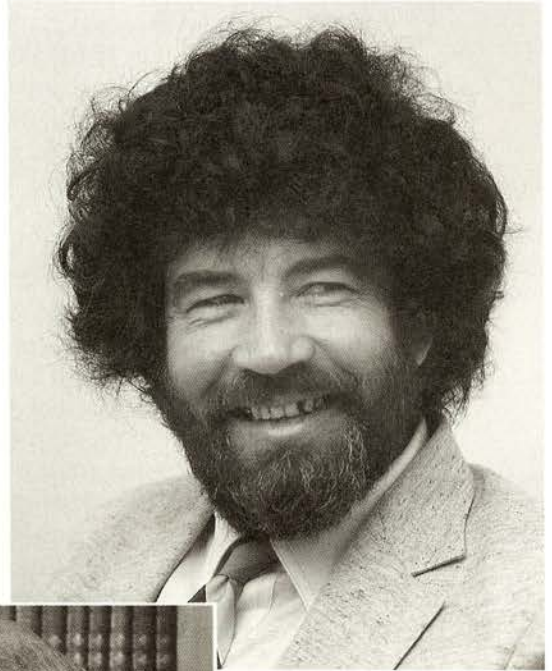


Aboriginal-made ABC television program. Other Aboriginal people took a different view. In the same month as Kevin Gilbert denounced the bicentennial celebrations, a public statement was made by Eric Willmot, at the time a senior public servant in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, who had just accepted appointment as the only Aboriginal member of the bicentennial authority's board. Willmot believed that the bicentennial year could be made to serve the cause of improving the lot of Aboriginal people. He wanted the bicentennial authority to provide funds towards the preservation of Aboriginal heritage, such as rock art, and argued that the occasion should be used to create a climate of opinion more favourable to land rights.

When Aborigines point out that 1788 represents for them the beginning of a long period of brutal dispossession and rapid loss of life for their own people, how are those not of Aboriginal descent to respond? Should they ignore the bicentenary? regard it as an occasion for celebration? an opportunity for restitution and coming to terms with the colonial past? a time neither for celebration nor for restitution, but rather simply for assessment? Some have taken the view that the bicentenary is indeed an opportunity for restitution, for ending the colonial period of Australia's history. In 1979 an Aboriginal Treaty Committee was formed by a group of well-known Australians who believed that a treaty with Aboriginal people was essential as a basis for any negotiation of issues between Aboriginal and other Australians. Given the absence of any treaties during the process of dispossession itself, a treaty for 1988 was seen as a way of establishing a new legal basis for the pursuit of issues specifically concerning Aboriginal people. One of those to call for a treaty was Professor Manning Clark, author of the monumental multi-volume series, *A history of Australia*. Clark's proposal was that bicentennial discourse should emphasise the achievements of Aborigines, who had paid dearly for the growth of European settlement, and that non-Aboriginal Australians should see the bicentenary as an opportunity to make amends either through a treaty or some other sort of understanding. The treaty idea, however, faced many obstacles, and while its aims met with considerable sympathy detailed proposals did not gain substantial support in either the Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal communities. By the mid-1980s support for Aboriginal demands, particularly land rights, was waning within the rest of the community. With successful observance of the bicentenary depending on a belief in national unity and social harmony, the Australian Bicentennial Authority taking as its theme 'Living Together', the growth in conflict over land rights implied problems for bicentennial planners.

Manning Clark's view was opposed by another well-known historian, Professor Geoffrey Blainey. Author of many widely read works, including an account of Aboriginal history to 1788, *Triumph of the nomads*, Blainey said that he was against highlighting the Aboriginal cause in the bicentennial context. Aborigines, he pointed out, were only one per cent of the population, and the remaining 99 per cent should not be discouraged from celebrating the achievements—in which he included the establishment of a successful democracy and the building of a nation—of the past 200 years. Blainey went further in a speech on Australia Day in 1986, seeing an emphasis on minority groups as a danger to national harmony and unity.

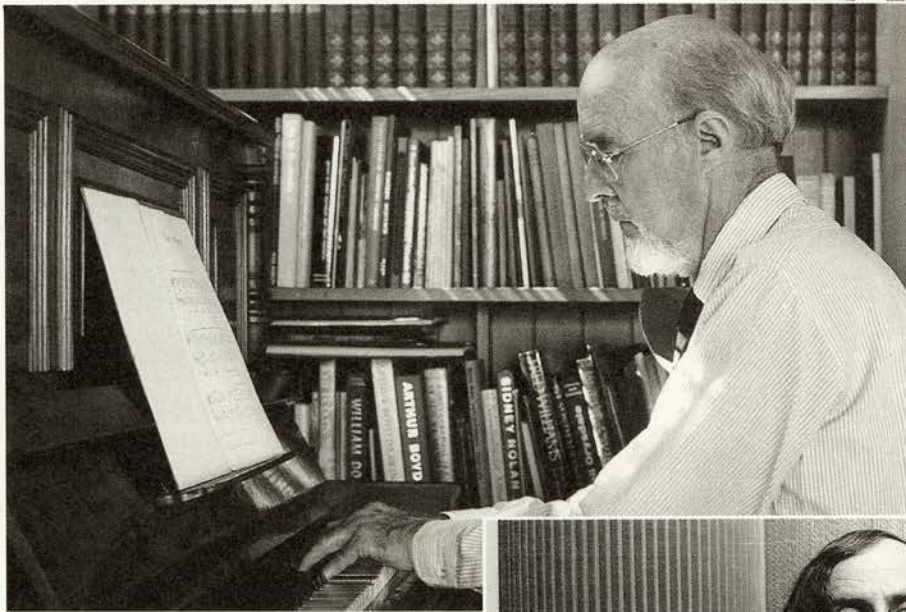
Both Manning Clark and Geoffrey Blainey were speaking as historians, offering quite different views of how Australia's history should be understood from the vantage point of the bicentennial year. They were not the only historians who found it necessary to formulate a response to official and unofficial plans for the celebration. Many were convinced that the occasion should be marked by serious historical analysis and reflection, and this series of volumes is one outcome of that



Above.
Eric Willmot, past principal of the Institute of Aboriginal Studies, believes that Aborigines should try to capitalise on the Bicentenary to promote Aboriginal issues.

AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Above left.
Kevin Gilbert, Aboriginal author and activist and an outspoken opponent of the Bicentenary as a celebration of the European presence in Australia. Photograph by Adriaan van der Weel.



Professor Manning Clark, Australian of the Year in 1981, is a well-known member of the Aboriginal Treaty Committee.

AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Right.
Professor Geoffrey Blainey, a controversial figure since 1984, when he provoked a heated debate about national immigration policy, remains concerned about the danger of an overemphasis on minority interests in Australian society. Photograph by Anton Cemak.

FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY



conviction. While motivations for contributing differ, underlying the project has been a generally shared view that because 1988 will present an occasion for all sorts of statements about Australian history and its meaning for the present, those who are professionally concerned with researching, writing and teaching that history should contribute their knowledge and judgments. Other historians have believed that the whole enterprise is so likely to be bound up with nationalism and celebration, and so little able to become a time for critical reflection, that it is better avoided altogether; in this view the bicentennial year is likely to do little good for the cause of serious historical scholarship.

Arguments over how to mark the bicentenary rest on opposing views of what 'Australia' is and 'being Australian' is about. For some people the quest for a national identity involves reasserting our Britishness. For others it involves the notion that Australians are a mixed lot, whose very diversity pinpoints their distinctness. There is a view that only Aborigines are truly Australian; the rest of the population are perched here, as if temporary, failing to come to terms with the land and its natural features, or with its geographical location. For yet others an Australian identity is held to rest on the multi-influenced but now distinctive values, habits, and practices developed mainly but not exclusively by the non-Aboriginal population since 1788. All these conceptions of Australian identity rest on a particular concern with the past. The pro-British dwell on the British-derived character of Australian political and economic institutions, and social and cultural practices. The multiculturalists emphasise the non-British aspects of our history, especially in the recent past. Those who say Aborigines are the only Australians look to the millennia

Tom Burlinson as Tommy Woodcock with 'Phar Lap', 1983-84.

NATIONAL FILM AND SOUND ARCHIVES



before 1788, intending to show continuities with that ancient past. For believers in a distinct Australian identity our history is about the creation from a variety of materials since 1788 of a unique and coherent society.

Thus historians find that their work is of political significance. They find also that they can give no common answer to the question how Australian history should best be understood. Their disagreement is a product not only of political and theoretical differences, but also of the spectacular growth in their number and in the diversity of the ways historians are employed—growth attributable in large part to social developments separate from the approach of the bicentenary. To understand historians' responses we need to know something of the historians themselves, and of public attitudes to their work.

A rise in popular interest in Australian history is evident in a variety of contexts: the use of historical themes in the growing film and television industry; the growth of interest in museums, historical sites and buildings; the popularity of historical reconstructions of life in earlier times; the boom in genealogical interest and research and in oral history; and the growth of local history societies and interest in local history generally.

It is possible that most Australians now get most of their knowledge of Australian history not directly from books, or from lessons at school, but from film and television. Internationally, both media have always used historical themes as a staple. They have done so in Australia too, from the earliest films made here on the Kelly gang and other bushranging themes to the movies creating a nineteenth-century rural Australia for their audiences in the 1920s and 1930s, through to the historical dramas on ABC television from the early 1960s, to the explosion of screen history after 1970—notably on film, *Breaker Morant*, *Gallipoli* and *Phar Lap*, and on television, *Rush*, *Ben Hall*, *Against the wind*, *Anzacs*, *The dismissal*, *Cowra breakout*, *Waterfront* and others. Through these productions specific images of Australia and Australianism are created, many of them building on images promoted earlier by radical nationalist historians. Many have a decidedly anti-British theme, as they attempt to create an image of Australia for Australians which emphasises distinctness and struggle. These productions are popular, and while many historians criticise them for inaccuracy, or as exercises in nationalism and nostalgia, others argue that the ideals of Australian society created in them have affinities both with the writings of historians themselves and with beliefs and identities deep within Australian popular culture. The tasks of creating and increasing historical understanding, which historians set for themselves, are conceptualised differently from the tasks of entertainment and aesthetic achievement which producers for the screen undertake; yet the two groups are in many ways interdependent.

A second important stimulus has been the growing concern with conservation. To an older belief in the need to preserve and restore buildings and sites of significance has been added a more radical preoccupation with the environment, as discussed in chapter 10. From the late 1960s resident action groups opposed the destruction of homes for freeways, the 'green bans' movement expressed a determination to protect the old against developers, and campaigns to save buildings found more support than ever before. This grass roots, radical, unofficial movement had legislation passed requiring deeper investigation before structures and natural environments were destroyed to make way for the new. It was in response to such pressure that the Whitlam government set up a committee of inquiry into the National Estate, a term that was used to include both the natural (national parks, nature reserves, coastline, water expanses, landforms, geological features, woodlands and grasslands) and the cultural environment (Aboriginal sites,

Frontcover, Bulletin, 23 July 1985.



Jack Munday, environmentalist and former leader of the Builders' Labourers' Federation (NSW), in the historic Rocks area of Sydney holding a copy of *Green bans*, a book published by the Australian Conservation Foundation. AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Concern about the preservation of Australia's past is reflected in the setting aside of an area on the western foreshore of Lake Burley Griffin, Canberra, for the establishment of the National Museum of Australia, due to open in 1990.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIA



Part of the National Capital Ethnographic Collection, poorly stored in the basement of the former Institute of Anatomy building. The collection of about 10 000 Aboriginal objects was later relocated in a repository at Mitchell, ACT, awaiting the opening of the National Museum of Australia.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIA

European sites and structures including buildings, towns and precincts). The committee reported in 1974 that there was a need for better preservation of, and public education about, both natural and cultural environments. In response, the government, with opposition support, established the Australian Heritage Commission as a statutory authority in 1975, and the Fraser government appointed the first commission in 1976. Among its tasks was to prepare and maintain a register, or inventory, of places of historical or natural significance. The commission's work was mainly educative, but it did have protective powers in relation to actions proposed by the commonwealth government.

There was action also at the state level, particularly in New South Wales and Victoria. The Heritage Council of New South Wales was established in 1977 to recommend to the minister for planning and environment measures for conserving, exhibiting, providing access to, and publishing information about the environmental heritage. From 1979 the Department of Environment and Planning was also made responsible for conservation issues. Historic sites could now be declared, preserved, and presented to the public by the council and by the department, as well as by the Historic Houses Trust and the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Such agencies required the preparation of heritage studies and conservation plans as a basis for decision-making about protection of historic sites, creating a need for consultation with historians.

In Victoria the Department of Conservation, Forests and Lands was formed in November 1983 from an amalgamation of two other departments and made responsible for preserving and managing historical places, using the advice of bodies such as the Historic Buildings Council and the Land Conservation Council. Similar developments occurred in other states. It was not only European sites which gained increased protection in this way. Legislation was passed in all states between 1965 and 1975 providing for the protection and preservation of Aboriginal places of cultural and historic significance, though the degree of protection varied.

Moveable objects of ethnographic and historical significance also attracted new interest. Museums, which had long suffered from poor accommodation, deteriorating collections and declining public interest, enjoyed a new popularity and a new diversity after 1970. Attendance at museums and art galleries rose from 3.6 million in 1970 to 4.4 million in 1978, partly as a result of the growth of local tourism. Museums began to present their objects in new ways, aimed at increasing the visitor's understanding of Australian history. An early sign of change was the creation in 1970 by the Western Australian Museum of a Department of History, the first in Australia. But so run down had many museums become that a shake-up was required before they could respond to the growth of public interest.

The beginnings of this shake-up came with the Whitlam government's appointment in 1974 of a committee of inquiry on Museums and National Collections. Its report, presented in 1975, argued that existing collections and collectible material urgently required protection if they were not to decay. It pointed to the desperate need for a national museum policy involving greater co-ordination and rationalisation, because part of the weakness in Australian museums lay in intercolonial and then interstate rivalry and unco-ordination. An important element of this policy, the report argued, should be the creation of a national register of significant objects, improved training for museum workers, and the establishment of a national museum in Canberra. While few moves towards national co-ordination were made, this report did prompt changes. It helped achieve increased funding for buildings and staff, a revitalised membership of the governing councils of state museums, and a growth in conservation training laboratories. The commonwealth government announced at the end of 1979 a plan

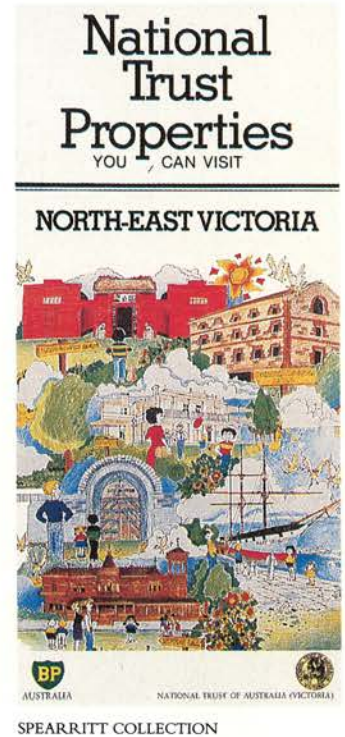
to build in Canberra a museum that would deal with Aboriginal history, the history of Europeans in Australia, and the interaction between people and the Australian environment. The Museum of Australia was established by an act of parliament in 1980, and was at the time of writing collecting vigorously in preparation for the opening of its first galleries in 1990.

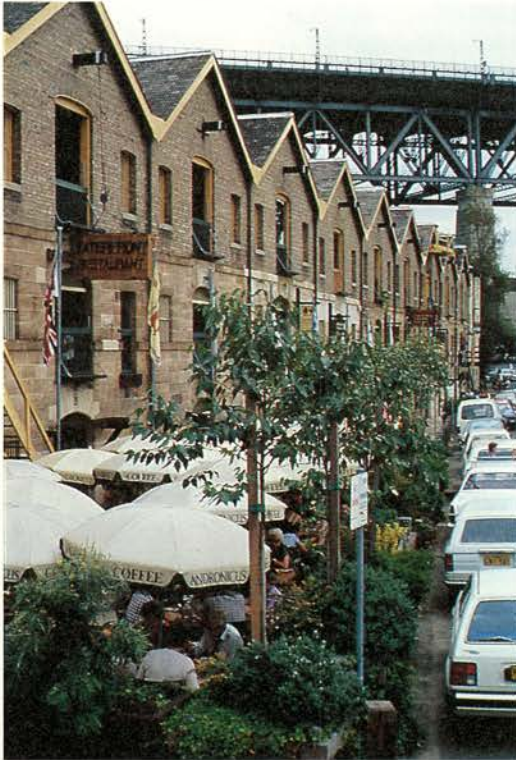
There were changes also in the states. The History Trust of South Australia was formed in 1981, to collect and interpret the material evidence of the past and encourage research into regional history. Long-established museums in each state began to incorporate a broader perspective on the past. The Museum of Victoria organised in 1985 a sesquicentennial history exhibition tracing the story of Victoria from pre-European settlement to the present, while the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences in Sydney entered the field of historical interpretation with the establishment of displays in Hyde Park Barracks. Historical exhibitions became more common across the country. In Canberra, the Australian War Memorial was upgraded to allow it to present more historical displays and to pursue a vigorous program of research and education. By 1984 it was attracting more than a million visitors a year and became the country's most visited museum.

Local museums proliferated in country towns, usually established by the local historical society. Enthusiasts often wished for 'an old cottage we could furnish in period style' as the proper site for their local collection. These museums raised their own funds and were supported by local councils and sometimes state governments. Their displays were often amateurish and jumbled; their purpose was to attract and entertain tourists rather than to advance the nineteenth-century ideal of the rigorous pursuit of scientific fact. They illustrated the domestic and social environment of 'pioneering' days with collections of furniture, clothes, china and silver, household equipment, farm machinery, books, letters and photographs. By the 1970s it was becoming more common also for replicas of early outback settlements to be built—mining towns, as at Sovereign Hill, Ballarat, in Victoria, timber-getting settlements, as at Wauchope in New South Wales, and so on. These were orientated towards the tourist industry and were immensely popular.

This growth of interest in preserving and displaying historical objects, buildings and sites was accompanied by controversy. The movement was attacked by developers seeing it as a threat to profits, workers afraid of losing jobs, and 'new right' conservatives keen to reduce public spending, privatise economic activity, and remove obstacles to corporate freedom. There was also internal dispute. Historians found themselves in unfamiliar roles, as consultants or even employees of government bodies other than educational institutions, advising on the preservation and presentation of sites. When they and their university colleagues began to consider seriously the issues involved in heritage policy, some were critical of the basis on which decisions for conservation and restoration were made.

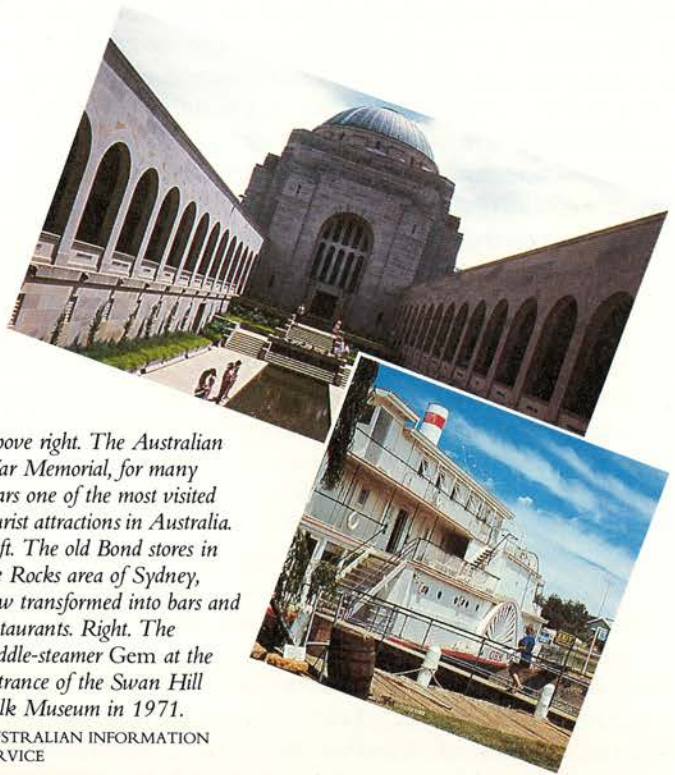
Chris McConville, a lecturer in history to town planning students at Footscray Institute of Technology, argued that conservation studies tended to take a narrow and specific view of cultural value, based on technical details of past building styles, rather than developing a method for arguing over rival readings of the material world. Professional conservation, he suggested, had departed from the radical politics that laid the basis for its initial growth and subsequent institutionalisation within the public sector, and had developed a 'history devoid of human society'. Conservationists, he pointed out, report not only on what should be preserved but also on what can be destroyed. They can be accomplices to the destruction of old working-class environments and their replacement with tourist sites full of trendy boutiques and authentically preserved but inauthentically presented artefacts and structures representing a forgotten, remade and sanitised past.





Above right. The Australian War Memorial, for many years one of the most visited tourist attractions in Australia. Left. The old Bond stores in the Rocks area of Sydney, now transformed into bars and restaurants. Right. The paddle-steamer Gem at the entrance of the Swan Hill Folk Museum in 1971.

AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



Team of working bullocks, Timbertown near Wauchope, NSW, in 1979.

AUSTRALIAN INFORMATION SERVICE

Margaret Anderson, curator at the South Australian Museum, together with Andrew Reeves and Helen Parrott, argued that 'public interest has served to convince governments that Australian history is economically productive'. And not only governments: television stations, film finance backers, the advertising and tourist industries, all embraced Australian history, presenting, as Anderson and her co-authors said of the last two interests, 'their own nostalgic view of the past to the market place', a bland, consensual model of Australian society. These writers urged that museums present a less cosy vision of the past, and tackle politically sensitive themes. This move towards a more historical and a more radical conception of how

museums can present their collections to the public is a product in part of the entry into museums of the post-1960s generation of history graduates influenced by British, European, American and Australian models that emphasise 'history from below'. They are interested in the trials as well as the successes of immigration, in power structures, poverty and crime, working-class communities, and in Aboriginal-European contact history. Anderson and her colleagues call for the development of Australian history as 'a popular participatory discipline', as something more than 'theme parks, genealogy and historic reenactments, or the worn-out tales of explorers and bush-rangers'.

Genealogy, despite low esteem among professional historians, probably constitutes the most participatory historical form of all. There has been a striking growth of interest in tracing one's ancestors and their histories. While there is nothing particularly Australian about an interest in family history, it has a distinctive form and purpose here. Nancy Gray, active in the Society of Australian Genealogists, points out that in Australia, where immigration over long distances meant for many people the loss of contact with their parents and grandparents, and therefore of access to knowledge about them and their forebears, the gaps are supplied through research. The library of the Society of Australian Genealogists began to receive an increased flow of inquiries in the late 1950s. Before long the library's leisurely administration showed signs of breaking down. A research committee was set up, and it established genealogical research on a firmer footing. By the 1960s the society had to encourage more do-it-yourself research, and to this end published a guide for beginners as a booklet in 1965. Other local guides followed. By the 1980s archives offices were inundated with private researchers, often to the disgruntlement of other historical researchers. A private company, Videobiography, specialised in putting family history on video cassette; older members of the family could be interviewed and recorded on videotape, and close-ups of photographs, letters, the family tree and scrapbook clippings inserted.

Enthusiasm for oral history has also increased. Its earlier uses had been a by-product of the study of folklore, in particular folk music. One of the main practitioners, Wendy Lowenstein, has described the new enthusiasm for folklore of the 1940s as the product of a radical nationalist conviction that Australia's history was important in its own right. Interest was sustained through the folk music revival of the 1950s and 1960s, and the implications for an understanding of Australian history were drawn out by analysis of the lyrics of earlier ballads and songs by historians like Russel Ward. A quite different use began in 1967 when the National Library of Australia inaugurated an oral history project to record the memories and views of those 'Australians whose achievements or whose positions have brought them fame or notoriety throughout the country'.

Then came a rapid growth in the recording of memories of less well-known people, an enterprise that was facilitated by good, cheap, portable tape recorders and which by the late 1970s had penetrated even the universities. The products of the oral history movement reached a wider public, as books of transcripts of interviews were published. *The immigrants* (1977), based on conversations recorded by Morag Loh and Wendy Lowenstein with a diverse group of people who arrived in Australia between 1890 and 1970, was one of the first Australian books to present a series of uninterrupted monologues without authorial comment. The sales of this book, and of later ones by Loh and Lowenstein, indicated a large reading public for oral history. Yet teachers of history had misgivings. In 1979 Professor Patrick O'Farrell observed that the contents of collections such as *The immigrants* were statements of memory, not of what actually happened. Historians remain divided as to the value for historical research of such statements.



Wendy Lowenstein.
IN PRIVATE POSSESSION

The movement continued to expand. Where recordings of spoken memories of the past had earlier been collected by enthusiastic individuals, with the major exception of the National Library project, by the mid-1980s they were being collected by historical societies, community groups, ethnic organisations, museums, schools, libraries, government bodies, tertiary institutions and companies. People interested in local history made intensive use of the approach. Libraries instigated, financed and housed local oral history collections. Projects range from the remarkable individual effort of Helen Hannah, whose history of the Bulga Plateau in New South Wales was the product of two years' interviewing of local residents, to the North Queensland Oral History Project administered by the History Department at James Cook University. A number of institutions had substantial oral history projects funded through the Community Employment Program, instituted by the Hawke government to provide short-term employment. By 1985 concern was being expressed about the legal and ethical aspects of oral history, for example the control informants might have over the use of their taped recollections.



Pioneering oral historian Hazel de Berg interviews physicist Professor Harry Messel in 1972. Hazel de Berg recorded nearly 1300 interviews with Australians involved in the arts since the late 1950s, and in 1967 set up the National Library's Oral History Project, which records and preserves interviews with outstanding Australians.
NATIONAL LIBRARY



Parallel to this growth in popular interest in Australian history ran a boom in the study of history in universities and colleges. As universities expanded in the 1960s, and colleges a little later, the discipline of history grew with them. Trained historians increased in number: whereas in 1949 there were about fifteen full-time professors and lecturers in history in Australian universities, by 1973 there were more than 400 in permanent posts. The growth in the discipline of history led to the establishment of the Australian Historical Association in 1974; while many historical societies had existed earlier, this new association was based firmly in the profession of history as it existed within universities and colleges.

