

**2nd ANNUAL LALOR
ADDRESS
on
COMMUNITY RELATIONS**

**THE ROLE OF GOOD NEIGHBOURS IN COMMUNITY
RELATIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD**

**Friday December 3, 1976
National Library Theatrette
Canberra, Australia.**

PROGRAM



..... Official Welcome
The Hon. A.J. Grassby,
Australian Commissioner for
Community Relations



..... His Excellency Dr Gregorio Abad
Ambassador of the Philippines



..... Mr Walter Lippmann M.B.E.
Chairman Ethnic Communities
Council of Victoria

OFFICIAL WELCOME: BY THE HONOURABLE A.J. GRASSBY

Your Excellencies, distinguished guests,

A warm welcome to you all to this second annual observation.

It is exactly a year ago since the First Lalor Community Relations Address was given to commemorate Peter Lalor as a *great* Australian and to commemorate the Anniversary of the Battle of Eureka Stockade which was fought 122 years ago.

Last year a distinguished gathering was honoured by the *first address* to be given by His Honour the Honourable Sir John Nimmo, O.B.E., O. St J. One of Australia's most eminent *jurists*, he spoke to us on *Racism* in Australia Today and reminded us of the words of Edmund Burke "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." And he reminded us that to combat racism in our own country it is necessary to continue action at all levels of the community.

Last year it was also the commemoration of the Centenary of the Death of Raffaello Carboni and the *Address* was given by Dr Paolo Canali, the Ambassador for the Republic of Italy. Raffaello Carboni, born in the ancient Italian city of Urbino, served as second-in-command to Peter Lalor. He also served under the *great* Italian patriot, Garibaldi, and in his Expedition of *the* 1000 to Sicily.

In my entire lifetime it was only this week that I saw for the *first* time what Carboni looked like. In the advance proofs of a book to be published in February by Geoffrey Gold there are three pictures of Carboni - one as a dashing young man with beard and cloak, another after Eureka in the dock being tried for rebelling and the third being carried on the shoulders of triumphant *diggers* following the collapse of the case *against* the rebels of Eureka and their release as *free men*.

I mention this to show how it is only now we are re-discovering our history.

Tonight the first address is to be given by Mr Walter Lippmann, M.B.E., who is the Chairman of the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, headquartered in the most cosmopolitan city in Australia where 30% of the population were born in 120 different countries and locations around the world. Mr Lippmann was born in *Hamburg*, Germany, and came to Australia just before World War II as a young man. He was among those Germans and Austrians who voted with their feet in protest against the Nazis and all their works.

A successful business man, he has devoted a great part of his life working with refugees and migrants since 1946. He was one of the first to help with the humanitarian arm of the Government's mass migration program of the past 25 years through Good Neighbour, through the Jewish Welfare Society at which he has been the President since 1960 and through other organisations. He has worked untiringly to help build unity and amity in the Australian community.

He was appointed in 1967 as a member of the National Immigration Advisory Council. He was subsequently appointed Chairman of the Community Relations Committee established in 1974 and which presented its final report to the Parliament in October, 1975. He was awarded the decoration of *M.B.E.* for service to the Australian community in 1971.

Mr Lippmann has also served as a pioneer of Ethnic Radio in Australia, contributed to the work of the Migrant Task Force established in Victoria and addresses us tonight against the background of that wealth of dedication and experience.

His *address* deals with the creation in Australia of a multi-cultural society drawn from the 100 and more fragments which *comprise* the Australian population, old and new.

His dedication is to build unity out of diversity with due recognition to the cultures of all and the needs of all.

While Mr Lippmann will deal with the challenges in Community Relations as it affects us in Australia and within our continental boundaries, our distinguished resident to Australia who has spent 5 years building *good* relations between his neighbouring country and ours will deal with the wider implications of community relations. I refer to *His Excellency*, Dr Gregorio Abad, who came to Australia for the Republic of the Philippines in Australia 5 years ago and who is currently Dean of the Diplomatic Corp in Canberra.

