

fine lines

words and ideas that mark our times



volume 1: legend of the 1980s & 1990

Peter Botsman
with illustrations by Kerrie Leishman

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It's a fine line between pleasure and pain
You've done it once you can do it again
Whatever you done don't try to explain
Its a fine, fine line between pleasure and pain¹

1. Chrissie Amphlett and the Divinyls, "Pleasure and Pain" from **What a Life**, November 1995

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preface

This book is for people who work with words and ideas. It is a tool for speech-writers, journalists, students, writers and anyone interested in tracking Australian history through the things people say.

In my experience, most printed books of quotations can be frustrating. Quotations are usually organized by subject or author and there is the index at the back of the book. But it is a circuitous route to find just what is needed and, in many there are no real references so it is hard to get a historical fix on words and meanings.

Back in 1988 I started to create my own computerised books of words and quotations. The idea was to stymie the pain of the endless search. All key words and subjects were hyper-linked for ease of access and every word in my volume was instantly searchable. In the hustle for speeches and writing I found my own collected quotations very useful.

As the years went on my volumes saved me many hours of work and they got more and more comprehensive. I began the practice of noting dates and sources and organizing them in historical volumes. With this online edition I am making the first of these volumes available to a general readership. In *pdf* form quotations and ideas can be searched instantly and comprehensively.

Words and quotations are also important historical markers and references. I have sourced most quotations to books, newspaper reports, places, people, dates, times. This means you can go beyond the quotation to the source and explore for yourself. This is exactly what I found myself doing. I often couldn't remember an exact date but I remembered what someone had said. Sayings became my beacons of time.

There are some personal communications and hearsay quotations that I have literally noted down on a napkin or picked up on the

street or in a corridor. Some of these haven't been sourced to a tangible text or place or time - if you find one that is unsourced, I think you will agree that these were just too good to leave out. *fine lines* is updated regularly and I am constantly finding new ideas and quotations. I hope you will enjoy and use this volume.

I am very lucky to have the great illustrator and artist Kerrie Leishman as a friend, neighbour and collaborator - her illustrations are a rich treasure trove of visual dialogue which lifts this volume to heights it could not otherwise achieve.

Thanks to my enchanting and ever supportive partner Catriona Moore, who in an instant came up with the title for this series, and our sons Chenier, Dashiell and Declan, delightful computer menaces, companions and my constant inspiration.

Peter Botsman
11 December 2006

introduction

What is a fine line? Is it the words in themselves that matter? Is it the saying of them? Words that once burned with meaning can fizzle. The shifts and changes in our perceptions and remembrances of words and ideas are what interest me in putting this volume together. Is it possible to track the way we value words? our lived relationship with them, our enunciations and pronouncements?

Meaning emerges from a conjuncture of times, institutions, practicality, people, character, moments. The same is true of actual techniques of using words. The meagre, humble words of Ben Chifley are capable of being etched in stone, because as his biographer Fin Crisp¹ tells us so well, they came from his deep, felt beliefs in a period of world crisis and deliverance. With Chifley, and Curtin, we search for more words than are actually there.

For the Menzies and Whitlam generation in Australia the ‘word quip’ was king. A witty one liner was capable of flooring a heckler, like a right to the jaw. But the word plays and witticisms of Menzies, Whitlam, Eddie Ward, Jim Killen, Fred Daly and others fell by the wayside in the 1980s and 1990s.

‘Big ideas’ fuelled politics. Paragraphs and pages of words became the forte of politicians and their minders. It is hard to find memorable witticisms from Bob Hawke. Hawke reached his intellectual zenith as President advocate of the ACTU. As Prime Minister he was a manager rather than an innovator. He liked to dominate an interviewer on television and scowl at journalists. But he never dominated parliament, probably because he had such a steep learning curve during his rapid escalation to the Prime Ministership. Paul Keating was the dominant parliamentary performer of the 1980s and 1990s. Whereas Hawke was relatively unprepared for the parliament. Keating was ‘born in the briar patch’. He combined the cleverness and sharpness of the old school of orators with concepts and big pictures. His short

1. L.F. Crisp, *Ben Chifley*, Longmans, 1961

jabs and combinations of sharp words awed his colleagues and as he matured, his parliamentary performances became less about the political shirt-front and more about getting 'the big picture' across.

To appreciate the full power of Keating you had to be there hearing a full onslaught in the parliament. You had to see him as much as hear or read his words. When he rose ready to slay his opponent the parliament inside and outside the chamber stopped. Keating could deliver a punch - but frequently there was a sparkle in his eye; underneath brutal words there was a playful larrikin. He would come into the chamber armed with news clippings and dot points and the ticking of his brain was almost palpable. The famous words "precis please", noted in fountain pen, were well known in his office. It wasn't for lack of reading, it was just that for Keating everything came down to reducing a big idea or report or historical moment to a series of crisp, unforgettable phrases.

Words on their own don't do justice to the Keating persona, many of the lines and ideas in this volume will not have the ring or power of their original performance. This was Keating's problem in a way. Without being able to see the twinkle in his eye, we heard the nasty asides or powerful phrases and they could appear crude, scary or *too smart by half*. To the public Keating could be a strong figure. John Howard worked out that it was better sometimes to lose debates to Keating and to simply hold up a mirror to the man and disappear.

The 1990s saw the rise of Indigenous Australia's 21st century statesman, Noel Pearson. Pearson's oratory skill has something of the power of Keating. Early on Pearson was influenced by Keating's crude, smashing words. As time has gone on Pearson has become a more original thinker than Keating and he, perhaps more than anyone else, has taken what was innovative from the 1980s and 1990s and put it together in a new system of thinking and action at his Cape York Institute. Pearson learned from his elders a love of traditional language and a love of the Queen's English in all its rigour. But like Keating, to appreciate Pearson one has to be there for a sustained performance. Pearson is so powerful because he senses the moods of the nation and his burning concepts, often derived from intense discussion with his peers, or from the wisdom of elders, are delivered at just the right time and place.

‘Ideas move nations’ was the slogan of the think tank movement of the 1980s and 1990s. The mark of the powerful figure was not so much oratory prowess but articulation of a big conceptualisation that would stick and define the world. The fight was between a mythical right and a mythical left vying to define the world. In the process of the fight everything changed. The old guard of politics wanted to retain simple polarities of thought. But the times were a changing and the solidity of ideology was melting. Across the chasm there were shared truths and understandings. In this twilight place the best and most enduring ideas and innovations emerged.

The title *fine lines* conotes fine as in good, but it also means fine as in a narrow margin - walking a tight rope of ideas, meanings and performance. These collected lines I hope show the contradictions, real contests and uneasy compromises of the 1980s and 1990s. I don’t see these decades as the beginning of economic rationalism or as an “end to certainty”. Battles of ideas were certainly won and lost. But many events and achievements did not occur because of a move towards free market economics. Hopefully these words will provide a more complex picture than is sometimes portrayed. The legal consolidation of native title, perhaps Paul Keating’s greatest legislative achievement, was no phenomena of the market. Nor was it something that could be resolved in one decade. One of the enduring institutions to emerge from the 1980s and 1990s, occupational superannuation, was pioneered by the great communist unionist Tom Mc Donald and so too did the communist leader Laurie Carmichael overhaul Australia’s vocational qualification system. The right of the Labor party, led by Bill Hayden and Paul Keating, were correct to radically open the Australian economy to international markets. But it is a mistake to see this period in a simple ideological wash of meaning that leads on to John Howard.

I was a foot soldier in the contests. In 1988 I became the inaugural Director of the Evatt Research Centre, and was flung into the world of politics. I like everybody else who worked passionately for the Labor movement in this period burned myself out writing hundreds of articles, press releases, speeches and reports, some under my own name, many under other peoples. Nothing in academic training prepared me for the sheer hard work from 1988-1996.

The so-called New Right were dominating conservative as well as labour government thinking. My brief was to create a think tank that would take up the contest: one person, on a budget of \$70,000 including salary, with the job of out-gunning the dominant conservative think tanks with millions of dollars and strong networks of researchers and writers within and outside government. Melbourne's important Labor Research Centre was in operation but other than that I was on my own. Before my arrival at Evatt, the then radical, left intellectual, Keith Windschuttle, had been employed on a short contract by the left Labor group dominating the Evatt Foundation. His job was to compile a list of compatible Labor intellectuals in all of the Australian universities that would be the network that would sustain the labor think tank. The strategy was inspired by the network of loose academics who had voluntarily produced ideas for E.G. Whitlam in the lead up to his 1972 triumph². In 1998 the immediate problem I found was that only a handful on the list compiled by Windschuttle were prepared or equipped to do battle on a day-to-day basis with the new, powerful, right economic push.

The Labor Party was itself a contest and an anachronism. In my first meeting with Johnno Johnson, the legendary figure of the NSW Right, I made the mistake of telling him I was the new Director of the Evatt Research Centre. He almost choked on his sandwich – Ev-att! he spat back ferociously, “that bastard...”

With such a small budget,³ the immediate task was to beg already over-strapped unions and sceptical politicians for support. The unions were only interested in research when there was a crisis and a desperate need for solutions. The trick was to pursue issues of larger importance financed by short term fire-fighting. The issue of the hour was privatisation and within months of my start at Evatt we had completed our first major published report. It was a good practical grounding in many ways, but it was tough.⁴

2. Race Mathews had been instrumental then but wasn't involved at the Evatt Foundation in those days. Mathews' current Fabian group is the more sophisticated latter day version of this thinking.

3. The Evatt Foundation as a whole, through Neville Wran, Bob Hawke and others, had negotiated with John Howard and the previous Fraser Federal government for an annual sum but it was much smaller than that given to the Menzies Foundation. Also the Evatt Executive wisely argued it could not be touched while the Evatt Foundation built up its capital reserves

There were no comfy seats in the ride and I can remember feeling that there were many left-wing Professors and academics who had far greater resources than I could command who were interested in what I had to offer them. Not many wanted to spend a month or a week or a day, writing a backgrounder for a union or a politician in a tense situation. There was also a tendency of the old left to claim a sort of holy purity. They would not engage in the technicality of the economic debate being honed day to day by Paul Keating and his army of Treasury advisors.

Something was happening that could not be reduced to the simple evil of *economic rationalism*. Perhaps this was symbolised by Don Russell, Keating's long term advisor and right-hand man. Russell, despite his characterisation as a pointy head in Don Watson's seminal book **Recollections of a Bleeding Heart**⁵, was no conservative, 'economic rationalist'. His father Eric Russell was a brilliant Labor economist. Geoff Harcourt views him as the modern "starting point for understanding the Australian economy"⁶. Russell senior was responsible for providing the technical detail for Bob Hawke's 1959 revolutionisation of the basic wage determination from "national capacity to pay" to "productivity" under Justice Richard Kirby.⁷ Don Russell's mentoring of Keating was about an equally innovative national project, it was about reconciling Labor's social objectives with post-Keynesian, market economics.

To advocate some sort of honourable left *status quo* in this context was fatal. The main game was to define the future. Dynamic research was needed on critical issues of the day. Professor William Mitchell, now running the Centre for Full Employment at the University of New-

4. I had some great teachers in how to curry influence in the battle of ideas. Leslie Fallick was responsible for bringing then public sector union head Peter Robson into an enduring partnership of ideas. Faith Bandler schooled me one day under a tree in the Botanical Gardens, she had tapped away on a typewriter and helped change the Australian constitution in 1967. Michael Easson was a good man of the NSW Right who understood the power of ideas. Peter Ewer, Peter Rawlinson, Ted Wilshire and Terry Counihan and others made a huge contribution with *Australia Reconstructed* setting up a template for how reports could change the big picture of politics. The great unionists Tommy and Audrey Mc Donald, Peter Robson, Anna Booth, David Haynes and later David Richardson, Wendy Caird and Joan Kirner were also tremendous supporters.

5. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart A Portrait of Paul Keating PM*, Knopf, 2002

6. G.C. Harcourt, *Selected Essays on Economic Policy*, Palgrave, 2001, p. 7

7. See Blanche d'Alpuget, *Mediator A Biography of Sir Richard Kirby*, Melbourne University Press, 1977, pp. 149-167

castle, was one of a number of exceptional academics who were prepared to take up the challenge.

With a new hardcore of select researchers, the Evatt Research Centre's first publication **The Capital Funding of Public Enterprises** (March 1988) argued against the privatisation of Federal public enterprises by taking on market economics on its own terms. It had quite an impact. The rumour was that when then President of the ACTU Simon Crean presented it to the world's greatest Treasurer, he forcefully threw it back at him and said something to the effect of "Stick your big red book". As a result unions started to invest in the Evatt Research Centre and the Evatt Foundation.

The point, as I saw it, was to push the envelope. **State of Siege** (1989) was a landmark in the contest of ideas in the 1980s and 1990s. It was the first report to advocate the use of a broad based consumption tax to stabilise State finances. It was highly controversial within the labour movement. But today's Labor State Treasurers have a lot to thank us for; the quality of that seminal 500 page report, with its focus on addressing regressive State taxes and charges, and the fiscal imbalance between the Commonwealth and the States, gave them a decade of debate and thought to prepare for Howard's introduction of the GST in July 2000. In my view the States did so well out of the GST because of **State of Siege**. In fact they did too well and a number of regressive State taxes and charges that should have been abolished after the introduction of the GST remain in place. It should be noted that the courageous leader of the then Public Service Association of NSW Helen Twohill, who supported and financed the report, probably lost the next election because of the controversy within her union over our advocacy of a GST⁸. But at least indirectly I think we can say that Twohill's leadership saved thousands of State public sector jobs and the relentless, often ill-considered, fiscal imperative to sell off State enterprises was halted.

Ideas and words were weapons and the consequences of the fight had real consequences. The best work was done by intellectual Labor

8. It was the beginning of a bad trend. Later during the 1998 election, and thankfully after I had departed, a report produced by some of Australia's best researchers and advocates that merely canvassed the possibility of a consumption tax was fudged. Big bad bogey politics unfortunately all too often got in the way of detailed thinking and discussion. You have to be strong within the Labor movement to resist this.

party members, Ministerial advisors and trade union based researchers, over-worked, heart-attack candidates all, who knew what was required. These people were working in a zone outside conventional thinking and categorisations. It was a dangerous place to be. There were no luxuries, no guarantees and often you could find yourself with support from no-one - but the future belonged to them. Tragically some of these people literally gave their lives for the cause. My friend Terry Counihan was one. He gave much of his brilliant academic mind to the Labor Party but there was no-one there from the Labor Party to support him when he needed it at the end of the nineties. Others who were just too charismatic or personally troublesome, like Ted Wilshire, the godfather of the union report **Australia Reconstructed**, and were effectively sent to Siberia; others left and others simply bit the bullet and endured a life of poor treatment by the Labor Movement. Early on in my tenure at Evatt the research department of the Metalworkers Union was producing the best industry thinking in the country. It was too good and was brutally demolished and its various members spread to the four winds. The labour movement seemed destined to lose the good will of the talented true believers and the culture of anti-thetical, confronting research was destroyed. All too often, as a result, the labour movement lost its edge and its ability to see ahead.

It was a ruthless game. I too was overly tough on good researchers who simply couldn't meet the impossible demands that were often placed on us. You cannot build lasting relationships and institutions in such an environment and there were no blueprints. I now recognise the achievements of my then mortal enemies Greg Lindsay in establishing the Centre for Independent Studies and Gerard Henderson at the Sydney Institute. It wasn't just money it was about creating a supportive culture of people and ideas. I remember a visit by a President of the ACTU to the Evatt Foundation. After we had played a very strong role as advocates for Labor policies in the 1993 election we had managed to curry favour with the powers that be and were able to build up a rudimentary library and the unprecedented right to part of a floor (at commercial rent) of the Labor Council building on Sussex St in Sydney. 'It's a bloody palace', he later complained. 'How did you get all these resources?'

Everyday these same Labor trade unionists wanted answers, ammunition, words, analysis in the contest of ideas. Words were bullets in a war fought every day over the newspapers, radio waves and television stations. In the midst of the battles I scanned newspapers, books, Hansard, radio and television for the tight phrase or comment - words that would convey power, meaning, inspiration. Words that would skip over the problems I had to deal with on a daily basis. Almost every week I would list ideas, words and quotations in my scrapbooks and diaries and later, I started to record jokes, quotations and notes on computer. Many would end up in a speech or a report but others might just sit as a reminder, an inspiration or a reference marker, quietly pulling me towards a view or a thought or a destination. Others would just disappear, only to naggingly re-appear again at some distant juncture.

In the immediate world of public policy, keeping records and profiles is a must. Gerard Henderson and the Liberal Right are masters in the art of building profiles and keeping the words of their protagonists. Time after time on the labour side, the archives of knowledge, from Labor research organisations were destroyed by those who didn't understand. Terry Counihan's carefully compiled archives of statements and comments in Canberra remain a treasure trove untapped and unknown by the current Labor regime that will hopefully be revived permanently some day. Whenever I was in Parliament House Terry and I would usually do the trawl around the Ministerial offices, whenever Paul Keating was in full flight we would pull out our note pads and jot down his best lines. Many of them were fueled by Counihan and Don Watson's notes and ideas and are included in this volume.

In all of this a new politics was emerging that combined the old and the new. My great mentor Paul Hirst taught me that 'your political enemies are not always wrong' and that you must create the best possible argument for your opponent and then tackle it. Often I would record the best possible case for our opponents and their strong points and then dismantle it. But there were times when it was clear that, for example, the defence of the public sector as an end in itself, was not sustainable. In the future if governments were to invest in public services and enterprises then there had to be change and innovation and different models of doing things. This didn't mean that the

arguments of the monetarists and free market ideologues were right. Nor did it mean we could stick to old doctrines. It was about coming up with new combinations of ideas and action. Many in the labour movement could not see this. But I think one of the conclusions of the privatisation debates of the 1980s and 1990s was that public institutions had to be re-structured, re-designed and made more accountable. These were the conclusions that started to emerge in the book I later co-edited with Mark Latham and which featured Noel Pearson's ideas *The Enabling State* (2001) but that is another story.

The 1980s and 1990s were exciting times. They were “the times when Keating ..could remind you of what language can be and what it can do”.⁹ Now even State Labor copies the boring, flat, pedestrian, utilitarian qualities of the Howard government communiqués. But we were surely meant to have to endure this new hell. At the end of the Keating era in 1996 there were as many questions as there were answers. Rapier-like words on their own cannot win the war of ideas in politics. If the Labor movement is to be an important player in the 21st century it must re-invent itself. It must invest in independent research and thinking and it must learn to change and reinvent its structures and be prepared to embrace new combinations of ideas and policies. This was what Ben Chifley sensed about post-war politics. It was the deep meaning of his statement ‘*I would rather have Menzies education than a million pounds*’¹⁰. The narrowness of the concept of “Labor” needs to give way to a broader concept of social democracy. This is now decades overdue in Australia.

The quotations, notes, compelling phrases and portraits that I faithfully typed into my computer during the 1980s and 1990s should tell us something about the future as much as the past. Looking back it is interesting to see what I kept from the morass of notes and papers. Some lines still burn with meaning and some rising issues such as sustainability and the environment have become even more important. My pre-computer quotations remain to be laboured over, but in this volume I hope that it will be clear that many contests of ideas that were thought to be resolved in the 1980s and 1990s are still very much unresolved and open. By putting these odd paragraphs and

9. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*, Knopf Books, 2002, p. 24

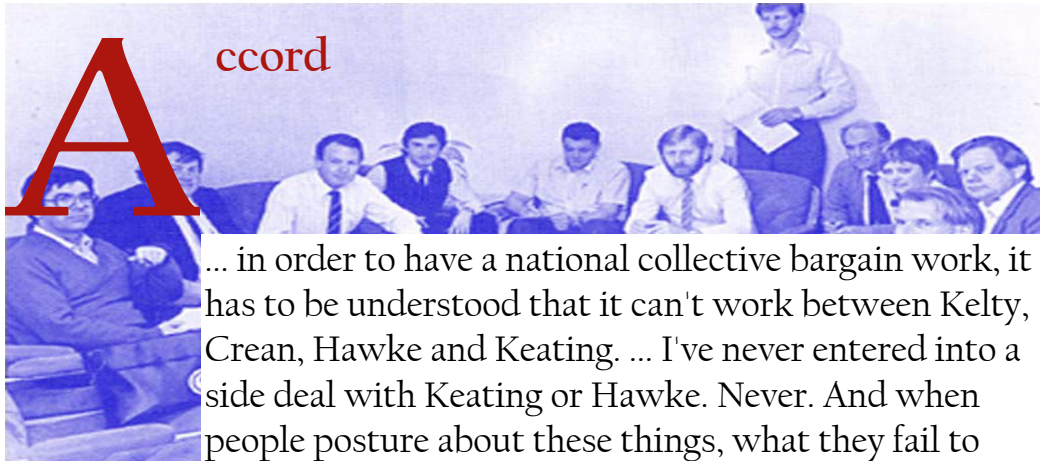
10. L.F. Crisp, *Ben Chifley: A Biography*, Longmans, 1961, p. 6

phrases together I hope it will help the next generation of political advisors and writers to refine their art and their eye. I also hope it will instil in the Labor Movement an appreciation of the need for strong research, record keeping and the power of ideas.

In the future there will be a great diversity of independent public policy research centres and think tanks that operate on the frontier of knowledge and in the jaws of power. In this coming period ideas will not just be about public relations, Australians will come to realise that the best policies and ideas result from public policy contests and debate. Words will have a deep meaning that resonates with ordinary people. *fine lines* will hopefully be a primer for those times ahead.

Peter Botsman

11 December 2006



... in order to have a national collective bargain work, it has to be understood that it can't work between Kelty, Crean, Hawke and Keating. ... I've never entered into a side deal with Keating or Hawke. Never. And when people posture about these things, what they fail to understand is that the task the ACTU faces is to obtain, from where it stands, the involvement of the key unions. That's our task. Therefore, the Carmichaels, the Half-pennys and the Harrisons so far as the metal workers are concerned, the Ivan Hodgsons and Harry Quinns of the Transport Workers' Union, the finance unions, the Storemen and Packers Union, the Tom McDonalds and others of the building workers, they become people and organisations which have to become involved and committed. What you have to do is to deliver them collectively. Now that is what is so good about the recent negotiations on the accord because the unions are beginning to see that it is a process that is working and that is what is good from the ACTU's viewpoint. It's not Kelty and it's not Crean. What it is, is all of those unions acting as part of a national negotiating team. The same on tax. I have my own views on tax, but I must say that what's important is not for me to have my own little view but for the ACTU to have people like McDonald and Mansfield and that group of people working together as a team. I think what you're seeing from the trade union movement is a discipline and people perhaps didn't expect that discipline. You've got to ask yourself why you get that discipline, that collective commitment. You don't get it because people like Simon Crean or like me have them agree with our views, you get it because the system is producing something of substance.

Bill Kelty¹

Alfred E. Neuman

The Leader of the Opposition said, 'I have got a lot of plans swimming around my mind. It will sort of dribble out.' He is a bit like Alfred E. Neuman of the *Mad* magazine—maybe his brains will drip out, too.

Paul Keating²

Ambition

Q: What about the longer term. If Bob Hawke is in power for a long time, could you wait out the decade to be Prime Minister?

Keating: It's too far ahead to see. I'm happy to serve Bob. He's a good Prime Minister. A serious Prime Minister. If, for his own reasons, he, sometime in the future, vacates the position, if I am of the mind I am at the moment, I would certainly like to do the job. I've said before I would not climb over peoples' bodies to get it. Not that I'm going to step aside for lesser mortals either.

Paul Keating³

ALP Members

Members of the ALP are not paid to think they are paid to put up their hand.

Anon.

ALP Socialist Objective 1890

1. The nationalization of all sources of wealth and all means of producing and distributing wealth.
2. The conducting by the State Authority of all production and all exchange.
3. The pensioning of the State Authority of all children, aged and invalid citizens.

1. Bill Kelty, *Australian Financial Review*, 30 September 1985

2. Paul Keating in reply to John Howard, 25 September 1995, *Hansard*, p. 1576

3. Gregory Hywood, "No Recessions Assurance", *Australian Financial Review*, 21 November 1984

4.The savings by the State Authority of such proportion of the joint wealth production as may be requisite for instituting, maintaining and increasing national capital.

5.The maintenance by the State Authority from the joint wealth production of all education and sanitary institutions.

6.The just division among all the citizens of the State of all wealth production, less only that part retained for public and common requirements

7.The reorganization of society upon the above lines to be commenced at once and pursued uninterruptedly until social justice is fully secured to each and every citizen.

[First Platform of the Australian Labour Federation, 1890⁴](#)

ALP Socialist Objective 1900

Where these monopolies have reached the stage of of the complete centralization of an industry, where all the articles of a certain kind within a given community are made under a single control, then we say we have arrived at a stage of things which is absolutely incompatible with the continued freedom, happiness or development of the individual citizens of that country. If any man or group of men is permitted to establish a monopoly in a single necessity of life, to that extent that man is a monarch of the community, and as free, independent citizens of Australia we deny that..

[William Holman 1906⁵](#)

4. Cited in L.F. Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labour Party 1901-1951*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978 p. 270

5. Pamphlet Summary of the debate Centenary Hall, Sydney, 3 April, 1906 cited in L.F. Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labour Party 1901-1951*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978 p. 274

ALP Socialist Objective 1940

Conference urges the Federal Parliamentary Labour Party, within the limits of the Constitution, to give effect to the Party's policy of socialization.

The planning and regulation of all factors of economic life in order to achieve full employment at award rates, and to guarantee economic security.

[1945 Federal Labor Conference⁶](#)

ALP Socialist Objective 1995

The Australian Labor Party is a democratic socialist party and has the objective of the democratic socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange, to the extent necessary to eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features in these fields.

[Australian Labor Party Rules, 1995/96](#)

An Australian Head of State

The meaning is simple and, we believe, irresistible—as simple and irresistible as the idea of a Commonwealth of Australia was to the Australians of a century ago.

The meaning then was a nation united in common cause for the common good. A nation which gave expression to the lives we lead together on this continent, the experience and hopes we share as Australians.

The meaning now is still a product of that founding sentiment—it is that we are all Australians. We share a continent. We share a past, a present and a future. And our Head of State should be one of us.

[Paul Keating⁷](#)

Andrew Peacock

Does a Souffle rise twice?

All tip and no iceberg.

You've been at the dye pot again Andrew.

6. Report of the 1945 Federal Labor Conference, p. 34, p. 38

7. Paul Keating, Ministerial Statement: Republic, 07 June 1995, Hansard, p. 1434

Paul Keating

Andrew Peacock strikes back

The Treasurer [Paul Keating] has trouble doing his sums because he can use only eight fingers: the other two are for saying good day to the Prime Minister.

Andrew Peacock⁸

Angel of History

His face is turned towards the past. Where we see a chain of events before us, *he* sees a single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon ruin till they reach his feet. If only he could stay to wake the dead and to piece together the fragments of what has been broken! But a storm blows from the direction of Paradise, catching his wings with such a force that the Angel can no longer close them. This storm drives him irresistably into the future, to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris at his feet grows into the sky. This storm is what we call progress.

Walter Benjamin⁹

Anti-Intellectualism

Anti-Intellectualism is a natural outcropping from the egalitarian mateship ethos. Yet this anti-intellectualism, whether those who foster it are aware of it or not, is a blow not simply, or even so much against the intellectuals, as it is a blow against the workers. The objective function performed by anti-intellectualism is that of keeping the consciousness and the awareness of the workers at a low level, of holding back their cultural development. Those who gain from this anti-intellectualism are the capitalists and the bureaucratic elites.

Jack Blake¹⁰

8. Sydney Morning Herald, 27 December 1988

9. Walter Benjamin on Paul Klee's picture *Angelus Novus* cited in Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of extremes : a history of the world, 1914-1991*, Pantheon, p. 189

ANZAC

Two of my maternal Aboriginal grandparents served in France in World War I, but still I feel alienated about ANZAC Day. I suspect I feel alienated because my grandparents' service to their country did not make them citizens when they returned to Australia. I feel alienated because I find it hard to stomach the sight of white Australians saying 'Lest We Forget' at the shrines of ANZAC whilst vigorously seeking to forget what happened to the country's indigenous peoples. I feel alienated because ANZAC Day just feels too white to me.

Noel Pearson¹¹

Apartheid

My own attitude backed by cabinet was perfectly clear though. I said, both in and out of Parliament, that apartheid was a domestic matter and that we in other countries should not interfere.

R.G. Menzies¹²

Apology

I reaffirm in this place, formally and solemnly as Premier, on behalf of the Government and people of NSW, our apology to Aboriginal people. In doing so, acknowledge with deep regret Parliament's own role in endorsing policies and actions of successive governments which devastated Aboriginal communities.

Bob Carr, NSW Parliament, 1996

Arbitration

I know the Arbitration Act
As a sailor knows his "riggings"
So if you want a *small advance*

10. Jack Blake, *Resolution from Within*, 1971, p 105

11. Noel Pearson, *Layered Identities and Peace*, Earth Dialogue, Brisbane Festival, Sunday 23 July 2006, p. 5

12. Robert Menzies *Afternoon Light*, Caswell, 1967, p 193

I'll talk to Justice 'Iggins
Bump me into Parliament
Bump me any way
Bump me into Parliament
On next election day
IWW¹³

Argument

It was not unusual for a speaker to have addled eggs or tomatoes hurled at him, and on at least one occasion this happened to John Curtin. But as a rule he managed to subdue even the loudest of hecklers by the force of his personality and without recourse to the type of slick retort with which other tub-thumping speakers tried to turn the laugh against an interjector. Although he could do it well enough, to hold a man up to ridicule was not his habit. He was out to convince, and he knew that the facetious answer, while it might cause temporary amusement, was no substitute for a good argument.

John Curtin¹⁴

Asian Cooperation and Engagement

Australians are enmeshed in the rich tapestry of Asia... at these points of crisis we must not withdraw. We must heighten our engagement and our cooperation.

Peter Costello after the Bali Bombings¹⁵

Associative Democracy

Associative democracy not merely lacks the totalitarian potential of the old ideologies, it is their direct opposite, since it offers room for the projects of the most diverse social and political forces. It is not tied to

13. Ditty sung to the tune of "Yankee Doodle Dandy" to taunt Labor Party advocates of Arbitration around 1910 in H.V. Evatt, **William Holman Australian Labor Leader**, Angus & Robertson, 1940, p.165

14. A reporter in 1909 on John Curtin, Irene Dousing, *Curtin of Australia*, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 11-2

15. Ibid., p. 93

any given part of the Old left-right political spectrum. It can appeal to and be used as a guiding political doctrine by a wide variety of political and social groups subscribing to very different beliefs. The concept of the governance of social affairs through voluntary associations can enable groups to build their own social worlds in civil society; for example, conservative religious groups, radical feminists, those seeking a self sufficient ecologically sustainable form of life, can all live as they wish, and compete politically by soliciting the voluntary choices of individuals. In this respect associationalism is the one great system of political ideas born in the nineteenth century that is likely to continue into the twenty-first with real intellectual enthusiasm and the energy for social renewal driving it forward.

Paul Hirst¹⁶

Asian Immigration

It is in the interests of those Asian immigrants already here, and especially those who have contributed so much to this country, that the pace of Asian immigration should be slower.

Geoffrey Blainey¹⁷

Asylum

The great American asylum, as Crevecoeur called it, open, as Washington said, to the oppressed and persecuted of all nations, has been from the start an experiment in a multi-ethnic society. This is a bolder experiment than we sometimes remember. History is littered with the wrecks of states that tried to combine diverse ethnic or linguistic or religious groups within a simple sovereignty. ...Our task is to combine due appreciation of the splendid diversity of the

16. Paul Hirst, *Associative Democracy New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*, Polity Press, 1994, p. 13

17. Geoffrey Blainey, Speech, Warnambool, 17 March 1984, cited in *The Age*, 20 March, 1984

nation with due emphasis on the great unifying Western ideas of individual freedom, political democracy and human rights. These are the ideas that define the American nationality – and that today empower people of all continents, races and creeds. “What then is the American, this new man?.. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men”. Still a good answer – still the best hope.

Arthur Schlesinger¹⁸

ATSIC

ATSIC is only six years old. It has taken Western society a long time to develop its public institutions, and even now they are hardly free of accountability scandals. The activities of some entrepreneurs in the 1980s cost this country far more than the total spending on indigenous affairs, but nobody has called for an end to self-governing corporations. There are many instances where the principle of self determination is working very well. For every indigenous organisation that is the subject of some media scandal, there are many more receiving government funds and working very successfully. These organisations have benefited from the stability of ongoing funding. They have been able to develop their capacities to become effective representatives and service providers for their people. The Government should not respond to allegations of mismanagement in some Aboriginal organisations by dismissing the concept of self-determination. Had the Government consulted widely before announcing the changes last week, it would have found a lot of constructive comment about how things could be improved.

Patrick Dodson¹⁹

18. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America Reflections on a multicultural society*, Norton, 1992, p. pp.135-8

19. Patrick Dodson, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 April 1996

Aunts

And all the great Aunts are either insane or dead.

Adelaide

Paul Kelly²⁰

Australian Business

They couldn't get going in a jar of yeast.

Paul Keating

Australian Emptiness

Sometimes he thought he saw a man there, looking down from the clifftop. He would get to his feet and go eagerly to the edge of the verandah, would lean out squinting to see the man among so many confusing verticals. Never took his eye off the one he was sure was a human, staring down at him in his house.

He knew they had that capacity for standing in the landscape and simply being. He stared back, and reminded himself how patient they were, how much they were part of the forest. Told himself that was a man, a man as dark as the scorched trunk of a stringybark, standing on the lip of the stage, looking through the air to where he sat looking back. He strained, squinted through the glass until his eyeballs were dry.

Finally he had to recognise that it was no human, just another tree, the size and posture of a man.

Each time, it was a new emptiness.

Kate Grenville, *The Secret River*²¹

Australian Labour

The (Australian) Labour Party, starting with a band of inspired socialists, degenerated into a vast machine for capturing political power, but did not know how to use that power when obtained, except for the benefit of individuals

20. 27 November 1989

21. Kate Grenville, *The Secret River*, Text Publishing, Melbourne, p.333

Gordon Childe²²

Australian Land

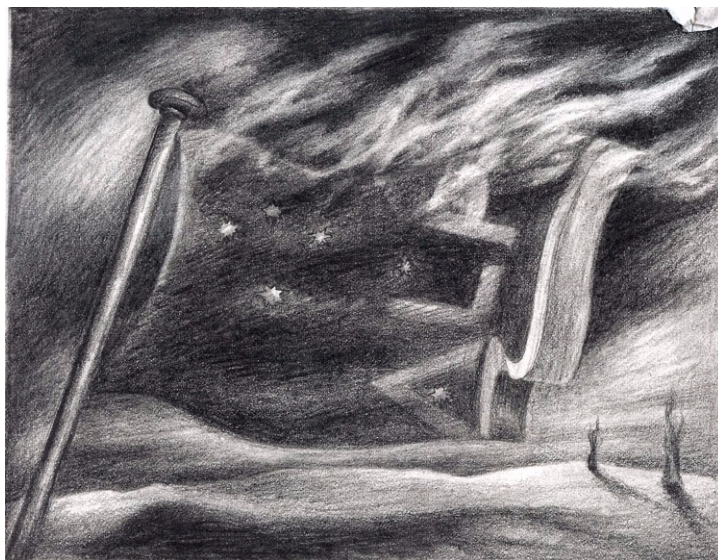
In any land policy, for God's sake, let us get over the great historical assumption that you must make a decision about the lands as though there was no one living on them.