Rapid growth allowed for greater specialisation: the first full-time lecturer in Australian history was appointed in 1948, and specialised appointments became the norm. Whereas in 1960 British and European history provided the core of the syllabus of modern history in every Australian university, as they had done for decades, two decades later this was no longer so. New kinds of history courses had proliferated—in Asian, American, African and Latin American history, as well as specialist courses on themes such as race relations, social history, women's history, maritime history and labour history. In courses organised both regionally and thematically the Australian history component in most history departments grew. In some places you could complete a history major without studying any modern European or British history at all. A similar process was occurring in secondary schools. Whereas in 1950 matriculation history classes studied either European or English history, with only Victoria having an Australian history option, by 1974 in most states both Asian and Australian history were on offer, and students could avoid European and British history if they chose.

The growth in the teaching of Australian history was made possible by, and sustained, a rapid increase in research and writing in the field. In 1979, one of the editors of this book, Allan Martin, noted that most of the existing body of serious historical writing about Australia had been done since 1945. Many of the books began as postgraduate theses; others were written by historians employed as teachers or researchers in universities and colleges, or by writers working outside the education system. There was a rapid expansion in publication in historical journals. Another sign of the growth of interest in and institutionalisation of the study of Australian history was the establishment of the *Australian dictionary of*

biography, a multivolume series on people of significance in Australian history, still being produced from its headquarters at the Australian National University. Planning for the *ADB* began in 1958 when Sir Keith Hancock, head of the Department of History in the Research School of Social Sciences at ANU, called a meeting of historians from each state. The first volume appeared in 1966, and volumes continue to appear approximately every two years.

Within the vastly expanded publication in Australian history by professional historians, there were certain trends and schools of thought. In the early postwar period, the growth in the teaching of Australian history led to the writing of a number of general histories for courses: R.M. Crawford, *Australia* (1952); A.G.L. Shaw, *The story of Australia* (1955); Douglas Pike, *The quiet continent* (1962); Manning Clark, *A short history of Australia* (1963); and Russel Ward *Australia* (1965). Such introductory overviews fell out of professional favour as researchers applied themselves to more particular problems; and the long survey, the sweep from 1788 to the present, became the prerogative not only of 'general history' but of argumentative history such as Humphrey McQueen's *A new Britannia*, or Anne Summers' *Damned whores and God's police*, or Bob Connell and Terry Irving's *Class structure in Australian history*. Regional history flourished, for example in Duncan Waterson's study of the Darling Downs and Gordon Buxton's of the Riverina. The study of both political and economic history boomed, and social history followed. As always in history-writing, the topics created and chosen by those who wrote about Australian history reflected their changing preoccupations: in the 1970s the history of Aboriginal-European relations, male-female relations, and immigration policies and experiences grew apace. As the older general histories dated, the most widely used teaching text in Australian history at tertiary level in the late 1970s and early 1980s was probably a team effort edited by Professor Frank Crowley entitled *A new history of Australia* (1974). The looming of the bicentennial year, with its officially sanctioned celebrations, pushed historians back to writing general histories. With a greatly expanded number of practitioners, and a discipline more conscious than ever of the conflicts and differences in historical interpretation, many historians found it difficult to write the kind of general history that had served the needs of history students thirty years earlier.

Historians are generally well aware that history is rewritten by each generation, and by particular social groups, in the light of their concerns. They know also that particular conceptions of history are mobilised for conflicting political purposes—in the bicentennial year no less, indeed probably more, than ever. The strong sense of the malleability of the historical account according to the recounter has so captured the imagination of historians that titles for books and articles expressing this idea—*Making Histories*, *Constructing the Past*, *Recreating the Past*, and the like—are in danger of becoming clichés. On the other hand, totally relativist positions are rare. Most historians agree that the task of writing history imposes certain constraints different from those facing the writer of historical fiction. While both write drama, highlighting some things and playing down others, selecting both consciously and unconsciously in order to tell a particular story, there is a difference, hard to define but important; the historian must have a fidelity to the sources not required of the novelist or dramatist.

It is in this spirit that this volume has been written. The editors and contributors have very different values, theoretical frameworks and political perspectives. But underlying the project has been a common view that if the bicentenary is a time for taking stock of the past, then that taking stock has to be based on detailed research, an interrogation of the sources, an attempt to make sense of them, and an understanding that those attempts are themselves historically conditioned.



MEGALO WAGE PAUSE PROJECT,
CANBERRA

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors and authors wish to acknowledge with gratitude the valuable help they have had from the officers of many institutions, most notably the National Library of Australia, the Australian National Gallery, the Chifley and Menzies libraries (Australian National University), the Commonwealth Archives Authority, the Archives of Business and Labour (Australian National University), the University of Melbourne Archives, the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre, the Australian Government Information Service, the Fairfax Photo Library, the federal Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and the federal Department of Primary Industry.

Janet Penny and Michael Shiel helped gather material for many parts of the book and for special assistance in the work he did Tim Rowse also wishes to thank Jon Altman, Linda Bowman, Roger Butler, Carol Cooper, Bob Durnan, Gerder Feeken, Meg Labrum, Sue Longbottom, Ann McGrath, John Macphee, Douglas Sellick and Colin Tatz.

Among the many people in the community who helped us we wish particularly to thank Mr Bob Twigg of Jerramungup, Western Australia, Mrs Joyce Thurgood (Association of Civilian Widows) of Kempsey, and the members of the Elsie Collective, Glebe.

Patsy Hardy worked cheerfully and tirelessly to tie up a multitude of loose ends and Marion Stell brought accuracy and polish to the final completion of endnotes and illustrations.

Special thanks are due to our ten contributors of recollections; at short notice and sometimes at personal cost they all agreed to write frankly and help give vitality to our enterprise.



NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

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History Project Incorporated thanks the following repositories and organisations for their generous assistance in providing illustrative material: Australian Information Service, National Library of Australia, Australian War Memorial, Australian National University Archives of Business and Labour, Australian Consolidated Press, Magazine Promotions, National Gallery of Victoria, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australian National Gallery, National Film and Sound Archive, Australia Post, and Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

Page ii 114.6 × 162.9 cm. Purchased 1956.

I. AUSTRALIANS AND THE WORLD.

Page xvi 109.8 × 90 cm.

CHAPTER 1. AT WAR

Page xviii 1949, 45.6 × 60.9 cm (24072). Page 3 'VDC night patrol receiving final orders', 62 × 76.7 cm (22208). Page 4 Courtesy Kraft Foods Ltd. Page 5 Courtesy Federal Publishing Company Proprietary Limited. Pages 6, 7 and 9 Courtesy Herald and Weekly Times Limited. Page 9 'Darwin 19 February 1942', 122 × 182.8 cm, (28520). Page 10 Cover Winifred Towers, Sydney [1948]. Courtesy Coca-Cola Australia. Page 12 Courtesy Goodyear Tyre & Rubber Co. (Australia) Limited. Page 14 51 × 39 cm. Pages 15 and 19 Courtesy Herald and Weekly Times Limited. Page 22 'RAAF at Milne Bay, August-September 1942', 1968-69, 152.4 × 274.3 cm (27628). Page 28 Left: Pamphlet Jack Lindsay, published Labour Council of New South Wales; right: Courtesy Chesebrough-Ponds Page 29 49 × 37 cm (22746).

CHAPTER 2. FOREIGN POLICIES

Page 38 Artist unknown, 51 × 63 cm. Pages 40, 41

Page 42 Gatefold, Weaver Hawkins. 61 × 78.5 cm

Page 48 Courtesy News Ltd. Page 49 Artist unknown, 51 × 38 cm.

II: PEOPLE AND PLACE

Page 56 91 × 122.1 cm.

CHAPTER 3. THE PEOPLE

Page 58 122 × 151 cm. Page 59 Courtesy Australian Tourism Industry Association. Page 61 Top: 61.2 × 81.4 cm (43428); bottom: Courtesy Coles Myer Ltd. Page 64 Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences. Page 67 Courtesy Lansdowne Rigby. Page 69 *Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest*. Edited Charles A. Price, no 4 Supplement, Canberra 1981. Page 75 Courtesy Alan Matheson.

CHAPTER 4. CITIES AND SUBURBS

Page 76 77.2 × 99.7 cm. Purchased 1950. Page 96 Courtesy BHP.

CHAPTER 5. THE COUNTRY

Page 105 Courtesy Wigmore's Tractors Pty Ltd. Page 107 Below left: Courtesy Allis-Chalmers Australia Limited; below right: Courtesy West Australian Newspapers Limited. Page 108 Courtesy Massey-Ferguson (Australia) Limited.

CHAPTER 6. CARS FOR THE PEOPLE

Page 118 Oil on canvas, 41 × 101.8 cm, purchased 1956. Pages 119, 120 and 125 Courtesy GMH. Page 128 816B/B 7088. Page 129 152.5 × 183.5 cm.

III. ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS

Page 130 Oil on canvas, 182 × 105.5 cm.

CHAPTER 7. ASSIMILATION AND AFTER

Page 132 121.8 × 61.2 cm. Page 137 Oil on PVA on paper, 46 × 58.5 cm. Page 141 50.1 × 40 cm. Courtesy Qantas.

CHAPTER 8. THE CENTRE: A LIMITED COLONISATION

Page 164 Source: *Report of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner – Uluru/Lake Amadeus*, Canberra 1980. Page 165 Top: Courtesy United Permanent Building Society Ltd; bottom; Yulara Development Corporation.

IV: POLITICS AND MEDIA

Page 176 32 Standard commercial size colour photographs on card, 75 × 100 cm. Purchased 1981.

CHAPTER 10. POLITICS

Page 187 Published Sydney, Current Book Distributors, 1956. Page 192 Courtesy WEL. Full poster 38 × 50 cm.

CHAPTER 11. RELIGION AND POLITICS

Page 196 55.6 × 43 cm. Purchased 1981 (1779). Page 201 Courtesy Penguin Books Australia Ltd. Page 213 Courtesy Anzea Publishers.

CHAPTER 12. PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION

Page 218 Courtesy Philips Industries Holdings Limited. Page 221 Courtesy News Ltd. Page 223 Courtesy Bob Ceveri. Page 230 Colour screenprint on paper, 58 × 45.1 cm. Page 234 Courtesy *Time Australia*: Courtesy Federal Publishing Company Proprietary Ltd.

CHAPTER 13. THE FILM INDUSTRY

Page 246 Courtesy Margaret Fink Films.

V. MAKING A LIVING

Page 252 38.6 × 47.1 cm. Gift of Howard Hinton.

CHAPTER 14. BOOM AND RECESSION

Page 254 61 × 72 cm. Page 255 Courtesy BHP. Page 258 Top: Courtesy Elders Pastoral; bottom: Courtesy BHP. Page 268 N72/1772.

CHAPTER 15. WORK

Page 272 33 × 55.5 cm. Page 278 816B/D1210. Page 279 Z147/24. Page 281 from *A Glimpse of Australia*, Sydney [nd].

Page 286 50 × 75.5 cm. Page 287 Solver scenic acrylic paint on canvas, 1984, 276 × 180 cm.

CHAPTER 16. BOSSES AND WORKERS

Page 288 Solver scenic acrylic paint on canvas, 1983, 198 × 197 cm.

Page 291 100.4 × 200.2 cm. Page 293 Banners-solver scenic acrylic paint on canvas Top: NSW Teachers' Federation Union, 1983, 280 × 180 cm; bottom: Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union of Australia, NSW Branch, 1983, 183 × 244 cm; insert: N24/843 Courtesy AMWU Pages 295, 297 and 299 Courtesy Communist Party of Australia. Page 300 Left: E113/15/12.

CHAPTER 17. CHILDREN, WOMEN AND MEN

Page 308 33.5 × 25.5 cm. Page 311 Courtesy Angus & Robertson Publishers. Page 317 Poster 38 × 50 cm. Page 319 Z147, Courtesy ACTU.

VI. SICKNESS AND HEALTH

Page 326 62 × 43.5 cm.

CHAPTER 18. CURE AND PREVENTION

Page 331 Courtesy Sterling Pharmaceuticals Pty Limited. Page 336 Courtesy Reckitt & Colman Pharmaceuticals. Page 340 Courtesy JNP Films.

CHAPTER 19. CHANGING MINDS

Page 342 122 × 243.7 cm. Page 349 Courtesy Nicholas Kiwi Pty Ltd.

VII: TAKING STOCK

Page 356 54.5 × 45.5 cm. Purchased 1951.

CHAPTER 21. INTO HISTORY

Page 438 Courtesy John Meredith. Page 449 38 × 50 cm.

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodical titles are followed, as appropriate, by volume or series number, issue number and year of publication.

%	per cent	AONSW	Archives Office of New South Wales
£	pound(s)	AP	Australia Party
AAL	Aboriginal Advancement League	ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission/Corporation	ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organization
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics	ATC	Air Training Corps
ACF	Australian Conservation Foundation	AWAS	Australian Women's Army Service
ACSPA	Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations	AWGC	Australian Woolgrowers Council
ACT	Australian Capital Territory	AWU	Australian Workers' Union
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions	BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
ADB	<i>Australian dictionary of biography</i>	BHP	Broken Hill Proprietary Company
ADC	Aboriginal Development Corporation	BIG	Basic Industry Group
AEU	Amalgamated Engineering Union	BLF	Builders' Labourers' Federation
AFC	Australian Film Commission	BWIU	Building Workers' Industrial Union
AIF	Australian Imperial Force	C	Commonwealth
ALP	Australian Labor Party	CAAMA	Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association
AMA	Australian Medical Association	CAD	Commission for Aboriginal Development
AMIA	Australian Meat Industries Association	CAGEO	Council of Australian Government Employee Organisations
AMWU	Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union	CAI	Confederation of Australian Industry
ANOP	Australian National Opinion Poll	CEP	Community Employment Program
ANZUS	Australia-New Zealand-United States Treaty		

ABBREVIATIONS

ch(s)	chapter(s)	NH&MRC	National Health and Medical Research Council
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)	NRMA	National Roads and Motorists' Association
cm	centimetre	NSW	New South Wales
CMS	Church Missionary Society	NSWC	National South West Coalition
comp	compiled	NT	Northern Territory
CP/CPA	Communist Party of Australia	OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union	PD	<i>Parliamentary debates</i> (followed by volume, year and page number)
d	penny/pence	PIB	Papuan Infantry Battalion
DAA	Department of Aboriginal Affairs	POW	Prisoner(s) of war
DFC	Distinguished Flying Cross	PP	<i>Parliamentary papers</i> (followed by volume, year and page number)
DLP	Democratic Labor Party	Qld	Queensland
DP	displaced persons	RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
ECT	electroconvulsive therapy	RAF	Royal Air Force
ed(s)	editor(s)/edited by	RAN	Royal Australian Navy
EPA	Environment Protection Authority	RBT	random breath testing
esp	especially	RSI	repetition strain injury
EYL	Eureka Youth League	RSL	Returned Services League
FCAA	Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines	s	shilling(s)
FCAATSI	Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders	SA	South Australia
ff	following pages	SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
GMH	General Motors-Holden's	SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
IAC	Industries Assistance Commission	SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
<i>ibid</i>	<i>in the same work</i>	TWU	Transport Workers' Union
IPEC	Interstate Parcel Express Company	UAP	United Australia Party
IRO	International Refugee Organisation	UN	United Nations
J	journal	US/USA	United States of America
km	kilometre	USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives	VDC	Volunteer Defence Corps
MJA	<i>Medical Journal of Australia</i>	Vic	Victoria
MP	Member of Parliament	vol	volume
ms	manuscript	WA	Western Australia
MTEA	Metal Trades Employers' Association	WAAAF	Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force
MTIA	Metal Trades Industry Association of Australia	WEA	Workers Educational Association
na	not available	WEB	Women's Employment Board
NAC	National Aboriginal Conference	WEL	Women's Electoral Lobby
NACC	National Aboriginal Consultative Committee	WRANS	Women's Royal Australian Naval Service
NAOU	North Australia Observer Unit	WWF	Waterside Workers Federation
NAWU	North Australian Workers Union	YCL	Young Communist League
NFF	National Farmers' Federation		

Convention Adopted in Quotations

Throughout this series quotations have been transcribed literally from the original documents. The use of 'sic' to refer to errors has generally been avoided.

ENDNOTES

1. AT WAR
K.S. Inglis
Two studies of Australia at war 1939–45 are M. McKernan, *All in! Australia during the second world war*, Melbourne 1983; and J. Robertson, *Australia goes to war 1939–45*, Sydney 1984. Of the various volumes of the official war history, P. Hasluck's on the home front are especially useful: *The government and the people 1939–41*, Canberra 1952, and *The government and the people 1942–45*, Canberra 1970. On the experience of being at school there is much in A. Spaul, *Australian education in the second world war*, St Lucia 1982.
 - 2 The quotation from Bernard Smith is in his autobiography, *The boy Adeodatus: the portrait of a lucky young bastard*, Melbourne 1984, 285.
 - 3 The *Education gazette*, 15 May 1941 set out for state school headmasters the procedures for the patriotic ceremony. Fitzgerald's lines are from his poem '1918–1941', in J. Wright (ed), *A book of Australian verse*, Melbourne 1956, 117.
 - 3–4 The message circulated to schools was the Vic premier's message to the public service in *Education gazette*, 17 July 1940.
 - 4 The fall in the value of new dwellings has been calculated from *Victorian year books*.
 - 5–6 Souter's recollection is from his *The idle hill of summer: an Australian childhood*, Sydney 1942, 101. *Education gazette*, 17 Feb 1941, urged that children learn about the 'Silent Savings Service'.
 - 6–7 The examination papers and speech night programs are in the author's possession.
 - 8 These verses were published in *Preston Post*, 1 Apr 1942. Souter recalls the boy-poet of the New Guinea jungle in *The idle hill of summer*, 100. Dr Dark is quoted in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Mar 1984.
 - 10–11 Government directives on news bulletins and official encouragement to play 'The Aussies and the Yanks' are in K.S. Inglis, *This is the ABC: a history of the Australian Broadcasting Commission*, Melbourne 1983, 97–8.
 - 11 The pocket guide is from J.H. Moore, *Over-sexed, over-paid, and over here: Americans in Australia*, St Lucia 1981, 284. The book is a pioneering study, but its title is misleading, drawing on a phrase used in England but offering no evidence that it was used in Australia. For the Americans in wartime Australia, see also A. Potts and E.D. Potts, *Yanks down under 1941–45*, Melbourne 1984. 'A fireside chat' appeared in *Preston Post*, 8 July 1942.
 - 12 The quotation from Slim is in Robertson, *Australia goes to war*, 141. Hasluck, *The government and the people 1942–45*, 270, reports Curtin's exhortation on austerity. On rationing, see McKernan, *All in!*, 148 ff. H.C. Coombs, *Trial balance*, Melbourne 1981, 12–22 has an account, by its architect, of how the rationing system was set up.
 - 12–13 D. O'Brien's history is *The Weekly*, Sydney 1982, battle-dress is 84. The butcher offers more for newspapers in *Preston Post*, 8 July 1942.
 - 13 L. Sandercock and I. Turner, *Up where, Cazaly?*, Sydney 1981, 117 ff, deals with football in Melbourne during the war. Marching is from J. O'Neill, *Jess and the river kids*, London 1984, 95.
 - 14 After-hours uses of the school are recorded in the minutes of the Northcote High School Advisory Council during 1942, held in the headmaster's office. The reproach to the headmaster is in a memo of 27 Oct 1942, in Secondary Schools Division inward registered correspondence from high schools, VPRS 10249 Box 147, Public Record Office, Melbourne. The exhortation to avoid careless talk is in *Education gazette*, 30 Jan 1942.
 - 15 Appreciation of Slater's talk is noted in the minutes of the Northcote High School Advisory Council for 16 Feb 1944.
 - 17 On the end of campaigns of strategic significance, see Robertson, *Australia goes to war*, 158.
 - 18 *Plan for a proud Preston* is in the author's possession. For the quotations from Bean see C.E.W. Bean, *War aims of a plain Australian*, Sydney 1945, 17, 163, 94. The Roosevelt obituary is in *Leader Budget* (Northcote), 18 Apr 1945.
 - 19 Souter's sentiments and poem are in the *The idle hill of summer*, 119, 129.
- FIGHTING THE WAR
- A.W. Martin
- 20–1 For figures on service personnel and deaths see G. Long, *The six years war*, Canberra 1973. For 'slaughter with little military art' see J. Robertson, *Australia at war, 1939–45*, Melbourne 1981, 1. For the war as a kaleidoscope see *ibid.*, 3.
 - 21 Statistics on prisoners of war are from H. Nelson, *Prisoners of war, Australians under Nippon*, Sydney 1985, 4. Human callousness is *ibid.*, 217.
 - 21–3 Stan Arneil is quoted *ibid.*, 68.
 - 23 For 'Australia's gravest hour' see Robertson, *Australia at war*, 77–82.
 - 23–4 For the conduct of the war 1942–45 see Robertson, *Australia at war* and Long, *The six years war*.
2. FOREIGN POLICIES
P.G. Edwards
Probably the best one-volume history of Australian foreign policy is T.B. Millar, *Australia in peace and war*, Canberra 1978, which has superseded A. Watt, *The evolution of Australian foreign policy 1938–1965*, Cambridge 1968. See also G. Greenwood and N. Harper (eds), *Australia in world affairs 1950–55*, Melbourne 1957; G. Greenwood and N. Harper (eds), *Australia in world affairs 1956–60*, Melbourne 1963; G. Greenwood and N. Harper (eds), *Australia in world affairs 1961–65*, Melbourne 1968; G. Greenwood and N. Harper (eds), *Australia in world affairs 1966–70*, Melbourne 1974; W.J. Hudson (ed), *Australia in world affairs 1971–75*, Sydney 1980; P.J. Boyce and J.R. Angel (eds), *Independence and alliance, Australia in world affairs 1976–80*, Sydney 1983. Articles on 'Problems in Australian foreign policy' are published biennially in *Australian J of politics and history*. Archives for the early period in this chapter are from *Documents on Australian foreign policy 1937–49*, published by Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra.
 - 31 For the history of Australian diplomacy, see P.G. Edwards, *Prime ministers and diplomats*, Melbourne 1983; see also its bibliography, 216–30.
 - 32 On the importance of being '98 per cent British', see W.K. Hancock, *Australia*, Sydney 1945 (1930), 46, 212. On the concept of an American empire by invitation, see J.L. Gaddis, 'The emerging post-revisionist synthesis on the origins of the Cold War', *Diplomatic history* 7/3, 1983, 171–90.
 - 33 The quotations from Menzies' statements are from P. Hasluck, *The government and the people 1939–41*, Canberra 1952, 150, 152. Menzies' speeches in Britain were published as R.G. Menzies, *To the people of Britain at war from the prime minister of Australia*, London 1941. On Australian strategy during the 1939–45 war, see D.M. Horner, *High command*, Sydney 1982, and J. Robertson, *Australia at war 1939–45*, Melbourne 1981.
 - 33–4 On Menzies, see P.G. Edwards, 'Menzies and the imperial connection 1939–1941' in C. Hazlehurst, *Australian conservatism*, Canberra 1979, 193–212. On Bruce see P.G. Edwards, 'The rise and fall of the high commissioner: S.M. Bruce in London 1933–45', in A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones (eds), *Studies in a changing relationship*, Sydney 1980, 39–56.
 - 34 On the circumstances of Curtin's statement, see Edwards, *Prime ministers and diplomats*, 156. For Curtin and Evatt, *ibid.*, 140–85.
 - 34–6 For Evatt's supporters, see A.P. Renouf, *Let justice be done*, St Lucia 1983; for his critics see P. Hasluck, *Diplomatic witness*, Melbourne 1980. See also P.G. Edwards, 'On assessing H.V. Evatt', *Historical studies* 21/83, 1984, 258–69.
 - 36 On the episode in Nov 1945, see P. Hasluck, *The government and the people 1942–45*, Canberra 1970, 604–7. On Australia and Indonesia generally, see