Dr Abad holds six honours of Knighthood and with a legal background has been the Head of Missions at home and abroad during a career spanning 20 years in law, administration and diplomacy.

His address this evening in dealing with the role of the good neighbour in community relations brings a wider dimension to tonight's Commemoration Address. Community Relations in Australia have ramifications today far beyond the boundaries of Australia. The world is here in all its infinite variety and in terms of colour, ethnic origins, traditions and heritage.

If we Australians have good relations among ourselves then we have good relations with the world because today we are the world.

It is to draw together the theme of Community Relations at home with *community* relations with our own neighbourhood that the two Addresses tonight complement each other.

Once *again*, there is no greater illustration of Australian unity than Eureka itself. As we are re-discovering our past so we *will* understand the present and be able to plan ahead.

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY DR GREGORIO ABAD, AMBASSADOR
OF THE PHILIPPINES
THE ROLE OF THE GOOD NEIGHBOUR IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Honourable *Commissioner*, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests,

As I move towards the close of my 5 years service in Australia from the neighbouring country of the Philippines, I am particularly pleased and honoured to have the opportunity to contribute an address on the 122nd Anniversary of the Battle of the Eureka Stockade, and to be part of the Second Annual Lalor Address on Community Relations.

I have found it fascinating while I have been in Australia to explore the folklore of the Australian people and to see from where they have derived some of their great impulses for democracy and progress. Perhaps the most shining example of Australians of all backgrounds coming together for the first time in a common cause was at Eureka.

Up until that time there had been continuing spasmodic guerilla warfare between the new wave of settlers and the Aboriginal people, there had been armed strife such as the Battle of Vinegar Hill in New South Vales between Irish rebels and *English* troops but at Eureka the *diggers* who rose in revolt to *fight* for justice and their rights, banded together under the Southern Cross for the first time and worked and fought in unity for the *first time*. I have found it fascinating to read the roll-call of the fallen and to see the multi-cultural nature of the diggers.

The President and Commander-in-Chief was Peter Lalor after whom this Community Relations Address is named. He was an Irishman from Leix County and a brother of the great Irish patriot, James Finton Lalor, who is honoured in Ireland just as Peter Lalor is honoured in Australia.

His Deputy was Raffaello Carbone who was born in Urbino, Italy, and who played a part in the rise of the Italian Republic before he came to work in Australia.

I recall that my colleague in the Diplomatic Corps, His Excellency Dr Paolo Canali, the Ambassador for Italy, delivered at this same gathering last year the Commemoration of the Centenary of the Death of Carbone. Let me illustrate the polyethnic nature of the events. Colonel Frederick Vern of Germany was one of the *senior* commanders, Captain Patrick Curtain from Ireland was commander of the pikemen, Le Pere Duprat hailed from France, John Joseph was an American negro, Rubert Julien came from Nova Scotia, *William Clifton* of Bristol, England, was one of the *first* to fall, the famous Welshman, John Humffray, who helped to found the Ballarat Reform League and Captain Ross who came from Toronto, Canada, and who helped to design the Southern Cross *flag* was the first man to die under that flag at sunrise on Sunday, December 3.

Australia is a proud nation of *immigrants* of one generation or six with the exception of the Aboriginal people who settled the continent 40,000 years ago. Australia has been a multi-cultural society since the First Fleet arrived on January 26, 1788, with 1,000 people drawn from Asia, Europe, the Americas and Africa - every continent was represented.

The great demographic changes in Australia in the past 25 years, striking as they may have been, were no greater than the demographic changes in the 1850's when the non-Aboriginal population rose from 400,000 to more than 1 million in a decade and they were drawn from nearly every country in the world.

There is much in common in the spirit of Lalor and the *diggers* with the great hero of the Philippines, Jose Rizal and the men who fought with him to bring about the establishment of the proud Republic of the Philippines of today.