Kim Beazley Snr²³

Australian Marseillaise

Then when Mammon's Castle crashes,
To the earth and trampled lies,
Then from out the blood and ashes
True Republics shall arise.
Then the world shall rest a season
(First since first the world began
In the reign of light and reason
And the dynasty of man

Henry Lawson²⁴



22. V.Gordon Childe, *How Labor Governs* cited in H.V. Evatt, *William Holman Australian Labor Leader*, Angus & Robertson, 1940, p. 428

23. *Hansard* 10.10.61, p.1854 highlighted by Whitlam in his archives.

24. Henry Lawson, 'The Australian Marseillaise', *Truth*, Sydney 23 November 1890. Manning Clark, *A History of Australia*, Vol V, p. 38

Bacon

...this is the one that brings home the bacon. This is the one that wraps the whole game together.

[Paul Keating delivering the 1988 budget](#)

Baghdad



My fellow Australians, I know that the overwhelming majority of Australians will share my regret at the need for this decision

[Bob Hawke, bombing of Baghdad, 1991¹](#)

Bananas

LAWS: If we don't get out of this economic hole, as you described it, what is the prognosis? In simple terms.

KEATING: The prognosis is, the only way you can deal with the massive current account imbalance, is to close the economy down. You cut all growth to zero, you stop all the imports growing and unemployment starts rising again, and profits fall apart, and we go back to being the kind of economy we were in 1982 . . . or worse.

1. After coalition attacks began on Baghdad 1991

LAWS: Or worse. I mean that's a perfect description of a depression.

KEATING: If in the final analysis, Australia is so undisciplined, so disinterested in its salvation and its economic well being, fall back solution is inevitable because you can't fund \$12 billion a year in perpetuity every year, and then the interest on the year before that, and the interest on the year before that, the only thing to do is to slow the growth down to a canter. Once you slow the growth under 3 per cent, unemployment starts to rise again.

LAWS: And then you have really induced a depression.

KEATING: Then, you have gone. You are a banana republic

[Paul Keating²](#)

Banks

For the first time we are going to see what we have never had in Australia - and that is competition between the banks.

[Paul Keating³](#)

Barunga

"Great leaders have to step down for other leaders," Gallarrwuy Yunupingu.

"...please understand the sense of disappointment in a way that I have that more could not have been done."

The tears came as Mr Hawke said: "The important thing is what is in our hearts ... and in our minds."

[Bob Hawke & Galarrwuy Yunupingu⁴](#)

2. "The Federal Treasurer Speaks Out: The Interview That Shook The Market", *Australian Financial Review*, 15 May 1986

3. After ending the banks' \$145 million housing loan subsidy, 1987

4. Unveiling the Barunga panels on Hawke's last day as PM, 21 December 1991 N.B. Bob Hawke's last act as PM was to unveil a series of panels commemorating the Barunga Statement which was given to him in the Northern Territory in 1988 when he pledged that his Government would work for a treaty of reconciliation with the Aboriginal people. See Bernard Lagan, "Exit Bob Hawke, Tears Streaming", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1991

Being Right

You can be wrong a dozen times in the face of overwhelming odds and it will be easily forgotten. But when you are right, you are on top.

Eddie Ward⁵

Beyond Left and Right

But there are fundamental flaws in the intellectual prejudice of many people who think themselves progressive. These flaws become especially evident in Aboriginal affairs, where many of our present policies are objectively reactionary because they worsen the social and intellectual confusion among the most powerless, rendering them unable to organise themselves to struggle for their political, social and economic rights.

Federal Labor has to confront the progressivist thinking if it is going to be a serious participant in the modernisation of Australia's indigenous policy.

Noel Pearson⁶

Beyond Sound Bites

We have learned that you are hungry for leaders who offer more than empty slogans and thirty-second sound bites.

Bill Clinton & Al Gore⁷

Beyond the Left

The only way radical ideas will gain ground is by arguing for new types of institutions and doing so for a constituency that goes beyond the left.

Paul Hirst⁸

5. Elwyn Spratt, Eddie Ward - Firebrand of East Sydney, Rigby, Adelaide 1965, p 182

6. Noel Pearson, Dr. Lawrence, It's Not an Issue of Right or Left, The Age, May 30, 2002

7. Bill Clinton & Al Gore, Putting People First How We can All Change America, 1992, p.vii

Born to Rule

You were in office from 1949 to 1983, bar three years. You had the place for nearly 30 years, for all that time. And you left everything the way you found it. The place got old and tired and worn out, just like you are, just like you are. Now you're saying to us, change things...

For 30 years, all we had was Black Jack McEwen trowelling on the tariff protection while he was kidding farmers he was representing them. And Liberal Party treasurers sitting up, like sluts, while they were handed speeches by Treasury officials. Like SLUTS. They couldn't even read the speeches, let alone comprehend the stuff. That's how you ran the Commonwealth. The mandarins ran things. You got given the speeches. You didn't bother with the detail, that was for the public servants. Oh, you wouldn't worry about the detail. Because you NEVER ran the policy. You never RAN the place.

Well, let me tell you this. WE run the place. We run the departments, we run the policy. We comprehend. We know. And that's the difference between this Government and you lot over there...

That's why the public service holds you in such contempt. Because they know what you did to the place. They were hard-working, committed, earnest Australians working in the public sector for some decent altruistic outcomes, relying on BUMS in ministerial jobs for 40 years to try and change the place.

Well, WE'VE changed it. And now you're up saying to us, 'Oh, you've not touched the micro-economy, you've not touched the craft union structure'. I mean, really! I mean, you can just imagine how switched on they are, how concerned they are, at the blue-rinse set meetings of the Liberal Party in Toorak about the craft union structure. Oh yes, they're worried about it down there all right...

8. Paul Hirst, *Associative Democracy New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*, Polity Press, 1994, p. 14

And we bring in these vast changes, floating the exchange rate, opening up the economy, cutting the budget deficits, changing the tax system, dropping the tariffs, and you say, 'Oh, you haven't made any changes.'

I mean, you've got no concept of nation, no concept of structure in government. You've got no policy, you've got no leadership, you've got no heart, you've got no guts, you've got no courage. And you've got no ideas... Is it any wonder you've got Elliott and McLachlan, all these other people outside, saying, 'God, what can we do with this parliamentary party of ours? What can we do to put something back into it?' I mean, where are the people that gave the Liberal Party some form, some structure? They're gone.

But here you are, wandering around here, playing parliamentarian, picking up the salary, asking a few questions. Not saying, 'Well, look, we're not born to rule any more, we've got to actually earn our way back, so let's do a bit of thinking'. Oh, no no. No no. We're the born to rule mob, we've been out for five years, and basically we'll be back one day. But we can go on as we usually did because we're the chosen few, born to rule, etcetera.

Well, where you all come a gutser is, over here, we think we're born to rule YOU. And we're going to keep on doing it.

And let me tell you this: it's been ingrained in me from childhood, I think MY mission in life is to run YOU. And the Prime Minister thinks his mission in life is to run YOU. And let me say, the Labor movement thinks its mission in life is to run Australia. That's what's producing the changes, that's what's modernising the Australian state, that's what's putting us back up there.....

Paul Keating⁹

9. Quote from Alan Ramsey, "The Heir-Apparent Shows his form", Sydney Morning Herald, 28 May 1988

Budgies

One of the little known facts about Treasurer Paul Keating is that he breeds budgerigars. ...These two facts came together recently when Mr Keating was telling some colleagues of a particular, very friendly budgerigar. Said one of the group: "Quick get him to Bankstown, Paul, and put him on the electoral roll - you need every vote you can get at the moment ".

Gregory Hywood¹⁰

Bureaucracy

it does not matter for the character of bureaucracy whether its authority is called 'private' or 'public'.

Max Weber¹¹

Burke I

Burke wanted many things: he wanted glory, he wanted a victory in the heart of the woman he loved, he wanted men to recognize him as a remarkable man and a mighty spirit. He expected everyone to call him Mr Burke. He had the huge eyes of a desperate man, of a man possessed by some demon or torment he either could not or would not control. Nature had planted in him that fatal capacity to be swayed by some malevolent spirit like the Greek goddess Ate, who prompted men to acts of aberration and folly, made them subject to those attacks of the 'sillies', which drove them to make wild decisions.

Manning Clark¹²

Building New Welfare

The post-war structures were never designed to deal with the scale of inequality and distress thrown up by

10. Gregory Hywood, "Budgie Breeder Keating Still Set To Be High Flier", *Australian Financial Review*, 19 December, 1986

11. Cited in John Donahue, *The Privatisation Decision*, Basic Books, 1989, p. 47

12. Manning Clark, *A History of Australia, The Earth Abideth Forever, 1851-1888*, MUP, 1978, p. 147

letting rip the worst tendencies of British capitalism, while abandoning full employment as a policy aim. If these handicaps were removed the British welfare state remains a model to be modified and improved upon, rather than discarded and privatised.

Will Hutton¹³

Bush lawyers

He who acts as his own lawyer has a fool for a client.

Anon.

Butter

“Excuse me. Can I have two pats of butter?”

“Sorry”, the waiter said, “one pat to a person”

“I think you don’t know who I am, I’m Bill Bradley, the Rhodes Scholar, professional basketball player, world champion, United States senator”.

The waiter said, “Well, maybe you don’t know who I am”

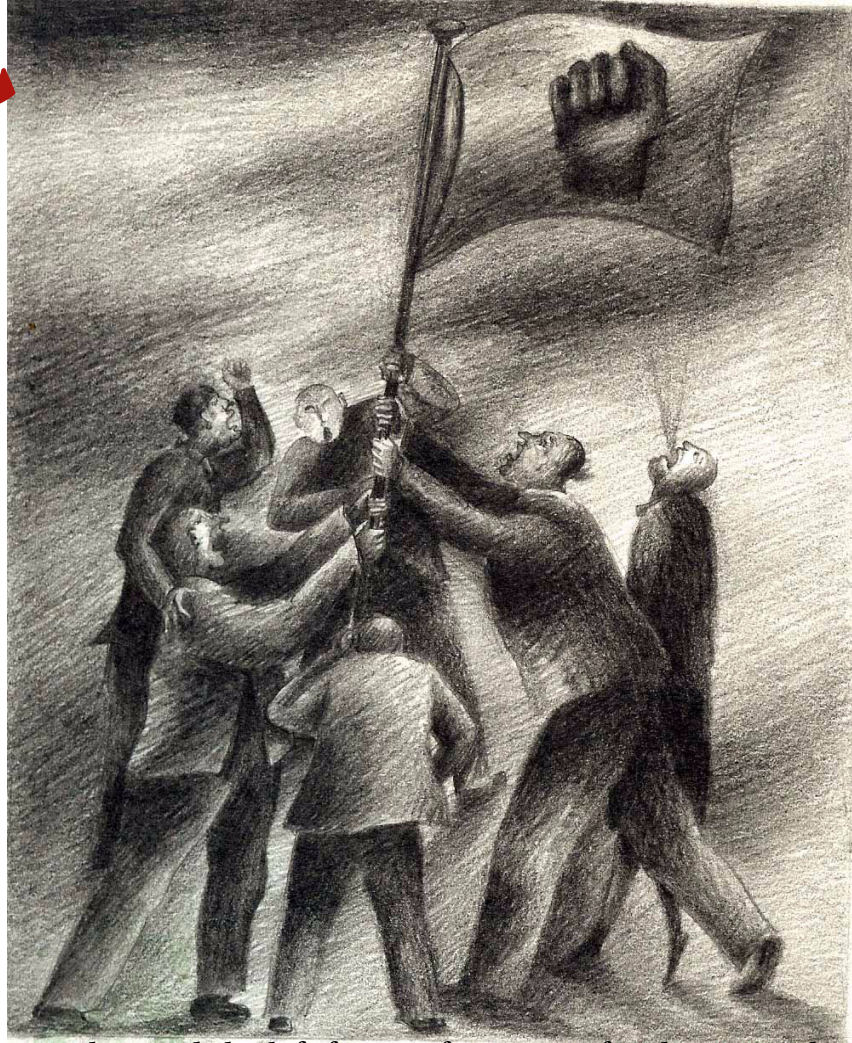
“Well as a matter of fact I don’t”, Bradley said, “Who are you?”

“I’m the guy, “ the waiter said, “who’s in charge of the *butter*”.¹⁴

13. Will Hutton, *The State We’re In*, Vintage Books, 1996, p.308

14. Christopher Mathews, *Hardball How Politics is Played by one who knows the game*, Harper & Row, NY, NY, 1988, p.226

Cabinet



Hawke sued the left faction for peace after his second election victory in 1984. ...he incorporated the left into his government; he moved from being a leader for two-thirds of the party to a leader for the whole party. Hawke's aim was to tie the left into Cabinet's economic discipline. His gameplan worked so well that he finished by tying the left into his own leadership.

[Paul Kelly¹](#)

Campaign funds

The need for collecting large campaign funds would vanish if Congress provided an appropriation for the

1. Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty The Story of the 1980s*, Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 273

proper and legitimate expenses of each of the great national parties, an appropriation ample enough to meet the necessity for thorough organization and machinery, which requires a large expenditure of money.

Then the stipulation should be made that no party receiving campaign funds from the Treasury should accept more than a fixed amount from any individual subscriber or donor; and the necessary publicity for receipts and expenditures could without difficulty be provided.

Theodore Roosevelt²

Capital Funding

This report does not simply call for the maintenance of the status quo. It justifies the adequate capitalisation of all public enterprises, at the State, Local and Federal level, as a necessary pre-requisite for improving the performance of public enterprises. ...This is certainly not a rationale for privatisation; it is a rationale for reform and a realistic appreciation of the vital role which such enterprises have played, and must continue to play, in our social and economic development.

Peter Robson³

Capitalism

Exchange value itself, in fact, has become bedevilled like everything else, and represents no longer utility, but the craving of lust, folly, vainty, gluttony and madness, technically described by genteel economists as 'effective demand'... In the things that are wanted for the welfare of the people we are abjectly poor.

George Bernard Shaw⁴

2. Address to Congress, Dec. 3, 1907, cited in *Roll Call*, May 13, 1993

3. Evatt Research Centre, *The Capital Funding of Public Enterprises*, Evatt Foundation, March 1988, p. v-vi

4. George Bernard Shaw, *The Basis of Socialism: Economic Fabian Essays*, London, GAU, 1948, pp 21-2

Catholicism

Don't let them turn me into a Catholic Hardy
[Fred Hollows](#)⁵

Cattle Kings

Cattle kings ye call us, then we are Kings in grass castles that may be blown away upon a puff of wind..
[Patrick Durack, 1878](#)⁶

Caucus

I have differed from the members of my Party on many matters, but I am not ashamed to say that, whatever the decision of Caucus may be, I am always prepared to abide by it.
[J.B. Chifley](#)⁷

Caucus power

There hasn't been a Labor Prime Minister in 83 years with the right to choose his own Cabinet. John Watson was not only Australia's first Labor PM. He was also the only one who handpicked his ministry. Every Labor Prime Minister since (Bob Hawke is the eighth) has had his ministers elected by his parliamentary party.
[Alan Ramsey](#)⁸

Centenary

Centenary in the title of this conference refers to Labor, not to Whitlam.
[E.G. Whitlam](#)⁹

5. Fred Hollows funeral instructions to Frank Hardy, cited in Bob Ellis, *So it Goes*, Viking, 2000, p. 16

6. Mary Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, Bantam Books, 1959

7. Fin Crisp, *Ben Chifley A Biography*, Longmans, 1961, p. 40

8. Alan Ramsey, "But PMs still have some influence", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July, 1987

9. Whitlam Centenary Conference of Labor Historians, Holme Building, University of Sydney, 23 November, 1991

Change

We are trying to change the industrial culture of a nation

[Bill Kelty¹⁰](#)

Chariot Wheels

'The rights of self government of the States have been fondly supposed to be safeguarded by the Constitution. It left them legally free, but financially bound to the chariot wheels of the central government

[Alfred Deakin¹¹](#)

Charisma

"I am supposed to be at home to cook my husband's breakfast," one of the staff told her colleagues. "Bugger that, I am going to put the hard word on Bob."

[Reactions to Bob Hawke's first Prime Ministerial visit to Bundaberg 1984.¹²](#)

Charlie Fitzgibbon

If ever I wanted to aspire to be a union official, if there's an ideal that you would want to aspire to, then that ideal is Charlie Fitzgibbon. He is the person I've had the greatest respect for, he is a person I think who has all the qualities of a union official. He is tough, he works hard, he has a very flexible mind. He can talk to people in straight terms, there's nothing convoluted about what he has to say, people understand him precisely. He's not theoretical, a very practical person, but he's always thinking about the future, never the past. He is a man truly of vision. He is singularly the

10. Bill Kelty, off the cuff speech to the Bureau of Industry Economics/BRW manufacturing outlook conference, September 1989

11. Cited in J.A. LaNauze, Alfred Deakin Two Lectures University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1960, p. 22

12. Andrew Mccathie, "Our PM' Can Do No Wrong", Australian Financial Review, 2 November 1984

most impressive union official that I have ever dealt with.

Bill Kelty¹³

Child Poverty

By 1990, no Australian child will be living in poverty...

Bob Hawke

Chloroformed

I was nearly chloroformed by the performance of the honourable member for Mackellar (Mr Carlton). It nearly put me right out for the afternoon. This is about the fourth time that we have heard this drivel from the honourable member for Mackellar. What surprises me about it is that it is precisely the same drivel as we had the previous time. There is not even any permutation or variation in the theme; it is just the same old garbage that we heard the time before. What it really gets down to is that the Opposition is saying that it understands the links between monetary policy and interest rates but it is seeking to deny them. ...We have the free marketeers, the people who are now running the Liberal Party of Australia, the so-called dries, the people who believe in market outcomes, standing up in the Parliament every week and denying that the market has the right outcome. They are saying that the market outcomes are wrong and that they will not accept them.

Paul Keating¹⁴

Church & Chattels

When I thought of becoming a priest the status of Aboriginal people was appalling. We were virtually chattels of property owners. We belonged to govern-

13. Shaun Carney, *Australia in Accord Politics and Industrial Relations under the Hawke Government*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1988, p. 24

14. Paul Keating, *Interest Rates*, 14 October, 1985, *Hansard*, p. 1953

ment departments. We were not considered intelligent, not worthy of even educating.

The way of tackling that, I believed, was joining the Catholic ministry and showing it was possible to reconcile our differences - showing that our people are as worthy of the divine graces of God as any other human being and they don't have to give up their culture to do that.

There were people of goodwill and good intentions on both sides but they just could not communicate. The social conditions of our people were appalling and trying to do something about it will naturally get you caught up in the political domain. The church basically wanted to sit on the fence.

I was sent as a priest in charge of 1,000 people and there was very little autonomy. It was controlled from a headquarters that was far away and out of touch.

The people had no control for themselves. I set about changing that, which brought criticism because it upset the status quo.

We began to build aspects of our culture into the Catholic ceremonies and carry them out at places that were spiritually significant for us. They saw that as a step back to paganism, undoing the work done by missionaries.

Patrick Dodson¹⁵

Churchill

Churchill proved the immense significance of speech in persuasion and command... without the great art of communication, even the greatest ideas may pass, as Bacon said, 'in smoter'. It may be for entertainment; and if there are no rules; a man who makes an after dinner speech according to rules he has worked out is the kind of fellow who knows that at least three times

15. Cited in Frank Walker, "Ex-Priest May Unravel Black Deaths in Jail", Sun Herald, 30 July 1989

he must say 'That reminds me of a good story I heard...'. In effect he is a bore.

R.G. Menzies¹⁶

Cities

The largest cities in the world, the true megafauna of modern urbanism, are anti-cities - if we consider the city as above all an effective political institution. Sao Paulo, Cairo and Lagos are in one sense the future of modern urbanism: sprawling chaotic cities full of shanty dwellers. Their very growth, driven by uncontrolled rural migration, renders them all but ungovernable. They represent a Third World version of exurbanism: they are also decentred and post-public. When we consider the future of the city, we have to bear in mind that most urban dwellers on the planet will not live in stable civic environments. Architects and planners are prone to taking particular cities, such as Los Angeles or Las Vegas, as models of the future of urbanism. Perhaps we should see Cairo as more typical of the future, in the sense that such cities will be the largest and fastest growing on the planet. Such a prospect is disturbing, because Westerners have tended to see urbanization as progress and the city as a force for order.

Paul Hirst¹⁷

Clash of Civilisations

In the post-Cold War world, for the first time in history, global politics has become multipolar *and* multi-civilisational. ...Nation states remain the principal actors in world affairs ... but it is also shaped by cultural preferences, commonalities, and differences. The most important groupings of states are no longer the

16. Robert Menzies *Afternoon Light*, Caswell, 1967

17. Paul Hirst, *Space and Power Politics, War and Architecture*, Polity Press, 2005, p. 25

three blocs of the Cold War, but rather the world's seven or eight civilisations.

Samuel Huntington¹⁸

Clinton

...it is Clinton, not George Bush, who is addressing "the heartland" issues. Clinton has a message that more and more Americans want to hear. ... Clinton will win the White House.

Peter Botsman, 8 May 1992¹⁹

Clots & Dodos

You must think the gallery are the greatest bunch of dodos and fools, the greatest bunch of naive clots, that have ever graced the portals of this parliament—to believe this sort of rubbish that you would push out...

Paul Keating²⁰

Colonial Questions

The arrival of the Declaration of the Rights of Man or the smoke from a factory chimney are not seen by local people as necessarily welcome gifts. We need our colonies. To abandon them is to abandon ourselves. Let us change our methods if they are harmful. Let us avoid exaggerating our virtues but don't let us dwell on our faults. Our policy is imperfect and mixes good and bad, heroism and greed, generosity and stupidity. but who has done a better job?

Francois Mitterand²¹

18. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 21

19. Peter Botsman, "Democrat who knows the way", *Australian Financial Review*, 8 May, 1992

20. Paul Keating, Question without notice: Pensioners, Mr. A.P. Griffiths, questioner, 27 November, 1995, p. 3778

21. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet p 53

Communism

I am always against those who want to lock up the communists in a sort of political ghetto and who want to treat them as second class citizens.

Francois Mitterand

Compromise

We have been willing to compromise in the interests of a truly national settlement ... the tired old arguments - that Aboriginal leaders could not negotiate, that a united front of indigenous organisations could not be achieved, that ATSIC could never gain a political voice independent of the Government - have been laid to rest.

Lois O'Donoghue²²

Comrades

What is basic in life is the choice of one's comrades.

Comradeship

For thirteen years, I have striven to make the policies of the Australian Labor Party, its machinery, its membership, more representative of the Australian people and more responsive to their needs and hopes. Supporting me, I have the best of colleagues and the best of friends.

E.G. Whitlam²³

Confronting Absolutism

General de Gaulle behaves like a citizen above Law, above even the Supreme Law of the Constitution. He is the master of our foreign policy and he alone chooses our alliance; he is the master of our military policy and he alone chooses what arms we will have. He is master of our judicial system and chooses the

22. Paul Chamberlin, "The Young Turks of Mabo, Sydney Morning Herald, 23 October 1993

23. E.G. Whitlam, It's Time Policy Speech, 2 December 1972

judges and looks after them and punishes those who criticize him; he chooses who can be kept in prison and who can be released. He is the master of economic and social choices and how the budget is divided, giving priority to the atomic bombs over national education. Who thus claims that without him France would be nothing? No, General de Gaulle is making a mistake. France does not belong to him. France identifies herself with no one other than her people.

Francois Mitterand²⁴

Consanguineous Patronage

Eric Rolls²⁵

Constitutional Change

There is one all-important thing which we ought to fight in the Commonwealth and that is the 'sacredness' of the Constitution. We must as Labour men combat the idea that our people cannot alter the Constitution. It should be fought for all we are worth, and the people given to understand that if they desire certain reforms in the Federal Constitution they can get them by voting in sufficient numbers. Why should anyone be bound by the Constitution? It should be responsible to the people and the times they live in, not under the spell of dead hands seeking to shackle future generations.

Hector Lamond 1908 Federal Labor Conference²⁶

Constructive Self Criticism

From many standpoints our administrations - Federal and State - have been weak, lacking in resolution and

24. Michael Foot, Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey, Quartet, p 108

25. Eric Rolls, *Citizens: Continuing the Epic Story of China's Centuries-old Relationship with Australia*, University of Queensland Press

26. Hector Lamond was managing editor of the *Australian Worker* from 1896-1917 and represented Illawarra in the NSW Parliament from 1917-1922. Cited in L.F. Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labour Party 1901-1951*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978 p. 233

indefinite in the prosecutions of the work entrusted to them.'

'Looking back, we now feel that that has, in a measure, been attributable to the influence in our representative posts of men who were never heart and brain animated by the working class spirit and inspired by the social-revolutionary necessity of our mission. They held us back when we sought far-reaching changes in the Law and in the methods of administration.'

'The Commonwealth bank is in reality a banker's bank and falls short of the nationally owned and nationally functioning bank Labor regards as essential to the nationalisation of the system of credit and currency...'

'The Governments of our own creation have left no visible face of their existence. They fooled about aping the administrative practices of their predecessors and in the realm of legislation made no bold attempt to free themselves from the Tory incubus of the Legislative Councils. So, more in sorrow than in anger, we candidly feel that their passing has not been an unbearable wrench. All that has been of value will survive.'

'And we make no complaint because the people's voice has been decidedly cast against us. Our principles and our policy are - we believe - the only basis upon which be national, can assure to the citizens a stable social order ensuring to the workers reasonable opportunities of healthful life. We go on with the work of education and organisation. To be pushed back, to meet with rebuffs and with adversity is but to share the fate of all movements of history. Our day will come again... We only hope it will not come before we have equipped ourselves in heart and brain for the great responsibility it will confer.'

[John Curtin](#)²⁷

27. John Curtin, on Labor in Government (Editorial, *The Worker*, 11 May 1917), from Irene Dousing, *Curtin of Australia*, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 32

Cooma

I'll tell you what I'm going to do, Gary, I'll tell you what we'll do. I'm going to take over the \$12 million for the campaign and my office will spend it. That's what we'll do. And if you want to be part of this campaign, Gary, you'll do what we want you to do, and if you don't, you know what you can do? I'll tell you what you can do. You can go to fucking Cooma and you can hand out fucking how-to-vote cards for Jim Snow in Cooma. That's what you can do, Gary.

[Paul Keating to ALP National Secretary Gary Gray, 1996 Campaign²⁸](#)

Cooperative Socialism

Imagine ... that Marx and Proudhon had had a better relationship in Paris in the early 1840s, that Marx had accepted that comprehensive state collectivism must ruin liberty and that Proudhon had accepted greater pragmatism about the need to control political power. Or imagine that Beatrice Webb had been convinced by J.N. Figgis of the virtues of the pluralist state. In that case socialists might have tried to build their socialism in civil society, through seeking politically appropriate representation, a state at least not hostile to this enterprise. Such a socialism would have been based on mutual welfare through organizations like the Friendly Societies, on the organization of distribution through non-profitmaking stores like those of the English Cooperative Movement, and on the organization of production either through worker-owned cooperatives or labour capital partnerships, in which workers took a part of their income through equity.

[Paul Hirst²⁹](#)

28. Pamela Williams, *The Victory*, Allen & Unwin, 1997, p. 146

29. Paul Hirst, *Associative Democracy New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*, Polity Press, 1994, p. 17

Corruption of Parliament

It is one of the great tragedies of the Federal Parliament that the Labor Party has produced few men of the people who have remained with the people. The great majority have succumbed to their new environment. They have forgotten their origin. They believe themselves above the people. They become contemptuous of Democracy. They lack the common touch. Only too often they think of Parliament in terms of some luxurious club, catering for their creative needs. They delude themselves with ideas of self emancipation.

Jack Lang³⁰

Costello, Peter

The Dollar Sweets legal whip. The doyen of the police court.

Paul Keating³¹

Courage and Criticism

Part of Curtin's value to the Labour Movement, then and later, was his courage in criticising it.

Irene Dousing³²

Crazy

There are times in the life of every nation when the financial system goes crazy: Britain in the property boom of the 1970s was a notorious example, New Zealand was another ten years later. But Australia in the 1980s was probably in a class of its own.

Paul Barry³³

30. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930's*, p 110

31. Paul Keating, Question without notice, 13 October, 1994, *Hansard*, p. 2001

32. From Irene Dousing, *Curtin of Australia*, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 19

33. Paul Barry, *The Rise and Fall of Alan Bond*, Bantam, 1991, p.398

Crown of Thorns

From this day onward, Mr Howard will wear his leadership like a crown of thorns and in the Parliament I will do everything I can to crucify him.

Paul Keating, February, 1986

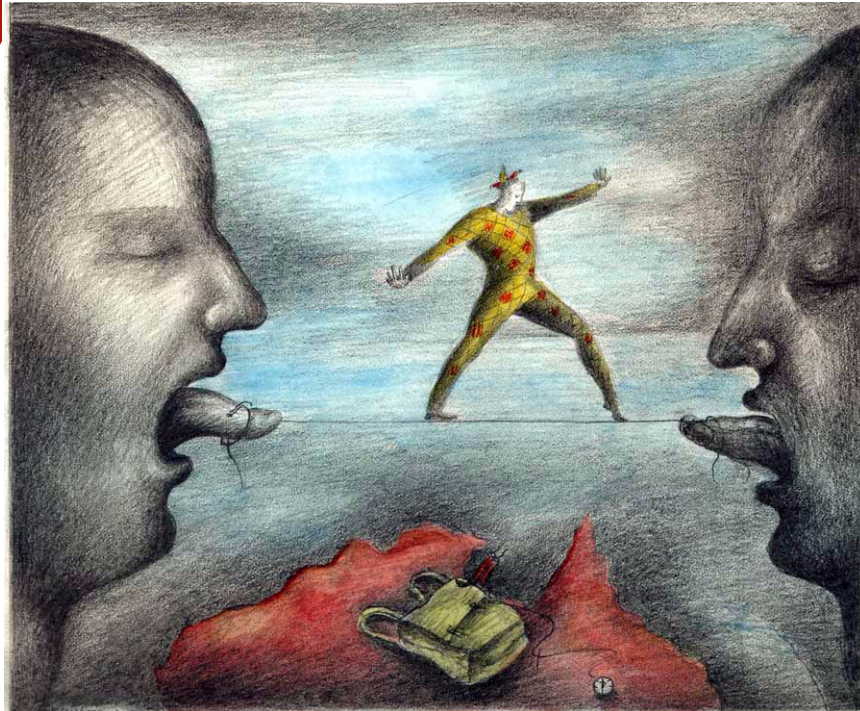
Cricket, Earl Grey's Tea and the Common Law

Of all the miserable cargo that ever left the shores of England for the Antipodes, there are three that I celebrate as the finest imports: the sublime game of cricket, Early Grey's tea and the common law of England.

Noel Pearson³⁴

34. Noel Pearson, "The Concept of Native Title at Common Law", in Galarrwuy Yunupingu, ed *Our Land is our Life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p. 150

D ecisions



Forget 'structures' and 'structural constraints' so beloved of the social sciences, and instead concentrate on the 'balance of forces' at the conjunctural moment of any decision.

[Grahame Thompson¹](#)

Deaths in Custody

They're shining a light into the darkest corners of our history. It's a history not only of physical violence; it's a history of powerlessness and hopelessness. The story of black deaths in custody is the story of tearing aborigines from their land and destroying their culture.

[Noel Pearson²](#)

Defending Bob

In your [AFR] editorial of February 14 you mentioned that Bob Hawke when at Oxford (which was almost 30

1. Grahame Thompson, Preface, in Paul Hirst, *Space and Power Politics, War and Architecture*, Polity Press, 2005, p. x

2. Bob Drogin, "Aborigine Deaths in Custody Continue 200 years of Tears", *Los Angeles Times*, 17 June 1990

years ago) was “inadequately qualified to undertake high-level economic research”. You used as your source my biography of him. Your suggestion was that Hawke did not go on to develop adequate qualifications in economics.

Blanche D'alpuget³

Democracy

The essence of democracy is defence of minority rights, whether religious, political or social. The story of democracy is a struggle against those who took the easy way of attempting to suppress those with whom they disagreed or feared.

Lloyd Ross

Democracy & the market

The Golden Age democratised the market.

Eric Hobsbawm⁴

Democratic Sovereignty

Modern democratic theory blended together what had hitherto tended to be two contradictory ideas: that the community was sovereign, power being ultimately derived from the people, so that the government must be by consent; and that the ruler was sovereign, state and society being separate entities.. Democratic elections legitimate the sovereign powers of state institutions, and thus provided a better foundation for a state viewed as the organ of a self-governing territorial community than did the will of a prince. Democratic sovereignty *includes* citizens and binds them through a common membership that is denied to others.

Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson⁵

3. “Unfair to Hawke”. Letter to the Australian Financial Review, Blanche D'alpuget, 18 February 1983

4. Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of extremes : a history of the world, 1914-1991*, Pantheon, p 269

5. Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, Polity Press, 1996, p. 259-60

Democratising Labor

As a party, we're now down to our lowest membership, and, proportionately, to our lowest level of union affiliations. And if we don't look at that, if people want to walk away from it, they can, but they'll be forced in five years' time to have to deal with it. Or 10 years, doesn't matter; they'll be forced at some point. It won't correct itself naturally. I've always been inclined (to the view) that if you recognise a problem, you deal with it, not put it aside. So, in my view, there's a danger the Labor Party may become a distortion of what it represents and whom it represents, and that as it does that it becomes less and less relevant. A hundred years' existence doesn't guarantee you another day, or decade, or another 100 years. It doesn't guarantee you anything. As for all the shock/horror reaction, well, the party has been in constant change. This is just another step which circumstances make necessary. I said yesterday I wondered whether Graham had even read the report and, if he had, whether he understood it or wanted to understand it. As you know, he can also be very facile and I suspect he was being a bit glib and facile yesterday morning. It's basically self-interest, or fear, I suppose. I would think he's had some of the unions on his back saying they're not going to cop this sort of sh--. In NSW, they don't want to be worried while a State election's coming on, and that's understandable. I guess they don't want to be arguing on too many fronts. The same people, of course, do want us to change the preselection system for them because they haven't the fortitude to do it openly themselves."