- M. George, *Australia and the Indonesian revolution*, Melbourne 1980.
- 36-7 For Chifley and his attitude to the UK, see Edwards, *Prime ministers and diplomats*, 174-5. On the Manus Island dispute, see R. Bell, *Unequal allies*, Melbourne 1977, 157-72.
- 37-8 On the establishment of the intelligence network, see DJ. Ball, 'Allied intelligence co-operation involving Australia during World War II', *Australian outlook* 32/3, 1978, 299-309; D.M. Horner, 'Special intelligence in the south-west Pacific area in World War II', *Australian outlook* 32/3, 1978, 310-27; and DJ. Ball, *A suitable piece of real estate*, Sydney 1980.
- 38 Spender's statement to parliament is published in full in P. Spender, *Politics and the man*, Sydney 1972, 307-29.
- 38-9 On the negotiation of ANZUS, see P. Spender, *Exercises in diplomacy*, Sydney 1969, 11-190, and R.J. O'Neill, *Australia in the Korean War 1950-53*, 1, Canberra 1981, ch 13. G. McCormack, *Cold war hot war: an Australian perspective on the Korean War*, Sydney 1983, offers another view.
- 39 On the creation of the Colombo plan, see Spender, *Exercises in diplomacy*, 193-282. On the period in general see A. Curthoys and J. Merritt (eds), *Australia's first cold war 1945-53*, Sydney 1985.
- 43 A.D. McKnight's account of the hopes and realities of nuclear power in Australia is from *Atomic energy* Dec 1959, 4. For Menzies' speech see *Atomic energy* June 1958, 5. The Gorton quotation is from A.M. Moyal, 'The Australian Atomic Energy Commission: a case study in Australian science and government', *Search* 6/9, 1975, 372.
- 44 For the Casey version of the Suez episode, see T.B. Millar (ed), *Australian foreign minister: the diaries of R.G. Casey 1951-60*, London 1972, ch 8; for the Menzies version, see R.G. Menzies, *Afternoon light*, Melbourne 1967, ch 8. For Casey, see Millar (ed), *Australian foreign minister*, ch 5.
- 45 On the negotiation of the Australia-Japan trade agreement, see A.S. Watt, *Australian diplomat: memoirs*, Sydney 1972, 263-5.
- 45-6 For the decade 1956-65, see G. Greenwood, 'Australian foreign policy in action' in Greenwood and Harper (eds), *Australia in world affairs 1956-60*, 102; and Watt, *Evolution of Australian foreign policy*, 302.
- 46-7 G. Clark, *In fear of China*, Melbourne 1967, played an important part in this change of attitude towards China.
- 47-8 On the joint facilities, see Ball, *Suitable piece of real estate*.
- 48-9 On the Australian commitment to Vietnam, see P. King (ed), *Australia's Vietnam*, Sydney 1983, and M. Sexton, *War for the asking*, Melbourne 1981.
- 50 On the ALP's Vietnam policy, see K.C. Beazley, 'Federal Labor and the Vietnam commitment', in King (ed), *Australia's Vietnam*, 36, 55. For Whitlam's China visit, see G. Freudenberg, *A certain grandeur*, Melbourne 1977, 200-14.
- 50-1 On the foreign policy of the Whitlam government, see H.S. Albinski, *Australian external policy under Labor*, St Lucia 1977, and Hudson (ed), *Australia in world affairs 1971-75*. The comment on unsuitable ambassadors is from Albinski, *Australian external policy*, 170.
- 52 These allegations are discussed in C. Bell, *Dependent ally*, Canberra 1984; J.A. Nathan, 'Dateline Australia: America's foreign Watergate?', *Foreign policy* 49, 1982-83, 168-85; and J. McCarthy, 'Problems in Australian foreign policy January-June 1977', *Australian J of politics and history* 23/3, 1977, 335-45. Kerr's explicit denial of the allegation is in his *Matters for judgment*, Melbourne 1978, 341, and his letter to the editor, *Foreign policy* 51, 1983, 188-9.
- 54-5 For statements on the Hawke government's policy on these controversial issues, see the speeches by Hawke, Hayden and K.C. Beazley respectively in *Australian foreign affairs record* 55/6 and 55/7, 1984, 614-21, 675-81 and 691-9. See also *Bulletin*, 23 Sept 1986, 66.
3. THE PEOPLE
A.W. Martin
- 59-60 Details of the debate on 'optimum population' are from W.D. Borrie, 'Population thought and theory in Australia' in *Population and Australia: a demographic analysis and projection* 1, Canberra 1975, 175-200.
- 61-2 The main source for the beginnings of the migration program, including quotations from Caldwell and details of DP migration, is E.F. Kunz, 'The genesis of the post war immigration and the evolution of the tied-labour displaced persons scheme', *Ethnic studies* 1/1, 1977, 30-41.
- 62 Migration figures are from C.A. Price (ed), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest* 2, 1970, Canberra 1970, A1-A23, and C.A. Price and J.I. Martin (eds), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest* 3/1, 1975, Canberra 1976, A1-A14, supplemented by R. Birrell and T. Birrell, *An issue of people: population and Australian society*, Melbourne 1981, chs 3 and 4, and J.I. Martin, *The migrant presence, Australian responses 1947-1977*, Sydney 1978, esp ch 2.
- 66 A.J. Davies wrote of the '6 per cent dogma' in 1971. His work, as well as that of Price and Appleyard, is put into perspective by Martin, *The migrant presence*, 30-1. Price's 1973 calculations are from his *Australian immigration: a review of the demographic effects of post-war immigration on the Australian population*, Canberra 1975, 15.
- 66-7 Price's calculation of the cost to the taxpayer of migrants who went home is in Price (ed), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest* 2, 1970, A22. The quotations about British migrants are from A. Richardson, *British immigrants and Australia: a psycho-social inquiry*, Canberra 1974, 118, 132, 134. O'Grady's *They're a weird mob* was published in Sydney in 1957. The Italian suffering insult in a bar (it was north of Cairns) is in S.R.L. Thompson, *Australia through Italian eyes: a study of Italian settlers returning from Australia to Italy*, Melbourne 1979, 176-7.
- 67-8 The quotations about refugees in the early 1950s are from J.I. Martin, *Refugee settlers: a study of displaced persons in Australia*, Canberra 1965, 58, 73, 76.
- 68 Borrie quotes the figures of net population gain in *Population and Australia*, vol 1, 101-2. See also W.D. Borrie and M. Mansfield, *Implications of Australian population trends*, Canberra 1982, 41-2.
- 68-9 For birth and marriage trends, see Borrie, *Population and Australia*, vol 1, 58-68.
- 69-71 *Population and Australia*, vol 2, part C, and L.R. Smith, *The Aboriginal population of Australia*, Canberra 1980, esp 229-32, 246, are the chief sources for Aboriginal population problems and trends. W.E.H. Stanner discusses 'disremembering' in his 1968 Boyer lectures, *After the dreaming*, Sydney 1969. See L. Lippmann, *Generations of resistance*, Melbourne 1981, 100-6 for the Aboriginal population issue.
- 71-2 See L.T. Ruzicka and J.C. Caldwell, *The end of the demographic transition in Australia*, Canberra 1977, esp 46, 272, 275, 299 for family and birth trends. See Price and Martin (eds), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest* 3/1, A11-12; Price (ed), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest* 4, 1979, Canberra 1979, A1, for the policies of the Whitlam and Fraser governments.
- 72 The references to and quotations from Grassby are in Martin, *Migrant presence*, 55, 64. Zubrzycki and the 1977 paper are *ibid*, 45, 55-6.
- 72-3 The Galbally report is F.E. Galbally, *Migrant services and programs: a report of the review of post-arrival programs and services for migrants, May 1978*, Canberra 1978. The figures of Indochinese population movements are from N. Viviani, *The long journey: Vietnamese migration and settlement in Australia*, Melbourne 1984, 43.
- 73 The quotation from Martin is from a letter of protest she wrote to the minister for immigration and ethnic affairs when the Fraser government cut off funds for the study: Commonwealth of Australia, *Report of the Senate standing committee on foreign affairs and defence (South Vietnamese refugees)*, Canberra 1976, 988-90. After Martin's death in 1979, the study was continued and published by F. Lewins and J. Ly, *The first wave: the settlement of Australia's first Vietnamese refugees*, Sydney 1985.
- 73-4 For the discussion of refugee figures and reactions to the arrival of the boat people, see Viviani, *The long journey*, 51, 67-70, 80-1. Price (ed), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest* 4, 1979, A1-17, details the Fraser government's policy. Borrie and Mansfield, *Implications of Australian population trends*, is the report of the joint conference. McDonald's remarks, *ibid*, 491.
- 74 West's statement, made on 1 Nov 1983, is from *Australian foreign affairs record* 54/11, 1983, 715-20.
- 74-5 Birrell's remark is in *Age* article 'Should we close the door on migrants?', 16 Dec 1982. *Age*, 27 Nov 1982 reports arrival of first legal emigrants from Vietnam. Cox's observation is from his 'Refugee settlement in Australia: review of an era', *International migration* 21/3, 1983, 332-44. Viviani, *The long journey*, 269-73 discusses attitudes to Vietnamese.
- 75 For a sample of press cuttings on the Blainey debate, see R. Singer, *The immigration debate in the press*, Melbourne 1984. Jupp's words are from a review in *Australian society* 3/11, 1984, of Blainey's *All for Australia*, Melbourne 1984, a book arguing his main points in detail. The Institute of Multicultural Affairs compiled the 500 items. They are listed as an appendix to A. Markus and M.C. Ricklefs (eds), *Surrender Australia? Essays in the study and use of history: Geoffrey Blainey and Asian immigration*, Sydney 1985. For the scholars' debate, see Ricklefs, 'Why Asians?', M. Goot, 'Public opinion and the public opinion polls', G. Davison, 'Unemployment, race and public opinion: reflections on the Asian immigration controversy of 1888', *ibid*. Price's projections are in Price (ed), *Australian immigration, a bibliography and digest*, 4, 1979, A97, table 4.7. For a version of Mackie's talk see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1985.
4. CITIES AND SUBURBS
Alan D. Gilbert
- 77 The quotations are from K. Tennant, *Time enough later*, London 1945, 6, 13, 41. For Neutze's comments on planning see M. Neutze, *Urban development in*

- Australia*, Sydney 1981 (1977), 223–4.
- 78 For a study of social trends in modern Sydney see P. Spearritt, *Sydney since the twenties*, Sydney 1978.
- 79 Except where otherwise indicated, statistics on population in this chapter are taken from commonwealth census returns. For 1939 (between the censuses of 1933 and 1947), figures on urban population have been extrapolated from 1933 census data.
- For a discussion of the growth of state capitals, see J.W. McCarty, 'Australian capital cities in the nineteenth century', in C.B. Schedvin and J.W. McCarty (eds), *Urbanisation in Australia: the nineteenth century*, Sydney 1974, 9–39.
- 81 For detailed information on the relationship between manufacturing jobs and population distribution see Neutze, *Urban development*, 83–108.
- 81–2 For maps and analysis illustrating some of the processes of urbanisation revealed by successive census returns, see T. Plumb (ed), *Atlas of Australian resources 3/2, Population*, Canberra 1980, 4, 8–9, 12–13, 16–17, 18–19; M. Poulsen and P. Spearritt, *Sydney: a social and political atlas*, Sydney 1981; and *Readers digest atlas of Australia*, Sydney 1977, 188–205.
- 82 Alec Hope's 'Australia' was first published in *Meanjin* 2/1, 1943, and then reproduced in R.C. Howarth (ed), *Australian poetry, 1944*, Sydney 1945, 21–2.
- 83–4 Apart from census data, figures on immigration and on settlement patterns within migrant communities are available in various sources, including W.D. Borrie et al., *Population and Australia: a demographic analysis and projection*, 1, Canberra 1975, and *Readers digest atlas of Australia*, 189–98. There is also a fuller discussion in ch 3 of this book.
- 84 Archbishop Stylianos's remarks were reported in *National Times*, 6–12 May 1983, 13.
- 85 The warning to 'Nino Culotta' is from John O'Grady ('Nino Culotta'), *They're a weird mob*, Sydney 1957, 204. C.E.W. Bean's observation is from *The official history of Australia in the war of 1914–18*, 1, Sydney 1936, 43. Compare Henry Lawson's references in 'The coming man', a poem written in 1892, to 'Ye landlords of the cities that are builded by the sea—/You toady "Representative", you careless absentee—'. Lawson insisted that the 'real' Australia lay 'beyond the range . . . where on western plains the lonely homesteads stand'.
- Vance Palmer's contrast of urban and rural life is quoted by H. McQueen, 'No Baedekes for Australia: a materialist defence of provincialism', *Praxis*, 1985, 18. Other studies of the alleged marginality of the city in Australian culture include R. Ward, *The Australian legend*, Melbourne 1958; G. Davison, 'Sydney and the bush: an urban context for the Australian legend', *Historical studies* 18/71, 1978; R. White, *Inventing Australia*, Sydney 1978, 101–6.
- Frank Wilmot made his comments in *Age*, 16 Feb 1935. The information about Frank Moorhouse is from *Bulletin*, 24–31 Dec 1985. See also F. Moorhouse, 'The bush against the laundromat', in G. Seddon and M. Davis (eds), *Man and landscape in Australia*, Canberra 1976, 173–83.
- 85–6 Giampaolo Pertosi's short story was published in *Bulletin Literary Supplement*, 5 July 1983; introduced by Angelo Loukakis.
- 86 For the story of Bronius Sredersas see *BHP*, 13 Aug 1985, 64–7.
- 88 For a summary of patterns of owner-occupancy going back to the 1920s, see Neutze, *Urban development*, 33–5; and Spearritt, *Sydney since the twenties*, 105–6.
- Information on persons per room, persons per house, electricity reticulation and mains sewerage between 1947 and 1981 are from *Social indicators*, 4, 1984, Canberra 1984, 285; Neutze, *Urban development*, 33, 36–42.
- 88–9 The analysis relating types of heads of households to numbers renting, buying or owning outright the properties in which they lived is from *Social indicators*, 4, 1984, 283–91.
- 89 On flat building see R. Cardew, 'Flats in Sydney', in J. Roe (ed), *Twentieth century Sydney: studies in urban and social history*, Sydney 1980, 69–88.
- 89–90 Neutze provides information on patterns of population growth in Sydney in the series of concentric rings stretching outwards from the central business district. See Neutze, *Urban development*, 64–82.
- 91 The study of Newcastle was reported in M.T. Daly, 'Residential location decisions, Newcastle, N.S.W.', *Australian and New Zealand J of sociology* 4/1, 1968, 36. In 1980 a survey of housing demand in Sydney conducted by the University of Sydney's Ian Buchan Fell Research Project on Housing found a similar stress on environmental considerations in housing preferences, see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 Sept 1980.
- 91–2 The figures on car ownership are from Neutze, *Urban development*, 26–7. For the impact of the motor car on postwar society in Australia see I. Manning, *The journey to work*, Sydney 1978.
- 92 On the transfer of jobs away from the centre of Sydney, see Neutze, *Urban development*, 104.
- The secretary of the Balmain Leagues Club was quoted in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Apr 1982.
- 93 Donald Horne's remarks on attitudes to suburbanism are from D. Horne, *The lucky country*, Melbourne 1964, 25. For the article by T. Andrzejczek, 'Suburbia: a cultural defeat', see *Quadrant* 2/1, 1957–58, 25–30, and Robin Boyd's views in *Quadrant* 2/2, 1958, 42.
- For a fuller discussion of the kinds of anti-suburbanism surveyed in this chapter, see A.D. Gilbert, 'The roots of anti-suburbanism in Australia', *Australian cultural history* 4, 1985, 54–70.
- Tim Rowse made this point about suburbanism and class in 'Heaven and a Hills hoist', *Meanjin* 37/1, 1978, 12.
- 94 The passage on the suburban housewife is from A. Summers, *Damned whores and God's police*, Sydney 1975, 427.
- Figures on flat construction in Sydney between 1958 and 1971 are from Neutze, *Urban development*, 73.
- 94–6 Figures on the proportion of married women in paid employment are from commonwealth census returns. The findings of the Community Research Centre Study in Baulkham Hills were summarised in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 May 1981.
- 96 The passage from Stretton is from H. Stretton, *Ideas for Australian cities*, Adelaide 1970, 20–1. Figures on the median-price land and housing in Sydney between 1950 and 1974 are from M.T. Daly, *Sydney boom Sydney bust: the city and its property market, 1850–1981*, Sydney 1982, 2–3. The figure for 1985 was supplied by the Real Estate Institute of NSW.
- Figures on ancillary costs associated with housing are from Neutze, *Urban development*, 152–4.
- Leonie Sandercock's views are from L. Sandercock, *The land racket*, Melbourne 1979, xiii.
- 97 On the land and building scandals, see *ibid*, xi–xiv, 99–101. For a related analysis, see Daly, *Sydney boom Sydney bust*, 105–31.
- Boyd's views are from R. Boyd, *The Australian ugliness*, Melbourne 1980 (1960), 9.

5. THE COUNTRY

A.W. Martin

- 99 Though the names are fictitious, Wallace and other farmers mentioned in this chapter are real persons. Three general studies of modern Australian agriculture are D.B. Williams (ed), *Agriculture in the Australian economy*, Sydney 1982 (1967); K.O. Campbell, *Australian agriculture: reconciling change and tradition*, Melbourne 1980; and R.K. Hefford, *Farm policy in Australia*, St Lucia 1985.
- 100–2 For rural land enterprise see B.R. Davidson, 'The economic structure of Australian farms', in Williams (ed), *Agriculture*, 29–54.
- 103–4 J.G. Crawford, 'Rural reconstruction', *Australian J of science* 6/2, 1943–44, 37–40, outlines the agricultural difficulties of the 1930s. The rural reconstruction commissioners wrote of tired farmers and described their own investigations, in *First report: a general rural survey*, Canberra 1944, 1–2, 31.
- 104–5 The account of the commission's work and recommendations is from A.W. Martin and J. Penny, 'The rural reconstruction commission, 1943–47', *Australian J of politics and history* 29/2, 1983, 218–36.
- 105 D. Aitkin, 'The politics of rural policy', in D. Douglas (ed), *National rural policy*, Sydney 1971, 76–8 sums up the policy changes of the 1950s.
- 105–6 For the agricultural 'revolution' see Williams (ed), *Agriculture*, esp chs by C.M. Donald, 'Innovation in Australian agriculture', 55–82, F.G. Jarrett, 'Rural research in Australia', 83–105, A. Stoeckel and G. Miller, 'Agriculture in the economy', 166–85, K.O. Campbell, 'Land policy', 225–39, H.P. Schapper, 'The farm workforce', 240–53.
- 106–7 The comparison between tractors and horses is in the rural reconstruction commissioners' *Sixth report*, Canberra 1945, 25–8. Draught horse numbers are calculated from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Livestock bulletins*. Campbell dismisses horses in *Australian agriculture*, 225.
- 108 Rolls' complaint is from E. Rolls, *Celebration of the senses*, Melbourne 1984, 10–11.
- Stoeckel and Miller, 'Agriculture in the economy', 176, give the figures for average farm size growth.
- The account of cultivation in WA owes much to two unpublished papers written in 1982 by R.J. Twigg at Murdoch University: 'The impact of European settlement on the environment at Jerramungup', and 'The use of herbicides for grain production: an ethical perspective'. The Esperance Plains, Coonalpyn Downs and brigalow developments are from Campbell, 'Land policy', 235. R. Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the early 1980s: a history of Queensland*, St Lucia 1984, 411–14 outlines difficulties and failures in the brigalow schemes.
- 109 For pasture improvements and yields see Williams (ed), *Agriculture*.
- 109–10 Figures relating to the sugar industry are from Fitzgerald, *From 1915 to the early 1980s*, 198–201, and Donald, 'Innovation in Australian agriculture', 58.

- The story of mechanisation is as told in exhibits at the Australian sugar industry museum, Mourilyan, Qld.
- 110-11 Schapper, 'The farm workforce', 251-3 discusses training for farm management. Huon Hassell, of Hassell and Associates, agricultural consultants, interviewed by Janet Penny in Nov 1983, gave details of consultancy firm growth. Income as reflected in tax returns is from J. Vernon, *Report of the committee of economic enquiry* 1, Canberra 1965, 165-6. The bureau director was D.H. Mackay, 'The small farm problem', *Australian J of agricultural economics* 11, 1967, 130.
- 111-12 The rural reconstruction commissioners dealt with farm conditions in their *Seventh report: rural amenities*, Canberra 1945. See J.H. Bell and J.S. Nalson, *Occupational and residential mobility of ex-dairy farmers on the north coast of New South Wales*, Armidale 1974, esp 3-4, for conditions and changes in northern NSW dairy farming. For poor housing and food among food producers, see Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, *First main report*, Canberra 1975, 181. See G. Barrett, 'Contraction of the New South Wales dairy industry: 1978-80', *Quarterly review of the rural economy* 3/4, 1981, 345-6, for the statistics of falling farm numbers. Bell and Nalson, *Occupational and residential mobility*, 170-6, explain how dairy farmers adjusted.
- 112 See W. Musgrave, 'Rural adjustment' in Williams (ed), *Agriculture*, for a discussion of rural adjustment. For intra-party differences on agriculture see A.S. Watson, 'Rural policies', in A. Patience and B. Head (eds), *From Whitlam to Fraser*, Melbourne 1979. See K.O. Campbell, 'Crisis in the rural industries', *Current affairs bulletin* 51/11, 1975, 5-12, for the rural reaction to Whitlam's policies. For the shifting agricultural policy between the 1960s and the 1980s see W.R. Stent, 'The changing norms of Australian agricultural policy in the seventies', *J of Australian studies* 9, 1981, 32-48; A.G. Lloyd, 'Agricultural price policy', in Williams (ed), *Agriculture*, esp 358-66; Hefford, *Farm policy in Australia*.
- 113 R.G. Gregory, 'Some implications of the growth of the mining sector', *Australian J of agricultural economics* 20/2, 1976, 71-91, started a discussion of the mining boom's effects on agriculture. See also Stoeckel and Miller, 'Agriculture in the economy', in Williams (ed), *Agriculture*, 178.
- 113-14 Campbell, *Australian agriculture*, 202, sees the wheat-quota legislation as 'stage-managed' by the wheatgrowers' federation. His 'Crisis in the rural industries', 5-6, details the Whitlam government's first steps and quotes Crawford on the IAC.
- 114 For developments after Whitlam see Lloyd, 'Agricultural price policy'. See also F.W. Edwards and A.S. Watson, 'Agricultural policy' in F.H. Gruen (ed), *Surveys of Australian economics*, Sydney 1978, 181-240.
- 115 The farmers' demonstration is as observed by the author and reported in the press next day, 2 July 1985.
- 115-16 The Walcha farmer was Mrs Salter, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1985. *Canberra Times*, 29 July 1985, carried a full-page '28 day reminder'.
- 116 See Campbell, *Australian agriculture*, 197-203, for the amalgamation of various rural organisations. See *Canberra Times*, 7 Feb 1984, for a feature article on the 'advance agriculture' campaign.
- 117 The quotation from Rolls is from his *Celebration of the senses*, 16.
6. CARS FOR THE PEOPLE
Peter Spearritt
- 119-20 For the introduction of cars to Australia see the entry Motor vehicles in *Australians: a historical dictionary*; and L. Hovenden, 'The motor car in NSW, 1900-1937', MA thesis 1981, University of Sydney.
- 120 For patronage of trams, buses and railways see P. Spearritt and J. Wells, 'The rise and decline of the public transport city', *Australian historical statistics bulletin* 8, 1984. See also entries under Railways, Tramways and Buses in *Australians: a historical dictionary*. The competition between trams and buses—both government and private—in Sydney is from P. Spearritt, *Sydney since the twenties*, Sydney 1978, ch 7.
- 120-1 For General Motors' closure of tramway systems in the US see G. Yago, *The decline of transit*, New York 1984. The abolition of London's tramway system is from T.C. Barker and M. Robins, *A history of London transport*, London 1976.
- 121-2 On the role of the Curtin government in the development of the Holden see S.J. Butlin and C.B. Schedvin, *War economy 1942-45*, Canberra 1977, 742-62. Details of the cost and production runs on Holden models are from GMH, *Annual reports*.
- 122 Icy Blue is from F. Clune, *Land of Australia: roaming in a Holden*, Sydney 1953, 42, 48.
- 122-4 For the locations of assembly plants and the history of the tariff on cars until 1970 see P. Stubbs, *The Australian motor industry*, Melbourne 1972.
- 124-5 On the development of a car culture see P. Spearritt, 'The privatisation of Australian passenger transport', in J. Halligan and C. Paris (eds), *Australian urban politics*, Melbourne 1984. For a romantic vision of 80 years of motoring see P. Davis, *Australians on the road*, Adelaide 1979. Labor party complaints about service stations displacing houses were in *SMH*, in the latter half of the 1950s.
- 125-6 For increasing demand for roads see T.T. Thoreson, *Australian road statistics*, Melbourne 1983. For criticism of inner-city freeways see L. Mumford, *The highway and the city*, New York 1963. The journey to work and travel times in Australian cities are from I. Manning, *Beyond walking distance*, Canberra 1984.
- 126 The closure of branch lines is documented in annual reports of each state's rail authority.
- 127 For the Sydney-Melbourne rail link see P. Belbin and D. Burke, *Changing trains*, Sydney 1982. For the two-airline policy see 'Aviation', *Australian encyclopedia*, Sydney 1983.
- 128 The number of cars per dwelling and the percentage of households without cars is tabulated in the 1981 and 1986 census.
- 129 The power of international oil companies is from A. Sampson, *The seven sisters*, London 1980.
7. ASSIMILATION AND AFTER
Tim Rouse
- 133-5 Information about legal restrictions on Aborigines comes from FCAATSI, *Government legislation and the Aborigines*, Feb 1964.
- 135 Hasluck's speeches in 1950 and 1951 are reprinted in S. Stone (ed), *Aborigines in white Australia*, Melbourne 1974, 196, 193. For dates of enactment, amendment and repeal of legislation relevant to Aborigines in all states and territories, see J. McCorquodale, 'An annotated bibliography: 2. Legislation', in P. Hanks and B. Keon-Cohen (eds), *Aborigines and the law*, Sydney 1984.
- 135-6 Robert Bropho, *Fringe dweller*, Sydney 1980, 15, 36, 101, includes these comments.
- 136-7 The struggle for equal wages in the north is described in detail by C.D. Rowley, *The remote Aborigines*, Canberra 1971, chs 10-17. For ACTU involvement see A. Markus, "'Talka longa mouth': Aborigines and the labour movement", in A. Curthoys and A. Markus (eds), *Who are our enemies?*, Sydney 1978. The arguments for and against equal wages for Aboriginal pastoral workers are canvassed in I.G. Sharp and C.M. Tatz (eds), *Aborigines in the economy*, Melbourne 1966, 145-216. The consequences of the equal pay decision are reviewed by J. Altman and J. Nieuwenhuysen, *The economic status of Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne 1979, 64-8.
- 137-8 The AAL's principles were stated in most issues of *Smoke signals*.
- 138-9 Jan Roberts' detailed account of the Mapoon and Weipa struggles are in her *From massacres to mining*, London 1978. For Mawby's words, *ibid*, 101.
- 139 The history of Lake Tyers up to 1965 is in J.P.M. Long, *Aboriginal settlements*, Canberra 1970, 14-23. Gregory Lyons, 'Official policy towards Victorian Aborigines 1957-74', *Aboriginal history* 7/1, 1983, 61-79, summarises official thinking and action. Stone (ed), *Aborigines*, 203, includes the Yirrkala petition.
- 140 Joe McGinness's report is on file among the FCAATSI conference papers 1966, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies Library. Frank Hardy's lively and sympathetic account of the Gurindji walk-off is *The unlucky Australians*, Melbourne 1968. Peter Nixon's speech is in Stone (ed), *Aborigines*, 210; Hasluck's words are *ibid*, 196. The 1965 FCAATSI conference is reported in *Smoke signals* Apr-June 1965, 11-13. Roberts' words are *ibid*, 11.
- 140-1 See FCAATSI's 'fact sheets' on the Aboriginal land rights campaign 1968 for the quotation from the Vic Aboriginal Welfare Board's 1966 annual report. For the NSW select committee's report see Stan Davey's comments in *Smoke signals* Dec 1967.
- 142 For the 1968 resolution of the all Aboriginal and Islander caucus of the 1968 FCAATSI conference and economic justification for land rights, see FCAATSI's 'fact sheets'. The new militant position of the FCAATSI executive was reported in *Smoke signals* Sept 1969, 15. See *ibid*, Apr-June, 29-30 for Bruce McGinness's comment on the meeting which did not discuss land rights. The editorial comment on 'ingratitude' is in *Smoke signals* Dec 1970. Woodward summarised his principles in Aboriginal Land Rights Commission, *Second report*, Canberra 1974, 9-11. Bobbi Sykes' apology for Black Power appeared in her *Black power in Australia: Neville Bonner versus Bobbi Sykes*, Melbourne 1975, 12.
- 143 Berndt's 'professional Aborigines' is in R.M. Berndt (ed), *Thinking about*