Rizal, like Lalor, was not impelled by personal need to lead the crusade for justice for his fellow countrymen. If he had been content to enjoy his station in life, his profession, the recognition by the then authorities,

he could have lived his life in peace and prosperity just as Lalor could have done. Rizal, through his prose and through *his* poems and through his personal example brought about the great reforms which the people so much desired. He had another factor in common with Lalor. Lalor's Irish sweetheart, whom he subsequently married, shared his cause and his *suffering*. Rizal's *Irish* sweetheart followed a *similar* path and was with him to the end.

In his last *farewell* he wrote of her as "sweet foreigner, my friend, my joy".

It was Rizal who urged his country women to assert themselves, to be strong, to develop a free mind, to *analyse* everything around them and then to discover their beginning and their end "... to be firm and *fearless*".

I recalled Rizal's clarion call to the women of his time when I read of Lalor's letter to his sweetheart in *which* he said "...the diggers in self defence have taken up arms and we resolved to use them. I am one *amongst* them. You must not be unhappy on this account. I would be unworthy of being called a man, I would be unworthy of *myself*, and above all I would be unworthy of you and your love were I base enough to desert my companions in danger."

It is interesting that Eureka was in 1854 and when Dr Rizal was executed it was December 30, 1896, and the struggle was to continue for many more years.

Lalor was to be wounded, to lose an arm but survive and serve in the Parliament as an elected representative, become a Minister and a Speaker. Rizal never lived to see the crowning of his efforts but every visitor to Manila pays tribute at his shrine which is one of the most important in the nation.

Many who come to Australia find it, a country which like the Philippines *must* be courted like a woman with patience, respect and dedication. Australia does not give up her lore easily. Beneath its still young yet often puzzling

visage there lies a wealth of tradition, history and background. One of my most distinguished predecessors, Mariano Ezpeleta, in his book "Memoirs of an Ambassador" wrote "Australia is a young country still in the throes of growing up ... but it is one of the most democratic of democratic countries, economically still sound and politically mature."

Mr Ezpeleta established our Embassy in Canberra. Up until World War II Australia had no Embassies anywhere. Even in 1960 Australia had diplomatic relations with only 24 countries and there were only 15 Ambassadors resident in Canberra. Six Ambassadors were living in Sydney and three in Melbourne and they drove to Canberra whenever the occasion warranted. Today, there are 60 Missions in Australia and the number is growing, an indication that Australians today are discovering the world and the world is discovering Australia.

One of the major points I wish to make in this Address this evening is that good community relations, whether within one's own country or in the wider world depend very much upon being a good neighbour, of promoting respect between one citizen and another, one worker and another, one country and another. It is not possible to be a good neighbour unless one knows who the neighbours are. It is impossible to understand who or what you don't know.

In the context of wider community relations I want to take the opportunity in this Address to draw attention to the fact that Australia and her neighbours such as the Philippines have not known each other at all adequately. For most of the history of Australia we have been strangers to each other.

Australians and Filipinos are neighbours in the same region in the world. We are neighbours by the immutable laws of geography yet for most of our history as the Commissioner for Community Relations has pointed out we have been kept apart through colonialism and racism.

The barriers preventing the peoples of Australia and the Philippines coming together in friendship and understanding have been torn down but for many years there is no doubt that the Philippines hardly existed from the Australian point of view and Australia in the eyes of Filipinos was a distant and forbidding land.

How could it be that two neighbours in the same region could be so far apart? The answer lies in the colonial yesterdays. Up until the 19th century both of our countries were colonies of great world empires. The Spanish Imperial administrations frowned upon independent associations being developed by the Philippines with neighbours such as Australia. As far as Australia is concerned the British Empire was *just* as exclusive. The British Navigation Company and the China ,Sea Company both virtually excluded the possibility of trade and commerce between the Australian colonies and the Philippines until the mid 18th Century.

