CONTENTS

A note on the documents xi
INTRODUCTION: THE CITIZENS’ BARGAIN 1

1 EMPIRE CITIZENSHIP 17
1.1 T.R. Bavin on empire citizenship (1929) 24
1.2 Age—Empire Day (1905) 26
1.3 Sydney Morning Herald—Empire Day, the genius of the race (1907) 28
1.4 New South Wales Department of Public Instruction Circular No. 32: Reissued—Empire Day (1912) 32
1.5 Prime Minister W.M. Hughes on citizenship, empire and patriotism (1916) 34
1.6 A. St John Adcock—Britons all! (1916) 36
1.7 Ernest Scott on Australia and the empire (1911) 37
1.8 C.E.W. Bean on Australia’s position at the outbreak of World War I (1940) 39
1.9 Bulletin—Empire Day (1905) 40
1.10 Sydney Morning Herald—Loyalty to the empire (1904) 42
1.11 G.H. Reid on what empire means (1908) 43
1.12 Arthur Calwell, minister for Immigration, introduces the Nationality and Citizenship Bill (1948) 46

2 FEDERATION, WHITE AUSTRALIA AND CITIZENSHIP 48
2.1 The Australasian Federal Convention debates citizenship (2–3 March 1898) 56
VI • THE CITIZENS' BARGAIN

2.2 *Bulletin*—A policy for the Commonwealth: the federated Chinaman (1900) 63
2.3 *Bulletin*—Anti-Alien Bill (1901) 65
2.4 Rev. Dr Andrew Harper on the White Australia policy (1920) 67
2.5 Examples of Commonwealth restrictions on Aboriginal citizenship rights (1901–18) 71
2.6 N.M. Morley on the problem of the half-caste: a plea for understanding (1936) 73
2.7 Association for the Protection of Native Races—Aborigines' earnings and government trust funds (1936) 75
2.8 A.O. Neville on native laws and citizenship anomalies (1947) 77
2.9 The Senate debates voting rights for Aborigines (1902) 78
2.10 Rose Scott on womanhood suffrage (1892) 81
2.11 The Senate debates voting rights for women (1902) 84