[Bob Hogg challenging Labor's 60/40 union/membership party control⁶](#)

Deregulation

..both Labor and non-Labor parties and governments, State as well as Federal, seemed to have more enthusiasm for deregulation financial markets in the private sector and privatisating public enterprises than for adopting decentralising or co-ordinating policies, which would ensure that governments with constitutional and political responsibility for taxing and

6. Cited in Alan Ramsey, "Of Brick Walls and Labor's 60/40 Rule", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 March 1991

spending decisions all have an effective voice in the making of those decisions. The paradox was to become even more pronounced under the Hawke and Keating governments.

[Russell Mathews⁷](#)

Diminished

...until true reconciliation with its Indigenous peoples is reached, Australia is a diminished nation.

[William Deane⁸](#)

Dispossession

The acts and events by which that dispossession in legal theory was carried into practical effect constitute the darkest aspect of the history of this nation. The nation as a whole must remain diminished unless there is an acknowledgement of, and retreat from, those past injustices.

[Justices Dean and Gaudron⁹](#)

Distributionism: Santamaria

The central idea of Distributionism was that capitalism was a distortion of human society that had resulted from the Reformation. The natural 'organic' form of human society which had reached its flowering in 13th century Europe, was the small individual owner of property, peasants or craftsmen organised in co-operative guilds. Distributionists argued that property should be returned to the people, instead of being concentrated in either large accretions of capital held by few owners or vested in the State.

[Robert Murray¹⁰](#)

7. Russell Mathews & Bhajan Grewal, *The Public Sector in Jeopardy Australian Fiscal Federalism from Whitlam to Keating*, Centre for Strategic Economic Studies, 1997, p.306

8. Galarrwuy Yunupingu, *Our Land is our Life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p.ix

9. *Mabo Judgement*, 1991

10. Robert Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties*, Cheshire, 1970, p 45

Doing Nothing

The question that must be directed to critics of the process is 'what is the practical alternative to reconciliation?' I think the only alternative is to do nothing. I believe we have reached a stage in our evolution as a nation where neither Aboriginal nor non-Aboriginal Australians can afford for that to happen

Patrick Dodson¹¹

Dollar Sweets

The Labor Party blamed me as the evil genius. They wanted me to carry the can but they made me famous. The more they vilified me the more my business boomed. Everybody who had an industrial relations problem from that day on used to arrive in my chambers: the National Farmers' Federation retained me, the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry retained me and all the big companies started retaining me. I owe the Labor Party a lot for all the publicity.

Peter Costello¹²

Don't know much about history

The facts of the 1980s are in countries like the United Kingdom and the United States in order to get inflation there have been employment offsets, that's my point. The shadow Treasurer said: No, I don't think it necessarily applies in Australia, ...There we are. It reminds me of that song, What a wonderful world it would be. How do the words go? 'Don't know much about history, don't know much trigonometry, don't know much about biology, but what a wonderful world it would be'. Obviously the honourable member for Wentworth has taken his economic lessons from the late Sam Cooke, who had it all together in 1960 in that song. There is a different world out there-not the

11. Cited in Frank Brennan, "2001: A Race Odyssey - A Target Date for Reconciliation, Sydney Morning Herald, 5 June, 1992

12. Tracey Aubin, Peter Costello A Biography, Harper Collins, 1999, p. 89

real world of economics; not the real world that we know; not the world that business knows; not the world that the International Monetary Fund knows; not the world that the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development knows; but 'my different sort of world'. The honourable member for Wentworth will have lower wages to achieve lower unemployment, not higher unemployment.

Paul Keating¹³

Dreams

Social justice is about a lot of things. It's having a proper water supply and a proper health service. It's having proper housing. It's having a culturally appropriate education service and the right to an economic base. It's not just being dealt with fairly by the courts and the police. That's part of social justice, but it's also all the other things that most Australians take for granted that most Aboriginal people can only dream about

Mick Dodson¹⁴

Duke of Edinburgh

'So you're the famous Eddie Ward from East Sydney?'

Ward put his hands on his hips.

'That's right. I'm Eddie Ward, but it's a matter of opinion whether I'm famous.'

'Could anyone win your seat?'

Ward grinned.

'Well, I hope you're not considering running against me!'

'Oh no, nothing like that. You can take it that I won't be contesting East Sydney against you!'

'Well, that is very good news.'

Ward looked the Duke in the eye.

'Just for that I won't run against you!'

13. Paul Keating, Trade Unions Award Restructuring, 31 Oct 1989, *Hansard*, p. 2120

14. Kate Cole-Adams "Knuckle Sandwiches From Dodson As He Moves Into Social Justice", *The Age*, 25 January, 1993

Eddie Ward¹⁵

Dying Labor

I'm Labor. I was born Labor and I'll die Labor and I will not do anything that will damage the Labor Government.

Brian Burke¹⁶

15. Elwyn Spratt, *Eddie Ward - Firebrand of East Sydney*, Rigby, Adelaide 1965, p 221

16. Statement resigning his ambassadorship to Ireland and the Holy See, May 1991

Economist, The



The Economist is notionally an advocate of the chattel relationship of Labour to money; and its view towards Labor parties is that their only true function is to be a stay and a prop of the traditional Tory parties.

John Curtin¹

Economic Conflict

..societies which let institutions that meditate economic conflict go into decline do so at their peril.

Martin Woolacott²

Economic Reform

We cannot allow economic ruin to fall each night on a random collection of innocent persons.

J.M. Keynes³

1. From Irene Dousing, *Curtin of Australia*, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 97

2. Martin Woolacott is a distinguished journalist for the UK's *Guardian* newspaper. Undated diary note.

3. The Collected Papers of J.M. Keynes, Vol xxii, p. 36-7

Education



The twenty first century will be the education century. Changes in knowledge, image and communications will be central to everything we do. Advanced vocational education training and research will be at the heart of technological transformation and global trade, and will touch us in all our working lives

[Simon Marginson, Roy Martin and Jim Williamson](#)⁴

Egalitarianism

The reforms of the Accord open up the possibility for us to mobilise and involve unionists and the public ...to generalise commitments to egalitarianism and strengthen the democratic process whether the government intends it or not.

[Max Ogden](#)⁵

4. Creating an Education Nation for the 21st Century, Australian Education Union, November, 1995

5. Max Ogden "The Accord: Intervening to Deepen Democracy", *Australian Left Review*. no. 90, Summer 1984, p. 25

Emily's List



A lot of this is in the proof of the pudding. Why not try another way? Why not have a network that links women in to showing that Labor has a feminist and future view of what a party should look like? We got sick of them putting on the stoppers, frankly. We would have loved to have done it through the national executive. But not if the national executive controlled who was funded and where the money went. We have a very clear constitution. The money will only go to endorsed candidates; we are not in the business of preselection in the specific sense. But we are in the business of ensuring that women get into the preselection ranks.

[Joan Kirner⁶](#)

6. Shaun Carney, "Labor Women Are Still Doing It For Themselves", *The Age*, 16 November, 1996

Employer Organisations

Oh, by and large, employer organisations are hopeless. By and large, they are troglodyte organisations. By the fact that they are not prepared to negotiate, place themselves outside being involved with the accord or wages or tax, but anything they get in this country is a residue from the negotiation process between those really negotiating. They are just lucky that they have a Government and unions, for example, prepared to accept the need for profits, accept the need for growth, not only on the basis of money being put into the hands of employers, but on the basis of money being put into the hands of employers so that they can employ people. Now the strategy has worked for them in terms of what should really happen in this country but it has had nothing to do with them, other than a few individual employers who have got a sense of vision and understanding. And when you actually get an opportunity to talk to them, they are very honest. But the employer organisations - well, this country owes them nothing. Absolutely nothing. The employer you can talk to is the employer who has to make decisions...

Bill Kelty⁷

Endurance

The Senator who wins a legislative deal-making is rarely the man with “new ideas”. Far more frequently he is the one tough enough to endure the process.

Christopher Mathews⁸

Equality

Women did not help set up the current (Federation) arrangement and, indeed, did not even have a seat in

7. Bill Kelty cited in “I like dealing with Keating..” Australian Financial Review, 30 September, 1985

8. Christopher Mathews, *Hardball How Politics is Played by one who knows the game*, Harper & Row, NY, NY, 1988, p.136

Parliament until 1943, so how can we claim our current Constitution has served Australian women well.

[Susan Ryan](#)⁹

Eternal Interests

No eternal friendships, certainly no eternal enmities, only eternal interests.

[George Canning](#)¹⁰

Eunuchs

We cannot afford to become political eunuchs if we want the Treasury to be relevant to, and active in, government decision-making processes..

[Bernie Fraser](#)¹¹

9. Sue Neales, "Women Groups Stake Their Claim In Republic Debate" *The Age*, 16 July 1994

10. British statesman George Canning cited in Christopher Mathews, *Hardball How Politics is Played by one who knows the game*, Harper & Row, NY, NY, 1988, p.92

11. Michael Stutchbury, "Life After Stone: Fraser Sets Course", *Australian Financial Review*, 9 October, 1984

F actions



The long-term problem will not be how it works inside the Government but back at the preselection level. If - and there's some evidence of this - if you get rewarded by preselection in return for loyalty rather than individuality, for obedience rather than creativity, then we're really building a problem. ...If we got to the situation where only drones could get preselected for safe seats, then we'd have a problem. We haven't got that yet, but that is where I see the problem. I think people are looking at the head, which is working quite well, but it's the engine room, the preselections, where it has the capacity to go really wrong. A bit of flexibility and tolerance

under whatever system and decent people will get elected. There are some sad exceptions but, usually, party members won't vote for drones. Caucus proves it. But that's the danger point. If the factional system was going to bring Labor down in the long-term, that's where I'd be looking, not at how you sort out the ministry.

Bob Mc Mullan¹

Factions: Trips to Manly

It's even now reached the absurd point which I've never seen in all my years in Parliament where you can't get a trip to Manly unless the factions agree. ...I thought, everyone tells me, that I've done a very good job. The PM told me, and I didn't solicit it, 'You have performed brilliantly'. ...So if I've done well in all these difficult areas, then why am I being dumped? I'm being dumped because one or two people in the NSW Right - not the Left, or the Centre - have decided they've got to distribute patronage to themselves and one or two others. ...They say we'll make sure you get pre-selection, but you come in and you do as you're told. Then you get in the ministry and they say you do as you're told, and if we give you the sack we've got some nice plums for you before you go so that it will keep you quiet afterwards. ...I mean, Hawke didn't know, Keating didn't know - Keating was stunned. Others like Ted Lindsay and John Gaylor and John Brown, three or four others of the rightwing, they didn't know. ...So when they say, WE have decided, it wasn't a collective decision at all, it was a decision made by Richardson and maybe one or two of his mates. Terrific, isn't it?

Barry Cohen²

1. Alan Ramsey, "The Faction be with you - or else", Sydney Morning Herald, 18 July, 1987

2. Alan Ramsey, "A Taste of Bitterness as Labor looks to the fruits of Victory", Sydney Morning Herald, 13 July, 1987

Falling

Men fall from great fortune because of the same shortcomings that led to their rise

[Jean de la Bruyere³](#)

Family Closet

...I like to say if you are looking for a story, you can always open the family closet.

[Tracey Moffat⁴](#)

Fear

You have got to be capable of inspiring some fear in your opponents. Those who are incapable of inspiring this fear become faceless and nameless when the political history of their time is written.

[Eddie Ward⁵](#)

Fight

I could not be called a young radical, but if I think a thing is worth fighting for, no matter what the penalty is, I will fight for the right and truth and justice will always prevail.

[Ben Chifley⁶](#)

Fights

If you want to wear the belt, you've got to have the fights. And if you won't have the fights, you'll have the belt taken off you

[Paul Keating in the context of leadership speculation 1987⁷](#)

3. 17th century philosopher cited in Alastair Mant, "The Madness of Tony", *Sydney Morning Herald*, Nov 25-26, 2006

4. From Suzy Freeman Greene, "Tracey Moffat is ...a playful and subversive presence", *The Age*, 30 October 1993

5. Elwyn Spratt, *Eddie Ward - Firebrand of East Sydney*, Rigby, Adelaide 1965, p 50

6. Robert Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties*, Cheshire, 1970, p 78

7. Alan Ramsey, "The making of a new Prime Minister", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1987

Flora and Fauna

Many Australians today would be shocked to learn that 25 years ago Aboriginal people were classified as part of the flora and fauna of this nation.

Patrick Dodson, 1992⁸

Forgiveness

The Balanda (non-Aboriginal people) have messed us around for 200 years, but we forgive them for that. Now we want to try it our way -and the sooner, the better.

Galarrwuy Yunupingu⁹

Foxes

You don't set a fox to watching the chickens just because he has a lot of experience in the hen house.

Harry Truman

Freedom of Speech

In Australia must not say anywhere what I cannot say everywhere.

E.G. Whitlam¹⁰

Freedom

The only free thing we have left is air and even that will be soon sold in a garage.

Jack Lang¹¹

Freedoms on the Wallaby

But Freedoms on the Wallaby
She'll knock the tyrants silly,
She's going to light another fire

8. Cited in Martin Flanagan, "Council Hails 25 Years Of Change For Aborigines", *The Age*, 27 May 1992

9. Cited in *The Age*, 2 April 1992

10. E.G. Whitlam, Speech Notes, 8th Antipodics Glendi, Lonsdale Street, 19 March 1994

11. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930's*, p 97

And boil another billy.
We'll make the tyrants feel the sting
Of those that they would throttle;
They needn't say the fault is ours
If blood should stain the wattle.

Henry Lawson¹²

French Socialism

In marked contrast to the British Labour Party, neither the Socialist group of deputies in the National Assembly (the equivalent of the Parliamentary Labour Party) nor the French trade unions have any special privileges inside the party. Membership is on an individual basis (members are meant to pay 1% of their net income as an annual subscription compared with the less than 0.1% of average earnings that the British Labor Party member pays) and trade unionists or deputies have to join and act as individual members if they wish their voice to be heard inside the party. Deputies are actually disadvantaged in as much as they can only fill 20% of the seats on Leadership and Executive Committees.

Michael Foot¹³

Friendship

I wouldn't do anything to damage the union movement but that's me and him finished.

Paul Keating ending his great friendship with Bill Kelty¹⁴

Friendship

I think the friendship is over.

Bill Kelty ending his great friendship with Paul Keating¹⁵

12. Henry Lawson, "Freedom on the Wallaby", *Worker*, Brisbane, 16 May 1991

13. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 192

14. Pamela Williams, *The Victory*, Allen & Unwin, 1997, p. 142

15. Pamela Williams, *The Victory*, Allen & Unwin, 1997, p. 142

Fringe of Leaves

A young girl came up behind her and was tearing at her bedraggled gown. It required no special effort to remove the tatters. Petticoats provoked greater joy in the despoilers, but short-lived: the stuff was whipped off as lightly as a swirl of sea drift, leaving the captive standing in the next and more substantial layer, her stays.

Glancing down her front Ellen Gluyas recalled a certain vase on the mantelpiece of the room where old Mrs Roxburgh spent her days after her son's bride was installed. Now that she was stranded under the most barbarous conditions on a glaring beach, the image of the slender-waisted vase, its opaque ribs alternating with transparent depressions, brought the tears to her eyes, if it was, indeed, the vase, and not its gentle owner, her hands of softest, whitest kid upholstered beneath with pads of crumpled pink.

So the daughter-in-law indulged herself to the extent of weeping a little; the little might have turned to more had not the black women whirled her about as they tore at her corset. She came to their assistance at last, to escape the quicker from nails lacerating her flesh.

She was finally unhooked.

Then the shift, and she was entirely liberated.

They ran from her trailing the ultimate shreds of her modesty, as well as the clattering armature, their laughter gurgling till lost in their throats or the undergrowth to which they had retreated.

Thus isolated and naked, Mrs Roxburgh considered what to do next. While still undecided, she stepped or tottered a pace or two backward and trod upon something both brittle and resistant.

She glanced down the length of her white calf and noticed the hand with signet ring, of the one for whom she could do nothing more. She was propelled, logically it seemed, in the opposite direction, up the slope, and found herself amongst those burning mattresses

of dry sand laced with runners of convolvulus such as she had noticed farther back along the beach.

She bent down and began tearing at the vines, in her present state less from reason than by instinct, and wound the strands about her waist, until the consequent fringe hanging from the vine allowed her to feel to some extent clothed.

Her only other immediate concern was how to preserve her wedding ring. Not by any lucid flash, but working her way towards a solution, she strung the ring on one of the runners straggling from her convolvulus girdle, and looped the cord, and knotted it, hoping the gold would not give itself away by glistening from behind the fringe of leaves.

Patrick White¹⁶

Frugal government

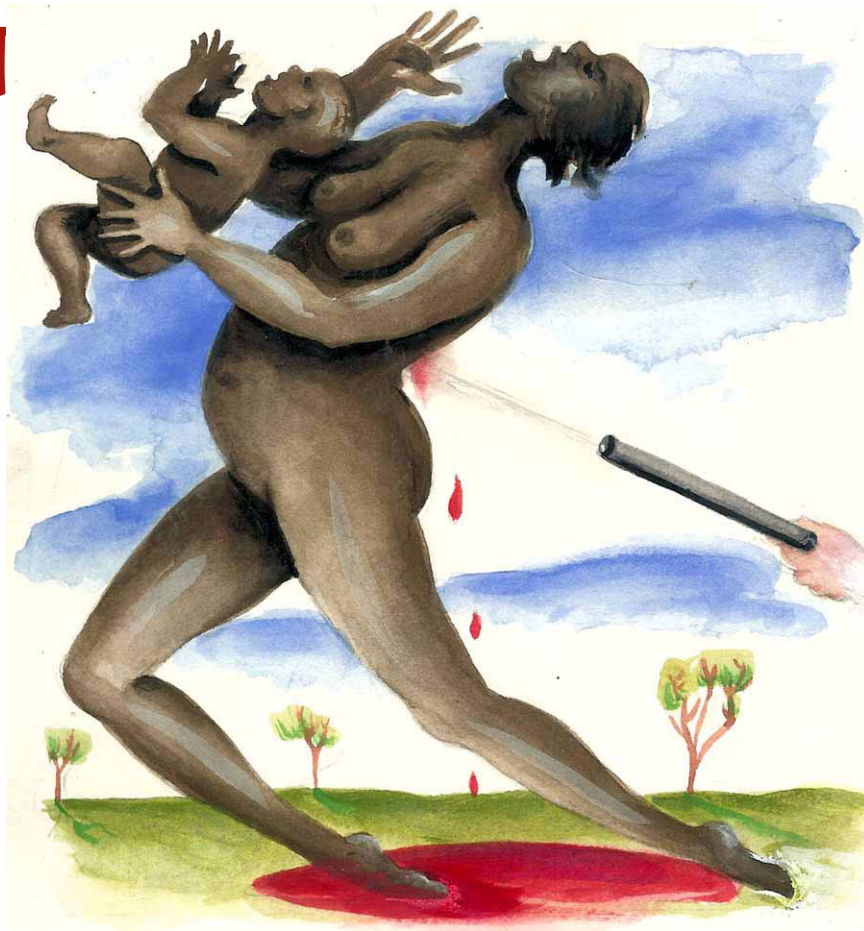
I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing, by every device, the public debt, on the principle of it's being a public blessing.

Thomas Jefferson¹⁷

16. Patrick White, *A Fringe of Leaves*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1976, pp.244-5

17. Letter to Elbridge Gerry, 1799

Gardia



My mother was running around looking for me. I told her. I'm here hiding in the long grass with a big moba dogs so the white man can't shoot me'. Ahh now', mother sang out, 'my son, me and you'll ave to go, go get shot together'

Grant Ngabidj¹

Gallipoli

At Suvla [one of the landing points], while there was an open road to the Dardenelles and no opposition, a whole army corps sat down on the beach while its leaders were quarrelling about questions of seniority and precedence... the delay of 48 hours enabled the Turks to bring up their last reserve and render futile this landing, which was to protect the left flank of the Anzac

1. Grant Ngabidj, Bruce Shaw *My Country of the Pelican Dreaming* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981, p. 38

advance. Here at [GHQ on] Lemnos the watchword for everything and everybody is inefficiency and muddle, and red tape run mad. I only wish I dare to write without reserve about this and many other things.

Sir John Monash²

Gambling

I'm not a gambling person. I never have been. I'll have \$2 each way at the Melbourne Cup. I enjoy picnic races, but I'm not a bet-ter. I'm a bit fond of certainty

Mick Dodson³

Gallipoli

I now write of the unfortunate Dardanelles expedition, in the light of what knowledge I could gain on the spot, on the lines of communication, and in Egypt. It is undoubtedly one of the most terrible chapters in our history. Your fears have been justified. I have not military knowledge to be able to say whether the enterprise ever had a chance of succeeding. Certainly there has been a series of disastrous underestimations and I think our Australian generals are right when they say that, had any of these been luckily so un-English a thing as an overestimation, we should have been through to Constantinople at much less cost than we have paid for our slender perch on the cliff of the Peninsula ...

Keith Murdoch⁴

Garbage Can of Opposition

Most Australians know that this Government is truly interested in their welfare and advancement. We are interested in the welfare of Australian families, of Australian children, of the poor, of the earnest people who

2. Sir John Monash, "Letter to his wife", 25 August, 1914 cited in R.M. Younger, Keith Murdoch Founder of a Media Empire, Harper Collins, 2003, p. 59

3. Kate Cole-Adams, "No Knuckle Sandwiches From Dodson As He Moves Into Social Justice", The Age, 25 January 1993

4. Gallipoli letter to Australian Prime Minister Fisher, 1915

are out there trying. We are prepared to give even those on high incomes a fair go, but we will not allow them to cheat. In other words, we are trying to make the system fair and decent and reasonable. I would have thought that honourable members opposite, as members of a majority Party with a long history, and in some places a proud history, could have said that this was a fair and decent tax package and that something should have been done a long time ago. Instead, they are attacking it and seeking to put the concessions back in. They are up to their old tricks. That is why they are irrelevant, useless and immoral. That is why they will be swept back into the garbage can of Opposition, into the garbage can of political life, where they firmly and truly belong.

Paul Keating⁵

Genome

If you still need convincing of the immensity of the Pandora's box that James Watson and Francis Crick opened that day in 1953, the Huntington's story will surely persuade you. Compared with the knowledge from the genome, the whole of the rest of biology is but a thimbleful. And yet not a single case of Huntington's disease has been cured. The knowledge that I celebrate has not even suggested a remedy for the affliction. If anything in the heartless simplicity of the CAG repeats, it has made the picture even bleader for those seeking a cure. There 100 billion cells in the brain. How can we do in and shorted the CAG repeats in the Huntington genes of each and every one?

Matt Ridley⁶

5. Paul Keating, Reform of the Australian Taxation System, 17 October 1985, *Hansard*, p. 2349

6. Matt Ridley, *Genome The Autobiography of a Species in 23 Chapters*, Harper Collins, 1999, p. 62

Genius

I believe in the commonality of mankind. I believe there is a spirit within mankind that brings all peoples together, that we are meant to live in harmony, that we have all got our particular geniuses because of our different cultures.

Patrick Dodson⁷

Gentlemen's clubs

Barton's Athenaeum Club, Clark's Minerva Club and magazine *Quadrilateral*

Getting in the door

It's not just me. In our land council, we decided that we should take the articulate, pragmatic, reasonable, argument-laden route rather than just simply getting angry and putting up more propositions. We needed to get in the door. There is an element of calculation in all of this, there's no doubt of that. It's calculated toward getting results. It doesn't pain me; it makes me smile. When you get in the door, you show them that perhaps you have something more to say than what they expected.

Noel Pearson⁸

Globalisation

It is essential to persuade reformers of the left and conservatives who care for the fabric of their societies that we are not helpless before uncontrollable global processes.

Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson⁹

7. Frank Walker, "Ex-Priest May Unravel Black Deaths in Jail", Sun Herald, 30 July 1989

8. Bernard Lagan, "Mabo's Legal Warrior", Sydney Morning Herald, 9 October 1993

9. Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, Polity Press, 1996, p. 7

Gnomes

A former Hawke government Minister has since said to me that economic rationalists in the public service had far more power over the Federal cabinet and its key committees than the Caucus or its policy committees. We get rolled every time by those ‘gnomes’ of Canberra, he said. You tell them that they should come out to the western suburbs of Sydney or Melbourne, and they just look blankly at you’.

John Cain¹⁰

Golden Age

Although we may call it the Golden Age, it was hardly a gilded age. We were a lot poorer than we are now. For a lot of people, nostalgia casts a very flattering light on economic conditions, but the great urban expansion of the immediate postwar period, where most of the growth occurred, was very primitive by today's standards. Hundreds of thousands of families moved into newly constructed housing, where the streets were not paved, footpaths non-existent, sewerage not connected and phones unavailable. The two- or three-bedroom cottage with one outdoor toilet was the norm, at least in the outer suburbs of Melbourne where I was brought up in the 1950s. In many cases, schools were in temporary accommodation and there were very few universities. We tend to forget how rough it was; in some ways it resembled the developing world more than the developed world of today.

Ian Macfarlane¹¹

Government

A nation has at all times an indivisible right to abolish any form of government it finds inconvenient, and

10. John Cain, *John Cain's years : power, parties and politics*, MUP, 1995, p.161

11. Ian Macfarlane, Boyer Lectures, Extract published as “Golden Age of answers”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 November 2006

establish such as accords with its interests, its dispositions and its happiness

Thomas Paine¹²

Government

Wouldn't it be simpler for the government to dissolve the people and elect a new one?

Berholdt Brecht

Grandmothers' Law

Grandmothers make these decisions too, with a mind to the future of their descendants. Their own structural position, their power and authority to recruit kin to their own groups, or even to allocate kin to groups other than their own, and decisions concerning marriage arrangements, are themselves a key part of Aboriginal land law, and are part of what is meant by the Aboriginal term, 'Grandmothers' law'. Marriage and betrothal negotiations are thinly disguised politics of resource distribution aimed at securing the future of grandchildren and the longevity and stability of social and territorial entities.

Marcia Langton¹³

Granny Koori

Dear Director of Aboriginal Grants
My association needs \$55,000 bucks
To purchase silky black ladies pants
A quota to cover each area, the Territories-
State by state
To conceal from the prying eyes of the world
The Aborigines poor buggered fate.

Kevin Gilbert¹⁴

12. Cited by David Rollison in his review of Tom Paine *A Political Life* by John Keane, in *The Australian*, June 10-11, p. 8

13. Marcia Langton "Grandmothers' Law, Company Business and Succession in Changing Aboriginal Land Tenure Systems", in Gallarrwoy Yunupingu, (ed) *Our land is our Life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p. 86

14. Kevin Gilbert, *People are legends Aboriginal Poems*, UQP, 1978

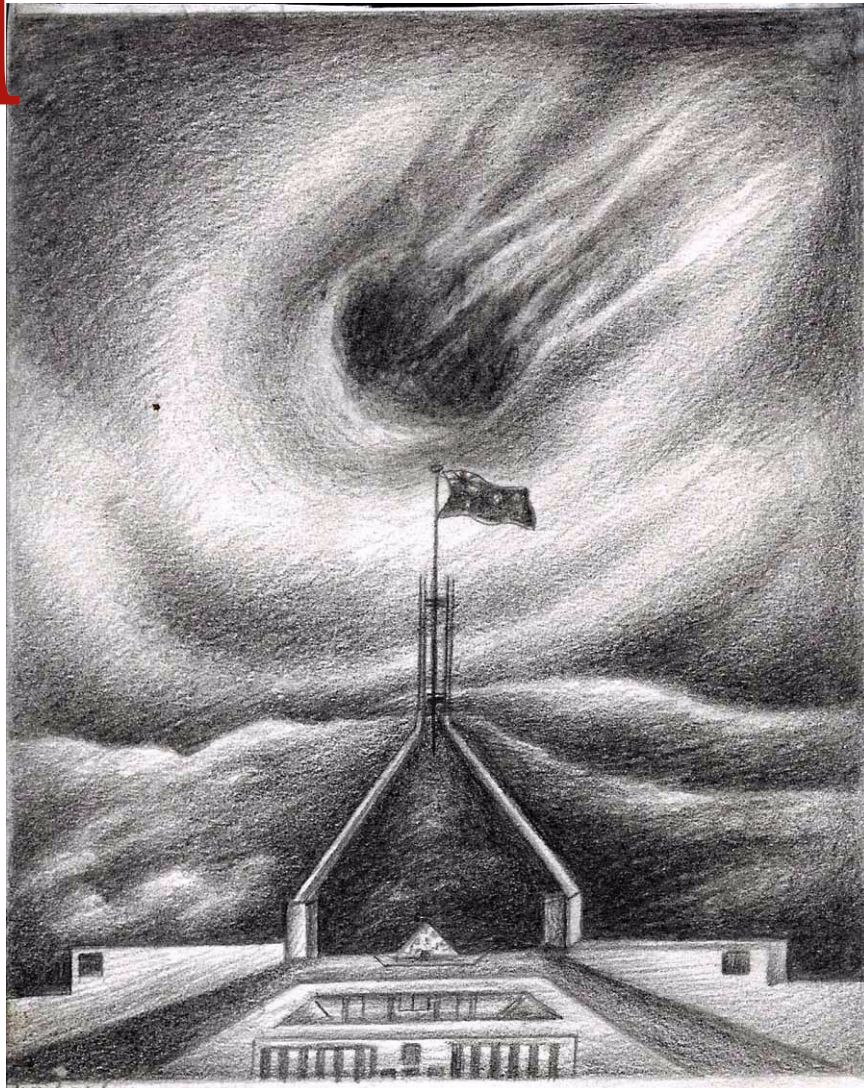
Growth

You don't have to be a genius - if the private economy is rooted then we haven't much of a chance. There's nothing the Government is going to be able to do bar short-term employment stimulation. But the Government can do a lot to get things flowing. In other words, I do believe in the big machinery of growth - I'm a growth person.

Paul Keating¹⁵

15. Terry Counihan personal note.

Hawke



Mr Hawke has only served one term in Parliament. As president of the Australian Council for Trade Union's he made himself very popular, with employers and unions alike, for his reputation for settling disputes. In most polls he is more popular than all his rivals, including Mr Fraser, and is regarded as strong, intelligent, competent and concerned with ordinary people. Politically he stands for little that is specific just a vague search for national unity and consensus.

[Financial Times of London¹](#)

1. Financial Times, 4 February 1983

Hawke

We humble citizens who read about this jellyback government can only be surprised when we find that they have some guts! I can't claim to have been a life-time Labor voter - and I was appointed by the Fraser government - but I admire these blokes. The reason I stuck with them was because they did things instead of just talking about them. The tariff changes are an act of real courage.

[Bob Johnston](#)²

Hawke

Finally! I've been waiting all my life to vote for Bob Hawke

[Cabdriver to Bob Mc Mullen](#)³

Hawke

Old jelly-back

[Peter Walsh](#)⁴

Hawke

He reigned but never ruled.

[E.G. Whitlam](#)⁵

Hayden

For a self educated man born a bastard and raised in real poverty, who slept without sheets on an open veranda and bathed in cold water until well into his teenage years, who left school at 15 and who first travelled on a plane at age 29 when he first flew from Bris-

2. Former Reserve Bank Governor, cited in Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty*, Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 667

3. Cited in Cait Murphy, *The Asian Wall St Journal*, 23 December, 1991, p.6

4. Peter Walsh cited in Michelle Grattan, "There Goes Another Promise", *The Age*, 28 June 1991

5. Cited in Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty The Story of the 1980s*, Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 664

bane to Canberra as an MP in February, 1962, he has, by effort and ability, achieved against the odds.

[Alan Ramsey](#)⁶

Heard it on the radio...

These icons of Aboriginality are produced by Anglo-Australians, not in dialogue with Aboriginal people, but from other representations, such as the Stone Age savage, the dying race, the one-penny stamp Aborigine, the Pelaco shirt Aborigine ... the Cinesound News Service caricatures and Crocodile Dundee I and II

[Marcia Langton](#)⁷

History

At least we're doing it for the history books - you're doing it for tomorrow's fish and chips.

[Paul Keating](#)⁸

History

In Australia we do not learn and discuss our history as much as we should. For too many of us history happens in other countries.

[E.G. Whitlam](#)⁹

Home

Home can- and should - be a bedrock for children. Communities can- and should- provide the enforcement to watch over them, formally and informally. And our government can -and should- create and uphold the laws that set safety standards for us all.

[Hillary Rodham Clinton](#)¹⁰

6. Alan Ramsey, "All In All, Not A Fair Cop, Bill", Sydney Morning Herald, 20 April 1996

7. Marcia Langton, Well I heard it on the radio and I saw it on the television, June 1993

8. Terry Counihan personal note.

9. E G Whitlam Speaking on the 175th anniversary of the Supreme Court of NSW, 17 May, 1999

Homelands

No English words are good enough to give a sense of the links between an Aboriginal group and its homeland.

Our word 'home', warm and suggestive though it be, does not match the Aboriginal word that may mean camp, hearth, country, everlasting home, totem place, life source, spirit centre and much else all in one word. Our word 'land' is too spare and meagre. We can scarcely use it except with economic overtones unless we happen to be poets.

To put our words 'home' and 'land' together into 'homeland' is a little better but not much.

A different tradition leaves us tongueless and earless towards this other world of meaning and significance. When we took what we call 'land' we took what to them meant hearth, home, the source and locus of life and everlastingness of spirit.¹¹

Bill Stanner, 1968 Boyer Lectures

Homelands II

I fear the outstation movement - and admittedly I have little experience - may be another of these romantic re-creations of the noble savage myth that turn out to be illusory and ultimately disappointing. Certainly the settings are idyllic and there is none of the degradation found in Aboriginal settlements on the urban fringe. But the outstations reaffirm the old conservative patriarchy despite the many impressive women we met. Moreover the outstations are absolutely dependent on welfare, and are therefore mendicant settlements, with little promise of future self-sufficiency. Nor are there many signs of the development of technical skills to maintain the equipment - tractors, generators, solar power modules. Above all the challenge presented by the young people is scarcely met.

10. Hillary Clinton, *It takes a village : and other lessons children teach us*, Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 145

11. Bill Stanner, 1968 Boyer lectures

Inadequate outstation education at the primary level hardly fits teenagers for a competitive secondary system at Nhulanbuy. There is little to keep them in the outstations as against the towns with their real or imagined attractions. And one can also question the priorities of the Laynhapuy Aboriginal bureaucrats, with their over-emphasis on high technology transport and equipment, and inadequate attention to the skills required for maintenance. Andrew, younger and more idealistic, is more of an enthusiast but I think he underestimates the welfare dependency.