Yet not all the colonial systems in the *world* can keep people apart and it has now been recognised from the verbal history of the Australian nation that both the peoples of the Philippines and Indonesia have been moving in and out of northern Australia for many thousands of years. The *first* small opening of Australia to the world outside the region took place in late September 1606 when a Spanish expedition on its way to Manila, already an established port and capital city, sailed through what is now Torres Strait and sighted the northern tip of Cape York Peninsular. A party went ashore to what is now known as Banks Island and part of Australia to obtain water. The expedition was led by Luis Vaez de Torres and he subsequently reached Manila as part of the larger Spanish expedition under the command of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. It was he who gave Australia its name and another link between us is that he named it Australia del Espiritu Santo in honour of the Spanish royal house which also gave birth to the name of the Philippines.

It was as long ago as 1803 when a pair of Sydney identities ran a prosperous distillery in Manila. They were John Boston and James Ellis. A third, Captain William Read, commanded a vessel he and Boston had bought. We know that Boston died during the *course of* a voyage but the Australian expatriates in Manila stayed on and continued to trade and prosper and their families comprised the first Australian *migrants* to the Philippines.

Despite imperial prohibitions Australians and Filipinos found a way to make contact and trade and we know in the 1840's and 50's Australia exported sugar and coal to Manila and there was a small but continuing movement of people from the Philippines to Australia, and towards the end of the last century the South Australian Government arranged negotiations with authorities in Manila to arrange for Filipino workers to settle in northern Australia but permission was refused by the then administration in Manila.

A new little stream began in 1903 when 37 Filipino settlers arrived and continued the following year with 54 arrivals and so on over the years in similar numbers.

Just as the Australians who went to the Philippines to trade and settled have been lost in the population so the Filipinos who came to Australia to settle blended in without trace until 1956 when for the first time 4 Filipinos became Australian citizens.

There has been so much that we have had in common, so many links forged over so long and yet it is only recently in the Philippines that Dr Serafin Quiazon, with the direct encouragement of President Marcos has begun to write the story of the links between our *countries*.

Today there are 10,000 people of Filipino origin in Australia and more than half of them have become Australian citizens retaining their links with the Philippines in culture and family but becoming enthusiastic members of the Australian Family of the Nation and sharing the culture of our Archipelago in this great continent.

If there is a *message* in community relations and a lesson for good neighbours it must be to know each other. I have mentioned that in the Philippines it is only in recent years that research has begun into the history between our peoples outside the colonial era and it is only recently in Australia that a history has been put together of the Filipino contribution.

There is *still* much to be done to *end* the isolationism between us as neighbours. There is still much to be done to mend the long years of artificial separation.

It still comes as a great surprise to so many Australians to learn that the Dominican University of Santo Tomas in Manila is the oldest university in *Asia* and the South

Pacific and pre-dates the oldest Australian university which is located in Sydney by 250 years. It was founded only 90 years after Magellan first circumnavigated the earth and predates Harvard by 25 years and Yale by 70 years. And I recall with pleasure that it was this university which honoured the Commissioner for Community Relations on July 22, 1974, with a special Citation for his work towards the abolition of racial discrimination at the national and international level.

Australia has emerged as one of the *world's* greatest multi-cultural societies; its cities have many languages; its heritage is rich in its variety and it faces the future with a cultural wealth second to none.

In this, again we have much in common. I have *referred to* how Spanish navigators led the way from Europe and the Americas to both the Philippines and Australia. The British connection with Australia is strong and enduring. It is not always known that the British also briefly occupied the Philippines during the Seven Years War in 1762 and the occupation lasted for 2 years.

I mention these *things* to show that there is so much that we still have to learn about each other. For too long the countries of our region have looked outside the region exclusively but now in proud independence we can look to each other, become good neighbours *which* means knowing each other, understanding each other's common problems, savouring our differences and above all we can all learn that to be different is not to be inferior.

The message of good community relations *between the* countries of our region, Australia and the Philippines, is an enduring one for our peoples at home. I stress again to be a good neighbour it is necessary to know your neighbour.

I believe in Australia today there is a greater understanding of what it means to be a good neighbour in terms of knowing and reaching out in friendship to the man next door.