- Aboriginat welfare*, Perth 1969, 1.
The *Koorier's* writer was called 'Mode of mirrigan'; the words are quoted in Stone (ed), *Aborigines* 214–15.
For Rowley's discussion of the 1965 version of 'assimilation' see C.D. Rowley, *Outcasts in white Australia*, Canberra 1971, 402–3. Hasluck's concession of an element of choice was made in the speech cited in Stone (ed), *Aborigines*, 196.
For Bob Maza's disillusionment see *Smoke signals* Apr–June 1969, 3–4.
- 144 Whitlam's speech to parliament on 13 Sept 1972 is in B. Sykes, *Black power*, 25.
C. Tatz, *Race politics in Australia: Aborigines, politics and the law*, Armidale 1979, 6–19, mentions some never-tried schemes for Aboriginal political representation. His earlier survey of Aboriginal representation within state welfare bureaucracies appeared in *Smoke signals* Apr 1968, 8–13.
- 144–5 The AAL's work is described in *Smoke signals* Oct 1980, 71. For the survey of AAL membership see L. Lippmann, 'Who belongs to the AAL?', *Smoke signals* Dec 1965, 18–19.
- 145 For the history of the NACC and of its review and reconstitution as the NAC, see Tatz, *Race politics*, and S.M. Weaver, 'Australian Aboriginal policy: Aboriginal pressure groups or government advisory bodies?', *Oceania* 54/1, 1983, 1–22 and 54/2, 85–108.
The parliamentary committee was the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Expenditure's Inquiry into the Aboriginal Development Commission. It published *Interim report on efficiency and effectiveness of expenditure*, Canberra 1984 (known as the McLeay Report).
- 146 Von Sturmer's opinions are in Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, *Aborigines and uranium*, Canberra 1984, 162–3, 271–9.
Rowley formulated the dilemma in *A matter of justice*, 216.
- 146–7 Woodward's recollection is in 'Land rights and land use: a view from the sidelines', *Australian law J* 59, 1985, 418.
- 147 K. Maddock, *Your land is our land*, Melbourne 1983, surveyed land rights legislation up to Feb 1983. Developments since then have been covered in *Aboriginal law bulletin*.
- 147–8 M. Wilkie exposes weaknesses in the NSW Land Rights Act from a pro-Aboriginal point of view in *Aboriginal law bulletin* 7, Apr 1983.
- 148 Toohey made his findings about the Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act 1976 in his *Seven years on*, Canberra 1984.
The fate of the recommendations of the WA Aboriginal Land Inquiry (Seaman Report) is covered in the *Kimberley Land Council newsletter* June 1985.
Christine Jennett discussed the Hawke government's retreat from ALP land rights policy in her unpublished paper to the 1985 Conference of the Australian Political Studies Association. Evidence of public opinion about Aborigines and their rights comes from ANOP market research, *Land rights—winning middle Australia*, Sydney 1985.
- 148–9 The statistics are from Department of Aboriginal Affairs, published in *Social indicators 1984*, Canberra 1984; E.K. Fisk, *The Aboriginal economy in town and country*, Sydney 1985, table 8.4; the *Report of the Committee of Review of Aboriginal employment and training programs* (Miller Report), Canberra 1985, 3; M. Foley, 'Aborigines and the police' in Hanks and Keon-Cohen (eds), *Aborigines and the law*, table 1.
- 149 The Reid and Kerr editorial is from *Medical J of Australia*, 16 Apr 1983, 348.
8. THE CENTRE: A LIMITED COLONISATION
Tim Rouse
- 151 The prominence of land speculation as a motive for the first 40 years of European settlement of central Australia is discussed in P.F. Donovan, *A land full of possibilities*, St Lucia 1981.
The estimate of the proportion of well-watered land comes from R. Perry, 'Inventory', in G. Crook (ed), *Man in the Centre*, Perth 1983, 147. J.H. Kelly summarises the efforts of governments to make NT pastoralism a paying proposition in his *Beef in northern Australia*, Canberra 1971, ch 2.
- 152 For an example of the dislocation and disintegration argument see W.E.H. Stanner, 'The Aborigines', in J.C.G. Kevin (ed), *Some Australians take stock*, London 1938, reprinted in W.E.H. Stanner, *White man got no dreaming*, Canberra 1979. The inappropriateness of the concept of tribe for western desert people was argued by R.M. Berndt, 'The concept of "tribe" in the western desert of Australia', *Oceania* 30, 1959, 81–107.
- 153 For the growth of Alice Springs between the wars see J.M. Holmes, *Australia's open north*, Sydney 1963. See also A. Harvey, 'Ethnic and sociological study of an Australian mixed blood group in Alice Springs', PhD thesis 1946, University of Adelaide. The visitor was Captain Mansbridge. His article appeared in *Walkabout* Apr 1940.
- 154–5 The Army's rationing standard appears in several documents in the correspondence files of the NT Administrator, F1/42/435, Australian Archives, Darwin. See V.J. White, deputy director of native affairs, to Administrator, 23 Dec 1942. For size and distribution of Aboriginal population in Alice Springs and nearby missions and settlements, F1/44/193; for correspondence between Native Affairs Branch and Administrator on conditions of some privately employed Aborigines in Alice Springs during the war, F1/42/461, 1, 2.
For the dispute concerning responsibility for rationing dependents of Aborigines working for the Army see V.J. White to Administrator, 17 Sept 1943, and V.G. Carrington to Lieutenant F. Morris, 11 May 1944, F1/42/433.
- 155 Reports of the hygiene problem south of the Gap appear in the patrol reports of G. Sweeney, May to Aug 1944, and in an inspection report to the Administrator by Lieutenant E.T. Lennie, F1/42/433.
The extension of electricity and water supplies to Alice Springs houses, and their costs, is in NT Administration, Social Welfare Branch, *Annual reports*, 1946–47 to 1967–68. Some information on the growth of Alice Springs in the 1960s is in Philip Shrapnel and Co, *Growth of Alice Springs and Darwin*, Canberra 1969.
- 155–6 For the commonwealth's endorsement of assimilationism see P. Hasluck, 'A national problem', 8 June 1950, *Commonwealth parliamentary debates* 208, 1950, 3976–81.
- 156 The words of the NT Housing Commission's chairman were reproduced in NT Administration, Social Welfare Branch, *Annual report*, 1960–61, 13.
- 156–7 The most detailed account of the problems of a central Australian settlement is *Papunya: history and future prospects*, an unpublished report prepared for the minister for Aboriginal affairs and the minister for education, July 1977.
- 157 For Aboriginal health see F.L. Jones, *A demographic survey of the Aboriginal population of the Northern Territory*, Canberra 1963, 96. For the Papunya and Haasts Bluff morbidity survey see G.M. Maxwell, R.B. Elliott, W.T. McCoy and W.A. Langsford, 'Respiratory infections in Australian Aboriginal children', *Medical J of Australia* 2/22, 30 Nov 1968. The study of settlements and missions 1965–69 was by D.K. Kirke, 'Aboriginal infant and toddler mortality in central Australia 1965–9', Doctor of Medicine thesis 1970, University of Adelaide.
- 158 For Aborigines on pastoral leases see F.S. Stevens, *Aborigines in the Northern Territory cattle industry*, Canberra 1974, 90–1. D. Bell explains the reasons why Aborigines did or did not adjust to the presence and policies of central Australian pastoralists in her 'For our families: the Kurundi walkoff and the Ngurrantiji venture', *Aboriginal history* 2/1, 1978, 32–62. For a review of research on the declining numbers of Aboriginal pastoral workers in the late 1960s see J.C. Altman and J. Nieuwenhuysen, *The economic status of Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne 1979, 64–8. For the Social Welfare Branch figures on this decline see the *Annual reports* 1958–59, 1964–65 and 1969–70.
- 159 Information about Amooinguna is derived from remarks under that heading in Social Welfare Branch, *Annual reports*, 1960–61 to 1970–71. See also C.D. Rowley, *The remote Aborigines*, Canberra 1976, 35–54.
On Morris Soak and other artists camps see Social Welfare Branch, *Annual reports*, 1961–62, 1962–63.
- 159–60 Minutes of the Alice Springs town management board's thoughts on town camping from 12 May 1961 have been extracted and are held in the one file at the Tangentyere Council, Alice Springs. See also M. Heppel and J. Wigley, *Black out in Alice*, Development Studies Centre Monograph 26, Canberra 1981. Reference to the work in seeking the Ntapa lease is *ibid*, 102.
- 160–1 A 1980 survey of Alice Springs residents living in European-style houses is reported in D. Jaensch, R. Slee and J. Summers, 'Contests in the centre electorates' in D. Jaensch and P. Loveday (eds), *Under one flag: the 1980 Northern Territory election*, Sydney 1981.
- 161 D. Bell has discussed the Sadadeen Valley case in 'Sacred sites: the politics of protection', in M. Langton and N. Peterson (eds), *Aborigines, land and land rights*, Canberra 1983. The needs of town camp children were argued in Yipirinye School Council's submission on the establishment of teaching programs in town camps, typescript, Alice Springs, Oct 1978.
- 161–2 For a recent discussion of the significance of Uluru (Ayers Rock) to local Aborigines see R. Layton, 'Ambilineal descent and traditional Pitjantjatjara rights to land' in Langton and Peterson (eds), *Aborigines*. Some of the early history of settlement is recounted in the *Uluru (Ayers Rock) National Park and Lake Amadeus/Luritja land claim report*, Commonwealth parliamentary paper 115/1980, which recapitulates information in the *Claim book* prepared by the Central Land Council, Alice Springs, in 1979. Concern at the failure of the South West Reserve is recorded in F1/42/49, F3/32/1 and F3/18/14.
- 162 The comment by a Pitjantjatjara man on the violation of the cave comes from the transcript of a 21 Nov 1971 meeting at Ernabella, supplied to me by the Pitjantjatjara Council.
- 162–3 F. Rose, *The wind of change in central Australia*, Berlin 1965, is the best source on Angas Downs and the lives of its Aboriginal residents. The Welfare Branch's concern at Pitjantjatjara movement in the region is evident from the file submitted to the Uluru/Lake Amadeus land claim in 1979, exhibit 64.

- 163 The patrol officer's experience was recorded in Social Welfare Branch of the NT Administration, *Annual report*, 1961–62, 25. These reports outline the official view of the area and hopes for Docker River.
The observer was Nick Peterson, 'The Aboriginal involvement with the Australian economy in the Central Reserve during the winter of 1970' in R.M. Berndt (ed), *Aborigines and change*, Canberra 1977, 146.
- 164 For the Aborigines as 'vandals' see W. Harney, *To Ayers Rock and beyond*, Adelaide 1962, 160.
- 165 For the recent political history of western desert Aborigines see D. Vachon, 'Political consciousness and land rights among the Australian western desert people' in E. Leacock and R. Lee (eds), *Politics and history in band societies*, London 1982.
The 'memories inside' quotation is from Uluru *Claim book*, 36.
9. AUDIENCES FOR ART
Howard Morphy
- 167 For an introduction to Aboriginal art see A.P. Elkin, R.M. Berndt and C.M. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, Melbourne 1950. For a general account of the role of art in traditional Aboriginal society see R.M. Berndt (ed), *Australian Aboriginal art*, Sydney 1964; and Australian Gallery Directors Council, *Aboriginal Australia*, Sydney 1981.
- 167–8 D.J. Mulvaney and J.H. Calaby, *So much that is new: Baldwin Spencer, 1860–1929, a biography*, Melbourne 1985, places attitudes to Aborigines and their culture in the context of the intellectual climate of the early twentieth century. For an account of the influence of primitive art on western art see W. Rubin (ed), *Primitivism in 20th century art*, New York 1984.
- 168 Details of Spencer's research are in Mulvaney and Calaby, *So much that is new*; photographs of many of the paintings he collected are in B. Spencer, *The native tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, London 1914.
The first article on toas was by E.C. Stirling and E.R. Waites, 'Description of toas: or Australian Aboriginal direction signs', *Records of the South Australian museum* 1, 1919.
Tuckson's statement on western attitudes to Aboriginal art is from T. Tuckson, 'Aboriginal art and the western world' in Berndt (ed), *Australian Aboriginal art*. The quotation from Rowilson is from Australian Gallery Directors Council, *Aboriginal Australia*, 9. For Namatjira's life see R. Battarbee, *Modern Australian Aboriginal art*, Sydney 1951.
- 169 For Preston's work and her interest in Aboriginal art see H. McQueen, *Black swan of trespass: the emergence of modernist painting in Australia to 1944*, Sydney 1979.
- 169–71 For Chaseling and the beginnings of the art industry at Yirrkala see W. Chaseling, *Yulengor: nomads of Arnhem Land*, London 1957.
- 171 For the craft industry at Oenpelli see P. Carroll, 'Aboriginal art from western Arnhem Land' in P. Loveday and P. Cooke (eds), *Aboriginal arts and crafts and the market*, Darwin 1983.
The analysis of the economics of the craft industry is from J. Altman, 'Marketing Aboriginal art and craft: some economic realities and subsidisation options', paper presented to conference of Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies on 'Aboriginal arts in contemporary Australia', May 1984.
- 171–2 For Tuckson's expeditions to Arnhem Land with Scougall and Bennett see Tuckson 'Aboriginal art and the western world'. For Davidson's role in the marketing of Aboriginal art see N. Williams, 'Australian Aboriginal art at Yirrkala: introduction and development of marketing' in W. Graham (ed), *Ethnic and tourist arts: cultural expressions from the fourth world*, Berkley 1976.
- 172 For Sandra Holmes and Yirawala see S. Holmes, *Yirawala, artist and man*, Brisbane 1972.
The paintings in the Yirrkala church are reproduced in A. Wells, *This is the Dreaming*, St Lucia 1971. For Wells and his role in the bark petition see E. Wells, *Reward and punishment in Arnhem Land*, Canberra 1982.
- 172–3 For a more humorous view of craft advisors see P. Cooke, 'The craft advisor's role in the battle against the headless crocodile' in Loveday and Cooke (eds), *Aboriginal arts and crafts*.
For the rise of Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Limited see V. Peterson, 'Aboriginal arts and crafts: a brief history' in Loveday and Cooke (eds), *Aboriginal arts and crafts*.
- 173–4 For the distinction between Aboriginal fine art and tourist art, and for a critique of the concept of primitive art see H. Morphy, 'The impact of the commercial development of art on traditional culture' in R. Edwards and J. Stewart (eds), *Preserving indigenous cultures: a new role for museums*, Canberra 1980.
- 174 The origins and early development of Western Desert acrylic paintings are from G. Bardon, *Aboriginal art of the Western Desert*, Adelaide 1979. For a critical appraisal of the developments see V. Megaw, 'Western Desert acrylic painting—artefact or art?', *Art history* 5/2, 1982.
- 175 Narritjin and Banapana Maymuru's fellowships at the Australian National University are in H. Morphy, 'Geology in ochre', *Hemisphere* 23/2, 1979.
An exhibition presented by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in May 1984 grossed over \$100 000, and was the largest selling exhibition of Aboriginal art.
Elkin's 'window' comment is from Elkin, Berndt and Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, 6.
10. POLITICS OLD AND NEW
John Warhurst
The author thanks Gillian Evans, Gillian O'Loghlin and Janet Penny for research.
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11. RELIGION AND POLITICS
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13. THE FILM INDUSTRY
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14. BOOM AND RECESSION
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The incidence of poverty in a so-called affluent society was dramatically brought to public attention by the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (Henderson Report) in 1975; more recent estimates suggest a total of about 800 000 households in poverty (see the study commissioned by the Department of Housing and Construction, reported in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 Nov 1985). The estimate of the number of millionaires (persons with a net worth equal to or exceeding \$1 million) is from a report of the Department of Social Security, reported in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1985. Earlier estimates of wealth inequalities were provided by P. Raskall, 'Who's got what in Australia: the distribution of wealth', *J of Australian political economy* 2, 1978.

15. WORK
G.F.R. Spenceley

- 273 Ford's observations are from 'Work' in A.F. Davies and S. Encel (eds), *Australian society*, Melbourne 1970, 101. Ford notes here the importance of Laffitte's work, but Allan Bordow is the writer who calls it 'seminal' in *The worker in Australia*, St Lucia 1977, 11-13. Gollan's account of mine organisation is in *Coalminers of New South Wales*, Melbourne 1963, 118-23, 210-37.
- 273-5 Australia, Committee to advise on policies for manufacturing industry, *Policies for development of manufacturing industry: a green paper* (known as the *Jackson report*), 4 vols, Canberra 1975-77, relates the work-scenes here described, vol 4, 8-9; 'destructive maintenance', vol 4, 40; 'Smells, noise', vol 4, 93. Trahair's 'Men on the mine' is in Bordow (ed), *The worker in Australia*; the quotations are from 25, 37, 38.
- 275-6 Roy Kriegler describes coke ovens and ladles of molten steel in *Working for the company: work and control in the Whyalla shipyard*, Melbourne 1980, 18, 43. C. Williams, *Open cut: the working class in an Australian mining town*, Sydney 1981, is a study made in 1975 of the people of two Utah company towns.
- 276 The work experience cases are from R. Kriegler and G. Stendal, *At work: Australian experiences*, Sydney 1984.
- 276-7 B. Jones' classification of the components of the workforce is from *Sleepers, wake!*, Melbourne 1982, 46-72.
- 277-8 *The Jackson report*, vol 1, 28-9, has a summary of the effects of World War II on manufacturing. For wartime economic development see S.J. Butlin, *War economy 1939-42*, Canberra 1955, and S.J. Butlin and C.B. Schedvin, *War economy 1942-45*, Canberra 1977. The comments on the textile, clothing and footwear industries are from Jones, *Sleepers, wake!*, 63-4. The difficulties of heavy industry are from 'Politics of recession in the iron triangle', *National Times*, 19-25 Sept 1982; 'The furnaces go out', *Australian*

- society, 22 Oct 1982; *Financial Review*, 17 Dec 1982; M. Donaldson and T. Donaldson, 'The crisis in the steel industry', *J of Australian political economy* 14, 1983, 33–43; 'A steel city sings the blues', *Bulletin*, 19 Apr 1983; 'Hope for a battered town', *Bulletin*, 29 Jan 1985.
- 278 The Malraux quotation is in Jones *Sleepers, wake!*, 239.
- 279 Figures on women's employment are from relevant censuses and Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), *Labour statistics, Australia 1984*, 42, and *Social indicators, Australia 1984*, vol 4, 152–6. I also draw on A. Curthoys, 'Is there a sexual division of labour' (unpublished paper by courtesy of the author); and S. Eccles, 'Women in the Australian labour force' in D.H. Broom (ed), *Unfinished business: social justice for women in Australia*, Sydney 1984.
- For the history of women police in Vic see *Police life* (Vic), Mar 1985; for women police in NSW see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 Jan 1986.
- 280 The statistics of married women in the workforce are from ABS, *Labour force, Australia 1981*, 40, table 13. The first comprehensive interview–survey of the economic experience of migrant families was the Australian Population and Immigration Council's *A decade of migrant settlement*, Canberra 1976. D. Storer, *But I wouldn't want my wife to work here*, Melbourne 1976, studies individual migrant women. Ford's observation is from the *Jackson report*, vol 4, 20.
- For migrant workers' contribution to construction works, see *A decade of migrant settlement*, ch 3.
- See J. Martin, *The migrant presence*, Sydney 1978, for trade unions in the assimilationist period, 186–205, and the Broadmeadows strike, 191.
- Ford's observations are from *Jackson report*, vol 4, 25, 27.
- 281 For Aboriginal work and the studies quoted see J.C. Altman and J. Nieuwenhuysen, *The economic status of Australian Aborigines*, Cambridge 1979.
- 282 For changes in work on the waterfront, see W. Lowenstein and T. Hills, *Under the hook: Melbourne waterside workers remember working lives and class war, 1900–1980*, Melbourne 1982, 4, 50, 166.
- 282–3 See *Technological change in Australia: report of the committee of inquiry (Myers Committee)*, Canberra 1980, for robots, vol 2, 31–3, 247–8, and vol 4, 109–41; clay brick and glass manufacture, vol 2, 231; numerically controlled machines, vol 2, 247. See A. Game and R. Pringle, *Gender at work*, Sydney 1983, 26–8, 33–4, for automation in the whitegoods industry. For technological change in printing see *Myers Committee*, vol 2, 217–23 and vol 4, 148–87.
- 283–4 See *Myers Committee*, vol 4, 37–107 for the impact of word processors; for the paperless office and the employment-generating effect of technological change, vol 2, 291. Jones outlines the Thornton–Stanley and Foundation for Australian Resources findings in *Sleepers, wake!*, 114.
- 284 For deskilling see H. Braverman, *Labour and monopoly capitalism*, New York 1974. See also S. Wood (ed), *The degradation of work? Skill, deskilling and the labour process*, London 1982.
- 285 The sexist comments about automation and women's work are from *Australian bank officer*, May 1966, 7. The 1978 study of banking and insurance union members is G. Griffin, 'Managing technological change: industrial relations in the banking and insurance industries', *J of industrial relations* 24, 1982, 53–68.
- The Melbourne study of word processing is by P. McLennan, 'Case studies on the impact of word processors' in *Myers Committee*, vol 4, 57–107. The Red Fems discuss Braverman in 'The implications of technological change for women workers in the public sector' in M. Bevage, M. James and C. Shute (eds), *Worth her salt: women at work in Australia*, Sydney 1982. The *Financial Review* is quoted *ibid*, 159.
- 286 J. Selby Smith discusses reactions to the Myers report in 'The report of the committee of inquiry into technological change in Australia', *Australia quarterly* 53/2, 1981, 177–86. K. Windschuttle's views are from 'The employment costs of technological change' in M. Grant (ed), *Readings in economics*, Melbourne 1981, 53. C. Williams's study of the Telecom workers is 'The "work ethic", non-work and leisure in an age of automation', *Australia and New Zealand J of sociology* 19/2, July 1983, 216–37.
- 287 Creating a socialist society is from Windschuttle, 'The employment costs of technological change', 60–1.
- Jones's prescriptions for work's meaning are from *Sleepers, wake!*, 241.
16. **BOSSES AND WORKERS**
Tom Sheridan
- 289 The Australian media's attitude to industrial relations is from E. Davis, 'Trade unions and the media in Australia' in K. Cole (ed), *Power, conflict and control in Australian trade unions*, Melbourne 1982, 15–34. See also M. McColl, 'The mass media and industrial relations news: a case study', *J of industrial relations* 22/4, 1980, 420–41 and S. Pope, 'Selection and interpretation: one newspaper's reporting of industrial disputes', *Occasional paper*, Department of Education, University of Adelaide, 1983.
- The problems associated with strike data, costs and international comparisons are from S. Deery and D. Plowman, *Australian industrial relations*, Sydney 1983 (1980), 41–61, and B. Dabscheck and J. Niland, *Industrial relations in Australia*, Sydney 1981, 67–77.
- 290 The therapeutic effects of industrial disputes and the role of unions are from R. Hyman, *Strikes*, London 1984 (1972).
- 291 For employers' associations see Deery and Plowman, *Industrial relations*, 180–99.
- 291–2 Evidence of management training and outlook is from J.D. Hill, W.A. Howard and R.D. Lansbury, *Industrial relations: an Australian introduction*, Melbourne 1982, 111–31.
- 292–3 Data on the size of Australian unions are from successive books published in Canberra by D.W. Rawson since 1970. Interpretative works on the operation of unions include D.W. Rawson, *Unions and unionists in Australia*, Sydney 1978; R.M. Martin, *Trade unions in Australia*, Melbourne 1980; B. Ford and D. Plowman, *Australian unions: an industrial relations perspective*, Melbourne 1983; G.W. Ford, J.M. Hearn and R.D. Lansbury, *Australian labour relations: readings*, Melbourne 1980, 78–221. For the operation of the biggest unions in the metal trades and the building industry, see S.J. Frenkel and A. Coolican, *Unions against capitalism?*, Sydney 1984. Details concerning the ACTU are from J. Hagan, *The history of the ACTU*, Melbourne 1981.
- 294–5 The basic role of governments and tribunals in Australia is provided in Plowman and Deery, *Industrial relations* and Dabscheck and Niland, *Industrial relations*.
- 295–6 The industrial turmoil of the Bruce–Page years is from A. Wildavsky and D. Carboch, *Studies in Australian politics*, Melbourne 1958, and F. Farrell, *International socialism and Australian labour*, Sydney 1981, ch 6. The general experience of ordinary people in the 1930s depression is described in W. Lowenstein, *Weevils in the flour*, Melbourne 1978, and R. Broomhill, *Unemployed workers*, Brisbane 1978. The printers' gains are outlined by J. Hagan, *Printers and politics*, Canberra 1966, 241–65, the metal workers' in T. Sheridan, *Mindful militants*, Cambridge 1975, 130–43, and the miners' in E. Ross, *A history of the miners' federation of Australia*, Sydney 1970, 348–82 and R. Gollan, *The coalminers of New South Wales*, Melbourne 1963, 200–19.
- 296 The ACTU's approach is recorded by C.B. Donn, *The Australian council of trade unions*, Lanham 1983, 194–235.
- 297 For the wartime labour market and government regulation see S.J. Butlin, *War economy 1939–42*, Canberra 1955, 28–53, 224–52, 475–87; and S.J. Butlin and C.B. Schedvin, *War economy 1942–45*, Canberra 1977, 13–47, 140–53, 196–200, 225–9, 260–2, 348–90, 485–94, 536–69, 625–798.
- Women's wages are analysed by Butlin and Schedvin, *War economy 1942–45*, 557–61; A.W. Foster, 'The experience of the Women's Employment Board in Australia', *International labour review* 52/6, 632–42. Male unionists threatened by postwar employment of females are exemplified by the printers' federal secretary, E.C. McGrath, in 'The future of women in industry', *Australia quarterly* 15/2, 1943, 39–45.
- 297–8 The general postwar industrial scene, the history of the Chifley government's wage freeze, the 40 hours agitation and the metal trades dispute are from T. Sheridan, 'Labour v Labor' in J. Iremonger *et al* (eds), *Strikes: studies in twentieth century Australian social history*, Sydney 1973, 176–224.
- 298 The Communist party's convolutions are outlined in R. Gollan, *Reformists and revolutionaries*, Canberra 1975, 144–254. Santamaria's role is from P. Ormonde, *The Movement*, Melbourne 1972. For the 1949 coal strike see M.L. MacIntosh, 'The 1949 coal strike', MA thesis 1975, Flinders University; and P. Deery, 'The 1949 coal strike', PhD thesis 1976, La Trobe University.
- 299–300 Insights into arbitration judges' thinking in the 1950s and 1960s are from B. Dabscheck, *Arbitrator at work*, Sydney 1983 and B. d'Alpuget, *Mediator*, Melbourne 1977. The nature and use of 'penal powers' is from J. Hutson, *Penal colony to penal powers*, Sydney 1966, 173–226.
- 300 The prominence of the metal trades, employers' policy and the 'absorption' dispute is outlined in Sheridan, *Mindful militants*, 266–93. Details of major Arbitration Commission decisions are from J. Hutson, *Six wage concepts*, Sydney 1971.
- Union indignation at the O'Shea affair is from J. Arrowsmith, *Abolish the penal powers*, Melbourne 1969.
- 300–1 For state innovations see Deery and Plowman, *Industrial relations*, 150–2; for the move away from and back to centralised wage fixation in the early 1970s, *ibid*, 297–301.
- 301 The Whitlam achievements are chronicled in C. Cameron, *Unions in crisis*, Melbourne 1982. For women's slow progress against discrimination see Women's Bureau, Department of Employment and Industrial Relations, *Women at work: facts and figures*, Canberra 1985. See also J. Wilkinson, 'Unions and women workers' in Ford and Plowman, *Australian unions*, 350–64. For an insider's account of green bans see J. Munday, *Green bans and beyond*, Sydney 1981.
- 302 Problems arising from technical change are from R.D. Lansbury and E.M.