Neal Blewett¹²

Hope Valley

There is a small patch of bush in far north Queensland stained with the blood of George Rosendale's grandparents. He does not know the exact place they fell. They were hunted and shot down by Aboriginal police who were used by whites to pursue tribal people deep into the bush. On that day, the hunters spared the life of a small Aboriginal girl. She was taken to a place called Hope Valley, a Lutheran mission north of Cooktown, and her life changed forever. She was George Rosendale's mother. She never went back to this killing place.

George Rosendale's paternal grandfather, Bujin, had also been brought in from the bush to the mission as a boy. He was one of the first Christian converts and was never initiated. That much history George Rosendale has.

The name Hope Valley described the Lutherans' confident and elevated purpose. Hope filled the hearts of the missionaries who came to Australia. Their mission was written in the gospels; that God made of one blood all the nations of men. It meant the natives were brothers not, as the brutal invective of the colonialists

12. Neal Blewett, *A Cabinet Diary, A Personal Record of the First Keating Government*, Wakefield Press, 1999, p.79

would have it, some species of monkey. They had human souls. They could be saved. But in the end, the saviors wreaked their own destruction and people like George Rosendale, now a Lutheran pastor, are now struggling to undo the damage. The Hope Valley missionaries had been like most others in their hatred of indigenous culture.¹³

Howard

Howard is a good campaigner. That Young Liberal debating experience stands him in good stead... The area in which Howard has won the campaign is in campaigning itself, especially the launch, where his no-frills approach outshone the more staged Hawke effort . . . , Howard had to wear the disaster of wrong figures. Interestingly, Howard's revival came after these disasters. His strength is his tenacity, his evenness. . . there's none of the up-and-down indulgence of Bob Hawke. His greatest asset has probably been his wife Janette, who, as one senior Liberal says, is without doubt his best staffer.

[Michelle Grattan, perceptive as ever on Howard's losing 1987 campaign¹⁴](#)

Howard

But the longer John Howard stays there, the more secure he tends to look. He has an inner toughness which, in the early, more kindly light of a new political year, seemingly is more evident after the blast furnace of recent turmoil and lost causes. Perhaps, in the end, this stoic resolve will overcome all those prejudices and negative perceptions which so killingly jump into view every time he appears on TV. You know, the gauche adolescent in king's clothes. In the meantime, Howard is winning where he always does best, on the floor of the Parliament. That would get a sneering dis-

13. Robyn Dixon, "Missions From God", *The Age*, 4 December 1993

14. Michelle Grattan cited in Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty The Story of the 1980s*, Allen & Unwin, 1982, p. 352

missal from Bob Hawke, but it's true. In the last fortnight, the first of the new Parliament, Howard has flogged Hawke every which way and back again: in tactics, aggression and sheer debating skill. And luck, too.

Alan Ramsey¹⁵

Honesty, brains, common sense

You want to be scrupulously honest but there is nothing to stop you being a bit bloody foxy. It's not having a lot of brains that matters, it's knowing how to use the few you have got. Common sense is the shortest commodity on earth.

J.B. Chifley¹⁶

Human Rights

Indigenous people have quickly recognised that international law, word processors and even human rights rhetoric can hold the lines of power as fiercely as the guns and strychnine of times past. All this might give rise to deep pessimism.

Mick Dodson¹⁷

Humiliation

Accept your humiliation and we can go forward.
Recriminate, and we shall split.

J.B. Chifley¹⁸

Humpty Dumpty

Just keeping Humpty Dumpty together, keeping the place happy. That was part of my job.

Paul Keating¹⁹

15. Alan Ramsey, "Little Johnny, Labor's Public Enemy No. 1", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 February, 1988

16. Cited in Fred Daly, *The Politician Who Laughed*, Hutchinson, 1982, p 18

17. Mick Dodson, Towards the Exercise of Indigenous Rights: Policy, Power and Self Determination, *Race and Class*, 35 (4), p. 74

18. Ben Chifley, after losing the ALP Federal Executives endorsement for amendments to Menzies' Communist Party Dissolution Bill through NCC opposition

19. Paul Keating from the back bench between challenges to Bob Hawke August 1991.

I deas



Ideas in the Labor Party of New South Wales, not to mention Victoria, are not all that important. Certainly, ideas very rarely take on a power of their own, unless they have become assumptions in society.

[Rodney Cavalier¹](#)

Identity

Reverend Passi is an elder from the Murray Islands in the eastern Torres Strait. He was, along with Eddie Mabo, one the plaintiffs in the Mabo Case. His address discussed the annexation of the Murray Islands in the

1. Cited in Mike Steketee, *Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p 232

second half of the C19th – and how sovereignty had been acquired without the consent of the Meriam People. He spoke of how the Meriam People had not agreed to become Queenslanders and Australians, and he challenged the moral and legal claims of the Crown in respect of his people and his homeland. Then in the midst of this electrifying denunciation of this constitutional history, he recalled that he had once been to ‘Bible college’ in one of the southern states and he was flying back to Brisbane on his way back to the Torres Strait. He said that when he put his feet on the tarmac in Brisbane, Queensland, he said to himself (thousands of kilometres from his island homeland and at the capital of the very Crown that had usurped his sovereignty): ‘I’m home!’ And his next words, as he gently thrust his fist into the air, were: ‘Go the Broncos!’

Noel Pearson²

Ideology

People like Paul Coe are heroes to alienated Aboriginal people ... I can relate to much of what he says. But ideology shouldn't determine our strategy

Noel Pearson³

Idiot Sons

You have to take pity on this idiot son of the Establishment, Mr Speaker. Lightning never strikes in the same place twice. We have here the offspring of all of the former stars of the Menzies Government. They are dwindling away, dying on the back bench.

Paul Keating⁴

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2. Noel Pearson, Layered Identities and Peace, Earth Dialogue, Brisbane Festival, Sunday 23 July 2006, p. 10
 3. Sally Loane & Paul Chamberlin, “Leaders Hit a Greater Divide over Ideology”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1993
 4. Paul Keating, Question Without Notice Government Business Enterprises, 24 Oct 1989, *Hansard*, p. 1679

Immigration

If immigrants become citizens of Australia, they have a right as well as a capacity to make a contribution to Australia's foreign policy. At the same time new citizens who have migrated from different countries which have been or still are hostile to each other should not pursue in or from Australia the hostilities between their countries of origin. Bevis and Antipodes, 1995

At one time or another during my tenure from 1952 to 1978 Werriwa included all Sydney's suburbs between Westmead and Toongabbie in the north and Narellan and Appin in the south. There would be few areas in the world which possess such rich racial and religious resources and which have acquired them so quickly. There were always Anglican, Catholic and Protestant churches in the electorate. By 1952 the Catholic churches in particular were already attracting immense numbers of parishioners from all parts of Europe and from European colonies in Asia. There was a synagogue on the boundaries of the electorate. Orthodox churches were soon built within them, Russian, Serbian, Macedonian and Antiochian. There are now many mosques, a Buddhist temple and a Zoroastrian shrine.

I had a grandfather and two grandmothers born in Australia. Margaret had a grandfather and grandmother born in Australia and her British grandmother arrived as a young child. We had a lot to learn. We assiduously accepted all invitations to the ethnic functions at clubs and churches. As soon as we had the opportunity we visited all the European, Asian and Pacific countries from which my constituents had come. Over Christmas 1971 we visited Cyprus and Yugoslavia, both of which were still affected by the protectorates brokered by Britain and Austria before and during the Congress of Berlin in 1878. By the mid-80s we had visited all the republics of the old Yugoslavia and had driven through the adjacent areas of Bul-

garia and Greece. In July 1969 Billy Snedden, the Minister for Immigration, declared:

We must have a single culture. If migration implies multi-culture activities within Australian society, then it is not the type of culture Australia wants

By that time my electorate had a population of a quarter of a million, of whom only 100 000 were electors; the others were either not yet 21 or not yet naturalised. In the 1969 elections for the House of Representatives, my first as Leader of my party, I set out a very full program for new settlers in Australia. The Parliamentary Party gained 15 new members, among them Al Grassby.

E.G. Whitlam⁵

Incentivation

It sounds like something you do to cats.

Bob Hawke on the Liberal Party's electoral slogan

Indigenous Australians

Let us never forget this: Australia's real test as far as the rest of the world, and particularly our region, is concerned is the role we create for our own Aborigines. In this sense, and it is a very real sense, the Aborigines are our true link with our region. More than any foreign aid program, more than any international obligation which we meet or forfeit, more than any part we may play in any treaty or agreement or alliance. Australia's treatment of her Aboriginal people will be the thing upon which the rest of the world will judge Australia and Australians - not just now, but in the greater perspective of history ... The Aborigines are a responsibility we cannot escape, cannot share, cannot shuffle off; the world will not let us forget that.

E.G. Whitlam⁶

5. E.G. Whitlam, Ethnic Communities' Council Of Nsw 20th Anniversary Dinner, ANA Hotel, Sydney, Saturday 29 July 1995.

6. E.G. Whitlam, ALP Policy speech, 13 November 1972

Injury

Injuries should be inflicted all at once, for the less they are tasted, the less they offend, while benefits should be granted little by little, so that they be better enjoyed.

[Machiavelli](#)

Innisfail Rain

Heard, have you, of the fellow who's going down the main Street in Innisfail where they measure the rainfall in fathoms? It's all mud wherever he looks, mud from head to breakfast. Suddenly, right in the middle of the Street, he sees a joker with his head and shoulders sticking out, waving to him for help. Coming, he calls out. Then, hurrying across he catches him under the armpits and starts heaving. No good: he can't shift him. He heaves and heaves till he near bursts himself, but he can't raise him more than a few inches. 'All up,' he says. 'It'd take a team of bullocks to get you out.' 'Have another go,' the joker pleads. 'Wait till I kick me bloody feet out of the stirrups'.

[Vance Palmer](#)⁷

Intellectuals

The intellectuals' job was to promote the virtue of thought rather than action.

[Francois Mitterand](#)⁸

Intelligence & bigotry

The members of the early trade unions of last century and the first Labor members of Parliament spoke for the uneducated and the socially insulated, they were the instigators of White Australia. Church leaders, members of the professions, the educated generally, all those who formed what became the Liberal Party, welcomed a diverse culture. Since the day of Whitlam

7. Vance Palmer, *Seedtime*, 1957, p 167

8. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 22

there has been a reversal of ideas. The modern Labor Party speaks for the intelligent, the Liberals for the bigoted.

Eric Rolls⁹

Interest Rates

While interest rates continue at present levels, there is no reason why these people should support us electorally because in return they receive no real benefit.

Neville Wran¹⁰

International competition

There is no need for all economic activity to be subject to the dictates of being 'internationally competitive'

Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson¹¹

Investing in the Aboriginal Economy

A generous investment in the Aboriginal sector, by which I mean at least several times the annual budget in Aboriginal affairs, targeted towards industry research and development, genuine labour market strategies, employment, education and training initiatives, and infrastructure investment would substantially transform the poverty trap of Aboriginal dependence on government transfers, CDEP and social security. In conjunction with a fiscal investment strategy of this kind, if Aboriginal community leaders had access to genuine economic advice, rather than social engineering and policy tinkering, and genuine collaboration between the sectors, government, industry, union, and Aboriginal, some present Aboriginal assets could be converted to fungible and there-

9. Eric Rolls

, *Citizens: Continuing the Epic Story of China's Centuries-old Relationship with Australia*, University of Queensland Press

10. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: *An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 94

11. Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, Polity Press, 1996, p. 133

fore commercial assets enabling Aboriginal people to participate in the marketplace and accumulate wealth. The propositions I have made about transforming the CDEP scheme would form part of this strategy, offering incentives for participation in the economy and disincentives for remaining in the welfare trap. Capital investment would create the labour market entry points for CDEP personnel in the industries, such as grazing, forestry and sylvaculture, aquaculture and fishing, mining and tourism, government services, such as the Defence Forces, and infrastructure development and maintenance. Capital investment would enable local enterprise initiatives and CDEP participation could be calculated as an enterprise investment and provide long-term labour market opportunities for CDEP personnel.

Marcia Langton¹²

Investing in the Future

The trick in the coming decade will be to keep all our gains on inflation, on competitiveness and on exports. To keep all these, and at the same time to increase our investment so that productivity rises faster, and incomes rise faster, and generate the savings out of which further investment and further growth is sustained. ...We need to invest not just for replacement purposes, but for strategic purposes. This requires investing in our people, ideas and in physical capital.

Paul Keating¹³

IR Club

The IR Club is almost eighty years old and its impact cannot be suddenly overturned. Ironically the Club's longevity is used as a rationalisation for its continued existence. The Liberal spokesman on employment, Ian Macphee, has disparaged the view that 'somehow 80

12. Marcia Langton, "A New Deal? Indigenous development and the politics of recovery", Charles Perkins Oration, University of Sydney

13. Paul Keating, Institute of Directors Luncheon, Melb Wed 21 April 1993

years of history' can be banished. Normally this would be regarded as a tradition-bound (almost reactionary) position. But to members of the Club it is simple realism - nothing more, nothing less. A reforming government which seeks to achieve changes in industrial relations will have to take on not only the union leadership and the IR bureaucracy - it will also have to confront the industrial 'heavies' in some employer peak councils.

Gerard Henderson¹⁴

Ireland

On the way here via the United States and Britain I was reading Seán Ó Faoláin's book *The Irish*. At one point, writing about Wolfe Tone, he says:

One feels that his laughter and his humanity would have blown all these away, would have defined political liberty not merely in terms of comfort but of gaiety and tolerance and a great pity and a free mind and a free heart and a full life.

Ó Faoláin, of course, was talking about Ireland, which I do not mean to do; I mean to talk about my own country

Many of the Irish who played leading parts in Tone's rebellion of 1798 were transported to Australia, among them prominent leaders of the rebellion like Michael Dwyer, Joseph Holt, James Meehan and Michael Hayes.

Paul Keating¹⁵

14. Gerard Henderson, "The Industrial Relations Club", *Quadrant*, September, 1983

15. Address to the Dail, 20 Sept 1993

J curve



In February 1985 the protracted depreciation of the \$A began... The depreciation marked down the value of Australian assets which made Australian products cheaper and more competitive on world markets; imports were dearer, exports were cheaper. Economic theory said that depreciation should correct the current account deficit because the price effects would produce fewer imports and a surge in exports. The trouble was that in the short term the external deficit worsened because only the price effect was obvious before volumes were adjusted. This phenomenon was known as the J Curve, a piece of economic jargon which Keating made famous in 1985-86 when he tried to explain to the party and the public why economic deliverance would take some time.

[Paul Kelly¹](#)

J - Curve

I don't know who invented the bloody J-curve, but I can tell you it wasn't an Australian.

[John Button²](#)

Jeremiah

The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.

[Jeremiah 8.20](#)

Jobs

If they want my job they're not going to get it by offering me a plum job to go quietly. F... them ... There are people I know in the Right who, you know, well, if Richardson said fart, they'd say, 'Which direction?'.
[Barry Cohen³](#)

Just Agreements

..what if we ask ourselves: where would we be now, 20 years down the track if, instead of taking the path of litigation and conflict, instead of the futile waste of resources spent on trying to sabotage and undermine our rights, the Northern Territory Government had instead sought to reach just agreements, based on our rights in land, and both sides had put those wasted resources into dealing with all the other resources that remain unresolved?

[David Ross⁴](#)

Justice Higgins

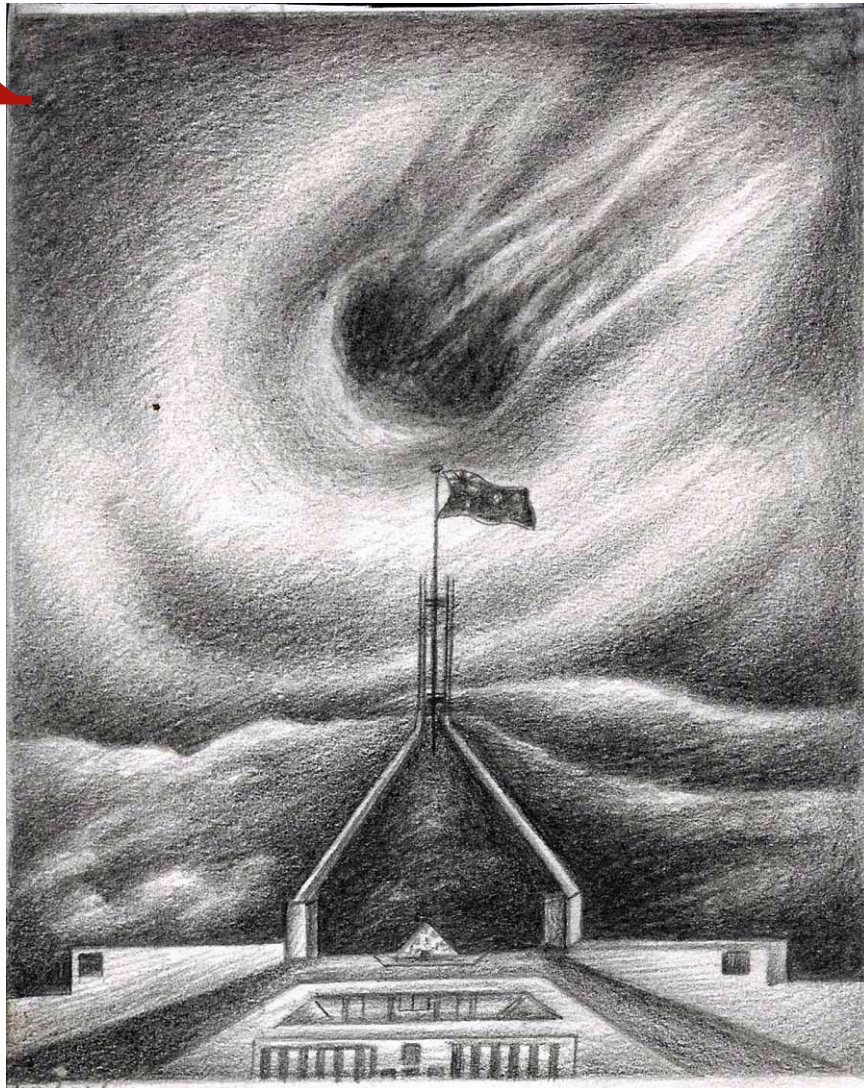
The time has come to turn Mr. Justice Higgins on his head.

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1. Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty The Story of the 1980s*, Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 204-5
 2. Jenni Hewett, "Button the long slow haul", *Australian Financial Review*, 16 September, 1988
 3. Luis M. Garcia, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 December 1987
 4. In Galarrwuy Yunupingu, *Our Land is our Life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p. 129

John Howard⁵

5. John Howard, Address to the National Press Club, August, 1983

K eating



So now we have Henry Lawson in an Italian double-breaster. Now we have (to use a frightful phrase) a new agenda. And suddenly the Liberals look flat-footed and indignant: they came to talk about the geometric wonders of Fightback and this new man says, no, we're going to debate history and nationalism

[Les Carlyon¹](#)

1. Les Carlyon, *Business Review Weekly*, 3 April 1992

Kennett

You can't not be in the Labor Party in Victoria with Kennett having been elected.

[Jennie George²](#)

Kirner

...she spent the time in the dingy backrooms telling women how to do it ... Joan's the one who made it happen

[Affirmative Action Supporter³](#)

sKnickerbockers

Mr Wran: 'Members of the Labor Party are not born to rule; we are the ordinary people; we are just the people who get the brickbats.'

Mr Collins (lib): 'Does the Premier wish to borrow my handkerchief?'

Mr Wran: 'The honourable member should not try to be too smart. He is one of these sanctimonious sods who come into this Parliament. He has hung on more coat tails than a dog has fleas. He has never been a victor at anything. He should not insult me by asking me if I want a handkerchief. I have earned my spurs: the Honourable member should earn his.'

Mr. Wade (lib): 'Back into your knickerbockers.'

Mr Wran: 'Knickerbockers is not enough to hold what comes out of him.'

[Neville Wran⁴](#)

Knowledge

Life with old people is all about knowledge..

[Noel Pearson](#)

2. Brad Norrington, *Jennie George* Allen & Unwin, 1988, p. 219

3. Margo Kingston, "Sisters, and PM, Do the Celebrating for Themselves", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 September 1994

4. Cited in Mike Steketee, *Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.333

Labor Boy



I'm a Labor boy, I joined this show when I was 15 and I feel an obligation to represent the interests of working people as best as I can do it.

[Paul Keating¹](#)

Labor Oligarchy

While an extremely egalitarian form of democratic theory could be translated fairly faithfully into party machinery in Labour's first years, factors were early at work to modify, at any rate in practice, those principles of organization.... One such outcome was a tendency to varying degrees of oligarchy in party management and leadership. ... Success in political warfare, whether electoral or parliamentary, depends on well-laid plans, on swift decisions, acute timing and surprise. In matters of strategy and tactics no party can prosper without acknowledging in a very practical way the necessity of stable management by a core of experienced men of judgement and decision. These essentials of political success tend to

1. Cited in Michael Gordon, "Paul Keating Faces His Day Of Reckoning" Sunday Age, 5 May 1991

produce an element of what is very easy to call oligarchy.

Fin Crisp²

Labor principles

Great matters of principle, like uranium mining or the future of rainforests, can literally be settled over a drink... But a personal insult passed 25 years ago will probably never be forgotten and will be fought out at the cost of the Party and at the cost of the Conference year in and year out, all year long, regardless.

Rodney Cavalier³

Labor Representation

Mark Davidson, who became Minister for Wales, was no stranger to hard toil. Born in Clarence Street, Sydney, he had been everything from a deck hand on a coastal steamer to farm worker, miner, tank sinker and shearer in the bush. He became involved in the 1894 shearers' strike and claimed to have ridden 1500 miles with a pack-horse looking for a job during the First Depression. He wound up stony broke, breaking stoves for a living in the New England district. Then he went to Cobar where a mine accident deprived him of sight in one eye. So, there being no Workers' Compensation, his mates sent him to Parliament. There was certainly no one better qualified to take on the job of Minister for Works at such a time. (emphasis added)

Jack Lang⁴

Labor Research

We, as a party, in Australia, write no books, produce no pamphlets and set up no research – yet we think

2. L.F. Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labour Party 1901-1951*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978 pp. 10-11

3. Cited in Mike Steketee, *Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 232

4. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930's*, p 274

we can safely bring Australia through all the currents of action into the Eldorado.

R.S. Ross⁵

Labor Solidarity

Does national unity demand deafness, dumbness and blindness in the presence of every violated principle? If a movement when it gets power does not function for the purposes for which it was created, if it deserts what it was pledged to defend, if it abandons principle after principle, then unity in action is valueless and the hopes of men are an ever-retreating mirage.

Jack Lang⁶

Labor Spark/Scrutiny

To me the ALP has always been the dynamic of Australian politics, whether in Government or in opposition. It's been the one that produced the new thought and so on. I suppose another factor in it, too, is that it is the party to which I belonged for some years as a younger man until I fell out with some of the chieftains in the ALP. Consequently I had a much deeper interest in the ALP and its machinations and movements than ever I had in the Liberals and I tended to concentrate on this. It would have been quite all right if I had been counter-balanced by other journalists who concentrated on the Liberals. But they were inclined to follow my example and consequently the spotlight figured much more heavily on the Labor Party than ever it did on the Liberals. I think this was a bit unhealthy.

Alan Reid⁷

5. ALP Federal Conference, 1930

6. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930's*, p 111

7. Laurie Oakes, "A Man who Gave History a Nudge", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 September 1987

Labor Successors

The measure of a Labor leader is his magnanimity to his successor.

E.G. Whitlam⁸

Labor to Labor

I thought Paul Keating and Bob Hawke were behaving like bullies and were as bad as Malcolm Fraser at his worst.

John Cain⁹

Labor, Federalism, & Oligarchy

As Federalism in party organization cuts across the principle of majority rule, so it may have a profound effect on the tendency towards – or at least on the determination of the locus of – oligarchy in the organization.

Fin Crisp¹⁰

Labor's Federation

In March of 1890 the unions in Queensland discussed the Constitution of a Federation. They agreed to accept a list of aims which were moderate, vague, and no threat to the existing order of society. They aimed at improving the conditions of all classes of labour: they proposed to discuss, consider and put in force any scheme for the better guidance and extension of labour organisation: they proposed to devise schemes for the settlement of differences between any members of the Federation and their employers, and to consolidate the Eight Hour system of legislation or otherwise; they proposed to secure direct representation of labour in parliament, to assist members in

8. Speech Notes, Launch Australia's First Fabians, Monash University, 12 November, 1993

9. John Cain, *John Cain's years : power, parties and politics*, MUP, 1995, p.167

10. L.F. Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labour Party 1901-1951*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978 p.14

securing a fair wage and reasonable conditions of labour, to take all political steps for the ultimate establishment of a minimum wage for all men and women in Australia so as to prevent Australians being degraded by competition to the level of Chinese and European labourers: they proposed to establish cooperative societies, both productive and distributive, and to conduct a newspaper in the interests of the labour movement.

Manning Clark¹¹

Labour, leadership and loyalty

Political Labour's struggle towards socialism is dependent upon Mill's hypothesis that mankind shall "continue to improve". At times the condition seems to be impossible of achievement. Then black despair suggests that the struggle for humankind avails naught. But victory may be at hand if only courageous leadership and loyal devotion both remain.

H.V. Evatt¹²

Land

Our land is our life.

Galarrwuy Yunupingu¹³

Land & Culture

Aboriginal culture is inseparable from the land to which Aboriginal title attaches. The loss or impairment of that title is not simply a loss of real estate, it is a loss of culture.

Noel Pearson¹⁴

11. Manning Clark, *A History of Australia*, Vol V, p. 44 citing *Worker* (Brisbane) 1 March, 12 June, 1 August, 1890

12. H.V. Evatt, *William Holman Australian Labor Leader*, Angus & Robertson, 1940, p. 429

13. Galarrwuy Yunupingu, *Our Land is Our life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p. xv

14. Cited in "Law must dig deeper to find Land Rights", *The Australian*, 8 June 1993

Land Rights

After 20 years of the [Northern Territory] Land Rights Act, you might expect that the outlook of Indigenous Australians would be considerably brighter than it was. While today we can certainly celebrate with pride the success of the Land Rights Act, I doubt if now we can say the future is brighter.

Tracker Tilmouth¹⁵

Language

I have all these friends but, on one level, I don't have anybody with whom I can speak my language - so every time I go up there, this old man [Roger Hart] seeks me out and I can speak my language.

Noel Pearson¹⁶

Last Man

Last man lousy.¹⁷

Lateness

History punishes those who came late.

Mikhail Gorbachev

Latrinograms, (Clyde Cameron's)

Taped histories are a booming industry. *Who's Who in Australia* 1983 records that a former colleague of mine had contributed two million words to the Oral History Division in the National Library of Australia. By the 1988 edition he was described as an historian and his contribution had soared to six million words, totalling 32 volumes of 14,500 pages. The Library has clearly found some mischief still for one who spent his last five years in the House bludging on the back

15. In Gallarrwuy Yunupingu, *Our Land is Our life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p. 18

16. Bernard Lagan, "Mabo's Legal Warrior", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October, 1993

17. Depression saying.

bench and fabricating his own memoirs. He confesses that he used to rush off to the toilets for paper to record all the rumours which came to his notice. When I was in the Air Force we used to call them latrinograms. Who can wonder that there is no surviving documentation for his fabrications. Or that a book which retains so many traces of its origins has had to be flushed by the booksellers.

E.G. Whitlam¹⁸

L-A-W Tax Cuts

These tax cuts will be delivered in full this financial year. They will be L-A-W – law. And what is more, they are R-E-S-P-O-N-S-I-B-L-E – responsible law.

Paul Keating¹⁹

Lawyers

American behavioral scientists are using lawyers in experiments instead of white mice because a) there are many more lawyers than white mice, b) researchers tend to form emotional relationships with white mice, and c) there are some things white mice just would not do.

Wayne Goss²⁰

Leaders

Leaders are just figures passing through the movement – never indispensable and never irreplaceable.

J. B Chifley²¹

18. Opening Speech, Centenary Whitlam Conference of Labor Historians, Holme Building, University of Sydney, 23 November 1991

19. Paul Keating, National Press Club, 9 February, 1993

20. Sydney speech to the Evatt Foundation, 28 May 1988

21. Fin Crisp, *The Australian Federal Labor Party 1901-1951*, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1978, p. 6

Leadership

Every corporal in the Labor Party carries a Field Marshall's baton in his knapsack. I haven't looked in my knapsack yet.

Neville Wran²²

Leadership

The leadership, along a never-ending march towards the light, I now pass to new hands.

J.B. Chifley²³

Leadership

The government must make the decisions... and when those decisions are made, there must be no argument about the wisdom of them... I now say to the people of Australia that I cannot wait upon the debate. There will be governmental decisions where they are called for...

John Curtin²⁴

Leadership

I'm 42 years old. At the turn of the century, I'll be 52. That's a couple of years younger than Bob Hawke when he assumed the Prime Ministership, so call me again on the leadership next century.

Kim Beazley, 1991²⁵

Leadership, Liberal Party

One has to preface that by saying that there is very little leadership material of any worth within the Liberal Party and anyone who has been leader once and found

22. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 94

23. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 10

24. John Curtin, Irene Dousing, Curtin of Australia, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 106

25. Communications Minister Kim Beazley on the possibility of him leading the ALP, September 1991

wanting, must have a question mark over his leadership ability.

John Elliot²⁶

Left Labor circa 1950

Most other left-wingers in the Caucus followed the same style, and a 'style' it was, rather than a coherent set of ideas: bombast against the rich, the employers, and the imperialists, bombast in Caucus meetings against the established leadership of the Labour Movement. Its scale of values, it seemed, often saw little difference between nationalising banks and refusing to wear a dinner suit.

Robert Murray²⁷

Left

The very word 'left' used as a political adjective we owe to France. In a debate in the French National Assembly a few weeks after the 1789 revolution the supporters of a strong King with the power to veto laws sat on the right hand side of the session chairman, with those in favour of a strong Parliament that would control and supervise the executive placed themselves on the left... In the history of the French Revolution we also find many of the contradictions that the left in France, and elsewhere, have still to resolve today. The commitment to individual liberty against the need for effective state power. Intense patriotism side by side with an appeal to peoples in other lands. Support for the resolution of conflicts through the rule of law alongside the spirit of revolution, barricades and direct action.

Michael Foot²⁸

26. John Elliot asked to comment on Andrew Peacock's leadership abilities, Mike Steketee, "The Verdict on Peacock", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March, 1987

27. Robert Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties*, Cheshire, 1970, p 7

28. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 11

Letter of George Lang to Reverend John Dunmore Lang

Maryborough Wide Bay
31 March, 1858

My Dear Uncle,

. . . I write to you at the present moment. . . to make you acquainted with the proceedings of the Native Police Force in this district and of the inhabitants generally, in reference to the Blacks, and I am sure you will not only be astounded but indignant and disgusted with the details that I have to communicate to you.

When I first arrived in this district the topic of general conversation was the murder of the Frazer family on the Dawson by the Blacks of that district and the hope was universally expressed that the atrocious actors in that tragedy would meet with condign punishment. I joined in this hope believing in good faith that no illegal nor dishonourable not to say barbarous or inhuman means should be resorted to for that purpose. On my way to the interior however, I was undeceived as to the proposed method of punishing the Blacks and I now know that nothing could have been more unworthy of human beings than the procedure both of the members of the Police Force and the white population than their horrid indiscriminate murders of the Blacks.

I learned from various sources that a party of twelve squatters and their confidential overseers - went out mounted and armed to the teeth and scoured the country for blacks, away from the scrubs of the murder of the Frazers altogether, and shot upwards of eighty men, women and children. Not content with scouring the scrubs and forest country they were bold enough to ride up to the Head Stations and shoot down the tame blacks whom they found camping there. Ten men were shot in this way at Ross's head station on the Upper Burnet [*sic*]. Several at Prior's sta-

tion and at Hays and Lambs several more. The party in scouring the bush perceived an old blind blackfellow upon whom they immediately fired sending a ball through his back, another through his arm which shivered the bone to pieces and a third grazed his scalp. This old man had been for a long time a harmless hanger-on at the different head stations and of course could have been in no way identified with the Frazer murderers. A black boy belonging to Mr Cameron of Conambula long employed by that gentleman in carrying messages and rations to his out stations and in going with drays to Gayndah and Maryborough went to Mr Prior's station on the Burnett and was shot there. A blackfellow was captured in the bush by an armed blackfellow in the employ of Mr Hay and supplied him with a carbine for the purpose. The black brought his prisoner to the Head Station, tied him to a sapling in the presence of all the white residents and having addressed him in broken English in the most cruel and disgusting manner, placed the muzzle of his carbine to the helpless man's arm and broke it with the first shot. He then addressed him again in the same strain as before and shot him through the head.

The Native Police say they have shot over 70 blacks. One of their acts deserves especial notice. They arrived at Humphrey's station, went to the Blacks encamped near the house, bound two of the men and led them into the scrub and deliberately shot them, the cries of the two poor wretches were heard by the superintendent's family at his house. I had supposed that these things although acted with seeming openness in the far interior and with evident impunity would not be tolerated in more civilized society and that the neighbourhood of Maryborough the chief town in the District could not be disgraced by any such barbarities. I was mistaken however. On the evening of Friday or Saturday last the white police accompanied by some white volunteers proceeded to the Blacks Camp near Mr Cleary's[?] homestead between the old and

new townships of Maryborough and drove every man, woman and child out of it, then set it on fire destroying all the clothing, bark[,] tomahawks and weapons of the blacks and burning willfully the blankets which at no inconsiderable expense are served out to the blacks yearly by the Government. The party of whites then followed and shot a boy of twelve years of age dead - a lad well known in the town as a harmless, helpless lunatic and wounded a man with a ball in the thigh, besides. Yesterday the Native Police force under the orders of their white officers performed the same meritorious action for the Blacks in Maryborough setting fire to their camp destroying their clothing and blankets and driving numbers of them into the river in sight of the whole town population. Not content with this the Native Police proceeded to the boiling-down Station about a mile from town and deliberately shot dead two old black men and a young one. I have witnessed no actual murder but I have witnessed scenes that I considered occurring where they did, in the heart of the town, libels on the very humanity of the people, a disgrace to its magistrates its storekeepers its fathers and sons and everything British in the place. For instance the spectacle of a blackfellow endeavouring at the public wharf at eight o'clock last Sunday night to construct a frail raft of sheets of bark to carry over a river as broad as the Hunter at Raymond Terrace and twice as rapid, a child twelve months old and another but ten days old and all this because he had been chased from his fire and threatened with a ball from a carbine by a ruthless wretch wearing the queen's livery. I may say that the current was so strong and the mother of the infant so alarmed for it that the black in mercy returned when half over the river and gave her the child. I thought that single act more eloquent of the wrongs of the blacks than a hundred lectures and I almost regretted I belonged to the same race as those who caused it. The Blacks must be protected. They suffer a hundred times more at the hands of the whites, than the whites do from them.