But the history of Australia is not the history of Spanish, Dutch, French and English navigators or British settlement any more than the history of the Philippines is the history of Spanish navigators, Spanish settlement, British, Dutch, Japanese or American occupations. The history of our countries goes back thousands of years and just as in Australia today there is a new awareness of the culture and traditions of the Aboriginal people so in the Philippines we are setting out to rediscover our ancient past.

Just as Australia's first human footprints are shrouded in the mists of the dream-time of the Aboriginal people so in the Philippines the oral history stretches back into prehistory.

There *is* a beautiful Filipino folk story which begins - "A long, long time ago, the world was new and young. The air was *fresh*, the earth was soft, and *grass* was green and dewy. Mountains and hills were boundless. Rivers and seas sparkled in the sun. Trees of the forests were heavy with fruits, animals roamed freely in the jungles, and waters were rich with fish. Everywhere there was plenty to eat.

It was during these rich and plentiful days that the nomads lived. They picked fruits from the laden trees, dug for rootcrops from the soft soil, killed animals for meat, and fished in the wide river."

I was reminded of the folk lore of the original people of the Philippines when I read the Australian Aboriginal story of the birth of the sun which began -

"When the world was young, everyone had to search for food in the dim light of the moon, for there was no *sun*. Then came the time when the emu and the brolga, both of whom were sitting on a nest of *eggs*, had a violent argument over the *excellence* of their chicks. Finally the angry brolga ran to the nest of her rival and, taking one of her *eggs*, hurled it into the sky, where it shattered against a pile of sticks gathered by the sky-people.

The yolk of the egg, bursting into flame, caused such a huge fire that its light revealed, for the *first* time, the beauty of the world beneath. When the people in the sky saw this beauty, they decided that the inhabitants below should have day and night."

The simple beauty of the stories of the first peoples of our two countries are a reminder that national heritage must be the national heritage of *all* our people; we are part of each other bound for eternity by geography and proximity and bound today by the concept of the nation.

It is time for us both to rediscover our past so we can better understand the present and plan for the future.

We must share our folklores, share our experience, become richer through this sharing and understanding. I salute the efforts in Australia today to rediscover the *rich* heritage of the first people with their 40,000 years of tradition.

I would sum up in this way, there is a great and basic ingredient of mutual respect that must be built in to bring about a good neighbour situation.

Australians and Filipinos have fought for their *rights* and fought for justice. We continue to struggle for *progress*, we continue to seek better understandings, we continue efforts to build unity and amity in our own countries.

I believe the spirit of Eureka is an *abiding guide* and inspiration for Australia as we face the new century together. Irrespective of colour, ethnic *origin* or place of birth, the men of Eureka came together in a common cause to fight for their rights. What better signpost for Australia on the eve of 1977. Unity in diversity, a common inspiration, a rich heritage drawn from all the world.

On this Eureka Day I salute our good neighbours and
the young nation.

ADDRESS BY MR WALTER LIPPMANN, M.B.E., CHAIRMAN OF THE
ETHNIC COMMUNITIES COUNCIL OF VICTORIA - COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Mr Commissioner, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen;

On the face of it, it may seem incongruous that a Jew, born in Germany, should be invited to present the address established to honour the memory of an Irish Christian on the anniversary of an important event in Australian history. Yet, I was glad to accept the honour bestowed upon me by the Commissioner because I am conscious of the symbolic significance of the occasion.

I welcome the opportunity to emphasise tonight that Australia is not only a multi-cultural society as a result of the migration programme inaugurated in 1946, but has in fact been a multi-cultural society since the arrival of the first fleet in 1788, when Captain Phillip added his group of settlers comprising convicts and crew from many nationalities to the Aboriginal inhabitants of this land.

Tonight, we commemorate the 122nd anniversary of the battle of the Eureka Stockade, one of the significant occasions in Australian history when free men asserted their rights against oppressive burdens and restrictions imposed upon them by excessive assertion of governmental authority.