- Davis (eds), *Technology, work and industrial relations*, Melbourne 1984.
- 302-3 For the events of the past decade see *Journal of industrial relations*.
- 303 The Hursey saga has recently been translated into a novel, A. Lohrey, *Morality of gentlemen*, Sydney 1984. The WWF view is in T. Bull, *Politics in a union: the Hursey case*, Sydney 1977. The Gnatenko case is from G. Phelan, 'Shop-floor organisation: some experience from the vehicle industry', unpublished paper, Macquarie University.
- 303-4 For modern WA industrial relations see N. Duffy, *Industrial relations in the Pilbara iron ore industry*, Perth 1984.
- 304 The 1948 Queensland dispute and the Hanlon government is from D.J. Blackmur, 'Industrial relations under an Australian state Labor government: the Hanlon government in Queensland 1946-52', PhD thesis 1986, University of Queensland. The Mount Isa affair and its effects on the AWU are from M.B. Cribb, 'The Mount Isa strikes 1961, 1964' in D.J. Murphy (ed), *The big strikes*, Brisbane 1983, 270-98.
- 304-5 References to the AWU's internal dissensions are from C. Cameron, *Unions in crisis*, esp ch 2. For the relations between unions and migrants see M. Quinlan, 'Unions and immigrants' in Ford and Plowman, *Australian unions*, 373-93.
- 305 The early career of Laurie Carmichael is from Sheridan, *Mindful militants*, 246-304; Jim Healy is the subject of V. Williams, *The years of Big Jim*, Perth 1975.
- 305-6 Fairfax's letter to Lewis, 21 Nov 1945, is held in the BHP Archives in South Melbourne, A 25/21. For further details of Lewis's career see G. Blainey, *The steel master*, Melbourne 1971.
- 306-7 For the Fraser and Hawke years see papers presented to conferences of the Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand, 1983, 1985. All current literature in the field is listed in the Australian Industrial Relations Database (IREL) supplied by the Brisbane College of Advanced Education.
- 307 The Winneke Commission reported to the federal and Vic parliaments in 1982, and the Costigan Commission made its final report to the federal government in 1984.
The saga of Norm Gallagher could be followed in all mass media in 1985-86, as could the fate of the 'accord' and of the ACTU's drive for superannuation.
17. CHILDREN, WOMEN, AND MEN
Ann Curthoys
The author wishes to thank the Australian National University for its support while writing this chapter, both through the Social Justice Project and at the Humanities Research Centre.
- 309 C. McNamara's article was in *Labor digest* 1/2, 1945. M. Harland, *Women's place in society*, was published in Melbourne 1947.
- 310 J. Rigg (ed), *In her own right*, was published in Melbourne 1969; R. Stephenson, *Women in Australia*, was published in Melbourne 1970; A. Summers, *Damned whores and God's police*, was published in Melbourne 1975. D. Barwick referred to the observation of welfare workers on Aboriginal women in Rigg (ed), *In her own right*.
The Griffith study was R. Huber, *From pasta to pavlova: a comparative study of Italian settlers in Sydney and Griffith*, St Lucia 1977. For Greek families see G. Bottomley, 'Kinship and cultural change: some observations of Greeks in Sydney' in M. Dawson (ed), *Families: Australian studies of changing relationships within the family and between the family and society*, Sydney 1974.
J. Martin reported on her Adelaide study in 'Extended kinship ties: an Adelaide study', *Australia and New Zealand J of sociology* 3, 1967. The comment on companionship and emotional support is from J. Martin, 'Suburbia: community and network' in A.F. Davies and S. Encel (ed), *Australian society: a sociological introduction*, Melbourne 1970 (1965), 313.
- 311 The findings on kinship in Sydney are from M. Stivens, 'The private life of the extended family: family, kinship and class in a middle class suburb of Sydney' in L. Manderson (ed), *Australian ways: anthropological studies of an industrialised society*, Sydney 1985.
- 311-12 The Qld report was C. Williams, *Open cut: the working class in an Australian mining town*, Sydney 1981. Emphasis on solidarity is from P. Dwyer, B. Wilson and R. Woock, *Confronting school and work: youth and class cultures in Australia*, Sydney 1984, 49.
- 312 The Mount Druitt study is outlined in B. Wearing, *The ideology of motherhood: a study of Sydney suburban mothers*, Sydney 1984.
Kindergarten of the Air is from P. Spearritt, 'The kindergarten movement: tradition and change' in D.E. Edgar (ed), *Social change in Australia: readings in sociology*, Melbourne 1974, 592; and K.S. Inglis, *This is the ABC*, Melbourne 1983, 103-4.
- 312-13 Lady Gowrie centres are described by D. Brennan and C. O'Donnell, *Caring for Australia's children: political and industrial issues in child care*, Sydney 1986, 19-20. For a history of preschools see Spearritt, 'The kindergarten movement'.
- 313 The story of the Broken Hill kindergarten was told to the author by her mother, Barbara Curthoys.
- 314 The Chullora kindergarten is from *Our women*, Mar-May 1959. For the popularity of kindergartens see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 Feb 1959. For Aboriginal preschool education see G.R. Teasdale and A.J. Whitelaw, *The early childhood education of Aboriginal Australians*, Melbourne 1981.
The financial crisis facing kindergartens was reported on by *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1969, and *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 25 June 1969. For Labor's early preschool policy see Brennan and O'Donnell, *Caring for Australia's children*, 23-5.
- 315 The disguised attack on the home was from M. Bayne, *Australian women at war*, Melbourne 1943, 65.
The influence of Bowlby is from Brennan and O'Donnell, *Caring for Australia's children*.
- 316 Kathleen's neighbour is quoted anonymously in G. Wesson (ed), *Brian's wife, Jenny's mum*, Melbourne 1975, 23.
The childcare situation of the late 1960s is from *Financial Review*, 23 July 1969, and Brennan and O'Donnell, *Caring for Australia's children*.
- 316-17 The Women's Bureau publication *Children of working mothers*, was No 5 in a series 'Women in the workforce'. The 1970 report *Child care centres*, was No 7.
- 317-19 The expansion of childcare services in the 1970s is from Brennan and O'Donnell, *Caring for Australia's children*, chs 2-3. The Hawke government policy was outlined by Senator Don Grimes, minister for community services, in a letter to day care centres, 7 Nov 1985.
- 319-20 A history of child endowment is in B. Cass, 'Redistribution to children and to mothers: a history of child endowment and family allowances' in C. Baldock and B. Cass (eds), *Women, social welfare and the states in Australia*, Sydney 1983, 54-85.
- 320-1 The growth in provision of child endowment 1945-64 is from T.H. Kewley, *Social security in Australia*, Sydney 1965, 190-208. The 1960 opinion poll is quoted in Office of the Status of Women, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, *What women think: a survey of mother's attitudes to the family allowance, the dependent spouse rebate and family finances*, Canberra 1985.
- 321 The views of the hospital employees were reported in *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 21 May 1962.
- 321-2 The figures for the dependent spouse rebate are from S. Shaver, 'Sex and money in the welfare state' in Baldock and Cass (eds), *Women, social welfare and the states*, 146-63.
- 322 The details of increasing numbers of female heads of households are from Department of Social Security, *Changing family patterns and social security protection: the Australian scene*, Canberra 1979. The growth of single parent households is from B.A. English and R.J. King, *Families in Australia*, Sydney 1983, 7. Changing attitudes to one-parent families is from A. Burns and J. Goodnow, *Children and families in Australia: contemporary issues and problems*, Sydney 1979, 65.
Figures on working single mothers are from L. Bryson, 'Women as welfare recipients: women, poverty and the state' in Baldock and Cass (eds), *Women, social welfare and the states*, 135.
- 322-3 For the widows' pension see B. Dickey, *No charity there: a short history of social welfare in Australia*, Melbourne 1980, 146, 171-2; and Kewley, *Social security*, ch 11. See also J. Aitken-Swan, *Widows in Australia: a survey of the economic and social conditions of widows with dependent children*, Sydney 1962.
- 323 The 1962 survey of civilian widows was conducted by the NSW Council of Social Services, see Kewley, *Social security*, 223.
- 324 The retraining scheme for sole mothers was reported on by *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 28 Nov 1968, and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 Jan 1969.
For the non-payment of child maintenance see M. Edwards, with P. Harper and M. Harrison, 'Child support: obligations of parents, state responsibility and the rights of children', paper to 3rd Australian Law and Society conference, Canberra 1985. See also H. Johnstone, 'Maintenance and social security', paper to seminar on Maintenance and Child Support, Australian National University, Feb 1986.
For children in substitute care see T. Sweeney, 'Child welfare and child care policies' in A. Graycar (ed), *Retreat from the welfare state: Australian social policy in the 1980s*, Sydney 1983, 35-54.
- 325 For a history of the women's refuge movement of the 1970s see S. Dowse, 'The women's movement's fandango with the state: the movement's role in public policy since 1972' in Baldock and Cass (eds), *Women, social welfare and the states*, 201-22; and S. Dowse, 'The bureaucrat as usurer' in D.H. Broom (ed), *Unfinished business: social justice for women in Australia*, Sydney 1984, 139-60. For the number and capacity of refuges see H. Saville, 'Refuges: a new beginning to the struggle' in C. O'Donnell and J. Craney (eds), *Family violence in Australia*, Melbourne 1982, 95-109.
Restricted options are outlined in V. Johnson (comp), *The last resort: a*

- women's refuge, Melbourne 1981, 26.
The survey was reported in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 Mar 1986.
18. CURE AND PREVENTION
Neville Hicks
- 329 For the 1943 committee see Sixth Interim Report from the Joint Committee on Social Security, 1 July 1943, *CPP*, 2, 1940–43.
- 329–31 Material on the Crystal Brook District Hospital was made available by Angus Sargent (chairman of the board) and Paul Bevis (secretary). Esp useful were admission registers and board minute books. Other consulted were Renie Eig (Matron Coombe), Helen Manuel (Kendrew's daughter), Eunice Smart, Mr and Mrs L.W. Collins, Ian North, Ward Derrington and Joe Whitehouse.
- 331 For the growing medical dominance over the health domain see T.S. Pensabene, *The rise of the medical practitioner in Victoria*, Canberra 1980; and E. Willis, *Medical dominance*, Sydney 1983.
For the political economy of health in Australia at the beginning of the century see C. Thame, 'Health and the state', PhD thesis 1974, Australian National University. For the slogan 'white race fit to people the tropics' see M. Roe, 'The establishment of the Australian Department of Health: its background and significance', *Historical studies* 17/67, 1976, 189.
- 331–2 For the 1925–26 royal commission, see Report of the royal commission on health, 14 Jan 1926, in *CPP*, 4, 1926–28.
- 332 For the two reports reiterating the royal commission see Joint Committee on Social Security, 1943, and National Health and Medical Research Council, *Report of the 12th session*, Canberra 1941.
The opposition of the AMA to a national health service was led by H.S. Newland, see *Australian dictionary of biography*. See also T. Hunter, 'Planning national health policy in Australia', *Public administration* (London) 4, 1966, 315–22.
- 333 For F.S. Hone see *Australian dictionary of biography*. Terese Holland and Pat Morisset (Jungfer's daughters) provided material about Jungfer. See also Jungfer papers, Royal Australian College of General Practitioners archive, Melbourne. For his Adelaide studies see C.C. Jungfer, *Report of a health survey in the Adelaide Hills district*, Canberra 1944, and C.C. Jungfer, *Child health in a rural community: a further report on the work of the Adelaide Hills children's health survey*, Canberra 1948.
- 334 For H.H. Shannon see SA Legislative Assembly, *PD*, 30 Sept 1943, 20 Sept 1944, 10 Oct 1945, 8 Oct 1946, 7 Dec 1948, 1 Nov 1949. For Shannon's report see Report of the Committee of Enquiry for consolidating the health services of the state, in *SA PP*, 1946.
- 335 For the SA political situation and gerrymander see R.L. Reid *et al.*, 'The government of South Australia' in S.R. Davis (ed), *The government of the Australian states*, Sydney 1960, 333–404. Throughout the 1940s, the Assembly in SA was composed of 26 rural and 13 metropolitan members.
- 337 For the debate on building a new public hospital in the 1940s see I.L.D. Forbes, *The Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Woodville, South Australia, 1954–1984*, Adelaide 1984. See also P. Joske, *History of the Royal Perth Hospital*, Perth 1982, for a similar contention ten years later.
- 338–9 For an insider's account of health policy making in the Whitlam era see S. Sax, *A strife of interests*, Sydney 1984.
- 339 The report on hospitals was Hospitals and Health Services Commission, *A report on hospitals in Australia*, Canberra 1974.
The separate report on rural health was Hospitals and Health Services Commission, *Rural health in Australia*, Canberra 1976.
- 339–40 The intentions of the Community Health Program are from Hospitals and Health Services Commission, *A community health program for Australia*, Canberra 1973. For responses to the program see E. Furler, 'Conflict and cooperation' in J.D. Potter and M. Hodgson (eds), *Working papers in community health*, Adelaide 1982; N. Milio, 'Next steps in community health policy: matching rhetoric and reality', *Community health studies* 7/2, 1983, 185–92; and E. Furler and M. Howard, 'Sequels to the community health program', *Community health studies* 8/3, 1983, 292–8.
- 340 For 'full constitutional responsibility' see Committee of Inquiry into the efficiency and administration of hospitals, *Interim report and Report*, Canberra 1980. See also C. Grant, *Australian hospitals: operation and management*, Melbourne 1985.
- 340–1 For the regionalisation of the administration of state health services see N. Hicks, 'Regional planning and formula funding of health services in Australia', *Health and society* 65/4, 1985, 671–90.
- 341 James Mansfield and G.I. Stephens of Mutual Community provided data about Arthur Hicks' premiums and claims.
For an analysis of the notion of professional care see A.V. Campbell, *Professional care: its meaning and practice*, London 1984. For hospitals as factories see SA Committee of Inquiry into hospitals (Sax Committee), *Report*, Adelaide 1983.
- For medicine as a business see J.B. McKinlay, 'The business of good doctoring or doctoring as good business', *International J of health services* 7/3, 1977, esp 460–4; A.S. Relman, 'The new medico-industrial complex', *New England J of medicine* 303/17, 1980, 963–70; P. Starr, *The social transformation of American medicine*, New York 1982. By the mid-1980s 'entrepreneurial medicine' was the subject of newspaper features in Australia, and officials of the Commonwealth Department of Health were flirting with aspects of American neoconservative health policy.
19. CHANGING MINDS
Stephen Garton
This chapter has benefited from discussions with Helen Barnes and Marie Wilkinson.
- 343 Statistics on mental hospital patients are from annual reports of the respective state government departments responsible for hospitals. The figures on patients suffering psychiatric disorders and the number of public hospital beds for psychiatric patients are in Department of Health, *Review of mental health care: a discussion paper*, Canberra 1978, 6, 80. For a survey of recent trends in hospital admission and the number of private psychiatrists, see N. Shiraev, *Psychiatric statistics: recent trends in public psychiatry*, Sydney 1979, 4.
Figures on the overcrowding and the administrative crises occasioned by the war are from mental hospital annual reports.
- 344 For the emergence of these two 'populations' and their more rigid definition in the 1930s see S. Garton, 'Insanity in NSW: some aspects of its social history, 1878–1958', PhD thesis 1984, University of New South Wales, ch 8. Information on the downgrading of treatment services for chronic patients is from mental hospital annual reports.
For formal and informal control of patients by staff see A.T. Edwards, *Patients are people*, Sydney 1968, 106–10. For the situation in individual hospitals see hospital medical journals which recorded each patient under restraint, for example, Gladesville Hospital (NSW), *Medical journal*, 1900–40, 8/2327–39, AONSW.
The *Sun* articles appeared on 1, 13 and 15 July 1948. The official inquiry is Report of Public Service Board upon conditions at Callan Park mental hospital, *NSWPP*, 1, 1947–48. The headlines are from *SMH*, 15 May 1949 and 2 July 1950. The Vic situation is from A. Kennedy, *Report on Victorian mental hygiene department*, Melbourne 1950. C. Dax, *Asylum to community: the development of the mental hygiene service in Victoria*, Melbourne 1961, chs 1 and 2, has a detailed analysis of the Kennedy report.
The editorial, 'The mental hospital services of New South Wales', *MJA* 1, 1953, 819, commented on overcrowding. Stoller's conclusions are in A. Stoller and K.W. Arscott, *Report on mental health facilities and needs of Australia*, Canberra 1955, 20, 52–4.
For state responses to the Stoller report see 'Mental hospitals in Australia', *MJA* 2, 1962, 525. For conditions at Callan Park see Report of the royal commission into certain matters affecting Callan Park mental hospital, *NSWPP*, 4, 1961–62, 673–99.
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21. INTO HISTORY

Ann Curthoys

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INDEX

Illustrations and caption material appear in italics.

- ANZUS alliance, 32, 38–9, 51, 53–4
Abbott, Harold, 3
Abbott, Mr, 15
ABC weekly, 219, 224
Abeles, Sir Peter, 127
Aboriginal Advancement League, 137–9, 143–5
Aboriginal Artists' Agency, 173
Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Ltd, 172–3
Aboriginal Arts Board, 172–3, 175
Aboriginal Cultural Foundation, 173
Aboriginal Development Corporation, 145, 173
Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 143–4, 143, 189
Aboriginal Treaty Committee, 440
Aborigines, 137, 141–2, 157, 163, *see gatefold* 40–1; army service, 26, 432–3; artistic culture, 70, 147–8, 159, 162, 164, 167–9, 167–70, 171–5, 171–5, 444; assimilation policy, 69–70, 135–44, 145, 151–2, 155–9, 162; beliefs and ceremonies, 132, 138, 141, 143, 150, 152, 161–5, 166, 167–8, 175; bicentennial celebrations and, 439–40; black pride, 142–3; broadcasting services, 232, 232; camps and settlements, 134–5, 138, 139–41, 147, 151–65, 154, 158, 160, 162, 314, 420, 430, 436; crime, 156; death, 149, 157, 420; definition, 70; discrimination and denial of basic rights, 26, 59, 69, 133–43, 153–9, 281, 310, 368, 371, 375, 411, 413–14, 420, 432–7; diseases, 154, 157; drinking, 156–8, 420, 434; education, 153, 156–9, 161, 163, 314; employment and wages, 26, 136–8, 144, 153–9, 155, 165, 171, 281, 281, 432; food, 144, 152, 156; full-bloods, 69–70, 136, 153–5; housing and living conditions, 71, 78, 136, 153–60, 420; implements, 168; kinship, 152, 164; land rights, 136, 138–42, 146–9, 160–1, 164, 165, 172, 433, 437, 439–40; medical services, 136, 156–8; missions, 151, 153–5, 157, 157, 162, 169, 171–2, 314, 371; NSW, 71, 78, 135, 138, 141, 144, 147, 149; NT, 26, 71, 133, 135–7, 140–2, 144, 146–8, 151–65, 168, 171–2; part-Aborigines, 69–70, 134, 141, 153, 153, 156, 430; political activity, 136–46, 148, 159, 188, 191; population, 26, 70–1, 82, 133–4, 151, 153, 180; prisoners, 149; prostitution, 154, 420; Qld, 71, 133–9, 146–7, 432; relaxation, 154; SA, 71, 134–5, 140–1, 147, 165; sacred sites, 158, 161–2, 165; Tas, 71, 135, 148, 430; tribal groups, 139–40, 142, 152–3, 155–7, 159, 161–3, 165, 168–9, 172, 174–5, 432, 436; unemployment, 148–9, 281; urbanisation, 78, 89, 133, 138, 142–3, 149, 159–60; Vic, 71, 135, 138–9, 141, 147–8; WA, 71, 134–6, 148; welfare payments, 135–6, 158–9, 163, 165; women's role, 310, 311, 392–3
abortion, 189, 192, 206, 388, 393, 413
Abortion Law Reform Association, 192
accents and accentuation, 219, 227, 231–2
Adam, Leonhard, 169
Adams, Rob, 437
Adams family, 390
Adamson, Rod, 427
Adelaide, 79, 92, 121, 125, 127
Adelaide Festival Centre, 97
adoptions, 322
Advertiser, (Adel), 215–16, 221
advertising, 8, 11, 116, 122, 124–5, 171, 217, 222, 225–6, 378, 385
affirmative action, 188
Afghanistan, 53
After Care Association, 349
Age (Melb), 6, 210, 215–17, 221–3, 237
aged, 81, 94, 339, 341, 350–1, 354–5, 431
agriculture, 99–100, 102–17, 104–5, 107, 109, 111, 114, 116, 252, 260–1, 261, 281, 417, 419
air raid shelters and precautions, 4, 7–8, 11, 14, 379, 407
Air Training Corps, 14
alcoholism, *see* drinking
Alice Springs (NT), 151–6, 154, 156, 159–61
Allen, Louis, 172
Altman, Mr, 171
alumina, 82, 266–7
Amalgamated Engineering Union, 296, 299–300, 304, 306
Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, 292, 299–300, 304–5
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 306
American Agri-Women, 113
American Psychiatric Association, 352
Amex Co, 148
Ananda Marga sect, 208
Anderson, John, 380–1
Anderson, Margaret, 446–7
Anderson, Robin, 250
Andrews, Merv, 162
Anglican Church of Australia, *see* Church of England
Angus & Robertson Ltd, 386
Ansett, Reginald, 127
Ansett-ANA *see* Australian National Airlines
Ansett Transport Industries, 127
Antarctic treaty, 55
Anthony, Doug, 185, 195, 421
Anzac Day, 1, 17–18
Anzac Pact, *see* Canberra Pact
Apex clubs, 323, 324
Appleyard, Reginald Thomas, 66
arbitration system, 291–2, 294–5, 295, 298, 302–3, 306, 404–5; *see also* Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission
Archer, Fred, 423
Archibald, J.F., 217
architecture, 85
Arena family, 359–64, 365, 366–9, 366–7
Argus (Melb), 6, 215–17, 220–1, 224
Armistice Day, 2, 4
Armstrong, Gillian, 247
Armstrong, Joe, 421
Armstrong, Mick, 6
Arneil, Stan, 21, 23
Arnott, Felix, 410, 413
art, 167–9, 414
Art and Australia (Syd), 169
art exhibitions and galleries, 86, 167–9, 167–70, 171–5, 171–3, 175, 437, 444
Ashbolt, Allan, 197, 199, 205–6, 359–60, 370–3, 370, 374, 375–8
Ashkanasy, Maurice, 18
Ashton, John William, 86
Asian and Pacific Council, 50
Askin, Robin, 420
Associated Chambers of Commerce of Australia, 183
Associated Chambers of Manufactures, 182
Associated Newspapers, 219, 221, 225
Association of Civilian Widows, 323, 323
Association of South-East Asian Nations, 53–4
atheism, 197
Atkinson, John, 173
atomic bomb, *see* nuclear weapons and tests
Attlee, Clement, 36, 37
Aussat, 230, 236
Austin, A.G., 430
Australasian, 224
Australasian Book Society, 429
Australasian post, 224, 234
Australia, 16
Australia (cruiser), 20
Australia Day, 439–40
Australia Party, 387
Australian (Syd), 48, 216, 221–3, 221, 233, 304
Australian-American Association, 34
Australian-American Co-operation Movement, 14
Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists, 352–3
Australian and New Zealand journal of psychiatry (Melb), 352
Australian Army, 13, 17, 20–1, 331, 415; Australian Imperial Force, 2, 20, 23, 33, 359, 370–1, 425; casualties, 5, 20, 24, 380, 401, 422; comfort work for troops, 4, 389, 395; demobilisation, 17, 61, 61; distinctions earned, 25, 433; enlistments, 3–4, 14, 23, 370, 423; strength and equipment, 16–17, 20, 24, 26; *see also* subjects pertaining to war
Australian Association for Cultural Freedom, 376
Australian Bankers' Association, 183
Australian Bicentennial Authority, 439–40
Australian-Britons, 32, 368, 417–18, 421, 442
Australian Broadcasting Commission, *see* Australian Broadcasting Corporation
Australian Broadcasting Control Board, 226
Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 10, 219–49, *passim*, 219, 250, 289, 312, 360, 370, 373, 375–8, 407, 440, 443
Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 226
Australian Building and Construction Workers' Federation, *see* Builders' Labourers' Federation
Australian business (Syd), 224
Australian Conservation Foundation, 190–1
Australian Council for the Arts, 172
Australian Council of Churches, 209–10, 212
Australian Council of Retailers, 183
Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations, 307
Australian Council of Trade Unions, 136, 182–3, 193, 269–70, 292, 294, 296, 298, 303–5, 307, 321, 386, 402
Australian Democrats, 188, 387
Australian dictionary of biography, 448–9
Australian family circle (Syd), 226
Australian Federation of Consumer Organisations, 183
Australian Film Authority, 246
Australian Film Commission, 246, 250
Australian Film Development Corporation, 245–6
Australian Financial Review (Syd), 216, 221, 237, 285
Australian Guarantee Corporation, 122
Australian Heritage Commission, 444
Australian Historical Association, 448
Australian history, *see* historiography; subjects pertaining to Australian history
Australian home beautiful (Melb), 218, 226
Australian home journal (Syd), 218, 226
Australian house and garden (Syd), 226
Australian identity, *see* Australian-Britons; Australian way of life; culture; patriotism and nationalism
Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, 251
Australian Iron and Steel Co, 86, 278, 280, 305
Australian-Japanese trade agreement, 45
Australian journal, 218, 226
Australian Law Reform Commission, 352
Australian Manufacturing Council, 183
Australian Medical Association, 307, 332, 338, 340
Australian Metal Industries Association, 291
Australian Mines and Metals Association, 404
Australian National Airlines, 127, 280, 382, 416
Australian National Travel Association, 218
Australian National University, 404, 449
Australian Peace Council, 427–8
Australian rules football, 13, 80, 82
Australian Russian Friendship Society, 409
Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, 37, 195, 425, 428
Australian society, (Melb), 236
Australian War Memorial, 393, 445, 446
Australian way of life, 67, 85, 143, 367–8, 416
Australian Wheatgrowers' Federation, 182
Australian Women's Army Service, 4, 26–7, 359, 432
Australian women's mirror (Syd), 218, 224
Australian women's weekly (Syd), 12, 15, 218, 224–5, 225, 234, 349
Australian Woolgrowers' Council, 184
Australian Woolgrowers' Federation, 182