When it is found necessary to punish the blacks a rigid search must be instituted for the cause of the necessity and no indiscriminate selections allowed. The whites punish and persecute without discrimination: is it to be wondered at then, that the blacks, following the example set them, revenge their wrongs without discrimination too. Blood for blood is the only remedy I can see; if the Government will not institute a proper search, protect the blacks and punish the whites; seeing moreover that the blacks conduct themselves properly and be made thoroughly acquainted with the laws of property and the consequences of infringing them, the result of it will be that some person will furnish the blacks with firearms and set them in the way of revenging themselves upon their oppressors. Such interference on the part of Government is necessary not only for the safety of the Blacks but for the security of all such persons as the members of the Frazer family, who were made to suffer for the misdeeds of others. I suppose you have said long ago where are your magistrates. What are they all about. I reply, our magistrates are all here and they might just as well be at Jericho, they do not care a fig for either law or justice and in short knowing how matters stand they are as guilty of every act of cruelty as the actual perpetrators of them. They are traitors every man of them and unworthy [of] the confidence of the people. I do not mean to apologize for troubling you so far. . . the fact is I feel so strongly on the matter that I deemed it necessary to write to save me from taking actual proceedings at once . . .

I Remain

Your Affectionate nephew

George D. Lang²⁹

29. Reprinted in Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders, Kathryn Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, ANZ Book Company, Sydney, 1975, pp. 375-378

Liberalism

...almost unique among centre-right parties around the world the Liberal Party of Australia is a coalition of liberals and conservatives. It brings together these two great traditions in the policy. It is neither exclusively, as some would argue, a conservative party, nor is it exclusively a small 'l' liberal party. It is both.

John Howard³⁰

Liberal Arts Policy

Let the arts community know what a mean-spirited, bitchy little opposition this is, led by a mean-spirited, bitchy little opposition leader.

Paul Keating³¹

Liberal Rivalry

The Labor Party like to be able to put together the pantheon of great leaders; try to put all the Liberal people together in one room – it never happens, they won't talk to each other.

Peter Collins³²

Liberal-National Party

Here is another Liberal shadow Treasurer, like the former Liberal Treasurer, being run by the oafs of the Country Party, who gave Australia managed exchange rates, ripped away the income of Australian farmers for decades with an over-valued dollar, ripped away at farm profits with massive protection, and ingratiated themselves with Australian industry at the cost of Australia's industrial structure, and yet we still have this weak, cowardly, useless National Party running

30. Cited in Shaun Carney, Peter Costello *The New Liberal*, Allen & Unwin, 2001, p. 211

31. Paul Keating, Question without Notice: Arts Fellowship: Mr G. Tozer, 20 October, 1994, *Hansard*, p. 2520

32. Cited in Shaun Carney, "Peter Costello *The New Liberal*", *Sydney Papers*, Spring 2001, p. 14

the Liberal Party in opposition. One can imagine what the result would be like in government

Paul Keating³³

Light on the Hill

I try to think of our Labor Movement, not as putting an extra sixpence into somebody's pocket or making somebody Prime Minister or Premier, but as a Movement bringing something better to the people, better standards of living, greater happiness to the mass of the people. We have a great objective – our light on the hill – which we aim to reach by working for the betterment of mankind, not only here but anywhere we may give a helping hand. If it were not for that, the Labor Movement would not be worth fighting for.

J.B. Chifley³⁴

Lingiari

On 16 August 1975, seven years and one month after Frank [Hardy] called on me, I flew to Daguragu in a RAAF plane. On the site of Melbourne in 1834, a local Aboriginal chief had picked up some earth and poured it into the hand of John Batman. I reversed the process with these words: Vincent Lingiari, I solemnly hand to you these deeds as proof, in Australian law, that these lands belong to the Gurindji people and I put into your hands this piece of the earth itself as a sign that we restore them to you and your children forever.

E.G. Whitlam³⁵

Long Hair

Reviewers have picked up Mathews' reference to my office in 1968 being full of long-haired academics.

33. Paul Keating, Question without Notice Industry Commission, 27 November 1989, Hansard, p. 2915

34. Ben Chifley, Speech to NSW ALP Conference, 1949

35. E.G. Whitlam, Eulogy for Frank Hardy, 4 February, 1994

None had degrees and one was bald. Two still have great heads of hair and one now has two degrees. Now every minister has an office full of academics with long hair. Nothing wrong with a sense of perspective.

[E.G. Whitlam³⁶](#)

Losing the Labor Base

I mean, who moved in March? For the first time in the history of polling demographics we saw, in this last election, a significant movement of men in the 25 to 49 age group away from Labor. We got a 12 per cent gain in men 25 to 34, and an 8 per cent gain in men 35 to 49. Historically, that's unprecedented. In the main blue-collar or lower-income, white-collar workers, they moved to the Coalition in huge numbers, really for the first time.

And I think it was this sense of betrayal by Labor, which had espoused their values and priorities for 100 years, yet, over the last 15 to 20 years, mouthed the same things while progressively doing something very different. They wanted to move in '93 and we didn't let them. This time we gave them the opportunity to move and they did. In droves

[Andrew Robb on the 1996 election³⁷](#)

Losing the Labor Base

He might have knowledge of what's affecting us, but he just doesn't seem to be interested. He's got no empathy for my problems. After all he's said, in some ways I think he's betrayed us.

[Blue collar worker on Paul Keating³⁸](#)

36. Speech Notes, Launch Australia's First Fabians, Monash University, 12 November, 1993

37. Andrew Robb cited in Alan Ramsey, "A Question Of Holdens Or Fords", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1996

38. Pamela Williams, *The Victory*, Allen & Unwin, 1997, p. 52

Lost Opportunities

I found the Campbell report faded on a shelf in his former office. I thought, 'How telling this is.' You go into an office which was somebody else's for so many years. There are a few paperclips left around—a few bits and pieces, a few unsharpened pencils and all the books taken but one: the Campbell report. It was almost a manila folder by the time I got it. The sun had been beating in on it there. I thought, 'You need events like this to drive home how little has been done and how many opportunities have been passed up.'

Paul Keating³⁹

Loyal Deputy (Lance Barnard)

When I first took my seat in the Parliament in 1953, and when in 1954 Lance regained the seat which his father had lost in 1949, neither of us could have foreseen the long, arduous and turbulent road ahead.

Contemplating the composition of Caucus, we might have seen something ominous in the fact that until our arrival, our parliamentary ranks had contained more veterans from the Boer War than from the Second World War. Armistice Day 1954 was a Thursday, the only day of the week when the House used to sit in the morning. On this occasion, having sat till after midnight, the House did not sit till the afternoon. Lance and I went together to the service at the Australian War Memorial.

I need not dwell on Labor's desperate days of the second half of the 1950s; but I am proud to acknowledge that Lance was the first colleague to offer me support in a leadership role. At the Armistice Day service at the Australian War Memorial on Wednesday

11 November 1959 he quietly mentioned to me that I should consider contesting the Party's deputy leadership, likely to become vacant in the New Year. His support then, and at every stage over the subsequent

39. Paul Keating in reply to John Howard, 23 November, 1995, Hansard, p. 3696

15 years, was crucial; in every crisis, in every setback, in every triumph.

I want this to be understood in the most positive way. Lance's role went far beyond that of the loyal deputy, great and rare though the quality of the loyalty he gave undoubtedly was. What his colleagues and I valued most was his deep understanding of the needs and hopes of the Australian people, his instinctive feeling for the Labor Party and the Labor Movement, in all its moods and manifestations. Combine this with a deep Australian commonsense, and an innate decency and integrity, and you have, no man's lieutenant, but a prince among men.

E.G. Whitlam⁴⁰

Lucky

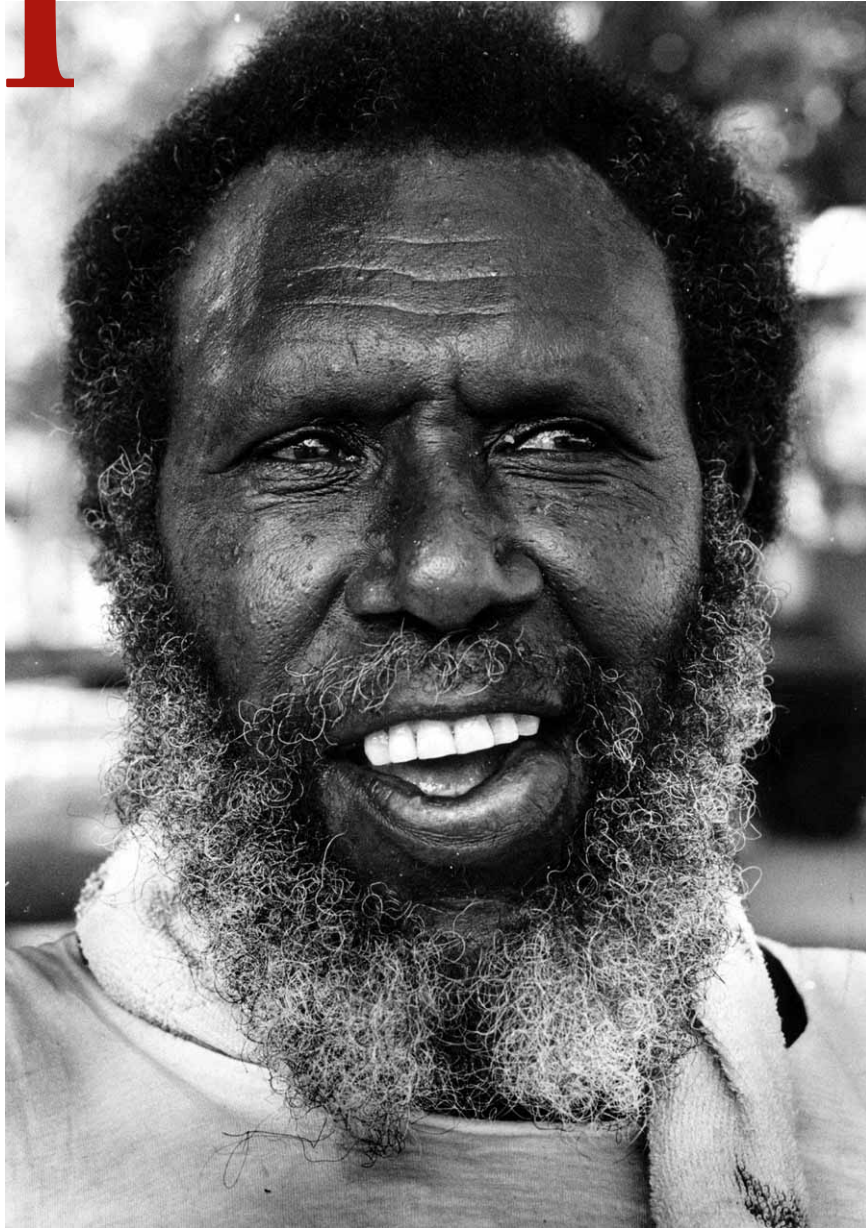
I'm a lucky man. I have never once thought I didn't want to work in the union movement, didn't want to be doing what I was doing. And once I'm in here, I just like to work the whole day through. I don't like lunches or breaks. I hate thinking I have nothing to do. The only problem is it means you're always running late, keeping people waiting.

Bill Kelty⁴¹

40. E.G. Whitlam, St John's Church, Launceston, 15 August 1997

41. As quoted in "The Cherub" *Australian Financial Review*, 4 June 1987, p. 12

M^{abo}



..that inhabited land may be classified as terra nullius no longer commands general support.

[Justice Brennan¹](#)

Mabo

Mabo directly threatens the unity of Australia ... It encourages aboriginal Australians to think of them-

1. Mabo Judgement, 1991, p 422

selves as separate from their fellow citizens. It promises racial tension. It guarantees Stagnation.

[Hugh Morgan²](#)

Mabo

The Mabo issue, unlike any other issue, has been about policy, about law and most importantly it's been about presentation. It's been a game of mirrors. All the players have been building these mirrors that expand the impact of Mabo.

[Noel Pearson³](#)

Mabo

The lesson of Mabo is that we should never underestimate our capacities for solving our problems. We should take this legislation to be a victory for all Australians and the Australian nation because it is a profound event. It should mark a new spirit of faith and optimism in Australia that something of this complexity can in fact be mastered and agreed. ...This is a day to celebrate the powerful, creative forces which conceived and brought to fruition this historic legislation. I mean those people and their organisations who imagined there might be a solution to the problem and who had the strength of will, the determination to succeed, the intelligence to negotiate and to argue the case, and the good feelings towards one another to make sure their hopes were realised. This was displayed across the political system and the social fabric of the country—bar the opposition. ...The great joy is that the bill succeeded. We on this side of the chamber rejoice in its sentiments and what it will do to empower Aboriginal people and to give them a stake in Australian life and Australian society which they

2. Hugh Morgan, Reflections on Coronation Hill Address to the Adam Smith Club, 9 July 1991, Melbourne, 1991, p. 1

3. Noel Pearson, Facing Up To A Vital National Struggle, *The Age*, 11 November 1993

have not until this time generally had. I commend the amendments and the bill to the committee.

Paul Keating⁴

Mabo

Mr Justice Brennan has stated in *Gerhardy v Brown*, that: "the difference between land rights and apartheid is the difference between a home and a prison". But the most comprehensive answer to the notion that land rights is somehow discriminatory is to be found in the papal message to Australians at Alice Springs in 1986, where he said: "Let it not be said that the fair and equitable recognition of Aboriginal rights to land is discrimination. To call for the acknowledgement of the land rights of people who have never surrendered those rights is not discrimination. Certainly, what has been done cannot be undone. But what can now be done to remedy the deeds of yesterday must not be put off until tomorrow."

Noel Pearson⁵

Mabo Discussion Paper

The philosophy of land management goes throughout this discussion paper and it renders this discussion paper into a fairly slimy, useless document.

Noel Pearson⁶

Mabo Negotiations

It will take a singularly unified Aboriginal leadership with a firm agenda to have any chance of succeeding in post-Mabo negotiations with the Commonwealth.

Noel Pearson⁷

4. Paul Keating, Native Title Bill, 22 December, 1993, Hansard, p. 4541

5. Noel Pearson, Facing Up To A Vital National Struggle, *The Age*, 11 November 1993

6. Paul Chamberlin, "Mabo Paper A 'Slimy Document'", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 June 1993

7. Sally Loane & Paul Chamberlin, "Leaders hit great divide over Ideology", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1993

Mabo Recession

I don't know how many days have got to go by before the Prime Minister listens. He's got to act, and he's got to act decisively, or we will have a Mabo-led recession. It'll be the second recession we had to have.

John Hewson⁸

Mabo - Generosity of Spirit

The country forgets that, in April 1993, when Indigenous leaders met with Prime Minister Paul Keating to discuss impending legislation responding to *Mabo*, it was the Indigenous leadership that proposed support for legislation validating non-Indigenous titles that were uncertain as a consequence of the operation of the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth).

To the extent that non-Indigenous rights were uncertain after *Mabo* it was Indigenous people who proposed the validation of these uncertain titles. This was a gracious concession on our part in 1993. But the position of other parties to native title over the past decade has essentially been this: not only do we want our own rights and titles to be secure, we will resist any claims for remnant native titles as well.

Noel Pearson

Macquarie St

..this country is not controlled by Macquarie St, but from the parlours of our financial institutions. Yet a government must control land and capital, or they will control it

William Holman, 1893⁹

Maintain Your Rage

Maintain your rage and your enthusiasm through the campaign for the election now to be held and until

8. Paul Chamberlin, "Mabo-Led Recession", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 July 1993

9. H.V. Evatt, *William Holman Australian Labor Leader*, Angus & Robertson, 1940, p.28

polling day. ... In quoting myself from my impromptu remarks out there on the steps, I want to be understood in a thoroughly contemporary sense. The younger generation, whose votes will determine the result of the next election, gives rage an entirely new meaning. Even the ABC devotes 10 hours a week, between midnight and dawn every Friday and Saturday, to a music program called Rage. I gather it means verve, vigour, and exuberance. And that is the spirit we all should bring to the coming campaign, not looking back to 1975, three-quarters through the 20th century, but forward to the 21st century.

[E.G. Whitlam¹⁰](#)

Magic Pudding

There is no magic pudding...

[Paul Keating](#)

Mammon

Love of god had been replaced by music, culture and entertainment as the comforters of the modern soul.

Manning Clark

Marcel Marceau

I think Marcel Marceau could get this one through.

[Paul Keating on Bob Hawke¹¹](#)

Mark Ella Mind

I used to dream of being a first-grade footballer, until it became clear that I had a Mark Ella mind in a Kim Beazley body.

[Noel Pearson¹²](#)

10. E.G. Whitlam, Old Parliament House Dinner, 11 November 1995

11. Paul Keating questioning Hawke's return as ACTU advocate during the CRA dispute in the mining industry 1995 see Brad Norrington & Geoff Kitney, "Keating mocks Hawke's new role for ACTU", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 November, 1995

12. Cited in Bob Ellis, *So it Goes, Essays, Broadcasts, Speeches, 1987-1999*, Viking, 2000, p.153

Mark Foy's

...he has more front than Mark Foy's...

[Paul Keating](#)¹³

Markets

... when markets get the true long-term social and economic fundamentals wrong, governments should tell them to jump in the lake! This is where I differ markedly with Wood {columnist for The Australian}: he appears to think markets are always right and you can't buck them anyway. If that were true, heaven help our children and grandchildren.

[Fred Argy](#)¹⁴

Mates

I know the word mate is a dangerous word in this political climate, but he was a mate.

[Jack Ferguson on Neville Wran](#)

Media

I think the problem with the media is that there is little in-depth discussion of Aboriginal affairs policy. It's reportage of sensational aspects of Aboriginal life, whether it be demonstrations, drunkenness, violence, police relations. There's no in-depth policy analysis of the problems facing Aboriginal people, and Aboriginal groups are not given an opportunity to express their view of public policy through the media.

[Noel Pearson](#)¹⁵

Media

We don't like licences... we don't even like dealing with governments.

[Rupert Murdoch](#)¹⁶

13. Paul Keating in reply to John Howard, 25 September 1995, *Hansard*, p. 1576

14. Fred Argy, Letter to *The Australian*, April 28, 1995, p. 12

15. John O'Neill, "Goss Accused of Race Bias", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 1991

Media

I mean is there any case, any case for one of the free to air television stations owning the SMH, or The Age ... if you are a policymaker

... you see the national party today talking about protecting community and giving them some diversity in provincial centres ... I'm very sympathetic to that view. Because you get the local free to air station in some country centre owning the local newspaper and that's pretty much it for the diversity of opinion coming your way.

Now there'll be an ABC station there under the aggregation rules but there'll always be one station people turn on for their news and what have you and if that station owns the newspaper then that diversity is curtailed. Now the National Party senators, not unreasonably, are saying that is not very good but I think they should extend the argument, it is not very good for us in the cities either. ...there should be some consistency among members and Senators in treating the capital cities the same as the provincial cities, that is we're all entitled to diversity.

[Paul Keating](#)¹⁷

Media Barons

I believe he is only a scarecrow, but still the fact remains that most public men are in terror of him.

[Comment on the first Modern Media Baron Lord Northcliffe](#)¹⁸

Media Control

I grew up in a highly centralized world where news and information were tightly controlled by a few edi-

16. Cited in Barbara-Anne Butler, Information Subsidies, Journalism Routines and the Australian Media: Market Liberalization versus Marketplace of Ideas, *Pro-metheus*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1998, p. 27

17. Paul Keating, *ABC Lateline*, 14 September, 2006

18. Cited in George Munster, *A Paper Prince*, Viking, Ringwood, 1984, p. 103

tors, who deemed to tell us what we could and should know.

Rupert Murdoch¹⁹

Media Monopoly

The only convergence here is ambition supported by avarice.

Paul Keating²⁰

Media Ownership in Australia

I can be a convicted criminal, a rapist, anything, and write newspaper editorials. But I have to be fit and proper to own a television licence. It's basically iniquitous.

Warren Jones²¹

Media Power

Is this country to continue to be run with governments being made and broken, and men being made and broken, by snide, slick, innuendoes of a lying, prying pimp – Rupert Murdoch?

Labor Senator, 1976²²

Media

Several years ago at an American Society of Newspaper Editors convention in Washington, I heard the harshest, and truest, assessment of the industry from an expert in the field - Richard Nixon.

At one plenary session, Nixon delivered, without notes, a talk breathtaking in its knowledge and originality. The editors gave him a standing ovation.

19. Rupert Murdoch, Speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 13, 2005

20. Paul Keating, *Lateline*, 14 Sept 2006

21. Warren Jones, Bond Media Chief, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1988

22. Australian Senate Debates, 1976, vol. 5.67, p. 359 cited in George Munster, *A Paper Prince*

As he left the ballroom, I told him I never thought I'd see a roomful of newspaper editors give anyone a standing ovation, much less Richard Nixon. Nixon looked over his shoulder at the crowd. 'Yeah, well,' he said, shrugging. 'They're still a bunch of shits.'

Richard Nixon²³

Meiji modernisation

..throughout the 1880s and 1890s the Meiji government could point to its construction of a national network of prisons in which thousands of people died and many were forced to live and work for years on end in truly miserable conditions as evidence of its genuine commitment to “progress” and modern “civilisation”. And although the brutality of Tokugawa punishments could be more openly extreme than those of the Meiji period, the introduction of the modern prison and the notion of incarceration for the purpose of reform made it possible to inflict pain and suffering more consistently and on a larger body of people

Daniel V. Botsman²⁴

Memory

..enough to occupy me for some hours in sleepless nights, in long journeys, in weary waitings.. If this continues, and I suppose it must, one of the pure lights of my life will have gone out in darkness. To some this may seem exaggerated despair, but no-one knows or can know or dream what the best poetry has been to me.

Alfred Deakin, 1911, writing in anguish of the loss from his memory of poems²⁵

23. Andrew Ferguson, *National Review*, May 10, p.139.

24. Daniel V. Botsman, *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 2005, pp.202-3

25. Diary entry 6 May 1911 cited in J.A. LaNauze, “Alfred Deakin Two Lectures” University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1960, p. 9

Men

Men are mongrels, all of them

Bill Hayden's mum²⁶

Mendelssohn

Paul is committed to Mendelssohn and I'm committed to the Essendon football club. But in order to get Paul more interested (in football), I took him to see Essendon and North Melbourne last year. The only way we could get Paul to comprehend the game was to say: 'You've got to envisage it as the Australian economy. Regard Essendon as exports, and North as imports.' He then understood it and started to barrack very ferociously for Essendon.

Bill Kelty²⁷

Middle Class

When I first went as a young man to ALP forums those present were the cream of the working class, while now in many cases they represent the dregs of the working class.

Kim Beazley, Snr²⁸

Milton Friedman

The elusive, gnome-like Chicago professor excuded affability, while dispensing his rather grim cures. He had an answer for every problem, being long skilled in dealing with the media. The audiences included government and opposition, Treasury and Reserve Bank, business school graduates and the public at large through the medium of the ABC's TV programme *Monday Conference*. There he was such a hit that the pro-

26. Cited in Allan Ramsey, "All In All, Not A Fair Cop, Bill", Sydney Morning Herald, 20 April 1996

27. Cited in Brad Norington, "Why Bill Kelty's hard on Labor", Sydney Morning Herald, 8 July 1989

28. Cited in Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty in tern* cited by B.A. Santamaria, Australia at the Crossroads, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, Victoria, 1987, p.70

gramme was replayed six weeks later. On television, as well as elsewhere, local economists seemed overawed by the presence of an international celebrity. Thus, Dr. Duncan Ironmonger, the deputy director of the notoriously anti-Friedmanite Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, opened his televised remarks with the incongruous observation that a lot of what you [Friedman] are saying is agreeing with a lot of what we're saying. A lot of sense is being said which is a comfort to us.

Barry Hughes²⁹

Ming and the War

As usual the Labor Party is responsible' -just like they did when the war came. As soon as the Japanese appeared in the Pacific they basically laid on their back with their hands and legs in the air and drew a line at the Brisbane line saying, 'Let them have the top half of Australia' -like Old Ming- 'Let them have the top half of Australia and we'll fight them'. That was their policy. And what happened? Menzies was happy to be relieved of office while the real Prime Minister took the task on -just as the honourable member for Bennelong (Mr Howard) is so happy now. In 1983 I used to think about the honourable member for Bennelong, 'God, he's a good, human little guy; he's just been beaten and he's wandering around the corridors as happy as Larry. I never thought he was so well spirited'. But the thing is, he was glad to be relieved of the task. There was a crushing recession, profits had gone through the floor, investment had smashed and there was an overvalued exchange rate. He was bewildered and, all of a sudden, another government came along and said, 'We'll show you the way. We'll fix it up'. As we did, we could see the relief come over him. He put out statements supporting what we were doing and everyone was saying, 'Gee, John's an agreeable little

29. Barry Hughes, *Exit Full Employment Economic Policy in the Stone Age*, Angus & Robertson, 1980, p. 43

guy'. But the truth was that he was like every other member of a conservative government in a jam-just relieved to be out of office, just as he is now.

Paul Keating³⁰

Mining

The mining industry in this country is still extremely immature. Companies approach Aboriginal people in a very different way to the way companies in Papua New Guinea and Canada approach indigenous people there.

The crazy thing about the mining industry's opposition to the court's decision [Mabo] is that I strongly believe that you will have more mining development on Aboriginal lands in the country when people are negotiating from a position of equity and power.

When there is no control or access, when people feel they are being shafted, they will put in heritage applications and green and black tape and they will stand in front of the bulldozers.

Noel Pearson³¹

Minimalism

People who think minimalism means you take a jar of Tipp-Ex and white-out governor-general and write in president, well, that's nonsense and it's always been nonsense.

Malcolm Turnbull³²

Ministerial Advisors

Too many became fixtures with ministers; some were de facto bureaucrats. Many became the faction's person in the minister's office with a prime loyalty to the

30. Paul Keating, Tax Reform & Micro Economic Policy, 13 March 1991, Hansard, p. 1898

31. Sonya Voumard, "Miners advised to accept Ruling", Sydney Morning Herald, 30 October 1993

32. Innes Wilcox, "No Simple Route To Republic, Says Turnbull" The Age, 22 July 1993

faction. I had followed the practice of not keeping people in my office more than about three years. The reasons for this are sound. I was not able to get others to do the same.

John Cain³³

Misfortune

There are few misfortunes in this world you cannot turn into personal triumphs if you have the iron will and necessary skills.

Nelson Mandela³⁴

Momentum

The dogs may bark but the caravan moves on.

Paul Keating

Momentum II

Everything comes down to this: to win or to lose. One never stays motionless. Because to stop moving is to begin losing.

Francois Mitterand³⁵

Money

Everything reminds Milton of money. Well, everything reminds me of sex, but I try to keep it out of my work.

Robert Solow³⁶

Monetary Policy

They go on with all this bullshit because they won't admit it's an art, not a science.

Paul Keating³⁷

33. John Cain, *John Cain's Year Power, Politics and Parties*, MUP, 1995, p. 277

34. In a letter to one of his daughters cited by Hillary Clinton, *It takes a village : and other lessons children teach us*, Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 147

35. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 24

36. Cited in Barry Hughes, *Exit Full Employment Economic Policy in the Stone Age*, Angus & Robertson, p. 9

Monetary Policy

The issue of how monetary policy could have been better conducted in the 1980s will probably never be resolved. I think we can conclude, however, that to the extent there was a failure of monetary policy, it was due to a failure to understand the implications of a sudden financial deregulation.

It was not that there was something fundamentally wrong with a deregulated financial system, or that we should have gone back to the old regulated one. Our problem was that we did not understand the transition phase between a regulated and deregulated one. We had not seen this before in our working lives.

We now know the dangers but probably will not get another opportunity to use the knowledge. Will our successors remember it if, in the unlikely event, they have to confront the issue in the next generation?

Ian Macfarlane³⁸

Money Power

The nation can bury men - but not money. Men may die - money lives. Men come back armless, legless and shattered - money comes back fatter than it went, loaded with coupons buttered with a personal loan upon the toils of the fathers and mothers and sisters and brothers of the men who died that the nation may live. Where, in the name of God, is the love of country to those vampires who fatten and grow rich on the rotting carcass of the world's community.

Jack Lang³⁹

Money power and black majic

I conclude with this observation. If, next week or next month, Australia became involved in a great war, those controlling our various banks and financial

37. Edwards, J. 1996, Keating: The Inside Story, Ringwood, Penguin Books, p.407

38. Ian Macfarlane, Boyer Lectures, 2006 extract published as "How the finance boom of the 1980s went bust", *The Age*, 25 November 2006

39. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930s*, p 111

institutions would not talk about Australia's impaired credit, which, we are given to understand, makes it now so difficult to finance the wood chip and grain crops. But, without any apparent difficulty, they would be able to finance the frightful tragedy of an international war with all the celerity which, in the history of a nation, makes the black magic money power policy.

Jack Lang⁴⁰

Mothers, Daughters, Sisters

We are mothers, daughters, sisters and aunties. We bring the children into the world and nurture their bodies and spirits. We are also linguists - we teach our language to the new generation; we are the keepers of our traditional tongue. We are teachers - we teach the young our culture. We are anthropologists - we know the culture and genealogy of our people. We are conservationists - caring for our country and protecting our land and seas. We are lawyers - women know women's law and we carry it out. We are historians of our people - we pass on the stories to the next generation. ...The national anthem paints a very big picture of Australia and its people, living and sharing together, working together. Out of this three songs stand out: "Advance Australia Fair". These three words promote Australia to the world. In reality which Australia is advancing? ... We believe that when our place as the first people and our culture and law is accepted by the wider community then we shall say and sing. "Yes, advance Australia fair"

Mary Yamirr

Mrs Roxburgh

On an evening when the light and sounds of life in house and yard were irresistibly benign, Mrs Roxburgh went so far as to drop the old woollen shift

40. Cited in Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930s*, p 274

and stand fully revealed before the glass. She was at first too amazed to move, but then began to caress herself while uttering little, barely audible, cries of joy and sorrow, not for her own sinuous body, but for those whose embraces had been a shared and loving delight.

When Mrs Oakes came to call her patient to the evening meal she found Mrs Roxburgh standing dressed in the garnet silk.

'There! You see? What did I tell you?' The good woman blushed for her own perspicacity.

Mrs Roxburgh was indeed smouldering and glowing inside the panels of her dress, but at once grew agitated. 'Leave me, please! It was foolishness on my part.' 'But love, I doan' un' erstand! Perfect is perfect, as I see it.'

'I should not have done it. Please, go! I am not ready to be stared at.'

Mrs Oakes could only withdraw, and when Mrs Roxburgh finally appeared she was every bit the widow. The black gave her skin a yellow tinge, and her hair, which had grown long enough by now, she had screwed into an austere knob and fastened at the back of her head.

'Isn't it cold for the time of year?' She had locked her hands together, and was carrying them, thus controlled, in front of her.

'If anythin', I'd say it's steamy,' Mrs Oakes replied absently.

Patrick White⁴¹

Multi-culturalism

Most Americans can understand both the need to recognise and encourage an enriched diversity as well as the need to ensure that such a broadened multicultural perspective leads to a unity and enriched sense of

41. Patrick White, *A Fringe of Leaves*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1976, pp.348-9

what being an American is, and not to a destructive factionalism that would tear us apart.

Mario Cuomo⁴²

Multi-culturalism

For a quarter of a century I represented the most rapidly growing electorate in the National Parliament, the electorate with the greatest ethnic and religious diversity. There were thousands and thousands of residents from countries which had fought against each other in Europe since the British had made a settlement in Australia. There were thousands and thousands who, or whose parents, had themselves fought against each other in World War II, in which I served. Sometimes the wars were racial or imperial or religious or ideological in origin. My aim as a Member of Parliament and Prime Minister was to make it possible for all the communities in Australia to live constructively and harmoniously together in this continent and this region.

E.G. Whitlam⁴³

Murdoch

How do we get rid of this government at the next election?

Rupert Murdoch⁴⁴

Mutual Admiration

The Labor Party is not a mutual admiration society.

J.B. Chifley⁴⁵

42. Cited in Arthur M. Schelesinger, *The Disuniting of America Reflections on a multicultural society*, Norton, 1992, p. 18

43. EG Whitlam, Patron's Message to the Antipodes Festival, 1994

44. Remarks addressed to E.G. and Margaret Whitlam, 28 July, 1971 cited in George Munster, *A Paper Prince*, Viking, Ringwood, Victoria, 1984, p. 95

45. Fin Crisp, *Ben Chifley A Biography*, Longmans, 1961, p. 198

Mutual Admiration 2

Whitlam by Pugh: Awarded Archibald as was Keating's portrait after his accession. Established Pugh's position in the history of politics and mine in the history of art

[E.G. Whitlam](#)⁴⁶

46. Whitlam Institute papers

National Economic Efficiency



... the governmental pursuit of national economic efficiency will certainly involve programs of micro-economic reform. In the Australian context this point has been made forcefully in the 1989 Garnaut Report '*Australia and the Northeast Asian Ascendancy*'¹. The Report insists on the 'complementarity' between the Australian economy and those of north east Asia - which is a polite way of saying that Australia's economic security is fundamentally dependent on developments elsewhere. (The complementary dependence of the northeast Asian economies on the good health of the Australian economy is not so clear.) As a result the major theme of the Report 'and one upon which all others depend is that we must accelerate progress in domestic economic reform, to build a flexible, internationally-oriented economy that is capable of grasping the opportunities that will emerge in the decades ahead'. This theme is now a commonplace of Australian public life.

What are the implications of this new image of the national economy for governmental perceptions of relations between national economy activity and other aspects of the life of the national community? Under the

1. Ross Garnaut, *Australia and the Northeast Asian Ascendancy: Report to the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade*, Canberra, 1989

old dispensation the national economy could be seen both as a largely self-regulating system and as a resource for other component parts or aspects of a larger national unity. Since prudential government would secure the conditions of economic growth its output, net of depreciation and replacement costs, would be available for investment, on the one hand, and for such purposes as national defence, extravagant display and social welfare on the other. These latter expenditures would certainly be regarded as a cost to the economy but their net effect would only be to reduce the rate of growth to rather less than it might otherwise have been.

Under the new regime the pursuit of national economic efficiency appears as the indispensable condition not only of economic growth but also of all those other desiderata which must be financed out of the increment of growth. ... In place of the image of a well-ordered national economy providing resources for the national state and society we now find the image of an extravagant state and society undermining efficient national economic performance. This change of focus accounts for the paradoxical circumstance that governmental discourse in the wealthiest of all societies now takes it for granted that we can no longer afford the welfare regimes of the postwar dispensation.