Clive Turnbull, in his introduction to Raffaello Carboni's account of the events at Eureka in 1854, observed that "Eureka has a place in Australian history as an affirmation of Australian democracy - a demonstration of the fact that man is not to be put down by autocracies in whatever garb they are dressed - that the battalions, however they may oppress and murder, are in the end powerless before the unflickering flame of the human spirit."

That spirit was demonstrated by the oath which the miners swore "by the Southern Cross to stand truly by each other and fight to defend our rights and liberties."

Who were the miners making that valiant stand for democracy at Eureka?

The Council of the Ballarat Reform League established at a meeting of *miners* at Bakery Hill on November 11th - a date which has acquired a new significance in *more* recent Australian history - consisted of:

Peter Lalor - an Irishman
John Humphrey - a Welshman
Frederic Vern - an Hanoverian

Raffaello Carboni - an Italian
Timothy Hayes - another Irishman
George Black - an Englishman
Edward Thonen - a Prussian
John Joseph - a negro from New York
Patrick Curtain and John Manning - two more *miners*
from Ireland.

The diversity of Australia's population of those days is therefore clearly reflected among those who led the miners in their stand. Similarly, it is reflected in the list of those who died in that fateful clash at Bakery Hill:

10 Irishmen 3 Englishmen 2 Scotsmen 2 Canadians 1
Prussian 1 Hanoverian and 1 Australian listed as
born in New South Wales

We have gathered here this evening not only to honour the memory of these men and the over-riding human values they stood for - we have come together also to recall that at the time of this significant event, the population of Victoria included 190,000 people born in England and Wales, about 50,000 each from Scotland and Ireland, 25,000 Chinese, about 2,000 Frenchmen, 8,000 Germans, 5,000 Europeans from a variety of countries, and about 3,000 Americans.

Thus, Australia in 1854 already had the diverse population composition which makes up the multi-cultural Australian society of our day.

At the time of Eureka, Australia also had other important ingredients confronting us in Australian society today. Let me refer to two of them:

The consistent failures of Aboriginal administration have been attributed by the historian Charles Rowley, in "The Destruction of Aboriginal Society" to -

"The complete legal atomisation of Aboriginal society into individuals, assumed or exhorted to act and react in the manner of "reasonable" Europeans."

The other aspect I want to *refer* to is epitomised by the comment attributed to Sir Charles Hotham, the Governor of Victoria at the time, who blamed the disturbance at Eureka upon "active, *designing*, intriguing foreigners."

The purpose of tonight's occasion is to *focus* upon important aspects of community relations.

In the language of our day, the conditions Rowley described are encompassed in the concept of a policy of assimilation: the policy imposed by Australian governments and community structures upon Aborigines and migrants.

This policy involved depreciation of other languages and cultures and a pressure to achieve anglo-conformity.

In recent years, some realisation has emerged of the fact that such a policy is unrealistic and impractical. Cultural identity is not the same thing as allegiance to a country. Each of us *is* born into a particular family with a distinct heritage. It is important for every individual to know and respect his roots and "ethnic background, for it is only the individual who feels secure in his own social context who *will* feel free to explore a wider identity beyond it and *gain* security in the impersonal industrial society in which we live.

There *is* no inconsistency in saying that we ought to have an integrated Australian community with as few tensions as possible, and at the same time that there should be a

place for the maintenance of languages, *life-styles* and traditions of the people who have come to make their home in this country.

Both of our recent Prime *Ministers* have recognised this. Mr Whitlam said; "We do not want *migrants* to feel they have to erase their own characteristics and to imitate and adopt completely the behaviour of the existing Australian society. The old approach of individual *assimilation* is no longer government policy. We are concerned with integration of ethnic communities into the broader Australian society. By strengthening *these communities* we strengthen the whole society."

Malcolm Fraser was even more direct when he said: "The days of Anglo-Saxon conformity have gone from Australia forever, and we are a better country for it. To be a good Australian does not require somebody to forsake the traditions, the culture, the customs of his birthplace. Indeed, affection for one's birthplace and family tradition makes a person a better Australian."