- Australian Workers' Union, 296, 304–5
 Australian Youth Carnival for Peace and Friendship, 398
 automation, 282, 284
 aviation: aeroplanes, 8, 24, 384; air races, 127; civil, 106, 115, 127–8, 127, 164, 382, 384, 400, 416; hijacks, 360, 437; plane crashes, 179, 180; two-airlines policy, 382, 384, 388; wartime, 5, 8, 10–12, 14, 16, 24–5
 Ayers Rock (NT), 152, 161–5, 165
 Baker, Jack, 5
 balance of payments, 113, 258, 262, 270
 Ball, William Macmahon, 220
 Bandler, Faith, 434
 Banks, Norman, 219
 banks and banking, 180, 259, 269, 269, 298, 419; *see also* Commonwealth Bank; Reserve Bank
 Bannon, John, 186
 Baptist Church, 213, 408, 418
 Barclay, W.A., 352
 Bardon, Geoff, 174
 Barker, Denis, 345
 Barnes, Sid, 411
 Barr, Trevor, 232
 Barton family, 222, 224, 359–60, 379–82, 379, 383, 384–8, 385
 Barwick, Sir Garfield, 190, 194
 Basic Industry Group, 184
 Bastin, John, 18
 Bate, Jeff, 360, 384
 Battarbee, Rex, 169
 Bauman, Toni, 172
 bauxite, 138–9, 147
 Bayne, Mollie, 315
 Bean, C.E.W., 18, 85
 Beaurepaire family, 193, 359–60, 389–90, 389, 391, 392–3, 393
 Beazley, Kim Christian, 55
 Beeby, Judge, 306
 Bell Bay Aluminium Refinery, 257
 Belle (Syd), 226
 Belloc, Hilaire, 371
 Bennett, Dorothy, 171, 173
 Bennett, Gordon, 18
 Bennett, Lance, 173
 Bennie, Peter, 208
 Beresford, Bruce, 247–8, 437
 Bernard van Leer Foundation, 314
 Berndt family, 143, 169, 175
Better homes and gardens (Syd), 226
 Beveridge, William Henry, 424
 bicentenary celebrations of Australian colonisation, 439–40, 442–3, 449
 Bindul, Norah, 174
 Birrell family, 74
 birth control, 71, 192, 225, 393, 413
 birth rate, 60, 68–71, 280
 Bitri, Ricci, 407
 Bjelke-Petersen, Sir Joh, 184, 184, 304
 Black Hall Of Fame International Acting Award, 437
 black marketing, 257
 Blackburn, Justice, 142
 Blackman, Charles, 36
 blackouts, *see* brownouts in war
 Blackwood, Dame Margaret, 389
 Blainey, Geoffrey, 75, 200, 440, 441
 Blake family, 359–60, 394–5, 394, 396, 397–9, 397–9
 Blamey, Sir Thomas, 6
 Bland, Sir Henry, 233, 378
 Blayney, Peter, 58
 Bloomfield University of Pennsylvania, 437
 boat people, *see* immigration and immigrants
 Bolte, Sir Henry, 191, 262, 392
 Bond, Alan, 235, 237
 Bonney, Bill, 218
 Bonython, Sir Langdon, 215
 Born-again Christians, 211–12
 Borrie, W.D., 60, 68, 68, 71
 Bottomley, Gil, 310
 Bowers, Charles, 211
 Bowly, John, 315
 Bowman, David, 236
 Boyce, Christopher, 195
 Boyd, Robin, 93, 97
 Boyer lectures, 378
 Bozic, Magda, 66, 66
 Brack, John, 118
 Bradman, Don, 411
 Braverman, Harry, 284–7
 Brereton, Laurie, 355, 355
 Bretton Woods agreement, 262
 Brisbane, 79, 92, 121, 127
 British Commonwealth, 32, 38
 British Commonwealth Far Eastern Strategic Reserve, 44
 British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan, 37
 British Empire, 2, 7, 32–4, 32
 British Medical Association, 332
 British Petroleum Co Ltd, 257
 Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd, 86, 255, 258, 275, 278, 296, 297–8, 305
 Brokensha, Peter, 172
 Bropho, Robert, 135–6
 Browning, George, *xviii*
 brownouts in war, 6, 7, 10–11, 13–14, 407
 Bruce, Viscount, 34
 Bryant, Gordon, 145
 Buckley, Anthony, 239
 Buckmaster, Ernest, 86
 Builders' Labourers' Federation, 306–7
 building societies, 259
 Building Workers' Industrial Union, 306
 bulk handling, 110
Bulletin (Syd), 86, 217–18, 224, 233, 234
 Bulun Bulun, Johnny, 172, 175
 Bungey, Cicely, 113
 Burchett, Wilfred, 386–7, 428
 Burke, Brian, 148, 186
 Burlinson, Tom, 442
 Burma railway, 21
 Burstall, Tim, 247
 buses, 120–1, 126; *see also* trolley buses
 Bush, Roger, 198
 bushfires, 411
 Business Council of Australia, 303
Business review, 224
Business review weekly (Melb), 224
 Butler, Keith, 305
 Buttrose, Ita, 233
 Buxton, Gordon, 449
 Byron, Annie, 248
 Cahill, Joe, 186, 420
 Cain, John, 186
 Cairns, Jim, 194, 195, 377
 Callipari, Peter, 421
 Calwell, Arthur Augustus, 50, 60, 61–5, 62, 71–2, 74, 352, 369
 Cambodia, *see* Kampuchea
 camels, 162–5
 Cameron brothers, 304, 306
 Campaign Against Psychiatric Atrocities, 352
 Campbell, Keith, 106–7
 camping, 122, 128, 128
 Campion, Edmund, 200, 201, 203–5
 Campion Society, 200, 202
 Canada, 37, 259, 269, 289, 402
 Canberra, 81, 90, 91, 128, 179–81, 180, 421
Canberra, (cruiser), 20
 Canberra Pact, 36
Canberra Times, 216, 221–2
 Canberra Vigil Committee, 209
 canegrowing, *see* sugar and sugar industry
 Cantrill family, 251
 capital and labour, 267–9, 290
 capital punishment, 11, 233
 capitalism, 93, 202, 255, 257, 268, 271, 284–7, 348, 375, 377, 399
 Carmichael, Laurie, 305, 397
 Carnegie, Roderick, 301
 Carter, Doris, 389
 Casey, Lord, 39, 39, 44, 44
 Casey, Dermot, 430
 casinos, 94
 Cassidy, Stan, 198
 Cassidy family, 416–17
 Catholic Action, 200, 202–4
 Catholic Church, 197, 199–211, 201, 206, 371, 419, 429
 Catholic Social Studies Movement, 203–6, 209, 298–9
Catholic Worker (Melb), 200, 200, 202–3
 Catholics for Peace, 210–11
 cattle, 100, 102, 416
 Cattlemen's Association, 184
 Caulfield Grammar School (Melb), 370
 Cavadini, Alessandro, 251
 censorship, 188, 216, 375, 380, 387
 Central Intelligence Agency, 52, 195, 427
 Ceylon Communist Party, 425
 Chamberlain, Neville, 1, 33–4
 Chari, A.S.H., 425
 Charles University (Prague), 425
 Chaseling, Wilbur, 171
 Chauvel, Charles, 15, 241–2
 Chesterton, G.K., 371
 Chifley, Joseph, 19, 36–9, 37, 60, 61–2, 180–1, 183, 186, 186, 232, 256, 257–8, 298–9, 298, 372, 397, 417, 421
 child care, 309–22, 315, 319, 325; *see also* kindergartens and preschool education
 Chile, 427
 China, 38–9, 45–7, 50, 53, 55, 428, 437
 Chipp, Don, 387
 Chou En-lai, 50
 Christadelphians, 209
 Church of England, 207–11, 213, 207, 408
 Church of Scientology, 352, 429
 Churchill, Sir Winston, 6–7, 6, 15, 17–19, 22, 23, 33–4, 395
 Cileo family, 433, 437
 Cinesound studio, 240, 242, 249
 cities and towns, 77–9, 81–2, 85, 92–4, 97, 125; *see also* slums; suburbanism; urbanisation; specific cities and towns
 Citizen Air Force, 20
 Citizens Committee on Human Rights, 352
 citizenship, 66, 368, 417, 431
 Civil Constructional Corps, 26
 Clark, Manning, 378, 423–4, 427, 431, 437, 440, 441, 449
 Clarke, Marcus, 218
 Cleo (Syd), 225
 clothing, 8, 11–12, 316, 418
 clubs, 92
 Clune, Frank, 122
 coal and coalmining, 82, 258–9, 261, 266, 271, 272, 273, 290, 296–9, 397
 coast-watching, 29
 coastal settlements, 81, 83
 Cochrane family, 434
 Cold War, 36, 298, 307, 373, 397–8, 409
 Colombo Plan, 39
 Colonial Sugar Refining Co, 305
 Comalco Ltd, 138–9, 147
 Comfords Fund, 4
 Commission for Aboriginal Development, 145
 Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 88, 281, 321
 Committee of Economic Inquiry, 262
 Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, 430
 Commonwealth of Nations, *see* British Commonwealth
 Common Market, *see* European Economic Community
 Commonwealth Bank, 259
 Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, 136–7, 158, 267, 281, 294–5, 299–303, 319, 402, 412–13
 Commonwealth Film Unit, 239, 243, 246, 250
 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, 52, 53
 Commonwealth Oil Refineries Ltd, 257
 Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, 37, 416–17, 419
 Commonwealth–States relations, 179–81, 189–90, 257, 260
 communes, 94
 communism, 15, 37–9, 44–7, 136, 202–5, 210, 217, 257, 294, 296, 298–9, 305–7, 381–430 *passim*
 Communist Party of Australia, 12, 15, 18, 180, 187, 296, 298, 313, 360, 373–433 *passim*
 Community Employment Program, 448
 computers, 269, 284–6, 302
 Confederation of Australian Industry, 184, 291, 303
 Congregational Church, 213
 Connell, Bob, 449
 Connolly family, 250
 Connor, R.F.X., 52
 conscientious objectors, *see* pacifism and pacifists
 conscription, 49–50, 200, 209–10, 297
 conservation movement, 188–91, 191, 301, 306–7, 443–5
 conservatism, 87, 93, 116, 204, 206, 211, 213, 302, 322, 360, 382, 407, 417, 419, 424, 445
 Consolidated Zinc Pty Ltd, 139
 Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, 69–70, 148, 180–1, 187, 263, 384
 consumer price index, 263
 consumers and consumerism, 93, 258
 contraception, *see* birth control
 Cook, Ken, 385
 Cook, Patrick, 224
 Cooke, Alistair, 232
 Cooke, Peter, 172
 Coombe, Matron, 336
 Coombs, H.C., 113, 183, 183
 Cooper, David, 351
 Copeman family, 359–60, 400–2, 400, 403, 404–5, 405
 Coral Sea, battle of, 11, 424
 corruption, 97, 307
 Cosgrove, R., 186
Cosmopolitan (Syd), 225
 cost and standard of living, 255, 258, 270–1, 316, 317, 325, 409
 Costello, Mr, 15
 Costigan Commission, 306
 cost-price squeeze, 110, 115
 cotton, 114, 260
 Council for Aboriginal Affairs, 142
 Council of Australian Government Employee Organisations, 307
 Council of Small Business Associations, 303
 Council of Women for War Work, 315
 Counihan, Noel, 272, 326
 country-city tension, 116–17
 Country party, 38, 45, 72, 112, 114, 182–4, 260, 419; *see also* National Country party; National party
 Country Women's Association, 191, 392, 418
Courier Mail (Bris), 216, 221
Courier australien, Le (Syd), 14
 Court, Sir Charles, 148, 304

- Coward, Noel, 15, 372
 Cox, David, 75
 Craig, Audrey, 389
 Craig, Jean, 103
 Craigie, Billy, 143
 Crawford, Sir John, 45, 114, 262
 Crawford, R.M., 424, 449
 Crawford Productions Pty Ltd, 243–4
 Crean family, 194, 307
 Creman, Herbert, 203
 Crew, John, 385–6
 cricket, 80, 99, 364, 406–7, 411
 crime, 306; *see also* specific crimes
Croce del Sud, La (Syd), 367
 Crocker, Andrew, 174
 Crombie, Don, 247
 Crowley, Frank, 449
 culture, 413–14, 428–9; Aborigines, 138, 141, 143;
 British–Australian, 83, 387; bush, 85–6; counter culture,
 49, 94; decay, 378; Irish–Australian, 197; multiculturalism,
 72, 74, 74, 84–6, 84, 208, 236, 369, 419; popular, 443;
 urban, 85, 423–4
 Cunningham, M.E., 389
 Curtin, John Joseph, *xvi*, 6, 6, 12, 19, 23, 32, 34, 35, 36, 103,
 121, 179, 257, 296, 322, 417
 Czechoslovakia, 36, 425, 427
- Daily Mirror* (Lond), 220
Daily Mirror (Syd), 220–1
Daily News (Perth), 216, 221, 237
Daily News (Syd), 215–17
Daily Sun (Bris), 221, 237
Daily Telegraph (Syd), 215–17, 221
 dairy industry, 12, 54, 100, 102–3, 111–12, 114, 260
 dancing, 416, 418–19
 Dange, Mr, 425
 Daniels, Dexter, 434
 Dargie, William, 22
 Dark family, 8
 Darling, Sir James Ralph, 375, 422
 Darwin, 9, 26, 153
 Darwin cyclone, 411
 Davey, Jack, 219, 219, 407
 Davidson, Jim, 171–2, 219
 Davidson, Michael, 116
 Davies, John, 218
 Davis, Arthur Hoey, 85
 Davis, Jack, 173
 Davis Cup, 411
 Daws, Gavan, 250
 Dax, Eric Cunningham, 344–5
 Day, Daddy, 4, 14–15
 daylight-saving, 7
 de Berg, Hazel, 448
 de Gaulle, Charles, 14, 47
 Deakin, Alfred, 34
 death rate, *see* mortality
 debt, 104, 108, 112; *see also* overseas debt
 Dedman, John, 37, 421
 defence policies, *see* foreign and defence policies
 Deling, Bert, 248
 Delleplane, Franca, *see* Arena family
 Democratic Labor Party, 47–8, 186, 205, 299
 demonstrations, 49, 49, 94, 114, 115–6, 115, 138–210, *passim*,
 181, 194, 210, 227, 265, 268, 301, 325, 352, 376, 397, 433
 depression, commercial, 4, 100, 104, 106, 255, 257, 394, 400;
see also economic growth
 Devaney, James, 436
 Deveson, Anne, 410, 413
 Dey family, 1, 4, 13
 Dickie, Alf, 428
 Dickson, Chicker, 173
 Diem Pres, 44, 46
Digest of digests (Syd), 218
Digest of world reading (Melb), 218
 diseases, 154, 157, 329–31, 333, 341, 348, 400
 displaced persons, 62, 64, 68, 73; *see also* immigration and
 immigrants
 divorce and break-ups, 322–5, 324, 351, 393, 409, 411, 413
 Dix, Alex, 227
 Doenitz, Adm, 19
 dogs, 162–4
Dolly (Syd), 226
 Donikian, George, 230
 Dostoevsky, Feodor, 380
 Dougherty, Tom, 304
 drink-driving, 129
 drinking, 12, 156–7, 350, 355, 367, 407–8, 416, 418, 420–1,
 434
 drought, 105, 110, 158, 161–2, 269
 drugs, 94, 329, 337, 345, 348–9, 349, 352–4, 409
Dubbo Liberal, 283
 Duckmanton, Talbot, 374, 376
 Duncan, Garry, 130
 Duncan, Leslie S., 335
 Dunstan, Donald Allan, 65, 186, 245, 303
- Durack, Elizabeth, 137
 Dwyer, Peter, 312
 Dye, Julie, 395
 Dyer, Bob, 407
 Dyer, Jack, 13
- Ealing Studios, 242
 East Timor, 54
 Ebbels, Noel, 427
 ecological balance, 151
 Economic Advisory Committee, 183
 economic growth: 'banana republic' statement, 271;
 downturn and recession, 61–2, 72, 96, 264, 264–5, 266–8,
 268, 270–1, 279, 305, 307, 316, 382, 404; expansion, 61,
 255, 258–63, 269–71, 279, 301, 316, 377, 402; *see also*
 National Economic Summit; postwar reconstruction
 Economic Planning Advisory Council, 183
 Eddy, Nelson, 1, 11
 Eden, Anthony, 44
 Edinburgh, Duke of, 190
 education, 1–7, 13–15, 17–18, 96, 113, 180, 206, 280, 329,
 337, 363, 379–82, 400–2, 408, 422, 427, 429–31, 448; *see also*
specific institutions
 Edwards, A.T., 348
 Edwards, Bill, 162
 Edwards, Bob, 173
 Edwards, Mary, 141
 Eeier family, 437
 Eisenstein, Sergei, 424
 Elder, Smith & Co Ltd, 258
 elections, federal, 48, 50, 53, 183–94 *passim*, 184, 212, 232–3,
 258, 263, 286, 298, 302, 376–419 *passim*
 elections, state, 191, 337, 420
 electricity and electric appliances, 96, 108, 155, 266–7
 Elizabeth II, Queen, 31, 412
 Elkin, A.P., 135, 169, 172, 175
 Ellen, Mary, *see* Barton family
 Ellery, R.S., 345, 348
 Ellicott, R.J., 393
 Elliott, Herb, 411
 Empire Air Training Scheme, 24
 employers, 290–1, 302–7, 402, 404; *see also* specific firms and
 organisations
 employment, 256, 274, 276–7; city life, preference for, 81,
 260; divisions of workforce, 276–7, 287; ex-servicemen,
 61, 61, 309, 390; full, 61–2, 257, 269, 299, 302; labour
 supply and demand, 263–4, 266, 268–9, 279–80, 297–8,
 404; part-time, 264, 279, 315–16, 324; restrictive work
 practices, 405; short-term, 448; work ethic, 286–7; work's
 texture, 100, 102, 273, 275–6, 284–5; *see also* Aborigines;
 women; specific industries
 energy resources, 102, 106–8
 entertainment, *see* specific forms of entertainment
 Enticknap, George, 420
 environmentalists, *see* conservation movement
 equal opportunity, 192, 279–80, 309, 389, 392, 413
 erosion, 98, 109
Esquire (NY), 218
 Ethnic Communities Council, 369
 Eureka Youth League, 395, 397–8
 European Economic Community, 32, 47, 54, 64, 258–60
 Evatt, Clive, 410
 Evatt, Elizabeth, 359–60, 406–9, 406, 410, 411–14
 Evatt, Herbert V., 32, 34, 36–7, 37, 39, 50, 187, 204, 204,
 398, 409, 421, 427
 Evatt, Penelope, 410
Everybody's mirror, 224
 exchange rates, 270
 exports, *see* international trade
 Ex-Services Human Rights Association, 376
- Fadden, Sir Arthur William, 6
 Fairfax family, 215, 217–18, 221–7, 232–3, 235, 236–7, 305
Faith in Australia (aeroplane), 127
 family: domestic violence, 325, 350–1, 413; extended, 160,
 310–12; nuclear, 160, 310; single parenting, 322–5, 393,
 413; size, 69, 71
 Family Action Movement, 212–13
 farming, *see* agriculture
 Farrell, Greg, 382
 fascism, 18, 381, 425
 Faust, Beatrice, 192
 Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and
 Torres Strait Islanders, 136, 139–42, 144–5, 433–4
 Federated Clerks' Union, 203
 Federated Ironworkers' Association, 203
 Federated Ship Painters' and Dockers' Union, 306
 Fellowship of Australian Writers, 429
 Felton bequest, 168
 feminism, 93–4, 113, 191, 193, 224, 285, 310, 317–18, 322,
 325, 352, 360; *see also* women's liberation movement
 feminists, 193
 fertilisers, 105, 108–9, 111, 114, 260
 fertility, 413
 Festival of Light, 211–13, 212
Fiamma, La (Syd), 283, 360, 367–9
- fibreglass, 409
 Film Australia, 246, 250
 Film, Radio and Television Board, 246
 Film Victoria, 245
 films: audiences, 154, 239, 240, 243, 406, 408, 412; drive-in
 theatres, 124, 244; picture theatres, 1, 13, 15, 408;
 programs and production, 1, 15, 172, 238, 239–43, 240–3,
 245–51, 245–7, 249–51, 348, 396, 419, 437, 437, 442, 443
 Finch, Peter, 372, 374
 Finland, 289
 Fintona Girls' School (Melb), 359, 389
 fires, 121
 firewood, 12, 102, 156
 Fisher, John, 425
 Fisk, E.K., 148
 Fiske, Pat, 250, 251
 Fitchett, Ian, 223
 Fitzgerald, R.D., 23
 Fitzgerald, T.M., 233–4
 Fleming, Micky, 5
 Foley, Gary, 156, 173, 248
 food, 128, 316, 407–8, 418, 421; *see also* Aborigines
 Food Preservers' Union, 305
 football, *see* Australian rules football
 Footwear Repairers' Association, 291
 Ford, G.W., 273, 275, 280
 Ford, Henry, 284
 Ford, John, 241
 Ford Motor Co, 280, 282, 305
 Forde, M., 36
 foreign and defence policies: Australian diplomacy, 31, 34,
 36–9, 44–55; defence and security issues, 32–4, 37, 39,
 44–6, 51, 54–5; economic interests, 32, 36, 39, 45, 47, 51,
 54–5; intelligence networks, 37–8, 52; joint facilities with
 US, 47–8, 51–2, 57; pressure groups, 31; relations with
 Asia-Pacific region, 32, 36, 38–9, 44–7, 50, 54–5; relations
 with Britain, 32–4, 36–7, 39, 44–5, 47, 360; relations with
 Canada, 37; relations with US, 32, 34, 36–9, 44–5, 47–8,
 50–4, 360; *see also* international trade
 Foundation for Australian Resources, 284, 286
 Foundation for the Abolition of Compulsory Treatment,
 352
 Fox, Steve, 172
 Franklin, Miles, 85
 Franklin River (Tas), 189–91, 190
 Fraser, Dawn, 411
 Fraser, John Malcolm, 52, 194, 230, 232–3, 236, 237, 267–8,
 392, 439
 Fraser government, 72–3, 112, 115, 146–7, 183, 193, 226–7,
 247, 264, 266–8, 286, 302, 306–7, 318, 321, 340, 378, 393,
 444
 Freeman, James, 198
 freeways, 121, 125–6, 126; *see also* roads and road transport
 Freud, Sigmund, 348
 Freudianism, 348
 friendly societies, 331
 Friends of the Services, 395
 Friends of the Soviet Union, 394
 fruitgrowers, 100, 100, 109, 111–12, 416
 Fry, Joan, 314
 Fulbright scholarship, 437
 Full Gospel Pentecostal Church, 213
 Fullwood, Albert Henry, 86
 Furphy, Joseph, 424
- Galbally, Frank, 72, 386
 Gale, Fay, 281
 Gallagher, Norm, 306–7
 Galleghan, Jack ('Black'), 23
 Gallipoli campaign, 20, 331, 400
 Game, Ann, 282
 Gardiner, Greg, 235
 Gare, Nene, 248
 Gaudron, Mary, 193
 Geelong Church of England Grammar School (Vic), 359,
 422–3
 Geier, Jo, 133
 Geminder, Mr, 427
 genealogy, 447
 General Motors–Holden's Pty Ltd, 119–22, 124, 282, 303
 Geneva conference (1954), 44–5
 gentrification, 78, 93, 94
 George, Spider, 174
 geriatrics, 344, 350, 354–5
 Germany, 19–20, 24, 291–2
 Giap, Gen, 428
 Gibson, Bessie, 356
 Gilbert, Kevin, 439–40, 441
 Gillespie, Dan, 172, 172
 Gilmore, Dame Mary, 436
 Gilmour, Bluey, 5
 Gilroy, Norman, 203
Globa, Il (Melb), 283
 Gloucester, Duke of, 34
 Gnatenko, Ted, 303
 Goering, Herman, 6