It is the emergence of a new problem of security and not, as Pusey suggests, the emergence of a new breed of economists which is the key to understanding the governmental importance of economic rationalism and the like. The pursuit of national economic security now seems to require that an overwhelming priority be placed on competitive economic efficiency. As a result, anything (welfare, health services, schooling and higher education) which might seem to have a bearing on economic life is assessed not only in terms of the availability of resources, but also in terms of their consequences for promoting or inhibiting the pursuit of national economic efficiency. Thus, in what is often seen as an 'economic rationalist' or 'neo-lib-

eral' attack on the welfare state, the concern is not simply to save money but also to promote more efficient patterns of individual and organisational behaviour by bringing market mechanisms into what had once been regarded as non-market spheres of allocation.

Barry Hindess²

National Governments

National governments can still *compensate* for the effects of internationalization and for the continued volatility of the financial markets, even if they cannot unilaterally control those effects or prevent that volatility.

Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson³

Native Title

So those are the three limbs of Native Title Law as articulated by our High Court in this country. The whitefellas keep all that is now theirs, the blackfellas get whatever is left over, and there are some categories of land where there is coexistence and in the coexistence the Crown Title always prevails over the Native Title. That is the proposition put forward to us as Australians by our judicial elders for our consideration, to see whether as a people we would embrace those terms as a just compromise 204 years after the initial failure of recognition.

Noel Pearson⁴

Native Title

It is an important and unexpected fact that these Tribes had proprietary rights in the Soil - that is, in

2. Barry Hindess, "Neo-Liberalism and the National Economy", in Mitchell Dean & Barry Hindess, *Governing Australia Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp.222-23

3. Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, Polity Press, 1996, p. 220

4. Noel Pearson, *Indigenous Australia: The Social & Cultural Predicament*, Fifth Annual Hawke Lecture, Sunday 3 November 2002, Adelaide Town Hall

particular sections of it which were clearly defined or well understood before the occupation of their country.

James Stephen, 1841⁵

Native Title

Reconciliation can mean many different things. Above all, it must represent some form of agreement that deals with the legacies of our history, provides justice for all, and that takes us forward as a nation. Australia's record on native title will be crucial to its record on reconciliation. The symbolic and practical significance of this issue cannot be stressed too strongly. The Mabo decision and the native title legislation fundamentally changed Australia. There is no turning back. Mabo put indigenous people back into the picture that for too long we were painted out of. Any process to amend the Native Title Act must actively engage indigenous people. Amendments will not be accepted where they've been determined in public service meeting rooms behind doors closed to our people, nor by rushed timetables imposed by vested interest groups.

Patrick Dodson⁶

Nerve

Keep your nerve, keep your nerve - because a nation of nervous, spineless people clutching for simple solutions are the destroyers of this country. Have a sense of optimism, for ultimately, if we're right, the optimism will be fulfilled.

Bill Kelty⁷

5. James Stephen, Head of the Imperial Colonial Office, 14 March 1841 cited in Justices Dean and Gaudron's judgements, Mabo, 1991, p. 450

6. Patrick Dodson, "Example Of What Could Be", Sydney Morning Herald, 11 October 1996

7. Cited in Brad Norington, "Why Bill Kelty's Hard on Labor", Sydney Morning Herald, 8 July 1989S

Neville Wran

Neville is the kind of politician who wins ballots by one and I am the kind who loses by one.

Jim McClelland⁸

New World

George had been one of my best students when I first came to Harvard I hadn't seen him since graduation. The wedding reception for one of his classmates gave me a chance to catch up. What have you been up to, George? I asked. Doing M and A deals, he said, a bit sheepishly. M and A deals? Mergers and acquisitions, he explained. You know-putting them together, financing them, the whole bit. I'm an investment banker. I tried to look enthusiastic. Enjoying it? Yeah. Made half a million last year. This year I'll top a million for sure. I was astounded, not only at the amount of money, but also at George's overwhelming desire to tell me about it. You mean, you actually earned half a million dollars? Now George became animated. Base pay of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, bonus of three hundred seventy-five thousand dollars. There's no limit. I'll be earning two million dollars a year by the time I'm thirty.

I remembered George equally animated, in the classroom six years earlier. It was a course on American political economy, and George had been an active contributor. He had the ability to get to the heart of the matter, to cut through conventional economic theory and its idealized view of markets, and to focus instead on the real frailties and foibles of the American system. Now I was going to find out what he had learned since then. Half a million dollars is a lot of money, I said with a smile. You sure you're worth that much? George smiled back. Of course not. Then he pointed to several of his classmates sitting at other tables. And neither

8. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 94

are Tim or Fred or Jane. They all made as much as I did last year, doing deals

Bob Reich⁹

Niceness

Niceness as practiced by Americans is a festival of misanthropy denied. We are so afraid of the hostility within us that confrontations barely get started before somebody pops up and announces, 'The healing has begun'. Fear of getting mad is so widespread that nobody says mad anymore. The word is angry; somehow it sounds less mad than mad.

Florence King¹⁰

Noel Pearson

He proved himself then for me. He had gone out and got an education and he could have done anything with his life, but he decided his people came first.

Robert Holroyd¹¹

Now is the Winter of our Discontent

Nhilaaygu nganhthanun guli mugan
Yumurr York-nganh ngalanda bajarrin
Wulbu nguulbaan bayan nganhthanun thiinbaanbiga
Thalunh bathaalbi duugaamani
Nganhthanun ngaabay ngan-gaanda yuurrbay
Mangal malathirr than-gamanaathi
Guli dubiithi, nganhthaan nhila garrbunthirr
Warra wunay, nhila dabaar
Guli Muguulbi buthiil walu-yindu manaathi
Nhila instead of yarraman naybuthirr-bi ganbanbarr
Bama ngarrbaal-ngay wawu yiniilgurranu
Guli nhulu gabiirrthirr wawuway duugaathi
Guruthirr manaathinu gunbu dabarthirr

9. Robert B. Reich, *The Resurgent Liberal (and Other Unfashionable Prophecies)*, Vintage, 1991, p. 3

10. Florence King, *With Charity Toward None*, St. Martin's Press, p145).

11. Bernard Lagan, "Mabo's Legal Warrior", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October, 1993

Noel Pearson¹²

NSW Labor

The New South Wales Branch of the Party is notable for its lack of debate at an intellectual level.

Neville Wran¹³

NSW Public Transport

An old saying in New South Wales politics is that if public transport is running well, then so is the government.

Neville Wran¹⁴

NSW Railways

When I was Treasurer, I quickly learned that the solvency of the State depended upon the state of the Railway's finances. If the Railways were losing money, the Treasury was in trouble. If the Railways were showing a profit, then we would have no trouble at the Treasury. So no Treasurer could afford to ignore the patterns of Railway management. That is why the question of political interference with the Railways is a political evergreen.

Jack Lang¹⁵

Nugget Coombs

Prime Ministers like to describe themselves as the servants of the people. The most striking claim of the Supreme Pontiff is to be the servant of the servants of God. If, in this setting and as the last of the seven Prime Ministers whom Nugget Coombs served, I were

12. William Shakespeare, *Richard the Third*, Act 1, Scene 1, *Guugu Yimithirr* translation by Noel Pearson in Noel Pearson, *Layered Identities and Peace*, Earth Dialogue, Brisbane Festival, Sunday 23 July 2006

13. Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: *An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986

14. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: *An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 124

15. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930s*, p 111

to suggest an epitaph for him, it would be the servant of the servants of the people.¹⁶

E.G. Whitlam¹⁷

Numbers Man

Yes he's tough, but he's straight, and if he hates the independents it's probably because it upsets the symmetry of his counting. And I like him. Why? Well, to put it crudely, if he's going to kick you in the balls, he'll tell you first, unlike some I could name.

John Button on Robert Ray¹⁸

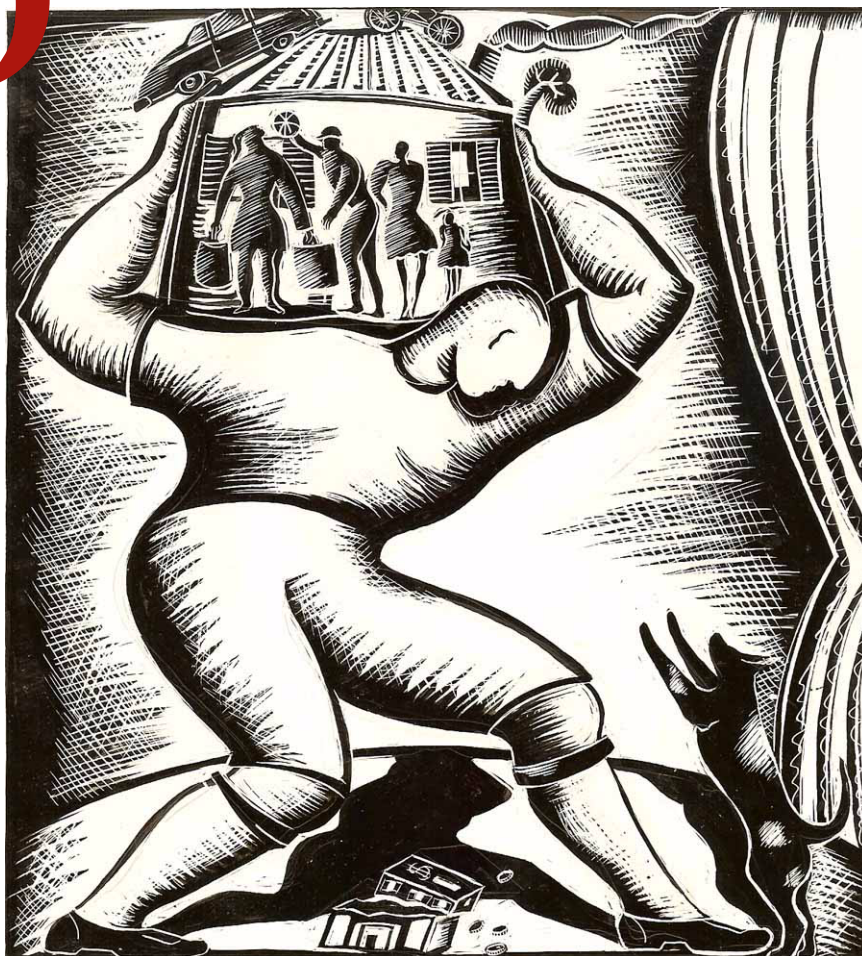
16. E.G. Whitlam, St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, Friday 14 November 1997, 1330 Hours

17. E.G. Whitlam, Launch of Oxford English Dictionary, Australian Book Fair, Sydney, 27 June, 1992

OED keeps up to date.

18. Alan Ramsey, "The Numbers Man", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July 1987

Obligations



No individual, however powerful, however talented, however gifted or plain lucky, can claim to have given more to the Party than he has received from it.

[Neville Wran¹](#)

OED I

Every word Fraser used is in OED (obs = obsolete, not obscene) Every word Hawke used is not only in Partridge but in OED, albeit sometimes with different pronunciation. Every word which Keating has publicly used is not yet fully covered.

[E.G. Whitlam](#)

1. Mike Steketee, *Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p 9

OED II

Oxford is right up to date with Australian references, e.g. (a) *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Quotations* - nothing will save Governor-General. (b) *Oxford Dictionary of Surnames* - Hawke nickname for a rapacious person. - Whitlam nickname for an inoffensive individual.

E.G. Whitlam²

Old Parliament House

In my first parliament, often we used to go home in daylight. We would go back to the Kurrajong Hotel and have a shower and a change of undies and come back. Some, of course, did not bring a change with them. But we always knew which ones they were. Not all rooms had facilities either. We would come back often at night. I remember that, in the old Parliament House, in the dining room we would have supper at 3 a.m. They would bring out the sausage rolls and the sausages and everything else and everybody would be into the bangers and mashed potatoes. That was regarded as appropriate fare at 3 in the morning. Honourable members used to sleep around the corridors and on the lounges and in their offices. Of course, in those days, there were two and three people to an office often. It was pretty hard to sleep in there, so they would sleep in the corridors, et cetera.

Paul Keating³

Old Politics

It is not surprising that associative democracy has not generally appealed to the intellectual left as they have sought to respond to the collapse of state socialism and the eclipse of Marxism. The left has discovered democracy and civil society, but in ways that tend to make it indifferent to associationalism. On the one

2. Launch Speech of the Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd edition on compact disc, Australian Book Fair, Saturday 27 June 1992

3. Paul Keating, Adjournment of the House, 17 December, 1992, *Hansard*, p. 4126

hand, a 'new republican' current based on the concept of citizenship, and advocating a return to stronger majoritarian democracy and the active involvement in common, core political institutions. ...The new republican idea of restoring a more communal and committed politics is ill-adapted to current circumstances. It re-emphasizes the idea of a single effectively self-governing political community at the very moment when the nation state is being undermined and a complex multi-focal politics is developing. Insofar as the new republicans accept existing representative democratic institutions, then they are stuck with the very real limitations that those institutions impose on government accountability and citizen participation. ...On the other hand, sections of the left have given great emphasis to 'civil society' and to the new social movements, the very forces of anti-racism, feminism, environmental politics, etc. that have contributed much to the undermining of the old left-right political spectrum. Without a change in political institutions, without a state more accommodating to the creation of social communities in civil society, the new movements will be constrained and limited. Moreover, by treating these movements as part of the 'left', as inherently oppositional, this perspective reimposes the divisions of the old political spectrum and ignores the common cause that that very different movements may find in gaining the freedom to build their own self-governing communities in civil society.

Paul Hirst⁴

On Being President

Some days, being President is all glamour and glory; the world is an HBO special and you are a star. Other days, it is all frustration and ambiguity. It is dropping bombs and killing civilians because some freaky dictator seems to leave you no choice. What is strange this

4. Paul Hirst, *Associative Democracy New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*, Polity Press, 1994, p. 14

week in Washington is that the Presidency is suddenly both things at once.

David Von Drehle⁵

On Our Black Radicals

What do we want?
Land rights!
When do we want 'em?
Now!
What have we got?
Fuckall!
-is the people's voice
and their call.

Kevin Gilbert⁶

One Hundred Years

By 2000, Australian race relations may have slipped back 100 years.

Patrick Dodson⁷

One Vote

Mr Speaker, an awful lot of people do not exercise one of the greatest privileges we have in this country, and that is the privilege to vote. Let us go back a little bit into history and talk about the power of one vote. In 1645, one vote gave Oliver Cromwell control of England. In 1649, one vote caused Charles I of England to be executed. In 1776, one vote gave America the English language instead of German. In 1845, one vote brought Texas into the Union. In 1868, one vote saved President Andrew Johnson from impeachment. In 1875, one vote changed France from a monarchy into a republic. In 1876, one vote gave Rutherford B. Hayes the Presidency of the United

5. David Von Drehle, 'As President to be Revered, President to End Toils', p. 1

6. Kevin Gilbert, *People are legends Aboriginal Poems*, UQP, 1978

7. Cited in Terry Friel, "Australian Aborigines warn government of race crisis", *Reuters*, 15 April 1996

States. In 1923, one vote gave Adolf Hitler leadership of the Nazi party.

In 1941, one vote saved selective service, just weeks before Pearl Harbor was attacked. History is going to show that in 1993, the largest tax increase in the history of the world passed by one vote.

Mel Hancock⁸

Open Financial Markets

Governments derive their financial power from four key sources: their ability to tax, to print money, to borrow and to regulate financial markets. In three of those areas - taxation, printing money, and regulation - they have traditionally held a monopoly position. In terms of borrowing power, governments hold a position of privilege derived primarily from the ability to print the money they need to repay debts - which really means the ability to devalue the currency when debts become onerous.

But open financial markets threaten those abilities. Large financial players as well as individual citizens now have the option to switch to other tax regimes with ease and speed. It is no accident that the US government is waging a global war to gain control of its citizens' (private and corporate) taxable earnings. Neither should it come as a surprise when European governments are slow to give up their own taxation privileges, either to a unified Europe or to one another. Printing money is still the legal privilege and monopoly of governments, but the standards to which governments are being held in terms of the soundness of their currency is getting stricter. Those currencies that fail the test have to link themselves with stronger moneys, such as the dollar, or their citizens will switch to an alternative. One example is Argentina's peso, which is now directly linked to the dollar. As for borrowing power, governments are disciplined by an intense global competition for funds. Even the nor-

8. Rep. Mel Hancock on the House floor, Aug. 6, 1993

mally prudent Germany, when faced with the cost of financing unification, has had to control its borrowing strictly (or pay the penalty in the value of its currency). The limits on borrowing power create a strong incentive for governments to reduce their expenditures to the minimum, to restrict their activities to the core businesses of government, and to privatize anything that can be privatised.

In the area of regulation the position of governments is also being threatened. But here is less clear that the rule of the market is welcome. The imposition of financial discipline of governments as borrowers, as taxing bodies, and as issuers of money is not a bad thing, and most economists would see it as promoting an efficient distribution of resources. But it's much less obvious that abandoning the regulation of the financial markets to the markets themselves is a good thing. To many, it is little short of requesting the vandals exercise some self restraint.

Richard O'Brien⁹

Opinion Polls

The President likes your ideas. I want them so I can test them....

Test them?

Put them into our opinion poll. I can know within a day or two whether they work...

Dick Morris¹⁰

Opposition Brainstorming

Apparently the opposition has its brainstorming session tomorrow ... not much brains and not much storm—a drizzle perhaps.

Paul Keating¹¹

9. Richard O'Brien, Who Rules the World's Financial Markets?, *Harvard Business Review*, March-April, 1995, p. 150-1

10. Robert B. Reich, *Locked in the Cabinet*, Vintage Books, 1998, p. 278

11. Paul Keating, Accord Mark VIII, 29 June 1995, *Hansard*, p. 2679

Option C

If this sort of proposal doesn't get up, one has to decide if there's much point in someone like me worrying about Australian institutional processes, and in Australian institutions, very much longer.

Paul Keating¹²

Oral Register of Title

...a system of land ownership and succession founded upon oral communication.

Ron Castan¹³

Oration for the Dead Tribes of the Aborigines

Your present generation comes,
Seeking strength and wisdom in your memory.
The legends tell us,
When our race dies,
So too, dies the land.
May your spirits go with us
From this place.
May the Mother of Life,
Wake from her sleeping,
And lead us on to the happy life,
That was once ours.

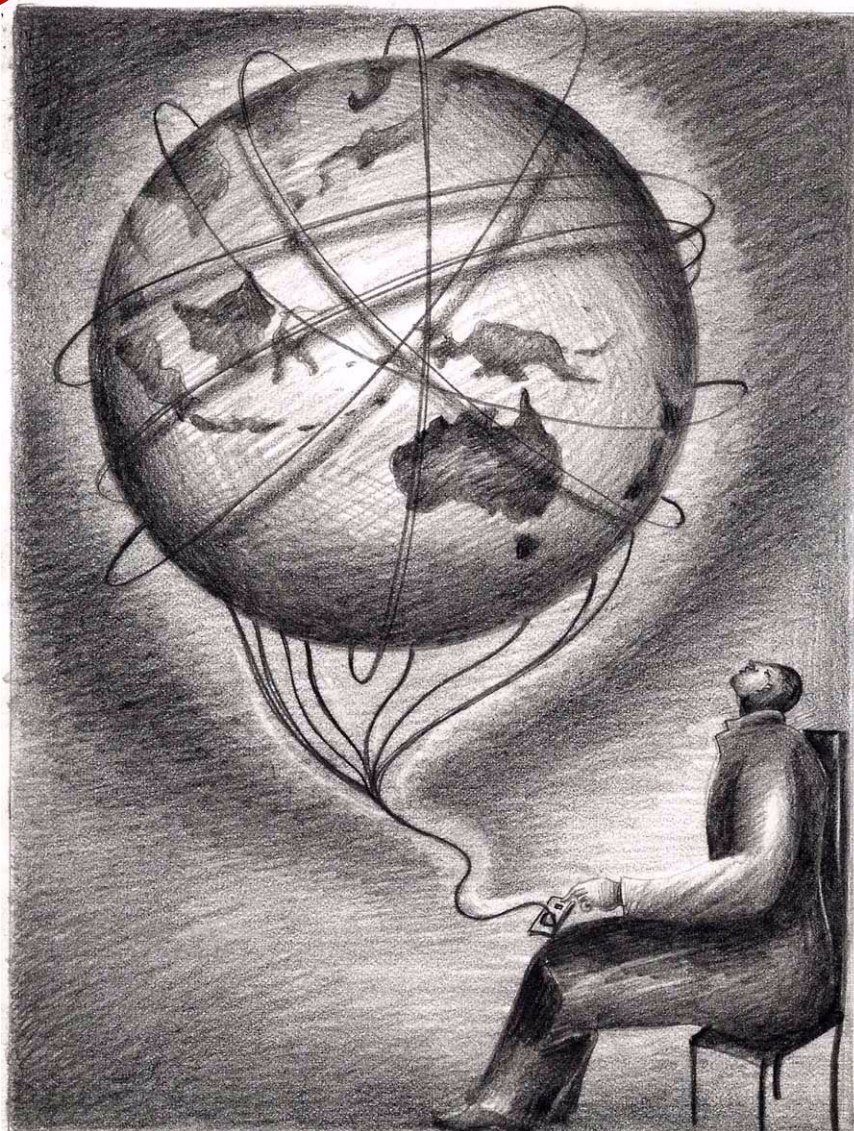
Oodgeroo Noonuccal¹⁴

12. Paul Keating, Tax Summit, March 1985 cited in John Edwards, **Keating: The Inside Story**, Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1996, p. 277

13. TQ149 cited in Nonie Sharp, **No Ordinary Judgement**, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1996, p. III

14. Oodgeroo Noonuccal, Oration for the dead tribes of the Aborigines, read on the steps of Parliament House, Canberra, Friday 27 March, 1970 presented to the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines & Torres Strait Islanders.

Pacific



Security must be universal or everyone will be insecure. They reckon ill who leave the Pacific out of account.

[H.V. Evatt¹](#)

Papers

It is well to keep in mind the salutary experience of Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria who worked diligently on his papers every day from four in the

1. Alan Renouf, *Let Justice be Done The Foreign Policy of Dr. H.V. Evatt*, University of Queensland Press, 1983, p. 89

morning until noon while his empire disintegrated around him.

Kerry Schott²

Party

I'm a dyed-in-the-wool party man. I don't know just what party I am in right now, but I am for the party

Huey "Longfish" Long

Partnership

..there must be a commitment to, and partnership with, the Australian people for restoring full employment with a sustainable high growth strategy and vision for nation building

Bill Kelty³

Passing the Buck

First they pass the bill, then they pass the buck.

Paul Keating

Like Ned Kelly, the Governor brothers, the Wild Bunch and other fugitive souls, our Prime Minister liked to stay ahead of his pursuers, but not so far that could could not discern his contempt for them. Pleased about his Mabo agreement, he went into the House and called the Opposition 'vermin'.

Don Watson⁴

People

While people want you to be the same as them, they also want you to be different. Same old strange advice:

2. Kerry Schott, *Policy, Power and Order The Persistence of Economic Problems in Capitalist States*, Yale University Press, 1984, p 4

3. Bill Kelty, "The Contribution of Industry Development to Nation Building: Labor's Agenda for the 1990s", ACTU, 1993

4. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*, Knopf Books, 2002, p.437

don't get among the crowd; don't be swollen-headed either.

[Neville Wran](#)⁵

Perks

If money, as well as power, is the benchmark, there is only one job worth having in Australian politics, and Bob Hawke's got it. At an all-up cash package of \$145,238 a year, Hawke draws \$2,793 and 38 cents a week, less tax, less superannuation, plus perks. And it's the perks that put the cream on the jam. They mean our Prime Minister need spend nothing of his salary and allowances to live - not a cent. No mortgage payments, no rent, no food or car bills, no transport costs, no travelling expenses. His own private aircraft, his own fleet of cars, with driver and escort, anywhere in the country. Even a travel allowance of \$265 a day to meet hotel expenses whenever he's travelling out of Canberra. Hawke must clothe himself but that's it, finish. The public purse funds the rest, all of it: the roof over his head, the meals he eats at home, the domestic servants who look after him, the cars and planes he travels in, the magnificent harbourside mansion where he holidays in Sydney, everything. And no fringe benefits tax, either.

This week Hawke, like all other Federal MPs, got a pay rise.

[Alan Ramsey, 1988](#)⁶

Picket

The only promise to John Howard is this. If you seek to destroy the Maritime Union of Australia, we will be there and you won't have a picket of 30 people, or a picket of 40 people. You won't have a picket of 500

5. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn *Wran: An Unauthorised Biography*, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.332

6. Alan Ramsey "Silver Living for the Politician's Pockets" *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 January, 1988

people. You will have the biggest picket that has ever been assembled in the history of this country.

Bill Kelty⁷

Pilbara Indigenous Independence

We don't want the company in Don McLeod's name no more. We come too far, now, to be under another white man's rule. Now, Don, here... he helped us out a lot. You been a good friend of the blackfella for a long time now. But we can do this for ourselves. We've decided. We want to ask the government to put Yandeyarra Station in our own name. To make it a reserve for all of us here now to live... and run as a proper station.

Peter Kangkushot Coppin⁸

Pilbara Strike 1946

It got me think a lot of things you know you might get shot, might tie you up and give you a good hiding or something like that you got to think about all that. But you gotta stick with the rest. But if you're frightened, you'll never get there. He know he's got your bluff, so we face it. We in 12 Mile, that's the place that we go camping. Mob of people. Some on other side of the creek, some on this side. We just made a little shed in the shade. Big mob was there. And the police used to come to push us back, to come to you know to tell us to go back. We said no, we're no going. No going back. Finished with the station. They couldn't move us at all.

Peter Kangkushot Coppin⁹

7. ACTU Congress, Brisbane 1997

8. Peter Coppin – Kangkushot, ABC Messagestick, Friday 1 April 2005, Series
Producer: Michelle White Presenter: Rachael Maza

9. Peter Coppin – Kangkushot, ABC Messagestick, 1 April 2005, Presenter:
Rachael Maza

Poll prophets

Last Friday [Robert Manne, Quadrant editor] told ABC Radio National's Ramona Koval that if he had to 'put his house' on the result he would bet his abode on John Hewson. Robert - stick to the horses.

Gerard Henderson¹⁰

Poisoned Chalice

I've been handed the poisoned chalice, mate

Paul Keating¹¹

Placido Domingo

'Leadership is not about being popular. It's not about being right and about being strong. And it's not whether you go through some shopping centre, tripping over TV crews' cords. It's about doing what you think the nation requires, making profound judgments about profound issues'.

Paul Keating¹²

Police

The history of the way in which police have been used since 1788 is a very sad one for Aboriginal people, and possibly for a lot of police.

Patrick Dodson¹³

Political advisors

A political advisor is a kind of funnel and should be wide at one end and narrow at the other.

Don Watson¹⁴

10. Gerard Henderson, "Poll Prophets Put An End To Certainty", *The Age*, 18 March 1993

11. On becoming Treasurer, 1983

12. Paul Keating, National Press Club, Canberra, 7 December, 1990, p. 20-21

13. As Commissioner "Black Deaths in Custody" Royal Commission cited in "More Black Deaths Feared", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July, 1989

14. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*, Knopf Books, 2002, p. 42

Political Apprenticeship

By the time I was sixteen, I had learned more about politics from my parents than most politicians learn in a lifetime.

Graham Richardson¹⁵

Political Circus

If you can't ride two horses you shouldn't be in the Circus.

Gareth Evans¹⁶

Political Courage

The minimum responsibility of governments is to at least have the courage of the people

Paul Keating¹⁷

Political horsepower

You use up a lot of horse-power in these jobs

Paul Keating¹⁸

Political Joys

Richard Nixon is a media pundit, G. Gordon Liddy has his own television chat show, John Ehrlichman does ads for ice-creams and Bobby Seale quit militant slack politico to write a book of barbeque recipes. Even Rolling Stone has embraced the New Creed and replaced Hunter S. Thompson with that Republican smart-ass, P. J. O'Rourke.

There's a general trend to swinishness, to unbridled greed, to knee-crawling, shit-eating, self-centred, pompous, fascistic... ah ... swinishness, yeah there's been an evolution of swine since Reagan took office and that's what Republicanism is all about.

15. Graham Richardson, *Whatever it Takes*, Bantam, Sydney, 1994, p. 3

16. 14 September 1990

17. Address to the Evatt Foundation, 1993

18. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*, Knopf Books, 2002, p. 25

We're raising a generation now of people who have no real idea of what it's like to participate in politics, to argue with the White House, to change Presidents, to have your vote make any difference. For people in high school or college to worship the status quo is, well, it's not very much fun for one thing. I think eight more years of that would neutralise - neuter really - a whole generation in terms of politics. And democracy requires that you pay attention to politics.

What you're missing by not being involved in politics... it's not what you 'should' do, it's not that you 'must' be involved in politics... it's not what you 'should' do, it's not that you must be involved. It's a bitch, it's a lot of FUN to rise up and tell the President he's a crooked swine and you can get 'im. We ran Johnson out, beat Nixon, ran Nixon out again, beat Humphrey. I mean that's a campaign.

Hunter S. Thompson¹⁹

Political shirt-front - French

When General de Gaulle, after his struggle abroad and in the Resistance, arrived in front of the Provisional Assembly in September 1944, he had with him two companions called honour and the nation. His companions today, which doubtless he has not chosen, but have arrived with him, call themselves insurrection and sedition.

Francois Mitterrand²⁰

Political shirt-front - Australian

Like a dog he returns to his own vomit.

Paul Keating

19. Cited in review of Thompson's *Generations of Swine* Sydney Morning Herald, 19 November 1988, p 83

20. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 78

Political shirt-front - Art of

You just can't jump up and say what you like. You've got to take things easy. If you find out something about your opponents, you just don't rush in madly and let them hit back straight away. You keep it to yourself and wait for an opportune time. Then you strike...

Eddie Ward²¹

Political skyrockets

An old friend of mine said, 'Never worry about the skyrockets in politics-first a shower of sparks, then a dead stick falls to earth'. There is a dead stick on the Opposition front bench. We were seeing the last of his sparks in another noisy, bellicose, empty speech.

Paul Keating²²

Political Time

Eight and a half years is a long time for any government. For Victorian Labor it is an eternity

John Cain²³

Political Loneliness

In August this year, less than a month after he was discharged from an emergency spell in hospital for heart treatment, Wellington's fire brigade had to be called to the small flat the Prime Minister uses in the Capital, the modest Methodist having long eschewed the security and comforts of Vogel House, the official prime ministerial residence.

Smoke had been coming from the Hill Street flat and neighbours had failed to raise a response when they thumped on the front door.

21. Elwyn Spratt, Eddie Ward - Firebrand of East Sydney, Rigby, Adelaide 1965, p 50

22. Paul Keating targets John Hewson, Balance of Payments Discussion of Matter of Public Importance, 3 October, 1989, **Hansard**, p. 1274

23. John Cain, *John Cain's Years Power, Parties, Politics*, MUP, 1995, p.112

When the police finally managed to break in, they found the Prime Minister of NZ asleep and the remnants of his supper - believed to be a tin of baked beans - smouldering on the stove.

It's a lonely picture of a tired and exhausted man who despite his high office seems bereft of much personal support.

Yet others describe a man whose wit most definitely charms the Queen and the close and personal relationship he has developed with his Australian counterpart, Bob Hawke, and the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. These are apparently based on discussions between these people on the toll their jobs have taken on their personal lives, particularly their families, according to one staff member.

'He's always referring to the Irish economy, the Irish experiment; 2 per cent inflation and 18 per cent unemployment. 'If all we are doing is swapping the double digits from one equation to the other, that's not the new Zealand I want to leave behind,' he says.'

'Whereas someone like me who is ideologically driven, is worried about those things, he's driven from a sense of wanting to do the right thing... but it's more what he feels than what he thinks... and he doesn't like what he sees.'

Asked to describe his political strategy once, Mr Lange said: 'I surge for the thing that I feel', and he certainly appears to have been caught out at times when he hasn't spotted others manoeuvring around him.

David Lange²⁴

Polls

The problem with the Liberal Party and the Labor Party today is they are focus group and poll driven.

Paul Keating²⁵

24. From an article by Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, Sydney Morning Herald, 19 November 1988, p 34

25. *Lateline*, 14 Sept 2006

Popularity

The local council once moaned because they had to build up the pavement outside his home in Henley Street, Paddington, twice in one year. They complained that the queues of people waiting to see Eddie Ward were wearing it down.

[Eddie Ward](#)²⁶

Power

Power had to be exercised constantly. It had to be moved around. The Victorian ALP were a good example of an outfit that did not understand power. The Victorian ALP were 'boarders'. The NSW ALP were 'repellers of boarders'.

[Paul Keating to Don Watson](#)²⁷

Power and Reading

Men of power have no time to read: yet the men who do not read are unfit for power.

[Denis Mc Shane](#)²⁸

Practical Men

Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist.

[John Maynard Keynes](#)

Prayers

You had to say your prayers before kids were taught to speak the language. Crucial parts of the culture were lost."

[Gerhardt Pearson](#)²⁹

26. Elwyn Spratt, *Eddie Ward - Firebrand of East Sydney*, Rigby, Adelaide 1965,, p 258

27. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*, Knopf Books, 2002, p. 281

28. Dennis MacShane, cited in Michael Foot's *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 4

29. Reflecting on life at Hopevale mission cited in Robyn Dixon, "Missions From God", *The Age*, 4 December 1993

Press Gallery

One day they will learn ... that they are not the agenda setters, that they do not determine outcomes and that they are largely fairly incompetent at reading the Australian electorate.

Bob Hawke³⁰

Professionals

The Whitlam Government were amateurs, not this lot, not now. I always draw football analogies. And just as I can see young players turning into professionals, so I can see some of this Government turning into professionals, much more than they were. Much tougher now, more adept at taking hard decisions.

John Button³¹

Public discussion

For democracy to bolt the door on public discussion is to end in a night its dream of centuries.

John Curtin³²

Public Life

Public life is a passing parade. Anyone who thinks otherwise is deluding themselves. We can only be on the stage for a while, hopefully usefully to be able to do some things. The good thing about the parliamentary system is that we are all first amongst equals. If you rise to cabinet or prime ministerial rank or if you do not, the caucus is where the weight and the responsibility ultimately is—the sense, the touch with the community and picking up the plasma of Australian democracy.

Paul Keating³³

30. Comments on the Canberra press gallery, June 1991

31. Alan Ramsey, "Smooth Run unless Hawke drops a clanger", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 June 1987

32. *Australian Worker*, 1917, after Adelaide Parliament refused permission to use Parkes Town Hall, Irene Dousing, *Curtin of Australia*, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 21

Public Ownership

Public bodies have an important part to play in our national development because many things are too big in scope or too important for private people or even groups of people to undertake alone . . . [The Snowy scheme] is one of the best examples of government action because it is providing new spheres of enterprise and activity for private people.