It is good to know that at least the leaders of our political parties are aware of the importance of ethnic identity to the individual and the positive contribution which ethnic groups and organisations can make to the development of an integrated multi-cultural society in Australia. To achieve this, however, it is vital that the community as a whole, its structures and its organisation gain an equal realisation of the issues involved.

Pressures *towards* conformity still persist; Government Departments still deny specific recognition, support and representation to ethnic groups.

Perhaps it is appropriate here to give you a small example symptomatic of the way insensitive public servants still fight a rearguard battle against recognising the importance of ethnic groups.

A study of migrant integration carried out for the Department of Immigration in 1973 included one question "Do you belong to any club?" The fact that only 11% of Greeks and 16% of Italians replied affirmatively is now being used as an *argument* against the importance of ethnically based organisations, completely *ignoring* the fact that in the study period, ethnic affiliation was *still being frowned upon* and perhaps even more importantly, that many ethnic organisations, churches and services are not seen as "clubs" by those who use them, thus nullifying the value of the response. Such important *facts, however*, do not disturb the established prejudice of public servants, in their efforts to continue to deprecate ethnic identification.

A much more realistic view of the significance of ethnic organisations was taken by Rev. George Martin who, in the third Main report of the *Commission on Poverty*, wrote :

"The fact that an individual does not claim membership of the (ethnic) organisation does not negate its importance. One may subscribe to its aims, benefit from its success in achieving its goals or use its services as a client without claiming membership. In this context the ethnic organisation may be of considerable support to the migrant in the face of the stresses and new cultural influence experienced in Australia."

It is also noteworthy that the terms "Australians" and "migrants" are used very loosely and often the wrong distinctions are drawn. Most of the people referred to as "migrants" are by now naturalised Australians, entitled in law and in practice to all the rights and privileges of Australian citizenship. Worse still, Australian-born children of migrant parents are often referred to and treated as "migrants".

On the other hand, it is equally wrong to *assume* that all "Australians" are alike. Differences in their appearance, interests, social status, religious and political affiliations have admittedly always been accepted

distinctions within Australian society. Differences in race, colour, language, cultural values and *lifestyles* have always existed, but little, if any, notice was taken of these differences, nor were efforts made to cater for the *needs* arising from them in the provision of community services.

It is therefore in this area of differences in language, in cultural and social values, that the impact of Australia's migration programme of the last thirty years has brought to the fore the necessity to bring about changes in attitudes and earlier concepts.

"For those who *wish* to assimilate there should be no artificial barriers placed in their way; for those who need to or *wish* to maintain ethnic integrity, their efforts should be met with understanding, appreciation and tolerance. Democracy demands that the human personality in its course of development should be allowed to proceed without artificial barriers so long as this development does not violate the safety and reasonable rights of others. In this way we shall achieve a desirable 'unity in diversity'."

It is in the framework of such a concept that the Australian community needs to recognise that the *ethnic* group offers to a large *number* of migrants something that is not special, but a very basic human necessity: a *sense* of belonging to a group of people with whom they have something in common, an opportunity of relating to people with whom they have congenial relationships and *arising from this*, a sense of security. Need I remind you of "Kangaroo Corner" in London's Earls' Court area, where Australians tend to congregate for exactly the same reasons which make Greeks or Italians or Turks congregate in their clubs and in their organisations, at least until such time as they feel secure enough in their own identity and in their own surroundings to venture more freely into what were to them strange surroundings.

To many, therefore, the ethnic organisation, far from being a separating factor, is in fact a help to integration. Only people who feel secure in their own surroundings will venture out into *the larger* community and feel at ease there.

Ethnically based organisations have a vital and constructive role to play in the development of Australian society. Most of their members are by now Australian citizens, albeit of foreign origin. Greek, Italian Maltese and many other languages and cultures are part of the roots of a significant section of people who regard Australia as their home.

Ethnically based organisations must therefore be *accepted* as part of the structure of Australian society. They must be encouraged to develop their own approaches to the needs of their members, but at *the same* time they must also be allowed to relate to and integrate with community services generally.