3 THE CIVICS AGENDA: 1915–1940s 91
3.1 Peter Board on Australian citizenship (1919) 100
3.2 Meredith Atkinson on democracy and efficiency (1915) 102
3.3 F.W. Eggleston on industrial legislation and workers' ideals (1915) 104
3.4 Meredith Atkinson on education for citizenship (1920) 106
3.5 Meredith Atkinson—Governing industry (1920) and Workers' cooperatives (1915) 108
3.6 Walter Murdoch on government and liberty (1926) 110
3.7 Walter Murdoch on equality (1926) 111
3.8 Frank Tate on service to one's fellows (1917) 113
3.9 Walter Murdoch on what society does for us (1926) 114
3.10 F.W. Eggleston on the spark of social life (1941) 115
3.11 Muriel Heagney on equal status, equal pay and equality of opportunity (1935) 116
3.12 United Associations—'For Freedom and Equality of Status and Opportunity' (ca 1934) 117
3.13 A.P. Elkin on the Aboriginal problem (1935) 118
3.14 John Patten and William Ferguson—Aborigines claim citizen rights! (1938) 121
3.15 Press reports on the Aboriginal Day of Mourning (1938) 124
3.16 J.H. Sexton on training half-castes for a place among the whites (1935) 126
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS • VII</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>4 LEGISLATING 'THE AUSTRALIAN': 1940s–1960s</strong></td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 R.G. Menzies on the forgotten people (1942)</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Arthur Calwell on the aims of the Nationality and Citizenship Bill (1948)</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 The House of Representatives debates the rights of citizenship (1948)</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Dr Victor Wallace on population increase: by immigration or procreation? (1946)</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 NHMRC—Decline in the birthrate and the augmentation of social provision (1944)</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 <em>Sydney Morning Herald</em>—Mothers, children and democratic policy (1944)</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7 The House of Representatives debates marriage, divorce, citizen rights and community standards (1959)</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8 Grace Cuthbert on marriage and equal opportunity (1946)</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9 W.D. Borrie on policy for the right citizenry (1948)</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10 Arthur Calwell on immigration priorities (1946)</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11 Arthur Calwell on assimilation (1946)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12 Arthur Calwell on liberalising attitudes (1945)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13 The RSL fears ‘people of alien thought and dubious loyalty’ (1947)</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14 Caroline Kelly on Australia’s need for a changed attitude to immigrants (1947)</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15 Instances of the assimilationist ethos (1962)</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16 A.P. Elkin—Is White Australia doomed? (1946)</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17 Senator Buttfield on pension rights vs benefits (1956)</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18 R.G. Menzies on outlawing the Communist Party and ‘declaring’ communists (1950)</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19 <em>Sydney Morning Herald</em>—Red fascism in action (1947)</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.20 <em>Sydney Morning Herald</em>—The limits of toleration (1947)</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.21 E.J. Harrison sees Australian citizenship as ‘a sinister plan to liquidate the British Empire’ (1948)</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.22 Referendum on giving parliament powers to deal with communists and communism—the ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ cases (1951)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>5 ‘LIBERATION’ MOVEMENTS AND NEW STARTS: 1960s–1970s</strong></th>
<th>174</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Immigration Reform Group—Control or colour bar? (1960)</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Press comment on the Prasad case (1965)</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Hubert Opperman—A statement on immigration (1966)</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 Bill Snedden—Revision of *Nationality and Citizenship Act* (1968) 196
5.5 A.J. Grassby on eliminating discrimination between different groups of settlers (1973) 197
5.6 A.J. Grassby on a multicultural society (1973) 198
5.7 Malcolm Fraser endorses the review of post-arrival programs and services for migrants (1978) 201
5.8 Galbally Report—Recognising cultural and racial diversity within society (1978) 203
5.9 Kenneth Rivett on balancing race against other factors for admission (1975) 205
5.10 The House of Representatives debates Commonwealth voting rights for Aborigines (1962) 206
5.11 Charles Dixon—I want to be a human being (1967) 208
5.12 Press coverage of the ‘freedom’ rides (1965) 210
5.13 Aborigines and the social rights of citizenship (1973 & 1976) 212
5.14 Kevin Gilbert on people without purpose, people without identity (1975) 214
5.15 *Australian*—Constraints on Aboriginal land rights (1972) 215
5.16 Black Panther Party program (1972) 216
5.17 *Hecate*—Women’s liberation and class oppression (1978) 217
5.18 Ann Curthoys—Separatism or structural change? (1976) 219
5.19 Aboriginal women demand better social provision (1972) 220
5.20 The counter-culture (1967) and class hegemony (1971) 221
5.21 *Direct Action*—Limiting political rights, Brisbane (1977) 223
5.22 Jack Mundey on workers, green bans and residents’ action (1972) 224

6 REDISCOVERING CITIZENSHIP: 1980s-2001 227
6.2 D. Alexander and D. Prideaux on citizenship education as ideology transmission (1984) 240
6.3 Junior syllabus in citizenship education (1987) 244
6.4 Australianising the curriculum (1987) 245
6.5 Senator Janine Haines on a democracy’s need for politically literate citizens (1987) 246
6.6 Active citizenship (1991) 249
6.7 Codifying Australian citizenship (1994) 250
6.8 Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey—Community without nation? (1988) 253
6.9 Stuart Macintyre—Recovering a history of Australian citizenship (1992)
6.10 Donald Horne on understanding the spirit of how we do things in Australia (1994)
6.16 David Malouf on a republic at the level of feeling (2000)
6.17 National citizenship indicators (1995–96)
6.18 David Malouf—A citizenship lightly but seriously assumed (1998)
6.20 Mark Latham on social capability, welfare and citizenship (1998)
6.21 Mabo, Wik and native title (1992–97)
6.22 Paul Keating—The Redfern Park speech (1992)
6.23 Noel Pearson on the right to an economy (2000)

Notes 300
Sources and acknowledgments 305
Index 312