Malcolm Fraser (Maiden Speech, 1955) ³⁴

33. Paul Keating, Special Adjournment, 01 December, 1995, *Hansard*, p.4341

34. Maiden Speech, *Hansard*, 22 February, 1956

Quality



There's an old story about Noah Webster, the author of Webster's Dictionary. It's said that one day he was working on his dictionary in his study and his wife came in and found his secretary on his lap. And she said, 'Noah, I'm surprised.' And Webster, who knows the English language fairly well, said, 'On the contrary, my dear, you are astonished. It is we who are surprised.' Well, you might ask the relevance of that

story, and I have to confess, absolutely none. But it's a good story in itself, a quality story, and I'll come back to the issue of quality later on.

John Button

Queensland Labor

For all his experience of politics he had never yet had the chance to direct a campaign and show decisively how he could shape a policy that would convince people a really working class government had come into power led by a man with guts. No compromises. No fiddling about with little fish shops and milk bars as in the past. A definite movement to take over the industrial resources of the country and use them for the people.

Nationalisation of metals, coal, anything that looked like a monopoly; the creation of hydro-electric works and new sources of power; encouragement of union leaders to take a share in the management of industry instead of bleating away in the arbitration courts for shorter hours and a little extra money. There would be no playing for safety...he would drive his programme through in the teeth of all opposition, whether from the dead heads in his own party or the big interests...

In the Whip's face there was a baffled look, a hint of querulousness...

You've been used to mining towns Macy. You don't realise how far those country electorates are dominated by storekeepers, publicans and small cockies - little fellows who swing one way or another as the wind blows Anything that seems to take control of their produce is likely to put their back up. And perhaps there are other influences at work

Perhaps said Donovan dryly.

You mean outside interests.

Well what do you think? Who's likely to feel the pinch if this Bill is passed? Not the small cocky farmers?

...Aren't still in the political cradle, are you, Whitney?.

Vance Palmer¹

Quitting

I could find no argument at all, on any grounds of public or party interest, for holding this great office a minute longer than necessary after I had made the decision to quit it.

Neville Wran

1. Vance Palmer, *The Big Fellow*, 1959, p18-19.

Racism



These people who've concocted the 10-point scam, who call themselves true liberals, are not true liberals. They are racist scum. No less. So it is absolutely obscene for racial discrimination to again re-emerge as a policy we would even contemplate.

[Noel Pearson¹ commenting on the Howard Government's response to the High Court's Wik Decision](#)

Racism

I sympathise fundamentally with Australians who are insulted when they are told that we have a racist, bigoted past. Australians are told that quite regularly. Our children are taught that ... some of the school curricula go close to teaching children that we have a racist, bigoted past. Of course we treated Aboriginals very, very badly in the past - very, very badly - but to tell children whose parents were no part of that maltreatment, to tell children who themselves have been no part of it, that

1. Ian Henderson and Georgina Windsor, "Racist scum - Pearson blasts PM" *The Australian*, 1 November 1997

we're all part of a sort of racist, bigoted history is something that Australians reject.

[John Howard](#)²

Racism

How can he say Australia doesn't have a racist past?

[Marcia Langton on John Howard](#)³

Reactions

When you are making anything that is non-conventional, you are bound to provoke extreme reactions.

[Tracey Moffat](#)⁴

Recalcitrant

APEC is bigger than all of us – Australia, the US and Malaysia and Dr. Mahathir and any other recalcitrants

[Paul Keating, 1993](#)

Recession

John (Hewson) is fearful of the risk of recession. What the Government is about is trying to bring a slow-down in demand and an improvement in the inflation and current account problems. We have to produce our way out. That means more investment and being smarter in the way we do things, not by closing the place down

[Bernie Fraser](#)⁵

2. Michael Millet, "PM Rejects Talk of our Racist Past", Sydney Morning Herald, 25 October 1996

3. Michael Millet, "PM Rejects Talk of our Racist Past", Sydney Morning Herald, 25 October 1996

4. From Suzy Freeman Greene, 'Tracey Moffat is ...a playful and subversive presence', *The Age*, 30 October 1993

5. Mike Dobbie, Julie Mcbeth And Tim Boreham "Weighing the Risk of Recession", *Business Review Weekly*, 25 August 1989

Recognition

Paul Keating: "See, that woman recognised me and was friendly." "Yes", said John Button, "but she was pissed."

[Button to Keating⁶](#)

Reconciliation

We're all cheering the breaking down of the Berlin wall, we're all cheering developments in South Africa - how is it that we can be labouring in this country, with deep ambivalence, about (reconciliation) with aboriginal people?

[Noel Pearson⁷](#)

Reconciliation

This nation is not excused; it is not some comfortably settled nation, it is not some place where the indigenous people have said "come in, take over, chuck us out to the rubbish dump, we will be happy with that". It is not a nation like that, it never has been. It is a nation that has got to deal with its legacy not of the past but of the continuation of the very dynamic attitude that has sustained that legacy.

The process of reconciliation is one that the council was asked to further by the Parliament of Australia. It's a process that seeks to find the future way by which the nation can resolve its relationship with the indigenous population and develop out of that a mutual partnership that might coexist in the future. It's about that.

[Patrick Dodson⁸](#)

6. Keating and Button outside a pub in Bathurst as reported by Alan Ramsey, "Super K: Head, Shoulders above Pack", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May, 1987

7. Wilson da Silva, "White Australians still racist - Aboriginal leader", *Reuters News*, 29 October 1993

8. Patrick Dodson, Speech on the 20th Anniversary of Land Rights Legislation, as reported in "Reconciliation At Crossroads", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 August 1996

Redfern Speech

It begins, I think with the act of recognition. Recognition that it was we who did the dispossessing. We took the traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life. We brought the diseases. The alcohol. We committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practiced discrimination and exclusion. It was our ignorance and our prejudice. And our failure to imagine these things being done to us. With some noble exceptions, we failed to make the most basic human response and enter into their hearts and minds. We failed to ask, how would I feel if this were done to me? As a consequence, we failed to see that what we were doing degraded us all.

Paul Keating⁹

Reform or Revolution

We are here to conquer power but only after we have won over the minds of our fellow citizens. What shall we go for? Reform or revolution? For me, the daily struggle for a complete reform of existing structures is of a revolutionary nature. This presupposes a rupture and I have to say that anyone who does not accept a rupture with the established order, with capitalist society, cannot be a member of the Socialist Party. What we have to overturn is the power of capital which corrupts people, buys people, destroys people, kills people, ruins people and which can rot the conscience of mankind.' The answer, Mitterrand told delegates, was to 'base ourselves on a class front'.

Francois Mitterrand¹⁰

Reform

The way of the reformer is hard in Australia. Our parliaments work within a constitutional framework

9. Paul Keating, speech to launch the year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, Redfern Park, 10 December, 1992

10. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 138

which enshrines Liberal policy and bans Labor policy. Labor has to persuade the electorate to take two steps before it can implement its reforms: first to elect a Labor government, then to alter the Constitution.

[E.G. Whitlam¹¹](#)

Regrets

The great pity was we lost the 1980 election. Bill Hayden got the same vote, five years after that huge defeat in 1975, bar a decimal point, that I got in 1993 - and yet he lost. He can thank Peter Walsh and [Hayden's former press secretary and, now, political columnist] Alan Ramsey for that. Peter Walsh, who in his foolishness raised the capital gains tax issue and thought it was the sort of medicine the community should have when such a change could only be marketed from government, and subsequently was.

And Alan Ramsey, who told Hayden that [Graham] Richardson's and my concerns - I was the party president in NSW - about the last week of the election were misplaced, that they had the election won - and essentially Bill coasted the last five days on Alan Ramsey's advice. That advice cost Hayden the prime ministership and it cost me three more years in Opposition. That's the only thing over the whole period I regret.

[Paul Keating¹²](#)

Rejoinder to Alexander Downer

I think he spat a silver steak knife at you, Mr Speaker.

[Paul Keating¹³](#)

Remember

In the Northern Territory we will always remember that former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam led the

11. E.G. Whitlam, 4th Chifley Memorial Lecture at the University of Melbourne, 1957

12. Cited in Michael Gordon, "The first interview", *The Australian*, 27 July 1996

13. Paul Keating in reply to Peter Reith, 23 November 1995, *Hansard*, p. 3701

way to land rights and we will never forget that his successor Malcolm Fraser carried land rights through.

David Ross¹⁴

Retired Politicians

Retired politicians are like retired football or cricket captains. The best thing they can do is keep their mouths shut and let the current crop of players get on with the game. There's nothing worse than an old captain handing out advice that no one wants to hear.

J.D.Anthony¹⁵

Rich and Poor in the 'New Economy'

The sorting mechanism is becoming ever more efficient. If you work hard, sell yourself effectively, and do well, you'll be able to pool your winnings with others who have done well. ...If you're at or near the bottom of the earnings scale, your community is apt to be blighted and dangerous, the schools lousy, the health care minimal or nonexistent.

Bob Reich¹⁶

Rising Tide

: "...it has become an axiom of the last couple of years to say that growth doesn't necessarily result in jobs. But it's only a recent axiom. Before that, the received economic wisdom held that - to quote one Irish Prime Minister: "A rising tide lifts all boats", that growth in an economy means universal employment".

Padraig Flynn¹⁷

14. In Gallarrwuy Yunupingu, *Our Land is our Life*, UQP, 1997, p. 135

15. Cited in Alan Ramsey, "Old Warhouse can't stop stamping his feet", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July, 1987

16. Robert B. Reich, *The Future of Success Working and Living in the New Economy*, Vintage, 2002, p223

17. Padraig Flynn, "Employment Growth - the Global Challenge", Employment in Europe Conference, Tuesday 19th October

Republic - the Historical Labor View

We recognise the equality of all men – their rights of life, liberty and happiness. State socialism involves no tyranny and no despotism of the kind that denies that, but we say, only by an organisation upon the lines of the whole community can we throw off the real tyranny of financial and capitalistic control, only by the power of the State can the workers hope to work out their emancipation from the bonds private property is able to impost on them today, and only by State Socialism, such as we now advocate, can we initiate a genuine republic in Australia, where all men shall be free, all men shall be equal, and no man shall be afraid.

William Holman 2 April 1906¹⁸

Rights

We really are about a new era in this country of treating Aboriginal people as people with rights . . . not simply mendicants and dependants upon society

Patrick Dodson¹⁹

Rights

Malo says to you as he says to me, and as he says to the rest of the world, *Tag mauki mauki, Teter mauki mauki...* Your hands and your feet must not take you to steal what is other peoples’.

Reverend David Passi²⁰

Rise of the Righ

If we’re only an aberration, then this is a crisis. But if we’re the beginning of a long period of center-right power, then you take 80 per cent this year, and you come back again in January. You come back in ‘97, you

18. H.V. Evatt, William Holman Australian Labor Leader, Angus & Robertson, 1940, pp. 129-130

19. Cited in Gareth Borehan, Innes Wilcoz, “Howard Softens Line On Mabo”, The Age, 17 March 1995

20. Nonie Sharp, No Ordinary Judgement, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1996, p. 92

come back in '98, and every year, inexorably, you get a little more.

Newt Gingrich²¹

River & Sea

The river is the river and the sea is the sea. Salt water and fresh, two separate domains. Each has its own complex patterns, origins, stories. Even though they come together, they will always exist in their own right. My hopes for reconciliation are like that.

Patrick Dodson²²

Robert Menzies

Robert Menzies: Knight of the Thistle. 'Thistle among the weeds.'

Eddie Ward

Rock n Roll

...no, I don't own any Joan Jet. I only sing rock'n'roll - I don't listen to it.

Joan Kirner²³

Rousing the Proletariat

But early in May, the students, led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, decided to occupy the administrative centre of the Sorbonne in the heart of the Latin Quarter. As thousands of students milled into the eighteenth-century courtyard, the authorities reacted by calling in the police who evicted the students with a savage brutality. Six hundred students were arrested and several dozen taken to hospital. The rhythm of protest, demonstration, police repression, and official indifference mounted. Most newspapers condemned the students: one of the harshest criticisms came from Georges Marchais, number two in the Communist Party. Writing

21. Christian Science Monitor Sept 12-19, 1995

22. Speech to the National Press Club Canberra, 19 April, 1996

23. "People Try To Put Us Down", The Age, 6 August, 1994

in L'Humanite, he attacked 'the false revolutionaries and sons of the bourgeoisie who are serving the interests of Gaullist power and the great capitalist monopolies', while Cohn-Bendit was nothing more than a 'German anarchist'. That the French Communist Party, along with the parties in the Federation, was so completely out of touch with the students was to become much clearer as the days went by. 11 May 1968, (the students) tr(ied) to turn the Latin Quarter into a student-held fortress. In the middle of the night the riot-police stormed the barricades with a force that seemed equivalent to a military assault. One militant participant recalls: 'It was joy in the quasi-Nietzschean sense of the word, people were happy to die for it, you see, and I remember for me it was the most beautiful night of my life.' In the middle of the night of the barricades, as weary students were crumbling before the police assault, a group of them are said to have telephoned Georges Seguy, the general secretary of the Communist-dominated CGT and pleaded with him to mobilize workers. 'Three o'clock in the morning is no time to rouse the proletariat,' is said to have been Seguy's reply and he put down the receiver.



Ruby Tuesday

If that was Black Friday, this must be Ruby Tuesday
Noel Pearson on the day native title became part of
the nation's common law²⁴

24. Paul Chamberlin, "The day that changed history", Sydney Morning Herald, 20 October, 1993

S ecurity



...productivity is a *social* relation. To promote it requires *more*, not less, social security. Only as the fear of poverty, disease and joblessness recedes can human energies be totally released for creative, truly productive effort.

Ben Harrison and Barry Bluestone¹

Self Respect

I was told I did not learn respect at school. I learned one thing: I learned about self-respect and self-regard for Australia [this much has been agreed upon – the rest was entirely unexpected] – not about some cultural cringe to a country which decided not to defend our Malayan peninsula, not to worry about Singapore, and not to give our troops back to keep ourselves free from Japanese domination. This was the country that

1. Barry Bluestone & Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialisation of America*, Basic Books, NY, 1982, p. 232

you people wedded yourself to, and even as it walked out on you and joined the Common Market, you were still looking for your MBEs and your knighthoods, and all the rest of the regalia that comes with it.

Paul Keating²

Sectarianism

None of us has been spared the sectarian quarrels within the socialist ideology. But when it comes to making a choice, whether it be of friends, enemies, issues, or for the kind of future we want for our country, I believe with all my heart that the socialist choice is the only answer to the Guallist experience. That is my basic belief and I do not expect to have to take an exam in socialism every six months.

Francois Mitterand³

Self Determination within the nation

If the common law is to recognise Aboriginal land law, there is a strengthened argument for recognition by statutory or other means or other aspects of traditional Aboriginal law. An Indigenous community living within the nation-state and enjoying recognition of its legal system by the legal system of the nation is a community entitled to more than self-management. It is entitled to self-determination within the life of the nation.

Frank Brennan⁴

Self Interest

Everyone thinks chiefly of his own, hardly any of the public interest.

Aristotle

2. Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*, Knopf Books, 2002, p. 121

3. Michael Foot, *Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey*, Quartet, p 105

4. F. Brennan, 'Mabo and its implications for Aborigines and Islanders' in Ratnapala, S, and Stevenson, M, (eds), *Mabo: A Judicial Revolution*, University of Queensland Press, 1993 at p27

Self Interest

In politics, son, you should always back self interest.
In any race self-interest will be trying every time!

[Jack Lang to a young Paul Keating](#)

Senate Committees

I was wary of appearing for the first time before a Senate committee, like a Christian walking into a den of lions. Indeed, to quote a theologian recently convicted of heresy, I felt like a lion being thrown into a den of Christians.

[E.G. Whitlam⁵](#)

Sex and Public Office

Performance in public office as in sex, is still believed to be extensively a matter of basic instinct.

[J.K. Galbraith⁶](#)

Sex & Politics

People are reluctant to really debate political issues. Sexuality has become a substitute for politics. There's been an erosion of the political interchange. Look at the presidential election. We're more interested in Clinton's sex life than his politics. Sexuality has become America's politics, and the university is a victim of the dissolution between matters private and public.

[Leon Botstein⁷](#)

Shadow of Stagflation

Stagflation persisted for about a decade in Australia; the worst of it was between 1973 and 1983. Over that time the unemployment rate rose to a peak of 10.2 per

5. On Matters Arising from Pay TV Tendering, Senate Select Committee, Legislative Council Committee Room, Melbourne, Tuesday 20 July 1993

6. J. K. Galbraith, "The Conservative Onslaught", *NY Review of Books*, Vol x xvii, nos 21 & 22, Jan 22

7. Leon Botstein, President of Bard College, *Harper's*, September, 1993.

cent in mid-1983. During that decade, Australia changed from being a low unemployment country to one of high unemployment. At the same time as this was happening, the average rate of inflation for the decade as a whole was 11.6 per cent a year - something that cost \$100 in 1973 was \$300 in 1983.

Ian Macfarlane⁸

Shame

The British achieved control of this continent by a series of acts of aggression; sometimes by the most shameful means... This must be a source of shame to white Australians.

Nugget Coombs⁹

Shared Responsibility

There is a need for an institutional interface which levels the playing field between indigenous peoples and governments, so that there is mutual accountability between the two – indeed true shared responsibility.

Such an institution would need to be driven by a clear set of principles which are informed by the right of Indigenous people to take responsibility. It would have to engender both:

- accountability – as a body with teeth that could hold departments and ministers legally accountable for the rebuilding of Indigenous responsibility and the honouring of Indigenous rights, and
- incentives – as a body that could provide reward payments or impose sanctions to influence the behaviour of relevant institutions.

An institution conceived along these lines would provide the leadership and policy focus, benchmarking

8. Ian Macfarlane, Boyer lectures, extract published as “Golden Age ends as world wakes up to stagflation”, *The Age*, 18 November 2006

9. Dr. H.C. Coombs, Australian Treaty Committee, 1981, cited in Nonie Sharp, *No Ordinary Judgement*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1996, p. 177

and monitoring and deliver greater parity and mutual accountability between Indigenous people and government by binding governments not just by policy commitments, but by law.

Noel Pearson¹⁰

Small Boats

Some Americans may command higher rewards; others, far lower. No longer are Americans rising or falling together, as if in one large national boat. We are, increasingly, in different, smaller boats.

Bob Reich¹¹

Social democratic government

The most difficult part of any return to Social Democratic ends and means may be to find leaders - and researchers, teachers, financial journalists and other persuaders - who can rebuild support for the necessary government of the economy...

Hugh Stretton

Social Justice

It's not a question of social justice, we need to look at what our competitors are doing. The harsh reality of the new open economy is that the global market place will determine who has jobs and how much they are paid, not the Australian Industrial Relations Commission.

Bert Evans¹²

Social Justice

social justice is about getting up in the morning. It is also about the opportunities you have during the day

10. Noel Pearson, New Approaches to Indigenous Policy: The role of Rights and Responsibilities Cape York Institute, Thursday, 6 July, 2006.

11. Robert B. Reich, *The Work of Nations Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism*, Knopf, 1991, p. 173

12. Undated diary note. Bert Evans retired as Chair of the Metal Industry Trades Association in 1996. He was a good and honest employer.

and the way you feel when you put your kids to bed at night

Mick Dodson

Socialism without doctrines

Following the phrase of Metin, the French observer, it became usual to refer to Australia's policy of extending the functions of State and municipality as the policy of socialism "without doctrines".

H.V. Evatt¹³

Socialism

For twenty-five years I have been looking at our society and I believed that under the pressure of competing interest there had been some progress. Now I have to admit that it amounts to nothing. The ruling, dominant class rules and dominates more than ever. Look beyond the dry statistics. A quarter of French families do not earn enough to pay for a municipally subsidized home. A fifth of the homes in Paris do not have running water. There is the sadness of the old and unemployment of the young. Look at the cultural segregation and the subservient position of women. All this has brought me to meet, to understand and finally to accept the idea of Socialism. If Socialism proposes methods inappropriate to the level of evolution of a country it claims to reform and lead, or a Socialism that is contrary to a country's civilization and customs, then a Socialism like that will be utopian and counter-productive. The nationalizations such as were carried out in 1945 did not fundamentally change the worker's status. The worker only exchanged one boss for another. That is why in changing the nature of state ownership it is necessary to go further in the direction of co-determination and self-management.

Francois Mitterand¹⁴

13. H.V. Evatt, William Holman Australian Labor Leader, Angus & Robertson, 1940, p. 424

Socialism

The Socialist in 1970 is not the swag-carrying Socialist of the 1890's. It is better to read the more modern doctrines and to see that there is room for everybody in our community as long as one section does not try to get the lot.

Neville Wran¹⁵

Socialist

The term socialist has had its day ... it has been appropriated by the communist bloc. I say let them have it, lest use some other term like equity or social justice.

Bob Carr¹⁶

Soul

...one is entitled to the privacy of one's soul. One does not have to bear one's soul to do this job. This job's hard enough without bearing all, one's soul, one's family, one's everything else. That's not a price I'm prepared to pay.

Paul Keating¹⁷

Sovereignty

Indeed we need to consider whether at all it is even necessary for these Aboriginal concepts to be expressed as full-blown sovereignty of the nation-state variety. The Wik peoples or the Guugu Yimithirr of Cape York who met James Cook in 1770 possessed concepts of 'sovereignty' or jurisdiction prior to the coming of Europeans and these still remain. In the tra-

14. Michael Foot, Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey, Quartet, p 138

15. Cited in Mike Steketee, Milton Cockburn Wran: An Unauthorised Biography, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 10

16. The Australian, 15 April, 1986

17. Cited in Michael Gordon, "Paul Keating Faces His Day Of Reckoning", Sunday Age, 5 May 1991

ditional domain this concept was probably what Justice Blackburn attempted to describe in that famous passage from *Millirrpum* when he said:

The evidence shows a subtle and elaborate system highly adapted to the country in which the people led their lives, which provided a stable order of society and was remarkably free from vagaries of personal whim or influence. If ever a system could be called ‘a government of laws, and not of men’, it is that shown in the evidence before me.

Indeed it seems to me that the concept of sovereignty developed in western legal tradition to describe nation states is artificial if applied to the Aboriginal relationship to land which is at the core of the indigenous domain. A more appropriate concept is reflected in the judgment of Judge Amoun in the *Western Sahara Case*,¹⁸ cited by the Court in *Mabo*, which stated:

Mr Bayona-Ba-Meya goes on to dismiss the materialistic concept of *terra nullius*, which led to this dismemberment of Africa following the Berlin Conference of 1885. Mr Bayona-Ba-Meya substitutes for this *a spiritual notion: the ancestral tie between the land, or ‘mother nature’, and the man who was born therefrom, remains attached thereto, and must one day return thither to be united with his ancestors*. This link is the basis of ownership of the soil, or better, of sovereignty. (emphasis added)

Now whether the recognition of this spiritual relationship to land is best reflected in the recognition of Aboriginal peoples constituting a fully-fledged nation or nations, is still for us to consider. My own initial view is that, apart from being unachievable, it may not be necessary. However it may be that we can reserve judgment on this question.

Recognition of this ‘local indigenous sovereignty’ could exist internally within a nation-state, provided that the fullest rights of self-determination are accorded.

18. [1975] ICJR at 85-86

Noel Pearson¹⁹

Spirit of Blacktown

We buried the coalition here at Blacktown 21 years ago. But who would be bold enough to assert today that these 1950 attitudes towards Federal-State responsibility for urban affairs were buried along with it?

I believe we have to rekindle the spirit of Blacktown - and, not least, to revivify the public philosophy of partnerships between national, State and local government in matters of urban and regional development.

E.G. Whitlam²⁰

Split Infinitives

Split infinitives are not the problem with public language. In its modern form there are not enough infinitives to split. They need more verbs.

Don Watson²¹

Stab

I mean, that's what politics is about, isn't it? You stab me today, I get you tomorrow. Bob Hogg knows that, so does Hayden. And the payback theme seems to run all the way through the Hogg affair. So, too, in a different sense, in the supposed Hayden dalliance with Yarralumla. Just think of the emotional Hawke purging his guilt about Hayden. If not Prime Minister, why not President?

Alan Ramsey²²

19. Noel Pearson, Reconciliation To be or Not to Be – Separate Aboriginal Nationhood or Aboriginal Self-Determination and Self-Government within the Australian Nation? ALB, Vol 3, No 61, April 1993

20. E.G. Whitlam Speech at the Opening of Blacktown Expo, Blacktown Workers Club, Thursday 16 September 1993

21. Don Watson, *Death Sentence The Decay of Public Language*, Knopf, Milsons Point, Sydney, 2003, p. 172

Staying Power

I've never laid down and died like some people expected me to do, like a mongrel dog. I've always got off my black arse and got back into it again, scarred and battered and beaten but you've got to do that. That's what Aboriginal people have got to do

Charlie Perkins²³

Stakeholding Society

A de-civilising, de-democratising brutishness is emerging, infecting everything from the way children are educated and parented to the culture of shopping. America's malls and supermarkets, in which every physical layout is subordinated to the need to maximise sales per square foot, are no substitute for the neighbourhood high street, for example. Nor, are children, distractedly parented, able to take advantage as much as they used to of easesdropping on a multiplicity of local and family conversations as part of their educative growing up; such conversations don't take place as neighbourhood and family implode. ...The way forward must be to transform the institutions of market capitalism so that, instead of embodying networks of unravellable spot-market relations, there are new legal obligations to acknowledge a reciprocity of obligation. Moreover, the work must begin at the top. Thus, shareholders may have rights to sell; but they should also be accompanied by obligations of commitment. Manager may have rights to hire and fire, but there should also be the obligation to consult, inform and incorporate their workforces in decision-making. Rich parents may have the right to educate their children privately, but only if private schools discharge and obligation to educate equal numbers of the disad-

22. On Bob Hawke's withdrawal of support for Bob Hawke as National Secretary of the ALP. Alan Ramsey, "When the numbers add up, or do they?", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 1988

23. Cited in Gay Alcorn, "Rebel's Pause", *The Age*, 22 July, 1993

vantaged who need the resources supplied by private schools. The list could go on.

[Will Hutton](#)²⁴

State Finances

...the revenue base for the States has narrowed. ... the overall consequence has been greater reliance on a range of largely regressive State taxes and charges. ...[This report] proposes a State Government Services Levy (SGSL). This levy would be collected by the Federal government and would apply to goods and services where the States agree to a revenue neutral abolition of regressive State taxes and charges. *The authors and sponsors of State of Siege hasten to distinguish this proposal from the broad based consumption tax proposed in 1985!* The SGSL is not predicated on a move away from direct to indirect taxation, and it simply involves a rationalisation of existing indirect taxation. Indeed, this process of rationalisation offers to significantly improve the equity of Australian taxation arrangements...

[State of Siege - Evatt Foundation 1989](#)

State Labor

The longer each State Labor administration stays in office, the harder will be the task for the Federal parliamentary leadership in putting a government together. State Labor administrations and their party apparatus suck most of the oxygen from the political air, putting the federal parliamentary party at a distinct handicap.

[Paul Keating](#)²⁵

States

States are over-blown land grabs by the founding colonies and bear no relation to the diverse communities

24. *The Guardian*, 27 March, 1995

25. Paul Keating, *The Keating thesis*, *The Bulletin*, February 15, 2005

that constitute Australia. It is quite feasible to move to a regional basis of government by the re-allocation of funding

States

In this war only the States are neutral.

John Curtin²⁶

Statesman

Political oeconomy, considered as a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator, proposes two distinct objects; first, to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for the people, or more properly to enable them to provide such a revenue or subsistence for themselves; and secondly, to supply the state or commonwealth with a revenue sufficient for the public services. It proposes to enrich both the people and the sovereign.

Adam Smith²⁷

Statistics

crapulent statistics.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit

Stolen Generation

They can no longer demonstrate where they came from. But they still have a legitimate claim to repossess their language, culture and land.

Patrick Dodson

Strength

There are times in the history of man's episodal life in which only by being strong can he be certain of being preserved. It is no orderly evolution that man has

26. Quoted in Elwyn Spratt, Eddie Ward - Firebrand of East Sydney, Rigby, Adelaide 1965, p 82

27. Adam Smith, **An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations**, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976, p. 428

undergone. There are occasions in which the exercise of the strongest authority is necessary to preserve the greatest liberty.'

John Curtin²⁸

Strength

Keating's greatest strength is his strength. This is a fellow who will walk through a brick wall. He is just unbelievably tough, and when he got up there (to defend Mr Hawke in Parliament last month) he showed it. I mean if you saw the bowed heads on the Opposition. There just isn't anyone with more courage.

Graham Richardson²⁹

Substance Abuse

Our worst mistake is that we have not understood the nature of substance abuse. I maintain a fundamental objection to the prevailing analysis of substance abuse amongst our people. The prevailing analysis is that substance abuse and addiction is a *symptom* of underlying social and personal problems. According to the symptom theory we must help people deal with the reasons that have seen them become addicted to various substances. According to this theory we must address the underlying issues if we are to abolish substance abuse. The severe substance abuse in Aboriginal communities is said to have been caused by immense ingrained trauma, trans-generational grief, racism, dispossession, unemployment, poverty and so on.

But the symptom theory of substance abuse is wrong. Addiction is a condition in its own right, not a symptom. Substance abuse is a psychosocially contagious epidemic and not a simple indicator or function of the

28. John Curtin, Irene Dousing, *Curtin of Australia*, Acacia Press Melbourne, 1969, p 146

, p 146

29. Graham Richardson, 5 May, 1991

level of social and personal problems in a community. Five factors are needed for an outbreak of substance abuse: (i) the substance being available (ii) spare time (iii) money (iv) the example of others in the immediate environment and (v) a permissive social ideology. If these five factors are present, substance abuse can spread rapidly among very successful people as well as marginalised people.

Noel Pearson³⁰

Superannuation

We have to develop an overall campaign to ensure that everyone gets superannuation (with) the rights to funds in the hands of workers, controlled by the unions..

Bill Kelty³¹

Supreme Court Fire-fighting

The Supreme Court in my country is like a fire-fighter that doesn't start putting water on the flames until there's really a fire out there.

Sandra Day O'Connor³²

Survival Day

On January 26, there are two celebrations: Australia Day and Survival Day. Indigenous people will continue to celebrate the survival of our peoples and our cultures.

Patrick Dodson

Sustainability

Probably the most important thing I have learned out of my contact with Aboriginal people is the absolute

30. Noel Pearson, Dr Charles Perkins Memorial Oration "On the Human Right to Misery, Mass Incarceration and Early Death" McLaurin Hall, The University of Sydney, 25 October 2001

31. Seminar, Melbourne, February, 1985

32. Sandra Day O'Connor The Role of Foreign Law in the US Domestic System, Address, ANU, 12 Sept, 2006

central importance of the land to their culture and heritage and religion.

If you talk directly to Aboriginal people and to pastoralists, many of their concerns are the same. They want to use the country sustainably. The thing Aboriginal people might want from the country may be different but they both have a very deep-seated love of the land and recognise the need to use it sustainably.

[Rick Farley](#)³³

Sydney

In this city there is neither homeliness nor splendour; only sad taste and cold indifference.

[Beatrice Webb](#)³⁴

33. Peter Gill, "Rick Farley's Moderate Mabo Mission", *Australian Financial Review*, 21 October 1993

34. Beatrice Webb, *Diary Entry*, 1898, p 22

Tariffs



The tariff louts descended on Canberra like a plague of locusts. Labor members found themselves drinking in the *Hotel Canberra* with men whom they had previously regarded as their mutual enemies. The politician was fixing the rate of duty himself. There was no longer a public hearing. So many large firms spent their time seeing who could introduce them to a politician that mattered.

[Jack Lang](#)¹

Tax

I give you, a critically important audience, the categorical assurance that there will be no overall increase in the tax burden next year or through our next term in office.

[Bob Hawke](#)²

1. Jack Lang, *The Great Bust: The Depression of the 1930s*, p 187

Tears

Hawke has a fragile, glass jaw and appalling double standards. He is quite willing to "dish it out" but has "a pathological sensitivity to criticism."

John Howard³

Technology

Technology makes the world a new place

Fernand Braudel

Television

The marvellous thing about television is that no bugger can get between you and your talker.

Bob Hawke⁴

Television and politics

The 1972 campaign - the It's Time campaign - was the first real television campaign in Australia - the first in which the national television advertising campaign became the main activity, and the main expense for the parties.

E.G. Whitlam⁵

Textbooks

My textbooks were my parents.

Eddie Mabo⁶

2. The first of many such undertakings. "Can Hawke do it?", *Australian Financial Review*, 31 October, 1984
3. Gregory Hywood, "PM's Tears, Pledge Of No Mercy Fails To Shut Gate On Peacock", *Australian Financial Review*, 21 September 1984
4. Michael Shmith "Bob Hawke, Reporter, Hits The Silver Trail", *The Age*, 6 April 1992
5. E.G. Whitlam launching the National Press Clubs *The Power of Speech*, 15 August 1990
6. Nonie Sharp, *No Ordinary Judgement*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1996, p.24

The nation-state

Paradoxically ... the degree to which the world economy has internationalized (but not globalised) reinstates the need for the nation-state, not in its traditional guise as the sole sovereign power, but as a crucial relay between the international levels of governance and the articulate publics of the developed world.

Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson⁷

Thrills

I live in a six bob a night bed, haven't locked my door,
and never had a thrill in years.

J.B. Chifley⁸

Tin Humpy

Throughout twenty years of land rights and all the challenges to land claims, even up to the High Court, it was ordinary people - no matter that they lived in a tin humpy, or didn't speak English, or couldn't read or write - who did not give up on their rights. Many others are still fighting to get back to their country and for their rights to their land.

David Ross⁹

Tippytoes

I noticed the opposition slippin' and slidin' all over the TV screens all weekend, telling anyone what they wanted to believe on fiscal policy. Does [the leader of the opposition John Howard] think he is talking to complete fools? There are people on this side of the House who have been through 20 budget reviews. If you want to make major changes to Australian fiscal

7. Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, Polity Press, 1996, p. 277

8. Cited in Fred Daly, *The Politician Who Laughed*, Hutchinson, 1982, p. 21

9. Galarrwuy Yunupingu, *Our Land is our Life*, University of Queensland Press, 1997, p. 135

policy on the outlay side, you have to cut into programs. That is what it means. So he said they are not going to touch programs and they are not going to touch taxation. They will just tippytoe into office. They won't do anything to anybody. They won't touch revenue. They won't touch outlays. They won't touch Medicare. They won't touch the Industrial Relations Commission; no, they won't stab it. They won't do anything. 'If they will just trust us to get into office'

Paul Keating¹⁰

Tough Times

Lindsay and I are both committed people, both anti-redtapers. We hate people who say to us that you have got 57 forms to fill out, 238 hurdles to jump. We just want to get things done. Remember that tough times are when tough decisions are made. Tough times are for tough people. If you succeed here, you will show every other region that it can be done.