- Goffman, Erving, 351
 Gogol, N., 372
 Goldney, Robert, 353
 Gollan, Robin, 273
 Gonski, David, 235, 237
Good housekeeping (Syd), 226
 Good Neighbours Councils, 416, 419
Good Weekend (Syd), 222
 Goodman, Benny, 15
 Goodwin, Joan, 396
 Goot, Murray, 236
 Gordon, Adam Lindsay, 423
 Gorton, Sir John Grey, 50, 245–6, 263, 300, 317, 338, 378
 Gosse, William, 161
 Gott family, 427
 governors-general, 34, 72, 194; *see also* individual
 governors-general
 Gower, Jim, 411
 Grace, Helen, 250
 graffiti, 75, 75
 Graham, Billy, 212, 212
 Graham, Trevor, 250
 Gramsci, Antonio, 378
 Grassby, Albert Jamie, 72, 72, 359–60, 367, 369, 415–21, 415, 418
 Gray, Nancy, 447
 Graziers' Association, 182
 Graziers' Federal Council, 182
 grazing, 100, 102, 136–7, 140, 144, 151–3, 155, 158, 161, 163, 281
 Great Britain, 32–4, 36–7, 39, 44–5, 47–8, 53, 55, 291–2, 315, 344, 355, 405
 Greater Union Co, 240
 Greek Orthodox Church, 85, 208
 Green, Marshall, 51
 green bans, *see* conservation movement
 Greenop, Frank, 218
 Gregan McMahon Players (Melb), 370
 Grierson, John, 249
 Grosser, Dick, 230
 Grundy Co, 243, 245
Guardian (Lond from 1939), 432–3
 Guilfoyle, Dame Margaret, 193
 Guthrie, Tyrone, 372
 Gutman, Jerry, 385
- H.V. Evatt Memorial Foundation, 412
 Hackett, Sir John Winthrop, 216
 Hall, Ken, 240, 242
 Hall, Robert, 26
 Hall, Rodney, 434
 Hambly, Glenda, 248
 Hamer government, 97
 Hamilton, R.B., 424
 Hamilton, Wally, 375
 Hancock, Sir Keith, 449
 handicapped, 340, 351, 355, 413
 Hanlon, E.M., 186, 304
 Hannah, Helen, 448
 Hannam, Ken, 247
 Hansen, Birgitte, 287–8, 293
 Hardy, Frank, 429
 Hare Krishna, 94
 Harland, Margaret, 309
 Harney, Bill, 162, 164
 Hartley, Frank, 428
 Hartmetr, L.J., 121
 Harvard Law School, 359, 409
 Hasluck, Sir Paul, 26, 47, 50, 135, 140, 143
 Hawke, Robert James Lee, 54, 115–16, 233, 237, 292, 292, 306, 307, 377, 386, 393
 Hawke government, 53, 74–5, 96, 147, 183, 193, 227, 230, 269–70, 305–6, 319, 340, 448
 Hawkins, Weaver, *see* *gatefold* 42–3
 Hayden, William George, 54
 Hazlehurst, Noni, 248
 health services, 328, 340; co-ordination and goals, 331–5, 338–41; costs and insurance, 264, 329, 331, 331, 335, 338, 340–1; Medibank, 307; medical practitioners, 329–31, 333, 338–41, 349–50, 355; nursing profession, 26–7, 336, 338, 339, 339, 341, 355
 Healy, Jim, 305
 Hearnshaw, Eric, 349
 Henderson Poverty Commission, *see* Commission of Inquiry into Poverty
 Henry, Jack, 398
Herald (Melb), 6, 17, 19, 215–16, 221, 386
Herald and Weekly Times Ltd, 215–16, 218, 221–2, 224, 226–7, 232, 236–7
 Herbert, Xavier, 371, 378
 herbicides, 109
 Herman, Sali, 61
 Hermannsburg mission (NT), *see* Aborigines
 Herring, Audrey, *see* Craig, Audrey
 Hess, Rudolph, 6
 Hewitt, Sir Lenox, 52
- Heyer, John, 250
 Heysen, Sir Wilhelm Ernst Hans Franz, 86
 Hiatt, Les, 145
 Hicks family, 329, 329, 331, 337–8, 341
 Hinkler, Bert, 127
 Hiroshima, 19
 historiography, 440, 442–3, 446–9, 449
 Hitler, Adolph, 6, 15
 Ho Chi Minh, 428
 Hoad, Lew, 411
 Hobart, 79, 83
Hobart (cruiser), 24
 Hobart bridge, collapse of, 411
 Hodgkinson, Roy, 29
 Hodson, George, 107–8
 Hogan, Paul, 248
 Holden car, 119, 121–2, 123–5, 409; *see also* motor cars
 Holden's Motor Body Builders Co, 119
 Holding, A.C., 148
 Holland, Fred, 438
 Holmes, Cecil, 242
 Holmes, Sandra, 172, 175
 Holmes á Court, Robert, 235
 Holt, Harold, 30, 32, 48–50, 62, 62, 180, 245, 306, 378, 385, 411, 435
Home (Syd), 218
 Homer, 380
 homosexuality, 94, 188, 213, 352–3
 Hone, F.S., 333
Honi Soit (Syd), 203, 380
 Honisett, Ray, 9
 Hood, Warwick, 388
 Hope, Alec Derwent, 82
 Hope, Bob, 15
 Horne, Donald, 93, 188–9, 197, 199, 205–6, 217, 223–4, 261
 horses, 100, 101, 102, 106–7, 260, 400, 416, 422
 Hoskins, Cecil, 305
 Hospital Benefits Association, 331
 Hospital Contribution Fund, 331, 337
 Hospital Employees' Union, 321
 hospitality, 11, 25
 hospitals, 329–31, 330, 334–41, 335–6, 338, 343
 hours of work, 295–8, 300, 302
House and garden (Lond), 218, 234
 houses and housing, 87–90, 257, 263; design and layout, 94–5, 103; detached houses, 87, 89–90; farms and stations, 100, 100, 103, 111; flats, units and high density housing, 88–90, 94, 339; household types and, 88–9; housing preferences, 89–91; ownership, 4, 87–90, 94, 96; prices and mortgages, 4, 88, 96; public housing, 86–8, 257; rented accommodation, 87–9, 94; wartime, 4, 87
- Howard, Amos, 109
 Howard, John, 236
 Howard, Leslie, 15
 Hoyts Theatres, 241
 Huber, Rina, 310
 Hughes, W.M., 231
 Hull, Cordell, 36
 Humphries, Barry, 93, 411
 Hungary, 429
 Hurley, Frank, 249
 Hursey family, 303
- identity cards, 12, 13, 431
 immigration and immigrants, 62–3, 66–7, 72, 74–5, 392–3; Asian, 60, 65, 72–5, 73, 83, 85, 280, 387, 400, 413; assimilation, 66–7, 280; attitudes to and influence of migrants, 67–8, 68, 74–5, 84–6, 84, 86, 280, 400, 420–1; Baltic region, 62, 63; British, 60, 62, 64–7, 64, 75, 83–4, 256, 280, 415–16, 423; central Europe, 62, 64, 66, 83–4, 199; city life, preference for, 81, 84; criticism, 62–3, 366; Latin Americans, 73; losses, 62, 66–7, 83; Mediterranean countries, 62, 64–7, 65, 78, 83–5, 84, 199, 280, 310, 363–4, 366–7, 417–21; New Zealanders, 73–4; numbers, 60, 62, 64–5, 68, 71–4; postwar policy, 61–9, 71–5, 105, 257, 337, 415
 Imperial War Cabinet, 33
 imports, *see* international trade
 Inada Holdings Co, 173
 India, 46
 Indian Communist Party, 425
 Indo-China, 44
 Indonesia, 36, 54
 Indonesian Communist Party, 45, 54
 industrial accidents, 276, 289
 Industrial Groups, *see* Labor party
 Industries Assistance Commission, 184
 inflation, 114, 262–4, 268–71, 298–9, 301–2, 404–5
 Inglis family, 1–8, 10–19
 interest rates, 96, 259, 270–1, 404–5
International and comparative law quarterly (Lond), 409
 International Refugee Organisation, 62
 international trade, 262; dumping policies, 54; exports, 45, 52–3, 110, 112–13, 116, 258–9, 266–8, 270, 400; imports, 257–9, 270; trade deficit, 270–1
 International Union of Students, 427
- International Writers' Conference, 437
 investments, 36, 39, 113–14, 247, 258–9, 262–4, 262–3, 266–71, 404
 Ipec Co, 382, 384
 Iran, 405
 Irian Jaya, 54
 iron ore, 52, 82, 258–9, 261, 266, 266, 271
 irrigation, 416, 419, 421
 Irving, Terry, 449
 Isaac, Graeme, 248
 Isaacson, Peter, 16
 Islam, 208–9, 213
 Italy, 20, 289, 361–3
 Ivens, Joris, 250
- JNP Production Co, 245
 Jackson, Gordon, 273
 Jackson, Marjorie, 411
 Jackson committee, 263, 273
 James, Francis, 381–2, 385
 James, Rowley, 231
 James, Victor, 428
 James Cook University, 448
 Japan, 7, 400; anti-Japanese propaganda, 5, 7, 8; attacks in the Pacific and South-east Asia, 7–8, 22, 23, 29, 34, 296; post-war period, 37, 39, 290, 292, 405; surrender, 19, 24; trade with Australia, 45, 51–2, 55, 258–9, 261; war criminals, 29
 Japanese invasion scare, 8, 23–4, 26, 34, 61, 103
 Jehovah's Witnesses, 209
 Jennings (A.V.) Pty Ltd, 95
 Jindivik (pseud), *see* Fitchett, Ian
 Joel, Asher, 201
 John Paul II, Pope, 213
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 30, 32, 48–9, 48, 360, 385, 387
 Johnston, Col, 23
 Joint Coal Board, 181
 Jolliffe, Eric, 162
 Jones, Barry, 276–8, 284, 286–7
 Jones, F.L., 157
 jukeboxes, 80
 Jungfer, Carl Clifford, 333–4, 334
 Jupp, James, 75
- KGB, 428
 Kahan, Louis, 428
 Kampuchea, 54
 Karmel, Peter H., 262
 Kay, Sydney John, 372
 Keating, Paul, 270–1, 270
 Keenan, Hayden, 248
 Kelly, Archbp, 200
 Kelso, John, 384
 Kelty, Bill, 307
 Kendrew family, 329–31, 330
 Kennedy, Graham, 226
 Kennedy, John F., 47, 47
 Kennedy inquiry, 344
 Kennedy-Miller group, 247
 Kenny, Grant, 437
 Kent, Ivy, 323
 kerosene, 108
 Kerr, Charles, 149
 Kerr, Sir John, 52, 194–5, 194, 300, 360, 378, 402
 Keuneman, Pieter, 425
 Keynes, John Maynard, 257
 kindergartens and preschool education, 312–18, 313, 318, 325
 Kingsford Smith, Sir Charles, *see* Smith, Sir Charles
 Kingsford
 Kirai, Kingsley, 28
 Kirby, Michael, 352
 Kirby, Sir Richard, 412
 Kissing, Henry, 50
 Knox, Dorothy, 408
 Knox, Ronald, 371
 Kocan, Peter, 352, 353
Kooner, The (Fitzroy), 143
 Korean War, 38, 39, 44, 46, 105, 183, 204, 258–9, 298, 427
 Koutsoukos, Christina, 230
 Krieger, Roy, 275–6
 Krushchev, Nikita, 429
 Krygier, Richard, 376
 Kunz, Egon, 62
 Kupa, Karel, 175
Kuttabal (ferry), 11
- Labor Daily* (Syd), 217
Labor Digest (Syd), 309
 Labor party, 34, 97, 124–5, 233, 369; ACTU-Labor Party accord, 269–70, 307; factions and splits, 47, 50, 52–3, 187, 191, 203–5, 299, 376, 398, 402, 409; federal conferences, 65, 142, 181, 204, 297–8, 377–8; organisation, 181, 184, 186; platform and policies, 48, 50–1, 65, 142, 182, 186, 188, 320, 431; state and local branches, 204, 303, 419–20
 Ladd, Alan, 15

- Lady Gowrie Child Centres, 312
 Laffitte, P., 273
 Laing, R.D., 351
 Lake Pedder (Tas), 189–90
 Lambert, Eric, 429
 land, 96–7, 100, 102, 108–9, 109, 263
 Land Councils, 145–7, 165
 Lander, Ned, 248
 Lanley, Larry, 173
 Laos, 45, 54
 Laval, P., 6
 Lawrence, D.H., 242
 Lawson, G., 6
 Lawson, Henry, 85–6, 217
 League of Nations, 17
 Lear, D.C., 345
 leave, 299, 301
 left-wing, 93, 188, 193, 233, 236, 373, 375, 389, 419, 427
 Legacy, 1
 Lenin, Vladimir, 424
 Lennie, Bob, 14
 Leonski, Edward Joseph, 11
 Leunig, Michael, 129
 Levy, Curtis, 251
 Lewis, Essington, 305
 Lewis, I., 281
 Liberal party, 38, 72, 97, 181–2, 184, 381–2, 385, 392
 liberals and liberalism, 93, 206, 211–13, 387
 Liddy, Jeanne, 378
Life (Chicago), 218
Life digest (Melb), 218
 Limb, Bobby, 421
 Lindsay brothers, 86, 169, 217
 Lindwall, Ray, 411
 Lippmann, Lorna, 144
Listener (Melb), 219, 224
Listener in TV (Syd), 224
 literature, 86; plays, 372; poetry, 82, 436, 438; prose, 13, 18, 67–97 *passim*, 67, 122, 146, 193–224 *passim*, 233–316 *passim*, 352, 375–6, 381, 399, 436, 440, 447, 449; *see also* specific authors; comics
 'Little Desert' scheme, 190
 livestock diseases, 109
 Loane, Marcus, 208, 213
 Loans affair, 52
 lobbying, 181–4, 181, 192, 239, 243–4, 246–7, 319, 335, 375, 384
 local government, 97, 260
 Lockwood, Rupert, 429
 logging, 101
 Loh, Morag, 447
 Long, Joan, 239, 247
Look and listen (Syd), 224
 lotteries, 236
 Loukakis, Angelo, 86
 Loveday, Ralph, 436
 Lovegrove, Denis ('Dinny'), 427
 Lowe, Doug, 191
 Lowenstein, Wendy, 447, 447
 Lowndes, Arthur, 376
 Lutheran Church, 213
 Lynch, Phillip, 317
 Lyons, Dame Enid, 191
 Lyons, Joseph, 182, 216
 Mabarrack, Maurice, 306
 MacArthur, Douglas, 11, 11, 34, 35
 McCarthy, Fred, 169
 McCarthy, Joseph, 381, 409
 McCarthy, Wendy, 193
 McConville, Chris, 445
 MacDonald, Jeanette, 1
 McDonald, P.F., 74
 Macdonald, Ranald, 221, 235
 Macdougall, family, 251
 McEwen, Sir John, 45, 45, 47, 52, 183–4, 183
 McGinness, Joe, 139–40, 434
 McGregor, Ken, 411
 McGuinness, Bruce, 142
 McKell, Sir William John, 86, 417
 MacKellar, Michael John Randal, 60, 73
 Mackie, J.A.C., 75
 Mackie, Pat, 304
 Mackinoly, Chips, 172
 MacLachlan, Ian, 116
 McMahon, William, 50, 142, 263, 300, 317
 McMaster, Anew, 372
 McMurchy, Megan, 250
 McNamara, Clarice, 309
 Macphee, Ian, 306
 McQueen, Humphrey, 449
 MacQueen, Kenneth, 252
 Maddison, David, 353
 Madigan, Russel, 301
 Makin, N.J.O., 6
 Malayan Emergency, 39, 44
 Malaysia, 45, 55
 Malraux, A., 278
Man (Syd), 218, 226; 234
 manganese deposits, 82
 Manifold, John, 434
 Mann, E.A., 100
 Mannix, Daniel, 200, 202, 203–4, 208–9
 manpower programs, 17, 23–4
 manufacturing, 39, 105, 182–4, 257–307 *passim*, 278, 296, 404; *see also* specific firms and industries
 Manufacturing Industry Advisory Council, 183
 Mao Tse-tung, 428
 Maralinga (SA), 44
 Margrett, Steve, 423
 Marika, Wandjuk, 173
 maritime industry, 290, 297, 299
 Marks, Nancy, 395
 Marralwangu, Peter, 175
 marriage, 68–9, 71, 310; *see also* family
 Marsh, Jan, 193
 Martin, Allan, 448
 Martin, David, 429
 Martin, Jean, 73
 Martin report, *see* Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia
 Marx, Karl, 375
 masturbation, 225
 mateship, 67, 85–6
 Maurice, Furnley (pseud), *see* Wilmot, Frank
 Mawby, Maurice, 139, 139
 May, Phil, 217
 Mayawuluk, 170
 Mayer, Henry, 233, 236
 Maymuru family, 166, 170, 173, 175
 Maza, Bob, 143
 meals on wheels service, 339, 341
 meat industry, 12, 54, 102, 400
 Meder, C., 63
 media, *see* specific forms
Medical journal of Australia (Syd), 344, 348
 Medicott, R.W., 352–3
 Melbourne, 77, 79; description, 92, 125, 181; housing, 86, 88, 94; population, 79, 84; transport, 90–1, 120–2, 127
 Melbourne Apprentices Committee, 395
 Melbourne Cup, 15
 Melbourne High School, 17
 Melbourne University Patriotic Fund, 315
 mental illness and hospitals, 340, 342, 343–5, 346, 348–55, 349
 Menzies, Sir Robert Gordon, 33, 45–7, 237, 299, 368, 392, 429; Communist Party bans, 12, 180, 187, 360, 381–2, 395, 434; foreign policy, 31–4, 39, 44–5, 47; outbreak of war, 1, 20, 33, 100, 117; postwar administration, 38–9, 48, 87, 93, 105, 181, 183, 188, 209, 226–62 *passim*, 298–9, 375, 378, 384–5, 402, 434–5; wartime administration, 6, 24, 184, 296, 320, 323, 380
 Mercury (Hobart), 215–16, 221
 Mercury Mobile Players, 372
 Mercury Theatre, 372
 Messel, Harry, 448
 Metal Trades Employers' Association, 299–300
 Metal Trades Industry Association of Australia, 299
 Methodist Church, 210, 418, 428
 Midjaumidjau, 175
 Militia, 20, 400
 Miller, George, 247
 Miller, J.D.B., 231
 Miller, Keith, 411
 Millhouse, Robin, 192
 Millikan, David, 208, 213
 mineral sands, 189–90
 mining industry, 81–2, 113, 138–9, 142, 145–8, 261–4, 266–9, 402, 411; *see also* specific minerals
Mirror (Syd), 216
 missions, *see* Aborigines
 Mithinari, 173
Mode (Syd), 226
Modern motor (Syd), 124
 Modigliani, Amedeo, 167
 Mol, Hans, 208
 Molesworth, D.G., 262
 Mollison, James, 175
 monarchy, 360, 412, 417, 421
 monetarists, 264
 money supply, 262, 264, 268
 Monte Bello Islands (WA), 44
 Moongalba, 436
 Moones, 94
 Moore, David, 30
 Moore, Sir John, 412
 Moorhouse, Frank, 85, 248
 morality, 19, 105, 188, 206, 209, 211–13, 315, 322, 405, 408
 Morgan Gallup poll, 199
 mortality, 71, 149, 157, 420
 Morton, Ferdinand Joseph ('Jelly Roll'), 424
 Moses, Charles, 231
 Moslems, *see* Islam
 motels and caravan parks, 128
 motor cars, 118, 121; accidents, 128–9, 129, 156; hire purchase, 122; makes, 99, 119, 122, 124, 362; ownership and use of, 91, 99, 102, 119–22, 124–6, 128–9, 152, 165, 236, 316, 362, 406; parking, 125; producer gas units, 12, 102; production and prices, 119–22, 124; seat belts, 129; spare parts, 119; *see also* buses; Holden car; trolley buses; trucks and trucking
 motor cycles, 128
 Mount Isa Mines Co, 304–5
 Mount Olga (NT), 161–2
 Mountford, Charles, 169
 Ms (NY), 192
 Mugga (pseud), *see* Fitchett, Ian
 Muggieridge, Malcolm, 202, 212
 Muller, Peter, 384
 multiculturalism, *see* culture
 multi-nationals, 259, 264, 266–7, 269, 286
 Munday, Jack, 189, 189, 307, 443
 Muni, Paul, 15
 Munich crisis, 44
 murder, 11, 156, 413, 437
 Murdoch, Walter, 219
 Murdoch family, 127, 216–17, 219, 221–2, 221, 224–7, 232–3, 235, 236–7, 304
 Murphy, Lionel, 194–5
 Murray, K.G., 218
 Murray-Smith, Stephen, 359–60, 422–5, 422, 426, 427–31, 428–9
 museums, 439, 443–7, 444, 446
 music, 406–8, 413, 419, 447; *see also* pop music
 Mussolini, Benito, 6, 362
 Mutual Community Association, 341
 Mutual Hospital Association, 331, 337–8, 341
 Muzak, 236
 My Lai massacre, 386
 Myer, K.B., 262
 Myer travel grants, 437
 Myers, Rupert, 282
 Myers committee, 282–6
 myxomatosis, 109, 144; *see also* rabbits
 Nabalco Co, 139, 139, 142
 Nagasaki, 19
 Namatjira, Albert, 159, 169
 Nambathara, 175
 Narayana, Neil Lindsay, 208
 Nash, Margot, 250
 Nash, Richard, 349
 Nasser, G.A., 44
Nation (Melb), 223–4, 224, 386
Nation Review (Melb), 224, 386, 388
 National Aboriginal Conference, 145
 National Aboriginal Consultative Committee, 145
 National Aboriginal Day of Observance Committee, 437
 National Aboriginal of the Year Award, 437
 National Capital Development Commission, 181
 National Civic Council, 205, 299, 397
 National Country party, 184
 National Economic Summit, 183, 185, 269–70
 National Employers' Association, 291
 National Estate, 443–4, 445
 National Farmers' Federation, 116, 184
 National Farmers' Union, 183
 National Film and Sound Archive, 248
 National Health and Medical Research Council, 60, 332–3, 335
 National Library of Australia, 447–8
 National party, 184
 National Population Inquiry, 66, 71
 National Roads and Motorists' Association, 121
 National Seminar on Aboriginal Arts in Australia, 172
 National South West Coalition, 190
National Times (Syd), 224
 National Women's Advisory Council, 193, 393
 nationalisation, 298
 nationalism, *see* patriotism and nationalism
 Nationalist party, 184
 natural gas, 236, 266
 naturalisation, *see* citizenship
 Nelson, Hank, 21, 250
 Neutze, Max, 77
New idea (Melb), 218, 221, 225, 234
 New Right, 445
 New South Wales Chamber of Manufactures, 303
 New South Wales Employers' Federation, 303
 New South Wales Film Corporation, 245, 372
 New South Wales Nurses' Federation, 355
 New South Wales Rope Makers' Union, 292
New Statesman (Lond), 376, 378
 New Theatre (Syd), 373
 New Zealand, 39, 54–5
News (Adel), 216, 221, 237
 newsagents, 222–3, 223, 386
Newsday (Melb), 220