Bill Kelty¹¹

Traditional Values

You'll never be a good footballer, or a good fellow, unless you learn to think of other people besides yourself. Above all, always remember that it may be nice to be a good footballer, but it's a lot nicer to be a good fellow.

Ken Fraser¹²

Treasurer

People who had occasion to approach the Treasurer on financial proposals were mystified as to why he always opened the top drawer of his desk (which was kept locked), before replying to their inquiry. When

10. Paul Keating in reply to Peter Costello, 27 November, 1995, Hansard, p. 3776

11. Bill Kelty cited in Stephen Dabkowski, "The Odd Couple With The No-so-odd Desire To Make Jobs", *Sunday Age*, 20 September 1992

12. Essendon Captain, 1965-68, - Peter and Tim Costello's childhood hero (and the editors), Tracey Aubin, *Peter Costello A Biography*, Harper Collins, 1999, p. 11

the Treasurer left Parliament one of those who had been mystified for years by the Treasurer's methods decided to clear up the mystery and opened the top drawer of the desk. Much to his surprise it revealed a large chart with a heavy dividing line down the centre and written in bold type were the words: 'What you've got is shown on the left, and what you owe is shown on the right'. That is how the Treasurer worked out his debits and credits.

Fred Daly¹³

Tribal Ghost

He walks at Yarralumla
And we know he walks in vain
There, forever silent, pleading,
For his tribal lands again-
Here the gaunt, embittered vision
Holding hands up to the skies
Will sink to deep oblivion
When the last old tribesman dies.

Kevin Gilbert¹⁴

Tribute to Manning Clark

This generation has a chance to be wiser than previous generations. They can make their own history. With the end of domination by the straighteners, the enlargers of life now have their chance. By 'the straighteners' I think he meant people who do not see or believe in higher values. He believed Australia had a choice between those two paths: the path of the straighteners and the path of the people he called the 'enlargers of life', who, he believed, had their chance

Paul Keating¹⁵

13. Fred Daly, *The Politician Who Laughed*, Hutchinson, 1982, p 22

14. Kevin Gilbert, *People are legends Aboriginal Poems*, UQP, 1978

15. Paul Keating, Death of Emeritus Professor Manning Clark, 28 May, 1991, *Hansard*, p. 4032

True Believers

This is a victory for the true believers; the people who in difficult times have kept the faith, and for the Australian people through hard times, it makes their act of faith that much greater. It will be a long time before an Opposition tries to divide the country again.

Paul Keating¹⁶

True Philosophy

If you want real practical wisdom go to an old washer-woman patching clothes on the Rocks with a black eye, and you'll hear more true philosophy than a Parliament of men will talk in twelve months.

Louisa Lawson¹⁷

Truth

The truth is not easy to cross out.

Reverend David Passi¹⁸

Truth

Our weapon is truth.

Elder Billy Wasaga¹⁹

Truth

As Mabo was an historic judgment, this is historic legislation, recognizing in law the fiction of terra nullius and the fact of native title. With that alone the foundation of reconciliation is laid, because after 200 years we will at last be building on the truth.

Paul Keating²⁰

16. Paul Keating, True Believers Speech, Bankstown Workers Club, 13 March, 1993

17. Louisa Lawson, *Dawn*, 23 May 1889, p. 386

18. Nonie Sharp, *No Ordinary Judgement*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1996, p. 92

19. Waubin Richard Aken, Cultural Sovereignty: The vision and legacy of Billy Niba Wasaga, *Australian Prospect*, Winter 2006, p. 6

20. Christopher Zinn, "PM promises Aborigines 'new deal' Australia to develop system of land ownership that recognises native title", *The Globe and Mail*, 21 October, 1993

Twin Sisters

"He said g'day, and I said g'day back," Joan said. "Then he said 'Are you Carmen Lawrence?'

"I had to confess that I wasn't. But I told him I was her twin sister."

Joan Kirner²¹

Twentieth Century

...the twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations

Theodore Roosevelt²²

21. Apologising for not wearing the black leather outfit she wore during her legendary TV gig, the former Victorian Premier told an audience at the Evatt Foundation breakfast seminar in Sydney yesterday of her conversation with an American tourist in the lift of a city hotel. **Sydney Morning Herald**, 17 March 1994

22. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Doctrine of the Strenuous Life*, Chicago, 10 April 1899

Unions



If you move away from your base, in the end you stand for nothing. The unions give us our identity. They give us our heart and they give us our soul.

[Graham Richardson¹](#)

Undertakers

He'll bring all the verve and style of a dreary confabulation of undertakers to politics in NSW.

[Bill Hayden on Barrie Unsworth](#)

Unemployment

In 1983, when Labor won government, unemployment ran at 9 per cent, inflation was at 11 per cent, and Australia's net foreign liabilities were 28 per cent of national income. In 1996, when Labor lost office, unemployment

1. Cited in Alan Ramsey, "Of brick walls and Labor's 60/40 Rule", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 March, 1991

was still at 9 per cent, inflation was down to 4 per cent, and Australia's net foreign liabilities were up to 59 per cent of national income. Inflation: under control. Unemployment and the current account: out of control. These are the three, hard facts about Australia and Labor's economic policy over 13 years. They say a lot about what the Australian Labor government stood for after 30 years of economic expansion following the Second World War

Bill Mitchell²

Unemployment

..this society no longer cares very much at all about the unemployed. There is little compassion for them. Governments can win elections despite high unemployment levels. On the other side of the fence the boards of companies who make the decisions about jobs go on increasing the fees of directors and the salaries of top executives.

John Cain³

Unions

Comrades, our priority in the future must be to get unions to co-operate in an effort to unionise the 60 per cent of the workforce that is unorganised, rather than to have unions preoccupied in fighting one another for a bigger share of the shrinking unionised market. Unless we get our priorities right there will be nothing left for us to fight over.

The great Tom Mc Donald⁴

Unions - the Long Term

We had a long term strategy: first step, wage restraint; second. award restructuring; third step, implementing

2. W.F. Mitchell, 'Full employment abandoned: The macroeconomic story', in *Out of the Rut: Making Labor a Genuine Alternative*, eds Carman M. & Rogers I., Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999, p.18

3. John Cain, *John Cain's Year Power, Politics and Parties*, MUP, 1995, p. 289

4. "Restructuring the Union Movement", ACTU Congress, September 1989

it on an enterprise We were always going to do it. I think the government understood the wage system had to evolve. We wanted, ultimately, to **devolve** from the ACTU to unions; give unions more independence. We this philosophical approach from 1986. The ACTU used its authority for a series of objectives - employment, superannuation, rationaf of the union structure, change in the wages system. We say that the future of the union movement lies, not with the ACTU, but with individual unions.

Bill Kelty⁵

Unrepresentative Swill

I would forbid him (Dawkins) going into the Senate to account to unrepresentative swill over there

Paul Keating⁶

Urination

Mr Downer ... is urinating on a historic national achievement. I think the Liberals now have to stop pretending, they have to bow out of the reconciliation process. There really is no place for them in that process and who from the Aboriginal side would want to reconcile with a crowd like that?

Noel Pearson⁷

US Health Insurance

Why, I was asked by Canadian health care scholars and practitioners, did Hillary Rodham Clinton think she could gather five hundred experts for three months and design the idea health care system? After all, they pointed out, thousands of people in many countries had struggled for decades without finding the perfect system. But she doesn't have to design the

5. Cited in Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty The Story of the 1980s*. Allen & Unwin, 1992, p. 670

6. November, 1992

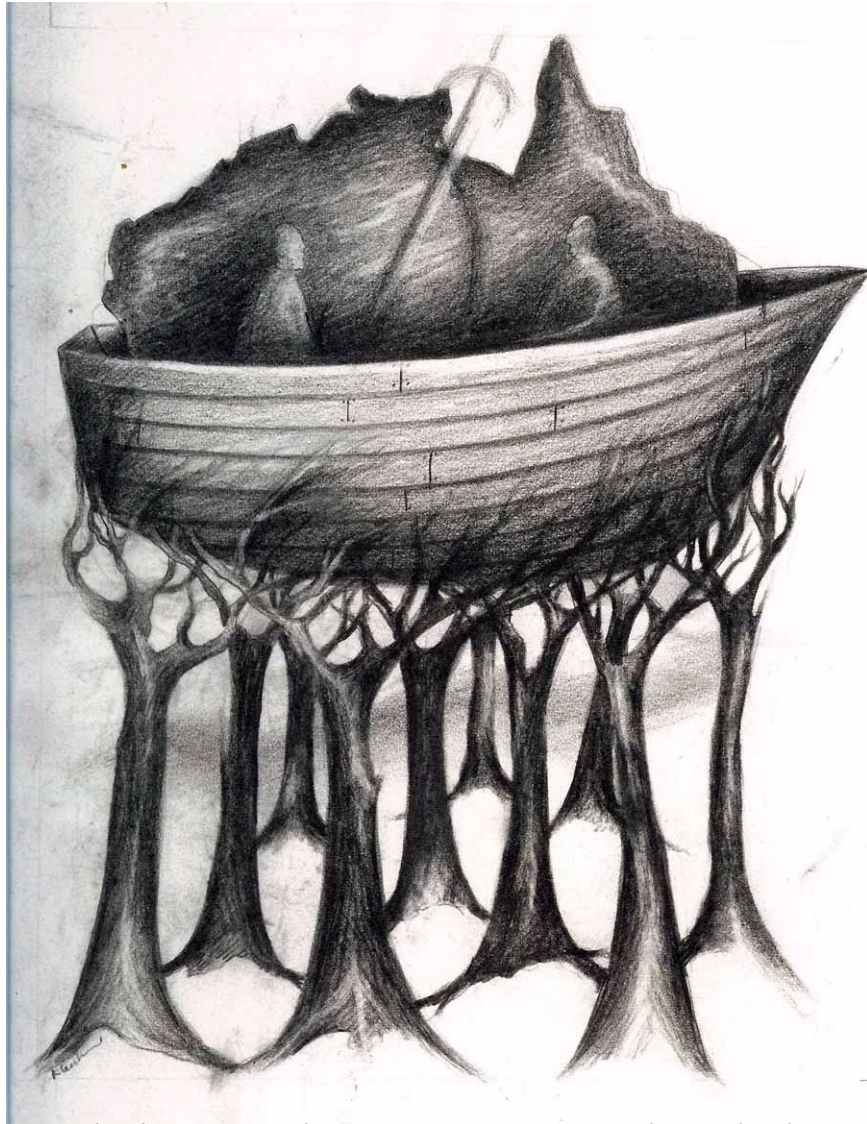
7. Mark Baker, "Downer Bigoted, Says PM", *The Age*, 2 August 1994

perfect system, I replied. She just has to come up with something better than what the United States has now. In that case, they all asked, what was taking her so long?

Joe White⁸

8. Joseph White, *Competing Solutions American Health Care Proposals and International Experience*, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C., 1995, p.1

V an Gogh of Treasurers



"Look," he says, "when net exports come through, they tend to come through like this. (He draws what looks like a very fat tadpole.) It starts off as an appreciation. Prices shift. Importers hang on, cut their margins, because they think it might be temporary, right? Later, they realise that's hopeless, give up market share, and what happens is you get this (the tadpole bulge). So, 1 per cent net exports here (scribble), then 2 1/2 per cent (scribble), then one (scribble), right?

"Now, a coupla other points. When exports really start to flow, it comes through in a blob (scribble). That's the 2 1/2 per cent we got last year, this bit here (scrib-

ble) is the 1 per cent we got the year before. We'll get another 1 per cent this year. But up here (scribble), we need more, another 2 per cent of GDP, a thicker tail." (He scrawls a heavy strap from the head of the tadpole.) He deflects briefly. "If the US could do this, they'd wet themselves. And they will do it, because the depreciation of their dollar is just as deep. But they're not tightening up fiscal policy the same as we've done. I mean, this here (scribble, scribble) is a text-book change.

"But when the blob comes through, that's about all you get. You then have a whole lot of other handstands to do to get this last bit (scribble), the thicker tail (heavy underlining). It's like driving a car to 100 mph from 90; it can do it at 90, but at 100 it's got everything blatting full-out, all the(expletive) valves are jumping, you know what I mean?

"In other words, to make it do THAT (scribble), so that in HERE (scribble)we get, say, another 2 per cent of GDP, which would get THIS (scribble), we got to pick up another two times 2,800 (scribble), that's 5,600 million off the current account. Well, roughly \$5 billion, right, to get that 2 per cent of GDP.

"Now, the only way we can do that is by high levels of investment and less demand. In other words, pulling demand off. You know, cutting consumption, lifting savings. And one of the ways of continuing to do this is by further public sector dis-savings. (He repeats this, slowly, like speaking to a retarded child.)

"That means the Commonwealth Budget will go further into surplus and we'll start cutting those deficits of the States, right? In other words, the public sector can cut demand and add to savings by further fiscal action, you with me?"

[Alan Ramsey describing a session with Paul Keating¹](#)

1. Alan Ramsey, "A lesson from the Van Gogh of Treasurers", Sydney Morning Herald, 26 December 1987

Vision

... I am unconvinced by some of those grand vision politicians. I really am

John Howard²

Visiting Head Office, Canberra

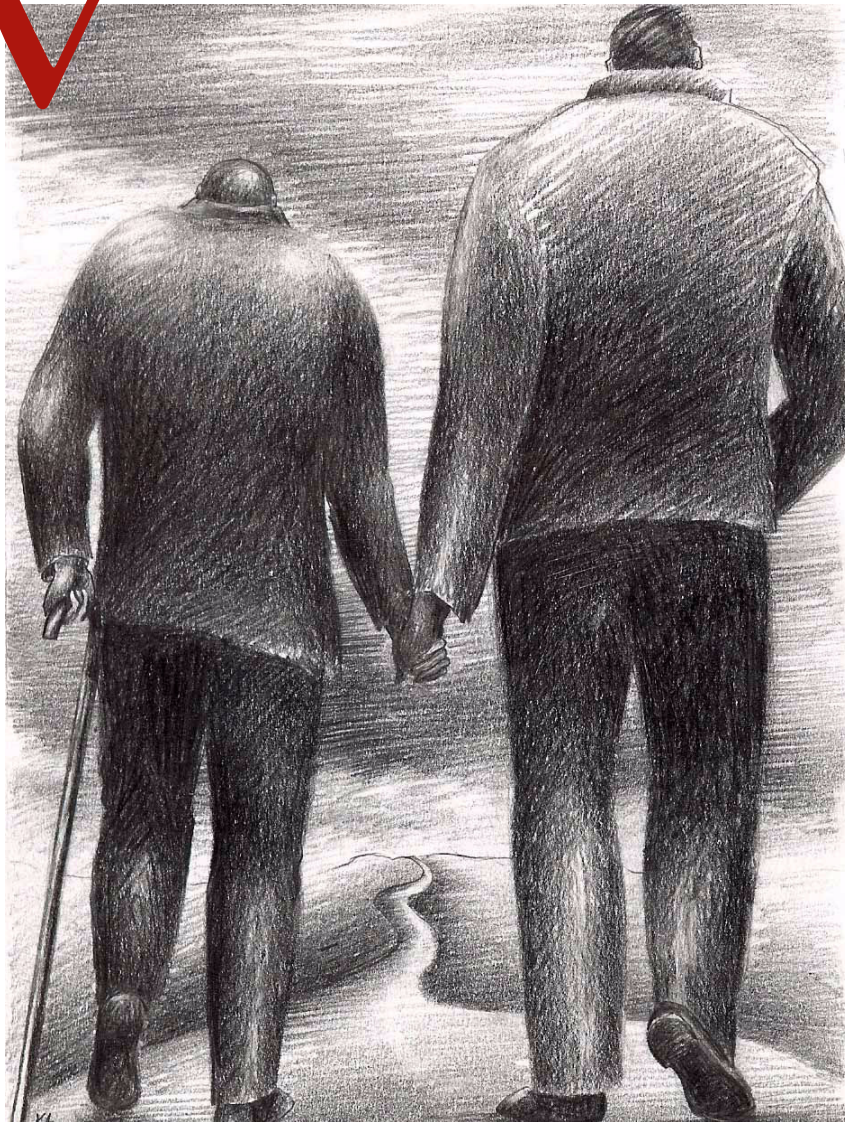
The well-appointed office
So much nicer than our shacks
Where whites sit down to meditate
Upon us poor old blacks
The secretary whispers Coffee sir, or tea.
Biscuit sugar milk too sir, which one shall it be?

Kevin Gilbert³

2. David Barnett & Pru Goward, *John Howard Prime Minister*, 1997, p. 10

3. Kevin Gilbert, *People are legends Aboriginal Poems*, UQP, 1978

Walking on water



The difference between Hawke and Whitlam is that Bob came across from Kirribilli House today on a barge. E.G. would have walked.

Fred Daly¹

Walt Whitman

In fashionable life, he wrote, there was 'flippancy, tepid amours, weak infidelism, small aims', the one sole object of people being 'pecuniary gain'. Money making was their 'magician's serpent'. The best class in America

1. At the ALP's election policy launch, 1987

were 'but a mob of fashionably dressed speculators and vulgarians'.

[Manning Clark](#)²

War

We owe you nothing. It's war.

[Bill Kelty](#)³

War II

If they want a fight, if they want a war, they'll have the full symphony - with all the pieces, all the clashes and all the music. I am not sure it will be the 1812 Overture but I will tell you what Paul, it will not be Mahler either.

[Bill Kelty](#)⁴

War, Defeat, Victory, Peace

In war, resolution; in defeat, defiance; in victory, magnanimity; in peace, goodwill.⁵

[Winston Churchill](#)⁶

Washington tunnels

I've been spending all my time here in the tunnel [between the Cannon House Office Building and the Capitol]. It's a very complicated tunnel system. I am an expert now. I don't know what's going on outside. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, all day long tunnel. I don't even know where the Smithsonian is. I would love to visit there.

[Postcard from the Capitol](#)⁷

2. Democratic Vistas, pp 325-7 Manning Clark, *A History of Australia*, Vol V, p. 27-8

3. Bill Kelty to Brian Noakes following 1991 National Wage Decision, Brad Norington, "It's war: Kelty won't shake hands" *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 May 1991,

4. Melbourne Town Hall, 2 March 1996

5. Winston Churchill, cited in Robert Menzies' *Afternoon Light*, Caswell, 1967, p 66

6. Winston Churchill, cited in Robert Menzies' *Afternoon Light*, Caswell, 1967, p 66

Waterfront Dispute

I want every worker in Australia to understand that it is the wharfies today but who is next? Is it coal workers tomorrow, is it nurses the day after that? What it means is that any worker in any union in this country is not safe from the threat of being dismissed.

Jennie George⁸

Wave Hill Walk Off

Our people lived here from time immemorial, and our culture, myths, dreaming and sacred places have evolved in this land. Many of our forefathers were killed in the early days while trying to retain it. Therefore we feel that morally the land is ours and should be returned to us. Our very name Aboriginal acknowledges our prior claim . . . If you can grant this wish. . . we would show the rest of Australia and the whole world that we are capable of working and planning our own destiny as free citizens. Much has been said about our refusal to accept responsibility in the past, but who would show initiative working for starvation wages, under impossible conditions, without education, for strangers in the land? . . . In August last year, we walked away from the Wave Hill Cattle Station. It was said that we did this because the wages were very poor [only six dollars per week], living conditions fit only for dogs, and rations consisting mainly of salt beef and bread. True enough. But we walked away for other reasons as well. To protect our women and our tribe, to try and stand on our own feet. We will never go back there.

Vincent Lingiari⁹

Weirdness

Yesterday's weirdness is tomorrow's reason why.

7. Postcard from the Capitol, Los Angeles Times, June 3

8. Brad Norrington, Jennie George, Allen & Unwin, 1998, p. 331

9. Petition to the Governor-General. Lord Casey from Vincent Lingiari *et al.*, published in *Aboriginal News*. Vol. 3, No. 1, Feb. 1976. p. 11.

Hunter S Thompson

Welfare States and an Open Economy

...the very factors that increase the need in all the advanced countries for welfare to provide insurance against and adaptation to external shocks may now work against the implementation of such policies. ..The danger of a high level of external exposure is that the mixture of extensive welfare and free trade becomes unstuck. Capital becomes mobile and will move if domestic economic policies and tax regimes threaten economic returns and are available elsewhere. Capital can intimidate both national governments and workers in particular firms with threats to defect. How seriously these threats are taken will depend on the conjuncture. Major manufacturing firms with large fixed investments are unlikely to move lock, stock and barrel. Financial institutions, however, can move pensions and insurance investments offshore and the markets can refuse to buy government bonds except at an interest premium. Thus, in an open economy capital will resist high levels of corporate taxation and payroll taxes paid by employers. It will try to increase its income take from firms by demanding wage restraint without compensating bargains: a form 'post corporatist', one-sided bargaining typical of the US. The costs of welfare will, therefore, be forced on to workers' incomes. At the same time the elite of high-paid and relatively mobile workers will resent high levels of tax. Thus the tax base will erode as incomes from capital and higher salaries are increasingly exempt. ...This implies that welfare states already funded out of general taxation probably have a head start on those funded from employers' contributions, taxes on capital and high levels of public borrowing. Pay-as-you-go welfare states will be viable, ones that avoid excessive budget deficits and rely on domestic sources of revenue. It also implies that not

only is welfare spending a means of insurance against external shocks, it is also a means of macroeconomic adjustment. In a severe externally induced crisis, corporatist bargaining may centre not merely on wage restraint but on the containment or retrenchment of public expenditure. As we shall see, the two are connected: the employed will contain wage demands more readily if tax bills are held down. This means bringing public expenditure and welfare programmes into the domain of bargaining, deciding which programmes must be maintained to help adjust to shocks (training, active labour market measures) and which programmes may involve temporary or long-term cutbacks in benefits or entitlements. In an advanced corporatist economy; the representatives of the recipients of welfare should be brought into the bargaining, as economic agents with a role in generating consensus and not merely as passive objects of policy.

Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson¹⁰

Western Australian Tyranny

..a perfect illustration of the the legend of old John Forrest which still lingered in the West when I was young – the father figure – who ruled alone and absolutely: While Forrest was at the Convention {of 1897 in Adelaide} Wittenoom was left Acting Premier in Western Australia, having been warned not to talk any step of importance without consulting Forrest. He issued an official definition of alluvial mining as anything down to 10 feet – beyond that deep mining – which provoked a storm and had to be withdrawn at once. Forrest wrote saying he expected to have heard from him before this was done. Wittenoom next appointed James a Puisne a Judge which was almost a scandal. Forrest wired insisting on having such matters referred to him. Then Wittenoom wired him:

10. Paul Hirst & Grahame Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, Polity Press, 1996, p. 165-6

Case of small pox on mail-steamer. What shall I do?
The next year Wittenoom was retired to London as
Agent-General for Western Australia

J. A. La Nauze¹¹

Whaddya hear

Whaddya hear?

Tip O'Neill¹²

Whispering in the Heart

In Wik, where Native Title is coexistent with the rights of a pastoral lease, Native Title yielded to the extent of the lease conditions.

Even this sliver of recognition has caused fear and uncertainty. As it was on the frontier, negotiation and communication has gone out the window and assertions of power and control have come in the door.

Might is set to overwhelm right.

What is required now, as it was in the past, is clear vision and effective leadership. There are many Australians who sense that the government's actions on Wik are not quite right, who are concerned at the morality of the current legislation. They wince when they hear phrases like bucketloads of extinguishment, knowing that to extinguish Native Title is to once more try to extinguish the Aboriginal spirit in this land.

They feel uncomfortable about using commonwealth powers to make laws that will deny Aboriginal people the thin sliver provided by the high court that will undercut a process of negotiation of co-existent rights. They wonder at the impact of legislation that will change nearly 40% of Australia. Currently leased from the Crown at cheap rental, to close to freehold rights. For whose benefit? And will the taxpayer will-

11. Cited in J.A. LaNauze, Alfred Deakin Two Lectures University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1960, p. 16

12. Christopher Mathews, *Hardball How Politics is Played by one who knows the game*, Harper & Row, NY, NY, 1988, p.131

ingly bear the compensation for the Aboriginal people whose property rights have been abrogated?

These Australians hear the whispering in their heart and know it can only be silenced by coming to terms with the original owners of this beautiful and bounteous land.

Many Australians of goodwill, sense that a moment for national leadership has slipped past us and is gone.

Patrick Dodson¹³

Whispers and songs

I fell in love with whispers and turned them into songs.

Paul Kelly¹⁴

White Australia

The Australians might not have been capable of creating a Paris commune, but they were capable of defending the slogan 'No Chinamen'.

Manning Clark¹⁵

White-car Fever US Style

It's getting on a year since I left the cabinet. Mostly I've spent the time reintroducing myself to my family. Some who leave cabinet posts suffer painful decompression ... The only symptom I've noticed is a slight disorientation stemming from having to do normal things for myself rather than rely on aides. ...getting lost in an underground garage, standing for an hour in line to buy airline tickets, endlessly exchanging voice-mails: the simple irritations of private life were denied me for the four years I devoted to the grand irritations of public life

Bob Reich¹⁶

13. Patrick Dodson, On Leadership, Williamson Community Leadership Program Lecture, 11 May, 1998

14. Paul Kelly, *After the old man died*

15. Manning Clark, *A History of Australia*, The Earth Abideth Forever, 1851-1888, MUP, 1978, p. 350

White man

Kill it
Vitiate the seed
Crush the root-plant
All this
And more you must needs do
In order
To form a husk of a man .
To the level and in your own image
Whiteman

Kevin Gilbert¹⁷

Wik

The Presbyterian Church, aptly described by Charles II three centuries earlier as not a religion for gentlemen, sold Comalco its mission at Mapoon on the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, closed the store and school, stopped the Flying Doctor Service and burnt most of the buildings.

The Government of Queensland connived at the procedure. The Federal Government had no constitutional power to intervene ...

E.G. Whitlam¹⁸

Wik

The Queensland Government's insistence that native title be extinguished and a lump of money thrown at the people is not acceptable. Under no circumstances will the Wik people relinquish their native title over current or future mining areas within the Wik claim area. If a mining lease is going to be validated on their traditional land, they would expect at a bare minimum that their underlying title be not extinguished.

Noel Pearson¹⁹

16. Robert B. Reich, *Locked in the Cabinet*, Vintage Books, 1997, p. xiii

17. Kevin Gilbert, *People are legends Aboriginal Poems*, UQP, 1978, p. 54

18. E.G. Whitlam, *The Whitlam Government 1972-1975*

19. Emma Tom, "Comalco may receive new mining leases", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 August 1993

Wik

It would seem to me, just from first blush, that precluding Aboriginal people from seeking an equitable remedy from the courts, and not denying those remedies to the rest of society and other races, well then, that would seem to be a racial discrimination. The decision taken last night has one disturbing dimension ... the remedy is going to apply across the board, across the country, and Aboriginal landowners who allege breaches of fiduciary duty will be precluded from pursuing those claims, wherever they are. If lawyers for the Wik believe the act has been breached, a High Court challenge would be launched. It certainly appears that the Cabinet has caved into the Jeff Kennett, Wayne Goss line that titles going back to 1788 are at risk - something which any rational reading of the High Court decision makes clear is not on.

Noel Pearson²⁰

Wilenski

On my return from UNESCO I was again appointed to the Senate by the Unsworth Government, which was determined to pursue a long-term objective of mine, a university in Western Sydney. The University of Sydney was asked to advise on the highest academic standards for the new university. I told the Fellows of the Senate that, while they prided themselves on managing the oldest university in Australia, they should not concede that they were too old for childbearing. Peter was selected as the President of the University of Western Sydney Interim Council from December 1986 to June 1987 and as the President of the Chifley University Interim Council from July 1987 to December 1988. He set his mark on the new university by insisting not only on the highest standards but also on the most relevant courses.

E.G. Whitlam²¹

20. Cited in Paul Chamberlin, "Keating Caves in on Wik Claim", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 August 1993

Will

"..countries that have low levels of unemployment, have a will to have low levels of unemployment".

Mike Allen, General Secretary, European Unemployed Workers Association²²

William Holman

A socialist by intellectual convictions, Holman first regarded Labour's political machine as a means of achieving socialist ends. As time went on, the tendency was to regard the means as a separate and independent end in itself.

H.V. Evatt²³

Winning

Our opponents say that if the Left takes power it will suppress private ownership. They want to frighten the majority of French people who like their possessions, as I like mine. But they mix up the possession of property that we have thanks to the hard work of generations, with the accumulation of capital which allows the big national and multinational firms to make super-profits and to dominate our society. Why do they mix up the two sorts of ownership? Because the candidates of the Right represent capital, the banks, the big capitalist firms and what have they to say. Why they should be concerned living in their privileged world about the millions of French people who live their lives in great difficulty?

Francois Mitterand²⁴

21. Memorial Speech for Peter Wilenski, 22 November, 1994

22. European Jobs Summit, October, 1993

23. H.V. Evatt, William Holman Australian Labor Leader, Angus & Robertson, 1940, p. 423

24. Michael Foot, Francois Mitterrand: A Political Odyssey, Quartet, p. 170

Women, Unions, Family

There are too few women in senior positions in the union movement as a whole. It is much harder for women. They have to make personal sacrifices that men don't have to make, especially women with families. It's incredibly difficult to combine the responsibilities of active parenthood, as opposed to passive parenthood which many men undertake, with an active trade union role. ...we have to improve the quality of life, for men as well as women. The whole movement has to become more human centred and acknowledge that the standards it sets have to take into account people's personal and family lives. We get our lives all mixed up and work our guts out. Work is a means to earning a living and having a quality of life but what's that if you don't have time for your family?

[Anna Booth](#)²⁵

Women's Issues, Hillary Clinton & Politics

Women vote for Bill Clinton en masse. In 1992, it was the women's vote that pushed Clinton over the line against George Bush. In 1996, there was a 17 per cent gap in the women's vote between Clinton and Bob Dole. The most dynamic factor in the 1996 Democratic election campaign was Hillary Clinton's ability to mainstream women's issues.

[Peter Botsman](#)²⁶

Worlds

Humanity will not stay on Earth forever, but in pursuit of new frontiers will first penetrate timidly beyond the atmosphere and then will conquer for itself the rest of the planets around the sun.

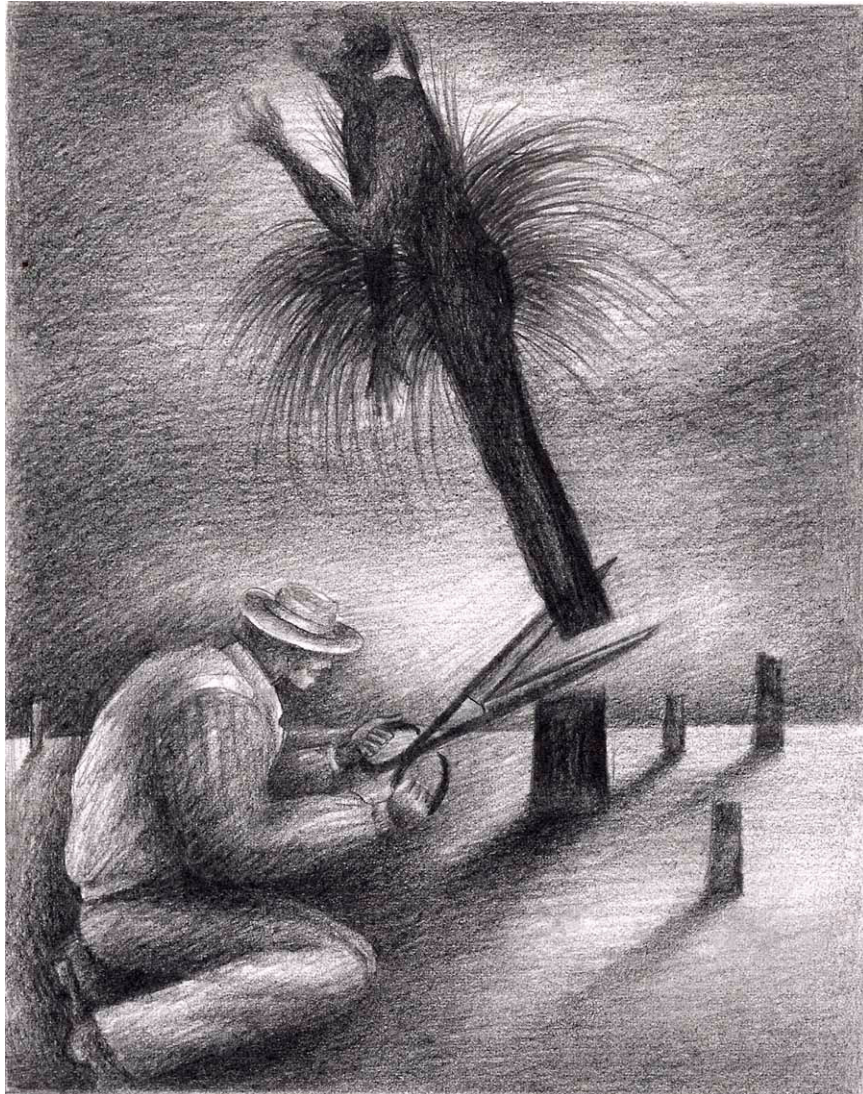
[Tsiolkovsky](#)²⁷

25. Andrew Conway, "Anna Booth", *Sun Herald*, 8 October, 1989

26. Hillary Clinton's visit to Australia, "Feminist issues centre stage", *The Australian*, 20 November 1996

27. Konstantin Tsiolkovsky's *The Exploration of Cosmic Space by Means of Reaction Devices*, (1903) the first academic treatise on rocketry.

Years



A year ago, it felt that Australia was becoming a country with maturity to confront the darker side of its past. A country with the courage to accommodate difference and not to require all peoples to wear the uniform of the dominant group. But what has emerged since the election and the recent Budget, and what is now the defining political climate, is a disturbing new culture - a culture of disrespect, resentment and vilification.

[Patrick Dodson¹](#)

1. Cited in Ben Mitchell, "International Bans Possible, Says Perkins", *The Age*, 2 September 1996

Yolngu

Because it lacked concepts of property that existed in contemporary common law, Yolngu ownership by right of title was found to be a matter of religious belief and not of economic significance. It was therefore not law.

[Nancy Williams, Land Case - Millirrpum vs Nabalco\(1971\)²](#)

Yugoslavia, 1993

I cannot even begin to express to you my contempt for a European policy that is now asking us to participate in what amounts to a codification of the Serbian victory . . . it's fair to say that this would be an entirely different situation if the Muslims were doing what the Serbs have, if this was Muslim aggression instead of Serbian aggression

[Senator Joseph Biden³](#)

2. Nancy Williams, *The Yolngu and their land: A system of land tenure and the fight for its recognition*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1986, p. 202

3. . (to Secretary of State Warren Christopher at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing Tuesday) Roll Call, May 13, 1993

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