- newspapers, 13, 102, 215, 219–20, 232–3, 236–7, 237, 244, 289–90, 348, 352, 411; *see also* specific titles
- newsprint, 6, 225, 236
- Newsweek*, 224
- News-Weekly* (Melb), 375
- Nicholls, Sir Doug, 139, 434
- Nichols, Joy, 10
- Nicholson, Max, 425
- nickel, 259, 261
- Nicklin, G.F.R., 139, 304
- Nickolls, Trevor, 132
- Nield, J.C., 422
- Nile, Fred, 212–13
- Nimmo Inquiry, 338
- Nixon, Peter, 140
- Nixon, Richard, 50–1, 195, 377
- Non-violent power* (Syd), 210
- North, Dr, 337
- North Australian Workers Union, 136–7
- North West Cape (WA), 48, 51, 53
- Northcote High School, 3, 14, 17
- Northern Territory News* (Darwin), 216
- Norton, Ezra, 220–2
- Noyce, Phil, 247–8
- Nuclear Disarmament Party, 53
- nuclear energy, 54, *see gatefold* 42–3
- nuclear weapons and tests, 19, 19, 44, 53, 371, 427
- Nugent, Emu, 133
- Nurrungar, 48, 53
- O'Brien, Denis, 12, 233
- Observer*, (Lond), 175, 222, 223–4
- O'Collins, Bp, 203
- O'Dea, Robert, 419
- Oettle, Godfrey, 388
- O'Farrell, Patrick, 201, 447
- O'Grady, John, 67, 85
- O'Hagan, Jack, 10
- oil, 51, 82, 107, 115, 124, 184, 236, 262
- Oke family, 15
- Oliver, Charlie, 304
- Oliver, Margot, 250
- Olympic Consolidated Industries Ltd, 390
- Olympic Games, 392
- O'Neill, Judith, 13
- Opas, David, 413
- Open road* (Syd), 121
- Opperman, Sir Hubert Ferdinand, 65
- oral history, 447–8
- Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, 50, 115, 262
- O'Shane, Pat, 193
- O'Shea, Clarrie, 300, 402
- Outlook*, 398–9
- Overland* (Melb), 360, 429–31
- overseas debt, 271
- Oxford University, 359, 401–2
- Pacific Islands Regiment, 29
- pacifism and pacifists, 209–10, 389
- Packer, Gerald, 60
- Packer family, 216–18, 221–7, 230, 232–3, 235, 236–7, 388
- Palmer family, 85, 372, 375, 398, 423
- Papua and New Guinea, 28–9, 50, 54; *see also* World War II
- Papuan Infantry Battalion, 28–9
- Parer, Damien, 249
- Parker, Ralph, 428
- Parliament House (Canb), 178–9, 189
- Parrott, Helen, 446
- pastoral industry, *see* grazing
- Paterson, Andrew Barton ('Banjo'), 85, 217
- Paterson, Fred, 416
- Paterson, Jean, 11
- Paterson, T.G., 121
- patriotism and nationalism, 3–4, 208–9, 368, 371, 442–3, 447; *see also* Australian-Britons
- Pax Christi, 210
- Payne, Ken, 212
- peace and peace movement, *see* world peace
- Peacock, Andrew, 50, 53
- Pearl Harbor, 7, 15, 23
- Pearl Watson Foundation, 413
- Penck, Albrecht, 59
- Penman, John, 207, 207
- Penny, Ted, 434
- Penthouse* (NY), 226
- People* (Syd), 224
- People Not Psychiatry organisation, 352
- Perkin, Graham, 223
- Perkins, Charles, 144
- Perth, 79, 84, 91–2, 121, 127
- Perth* (cruiser), 21
- Pertosi, Giampaolo, 85–6
- Peterement, Yvonne, 392
- petrol, 6, 12, 114–15, 119, 122, 129, 266, 330, 337, 390
- Petrov family, 187, 187, 409
- photography, 407
- Picasso, Pablo, 167, 424
- picnics, 122, 157, 312
- Picture post*, (Lond), 218
- Pike, Andrew, 250
- Pike, Douglas, 449
- Pine Gap (NT), 48, 53–4, 195
- Pix* (Syd), 218, 224
- Pix-People* (Syd), 224
- Plato, 380
- Playboy* (Chicago), 226
- Playford, Thomas, 334–5, 337
- Plymouth Brethren, 209
- poker machines, 92
- Pol* (Syd), 226
- Polites, George, 305, 306
- pollution, 91, 129, 190, 413
- poor, the, 78, 88–9, 111–13, 115, 271, 323, 345, 407, 437
- pop music, 230–1
- population, 69; composition, growth and location, 60–1, 68–9, 71, 75, 79, 81–4, 90, 105–6, 133–4, 151, 153, 155, 179–80, 183, 258, 337; sparsity, 59, 59, 82; total and optimum, 59–60; *see also* Aborigines; immigration and immigrants
- Porter, Hal, 426
- postal services, 114; *see also* stamps
- postwar reconstruction, 17–18, 103–5, 121, 257–8
- poverty, *see* poor, the
- pregnancy, 413
- Premiers' Conferences, 439
- Presbyterian Church, 428
- Presbyterian Ladies' College (Pymble), 359, 407–8
- preschool education, *see* kindergartens and preschool education
- Press Council, 236
- Preston, Margaret, 169
- Preston (Vic), 18, 18
- Preston Post*, 4, 8, 11, 18
- Price, Charles, 66, 75
- Priestley, J.B., 372
- primary industry, 100, 102–3, 104, 106, 110–12, 182–4, 257–60, 264, 269, 276–7; *see also* specific industries
- Prime Ministers' Conferences, 34, 36
- Pringle, John, 222–3, 233
- Pringle, Rosemary, 282
- Printing and Kindred Industries Union, 283
- printing industry, 282–4, 283
- prisoners of war, 20–1, 21, 23, 29, 34
- prostitution, 18, 94, 154, 390, 420
- Protestant churches, 199, 206, 208, 211–13; *see also* specific churches
- psychiatry, 343–5, 347, 348–55, 353
- public finance, 260, 264, 268, 270
- Public Medical Officers' Association, 355
- public service, federal, 181, 193, 264, 306
- public service, states, 181, 192–3
- public transport, 91, 120–2, 125–8, 236, 341; *see also* specific forms of transport
- Qantas, 55
- Quadrant* (Syd), 93, 208
- Quakers, 209
- Queensland Aboriginal Advancement League, 434
- Queensland State Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, 434
- Quinton, Ron, 198
- Rabaul, 8
- rabbits, 109, 110, 144, 260
- racism, 74–5, 75, 247, 369, 409, 413, 436; *see also* Aborigines
- Radford, Gail, 193
- radicalism, 188, 190–1, 193, 377–8, 424–5, 427, 429–30, 443, 447
- radio, 218–19, 231–2, 313, 412; audience surveys, 220; popularity, 108, 117, 218–19, 230, 367, 406–7; programs, 10, 100, 102–3, 219–20, 231–2, 289, 306, 312, 367–9, 373, 377–8, 407–8, 411, 419; radio advertising, 219–20, 231; stations and bands, 10, 152, 219–20, 230–2, 237, 367–8, 370; *see also* Australian Broadcasting Commission
- Rafferty, Chips, 15, 241–2, 248, 411
- railways, 90, 120, 122, 126–7, 152, 382
- Ramsay, Alan, 18
- rationing, *see* wartime controls
- Reader's digest*, 218, 226
- Reagan, Ronald, 54, 268
- Realist Writers Group, 434
- Red Cross, 4, 407
- Red Fems group, 285
- Redex Reliability Trials, 125, 125
- Rees, Lloyd, 76
- Reeves, Andrew, 446
- refrigerators, 4, 103, 108, 282, 316
- Reid, Elizabeth, 193, 318, 392
- Reid, Janice, 149
- Reith, Sir John, 237
- religion, 197, 199, 205–13, 360, 380, 408; *see also* specific churches
- Rene, Roy ('Mo'), 407
- Renshaw, Jack, 420
- Reserve Bank, 259
- residents' action groups, 190
- resources boom, 266, 268
- restaurants, 92, 421
- Returned Services League, 375, 419
- Reuther, J.G., 168
- Rhodes scholarships, 401
- Richardson, Alan, 66
- Richardson, Gary, 385
- Richardson, Henry Handel, 424
- Richmond, David, 354, 355
- Richmond Inquiry, 354–5
- Rigg, Julie, 310
- Right to Life Association, 189, 211
- Ringsdorf, Ruby, 113
- roads and road transport, 91, 91, 96, 99, 101, 121–2, 123, 125, 164–5; *see also* freeways
- Robe River incident, 405
- Roberts, Philip, 140
- Robertson, John, 20–1
- Robertson, Toni, *see gatefold* 40–1
- Robinson, Lee, 242
- Rockhampton (Qld), 82
- Rofe, Bryan, 390
- Rolls, Eric, 108, 117
- Rooney, Mickey, 11
- Rooney, Robert, 176
- Roosevelt, Franklin, 6–7, 6, 11, 17–18, 22, 23
- Rosewall, Ken, 411
- Roughsey, Dick, 173
- Rowley, Charles, 146
- Rowlison, Eric, 168
- Rowse, Tim, 93
- Royal Air Force, 24–5
- Royal Australian Air Force, 4, 12, 20, 22, 23–4, 24, 26, 33, 46, 379–80, 390
- Royal Australian Navy, 20, 23–4, 33, 35; *see also* specific ships
- Royal Commission on Human Relationships, 413
- Royal Flying Doctor Service, 332
- Royal Papuan Constabulary, 28
- rubber, 8, 11–12, 12
- Rubin, Victor, 129
- Rubuntja, Wenten, 150
- Rudd, Steele (pseud), *see* Davis, Arthur Hoey
- Ruff, Carol, 133
- Rundle shale-oil scheme, 266
- Rural Reconstruction Commission, 103–10
- Ryan, Susan, 193
- Rydge, Norman B., 240, 242
- St James's Church (Syd), 196
- Sabbath, observance of, 222, 386, 397
- Safran, Henri, 247
- Salvation Army, 390
- Samson, Gareth, 342
- San Francisco conference, 36
- Sandcock, Leonie, 96–7
- Santa Teresa (NT), *see* Aborigines
- Santamaria, Bartholomew Augustine, 186, 202–5, 202, 298–9, 375
- satellite relays, 83, 214–15, 230; *see also* Ausat
- Save Our Sons movement, 210
- Sayers, Dorothy L., 408
- Scarman, Lord, 411
- Scene*, 224
- Schepisi, Fred, 247
- Schirer, Caroline, 437
- Schlebaum, Anne, 378
- Schultz, Carl, 247
- Schumpeter, Joseph, 381–2
- Schwenke, Julianne, 436
- Scots College (Warwick), 5
- Scougall, S., 171
- Seaman, Paul, 148
- Seamen's Union, 388
- Sedgman, Frank, 411
- Seidler, Harry, 412
- Selkirk, Ray, 198
- service industries, 260–1, 269, 276, 278, 290; *see also* specific industries
- service stations, 122, 124–5, 128
- Seventh Day Adventists, 209
- sewerage, 91, 96
- sexism, 193, 292, 390, 392
- sexuality, 413
- Shakespeare family, 221
- Shand, David, 207
- Shannon, Henry Huntley, 334–5, 334, 337
- Shaw, A.G.L., 449
- Shaw, Bernard, 380
- Shead, Garry, 308

- shearing, 100, 106
 Shearman, Rodney, 388
 Shedden, Sir Frederick, 36–7
 sheep, 100, 102, 106, 108
 Shell Film Unit, 250
 Shilton, Lance, 213
 shipping, 388
 shops and shopping, 68, 91, 92, 124, 312, 337, 341, 421
 Shrine of Remembrance (Melb), 17
Shropshire (cruiser), 24
 Sinclair, Ian, 184
 Singapore, 8, 21, 23, 34, 44
 Sinnatony, Sobhini, 230
 Slater, William, 15
 Slim, Viscount, 12
 slums, 77–8, 84, 86–7, 94
 Smart, Jeffrey, 254, 291
 Smith, Bernard, 2
 Smith, Sir Charles Kingsford, 127
 Smith, Joynton, 217
 Smith, L.R., 71
 Smith, W.J., 217
Smith's weekly (Syd), 217, 224
Smoke signals (Greensborough, Vic), 138, 140, 142, 144
 Snedden, Billy, 392
 Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Authority, 181
 social classes, 93, 191, 200, 205–6, 310, 312–14, 370, 377, 401, 405, 407, 422–4, 428
 social services, 271; child endowment, 180, 257, 319–22; family allowances, 321; maternity allowances, 180; old age and widows' pensions, 180, 301, 322–3; pharmaceutical and sickness benefits, 180; sole parents' benefits, 324; welfare cheats, 268; *see also* unemployment
 socialism, 183, 287, 348, 377–8, 399, 407, 409, 424
 Society of Australian Genealogists, 447
 Somare, Michael, 54
 Sorel, G., 381
 Souter, Gavin, 5, 8, 19, 224
 South Australian Film Corporation, 245, 247
 South Melbourne Unemployed Workers Movement, 394
 Southan Robert, 410; *see also* Evatt, Elizabeth
 South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, 44–5, 50
Southern Aurora (train), 127
Southern Cross (airplane), 127
 Soviet Union, 15, 36, 38, 44, 46, 52–3, 55, 298, 352, 373, 394–5, 397, 409, 425, 428; *see also* KGB
 Spanish Civil War, 202
 Special Broadcasting Service, 227, 230, 232, 236, 414
 Spencer, Baldwin, 168
 Spender, Sir Percy, 38–9
Spirit of Progress (train), 127
 sport, 407, 433; *see also* specific sports
 Sprigg, Bruce, 4, 15
 Srederas, Bronius ('Bob'), 86
 Stack, Robert, 15
 stagflation, 301
 Stalin, Joseph, 6, 6, 15, 15, 17–19, 23, 427–8
 Stallings, Richard, 195
 stamps, 4, 44, 106, 267
 Stanley, Philip, 284
 Stanner, W.E.H. 69, 371
 Staples, Jim, 381
 State Schools' War Relief Effort, 4, 6, 15
 steel industry, 86, 189, 297
 Steinem, Gloria, 192
 Stendal, Mr, 276
 Stephenson, Rosalie, 310
 Stevenson, Claire, 389
 Stevens, Mailla, 311
 Stokes, Kerry, 235, 237
 Stoller, Alan, 344–5, 348
 Stoller report, 344
 Stone, Julius, 409
 Strachan, Carolyn, 251
 Street, Anthony, 53
 Streeton, Arthur, 168
 Streton, Hugh, 96
 strikes, 52, 236, 270, 280–307 *passim*, 305, 355, 360, 397–8, 401
 student power and activism, 49, 138, 188, 191
 Stylianos, Archbp, 84, 208
 Subardjo, Dr, 44
 suburbanism, 84, 89–94, 91, 96, 314
 Suez crisis, 44
 sugar and sugar industry, 12, 100, 100, 102, 106, 109–10, 111
 Suharto, Pres, 54
 Sukarno, Pres, 45, 54
 Summers, Anne, 94, 192, 193, 224, 310, 449
Sun (Bris), 216
Sun (Syd), 215–16, 218, 220–1, 344
 Sunday, *see* Sabbath, observance of
Sunday Advertiser (Adel), 222
Sunday Australian, 222
Sunday Herald, (Syd), 222
Sunday Mail (Adel), 222
Sunday Mail (Bris), 215
Sunday Mirror (Syd), 222
Sunday Observer (Melb), 222, 386, 388
Sunday Press (Melb), 222
Sunday Review (Melb), 224, 386
Sunday Sun (Syd), 215, 222
Sunday Telegraph (Syd), 215, 222
Sunday Times (Perth), 215, 221
Sun-Herald (Syd), 222
Sun-News Pictorial (Melb), 73, 215–17, 220–1
 surfing, 124, 125
 Sutton, Bill, 434
 Swan Brewery, 237
 Sweden, 259, 292
 swimming pools, 92
 Sydney, 76, 78–80, 91, 93; attack by Japanese submarines, 11; description, 77, 82–3, 89–90, 92, 125, 181; housing, 86, 88, 94, 97; population, 79, 81, 84, 90; transport, 91, 120, 127
 Sydney Church of England Grammar School for Boys, 379–80
 Sydney Day Nursery Association, 315
 Sydney Filmmakers' Co-operative, 251
 Sydney Harbour Bridge, 120
Sydney Morning Herald, 54, 115, 215–17, 221–4, 233, 237, 305, 325, 372–3, 385, 420
 Sykes, Bobbi, 142
 Syme family, 215, 217, 221–2
 Szasz, Thomas, 351
 table tennis, 407
 Tait Brothers Co, 239
 Tan, Eric, 437
 Tange, Sir Arthur, 195
 Tangentere Council, 159
 Tangney, Dorothy, 191
 Tariff Board, 184, 192, 245–6; *see also* Industries Assistance Commission
 tariffs, 112–14, 182–3, 257, 259, 262
 Tasmanian Film Corporation, 245
 Tasmanian Wilderness Society, 190
 Tassie, Dr, 330, 337
 Tatz, Colin, 144
 taxation, 93, 115, 268; concessions, 112, 114, 247, 321–2, 322; evasion, 267, 271, 306; income, 179–80, 257, 260, 270, 301, 321; sales, 192; tax summit, 115, 270
 Taylor, Frederick W., 284
 Taylor, Grant, 15
 Taylor, Robert, 15
 Taylor, Thomas Griffith, 59
 Taylorism, 284
 Teasdale, Mr, 2
 technology and technological changes, 275, 277–8, 282–7, 290, 292, 295, 299, 302, 316, 409, 429–30
 Teece, Alison, 113, 113
 teenagers, 231, 258, 351, 413
 Telecom, 230, 286, 306
Telegraph (Bris), 216, 221
 telephone, 114, 263
 Telepress (Prague), 427
 teletype, 83
 television: advertising, 230–1, 230, 243; audience surveys, 230; cable, 230, 236; colour, 225; ownership of stations, 221, 227, 230, 232–3, 236–7, 243–4; popularity, 92, 230, 316, 367; programs and production, 208, 227, 228–9, 230, 233, 236, 243–5, 289, 312, 319, 340, 375, 413, 440, 443
 Tennant, Kylie, 77–8
 tennis, 99, 117, 364, 411; *see also* table tennis
 Thailand, 45–6
 theatre, 92, 370, 372, 374, 413
 Theodore, E.G., 217–18
 Thomas, Al, 374
 Thomas, Ken, 385
 Thomson, Donald, 169
 Thornhill, Michael, 248
 Thornley, Jeni, 250
 Thornton, Barry, 284
 Thurgood, Joyce, 323
Time, 224
Time Australia (Melb), 224, 234
Times on Sunday (Melb), 224
 Tojo, Hideki, 6, 11
 Tolhurst family, 427
 Toohey, Justice, 148, 165
 Torres Strait Islanders, 134–5, 148
 tourism, 302; local, 81, 159, 162–5, 444; overseas travel, 55, 360, 384, 388, 390, 411, 425, 427–8; seaside and mountain resorts, 81
 tractors, 100, 106–9, 117, 260
 Tracy, Spencer, 11
 Trade Union Training Authority, 306
 trade unions, 136, 184, 186, 202–4, 266–307 *passim*, 288–9, 293, 394, 397, 401–2, 404–5, 409, 412; *see also* specific unions
 traffic flow and jams, 91–2, 125–6
 Trahair, Richard, 275
 tramways, 120–1
 Trans Australia Airlines, 127, 382
 Transport Workers' Union, 386
 trolley buses, 120–1
 trucks and trucking, 125–6, 129, 152, 154, 381–2, 388
 Truscott, Bluey, 13
Truth (Bris), 215
Truth (Syd), 215, 222
 Tuckson, Tony, 168–9, 171
 Tuffin, Doug, 172
 Turner, Ian, 426, 429, 431
TV times, 224
TV week, 221, 224
 Ubu Films, 251
 Ulm, C.T.P., 127
 unemployment, 89, 264–5, 268, 271, 286–7, *see gatefold* 40–1; benefits, 165, 180, 255, 257, 268; dole bludgers, 268; levels, 62, 71, 75, 86, 110, 255, 258, 262, 264, 268–9, 271, 278, 302, 324, 354, 404–5
 Union of Australian Women, 321
 Union Steamship Co, 388
 Unitarian Church, 428
 United Australia Party, 181–2, 184, 380
 United Nations Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, 414
 United Nations Organisation, 18, 32, 36, 38, 50, 55
 United States, 32, 34, 36–9, 44–5, 47–8, 50–4, 259, 262, 291–2, 315, 341, 344, 355, 373, 375, 405
 University of Melbourne, 359, 370, 389, 423–5, 429–30
 University of Queensland, 359, 436
 University of Sydney, 359, 379–82, 388, 408–9
 University of the South Pacific, 437
 uranium industry, 53, 82, 146–7, 189, 266
 urban planning, 86–7, 97
 urbanisation, 69, 78–9, 81–3, 82
 Uren, Tom, 190, 377
 VE Day, xviii, 19
 Vega, Lope de, 372
 venereal diseases, *see* diseases
 Vernon, James, 262
 Vernon report, *see* Committee of Economic Inquiry
 Victorian Chamber of Manufactures, 303
 Victorian Film Corporation, 245
 Victorian Teachers' Union, 429
 Videobiography Co, 447
 videos, 92, 230, 248, 251
 Vietnam, 45–6, 54
 Vietnam Moratorium, 210; *see also* demonstrations
 Vietnam War, 31–2, 48–51, 48–9, 53, 72–3, 188–9, 206, 209–11, 262, 301, 376–7, 384–8
 Vincent Report, 244
 Viner, Ian, 145
 Viviani, Nancy, 75
Vogue (Lond, NY), 175, 218
Vogue Australia (Syd), 226
 Volunteer Defence Corps, 3, 8
 von Kleist, Heinrich, 372
 von Sturmer, John, 146
 voting, 133–5, 144, 156
 Wadham, Samuel, 104
 wages and income, 93, 260, 263, 315–16, 397; army pay, 26–7; basic wage and wage movements, 111, 264, 297–302, 305, 307, 320–1, 336, 404; equal pay, 264, 297, 297, 301, 307, 319, 325; indexation, 264, 267, 270, 299, 301–2, 305; non-wage benefits, 302, 307; wages accord, 269–70, 270; *see also* Aborigines: women
 Wakelin, Roland, 196
 Walford, Neil, 235
Walkabout (Melb), 153, 218, 226
 Walker, Alan, 209
 Walker, Kath, 173, 359–60, 367, 432–7, 432, 435–7, 439
 Wallace, Anthony, 173
 Wallace, Charlie, 99–100, 102–3, 105–10, 116–17
 Wallace, Stephen, 247–8
 Walsh, Frank, 186, 337
 Walsh, Peter, 271
 Walsh, Richard, 386
 war loans, 12, 16, 257
 War Organisation of Industry, 183
 War Savings Certificates, 4
 Ward, Eddie, 186, 421
 Ward, Russel, 422–3, 447, 449
 Wardley, Deborah, 280
 Warnecke, George, 218
 Warner, Ralph Malcolm, 14
 Warrumbungle Range (NSW), 99–100, 99, 108
 wartime controls, 6, 12, 102–3, 119, 180, 255, 257, 259, 297–8, 321, 330, 337, 390, 402, 407, 416, 425; *see also* specific items
Warwick Advertiser, 19
 'Watchman, The', *see* Mann, E.A.
 water supply, 96, 102–3, 155
 Waterside Workers' Federation, 303
 Waterside Workers' Film Unit, 250

- Waterson, Duncan, 449
 Watson, Pearl, 413
 Watt, Harry, 242
 Wearing, Betsy, 312
 Webb, Theodore, 171
Weekend, 223-4
Weekend Australian (Syd), 222
 Weir, Peter, 247
 Wells, Edgar, 172
 Werth, Alexander, 425
 West, Stewart John, 74
West Australian (Perth), 215-16, 221, 237
 Westfield Capital Corporation Ltd, 237
 wheat industry, 45, 54, 100, 102, 106, 108, 111-13, 258, 260, 260, 421
 Wheeler family, 415-17
Wheels, (Syd), 124
 White Australia policy, 62, 65, 75, 400; *see also* immigration and immigrants
 whitegoods industry, 282
 Whitehouse, Mary, 212
 Whitlam, Edward Gough, 51, 194, 227, 365; constitutional struggle and dismissal, 52, 146, 194-5, 360; political career, 50-1, 65, 73, 142, 144, 186, 232, 369, 377-8, 412, 421
 Whitlam government, 50-2, 63, 71-2, 112-16, 145, 183-95 *passim*, 227-73 *passim*, 301, 318, 324, 360, 387, 404, 443-4
 Whitton, Evan, 224
Wild life (Melb), 218, 226
 Williams, C.R., 24-5, 25
 Williams, Claire, 276, 286, 311
 Williams, Edgar, 304
 Williams, Fred, 431
 Williams, Helen, 193
 Willis, Ralph, 270
 Willmot, Eric, 440, 441
 Wilmot, Frank, 85
 Wilson, Bruce, 212, 312
 Wilson, Edward, 215
 Wilson, Helen, 218
 Windschuttle, Keith, 220, 225, 236, 286-7
 Winkler, Paul, 251
 Winnacott, Len, 428
 Winnecke Royal Commission, 307
Wireless weekly, 219
 Wolstenholme, S.R., 60
Woman (Syd), 218, 225
Woman's day (Syd), 224-5
 Women and Politics Conference, 392
 women, 10, 25, 124, 192, 312, *see gatefold 40-1*; marriage and daily life, 69, 93-4, 96, 309-12, 315-16, 320; military service, 4, 23, 26-7, 27, 389-90, 432; status, role and rights, 85, 113, 309-10, 390, 392-3, 411, 413; wages, 27-8, 264, 297, 301, 307, 316, 319, 322, 325, 336, 389, 398, 432; women in workforce, 4-5, 23, 27-8, 28, 71, 94, 264, 268, 276, 279-80, 279, 297, 309-10, 310, 315-17, 319, 322, 380, 394, 398; *see also*, subjects pertaining to women
 Women Who Want to be Women, 393
 Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force, 26, 359, 389-90
 Women's Electoral Lobby, 192-3, 192, 317
 Women's Employment Board, 27
 Women's Land Army, 26
 women's liberation movement, 188-9, 191, 193, 317, 321, 399, 414
 women's refuges, 325, 325
 Women's Royal Australian Naval Service, 26
 Woock, Roger, 312
 Woodward, A.E., 142, 146-9
 wool, 102, 105-6, 111, 258-9, 261
 word processing, 269, 284-5
 World Black Festival of Arts, Second, 437
 World Council of Churches, 436
 world peace, 18, 53-4, 409, 414, 427-9
 World War I, 1-2, 20, 69, 85, 209, 400, 433
 World War II, 257, 296; American troops in Australia, 11, 14, 23; attacks on Australian mainland, 8, 9, 26, 15. European theatre, 17, 21, 24-5, 33, 361-2; German an Japanese surrender, 19, 19, 24; Greece and Crete operations, 23; internal security, 14, 14; Middle East theatre, 23, 33; North African theatre, 21; outbreak of, 20, 33, 100, 117, 370-1, 389, 394, 401; Pacific and South-east Asia theatre, 4, 7-8, 11, 21, 22, 23-4, 34, 4; Papua New Guinea campaign, 7, 12-13, 17, 20, 22, 23-28-9, 28-9, 426; *see also* Australian Army and specific forces; Japanese invasion scare; subjects pertaining to
 Wran, N., 186, 354
 Wright, Judith, 431, 436
 Wyatt, W., 350
 Yalta conference, 17
 Yirawala, 172, 175
 Young Catholic Workers, 200
 Young Communist League, 394-5
 Young, Mick, 181
Your garden (Syd), 226
 Zimbabwe, 53
 Zirilli, John, 421
 Zubrzycki, J., 72