The individual must have a right of choice between the services provided by his own ethnic group and the services provided generally for the community, so that he can use whichever service may best suit his particular needs at a given time.

The crucial factor is that we *gain* an understanding of the fact that Australians of diverse backgrounds react differently to the *stresses* of everyday life. We *need* to preserve the positive aspects of group traditions which help individuals meet the pressures of today's rapidly changing social scene.

For *immigrants* this means that they must be free to retain for as long as they desire to do so the basic values, beliefs and lifestyles which they value and to transmit these to their children, so that they know the roots from which they come, without any *sense* of disloyalty to, or rejection of, the receiving country and its culture.

This need and the desire for distinctive group identity must *be* understood and accepted by their Australian-born neighbours without those still prevailing pressures towards conformity.

The paradox from such a development would *be* that the very freedom which permits groups to maintain their distinctive cultural ties will, *in* the course of time, also permit group identity to be watered down and perhaps even gradually to disappear.

At this stage of Australian development, however, it is important for us to acknowledge that, given the *presence* in the Australian community of Aborigines and a large number of diverse groups of immigrants, to whom their distinct cultural values and lifestyles are of significance, our social structures need to be focussed on -

- (a) The preservation of the character of our minority groups as *far* as each group wishes;
and
- (b) a reasonable integration of the minorities in the society as a whole as much as possible without losing their identity and under conditions which the groups themselves regard as right.

Such an integration represents the challenge facing our society as a whole.

In an effort to meet this challenge, the Australian Government last year established the office of the Commissioner for Community Relations.

This brings me to the second aspect to which I referred earlier in this address - the comment attributed to Sir Charles Hotham, blaming the disturbances at Eureka upon "*active, designing, intriguing foreigners.*"

Australian history, as no doubt the history of many countries and races, abounds with *examples* of similar instances of blaming scapegoats for social, economic or

political problems which arise from time to time, and finding them in those who differ from the major *group* in any given society by reason of race, colour, creed or national or ethnic background.

Fundamental to the *well-being* of any society, particularly one that is composed of people with diversities of background, therefore, is an understanding of the dynamics of group relations and the *dangers* inherent in a failure to develop sound relationships between the different groups making up the community.

Particularly at times of social and economic uncertainty, insecurity creates *fear* in the hearts of many men. *Fear* makes people susceptible to prejudice and prejudice distorts *values*.

There are signs that there are groups in Australia today ready to exploit this human weakness by policies and statements based on racial and religious discrimination attributing the social and economic problems of the day to those whose background differs from those of the majority group, particularly migrants.

Recognising the dangers inherent in such conditions and the human *disasters* that can arise from them - as exemplified in their extremities by the holocaust unleashed by the National Socialist Workers Party in Germany - the United Nations in 1965 promulgated the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.

This Convention and the related Declaration of Human Rights assert that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and *rights* and that everyone is entitled to them without distinction of any kind, in particular as to race, colour or national origin.

All human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against discrimination and against incitement to discrimination."

Last year, the Australian Government ratified this Convention and set up machinery to ensure its implementation through the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975.

In proclaiming the Act, Prime Minister Whitlam recognised that "It is of course extraordinarily difficult to define Racial Discrimination and to outlaw it by legislative means.

"Social attitudes and mental habits do not readily lend themselves to codification and statutory prohibitions.

"To a large extent the provisions of the Act, however specific and forceful in their purpose, are symbolic and exemplary.

"The purpose of the Act is to set standards for the future and to build a climate of maturity, of goodwill or co-operation and understanding at all levels of society".

The Act therefore must be seen in the first place as an unequivocal declaration of public policy designed to discourage behaviour in which prejudice finds expression.

In that sense, the Racial Discrimination Act represents an important milestone in Australian history. For unfortunately, our history right up to the present day abounds in examples of racial prejudice, particularly in respect of the treatment of our Aboriginal fellow citizens.

Their identity and the nature of their customs and traditions have been deprecated. Their group autonomy, as well as, in more recent days, those of the ethnic communities, have been denied instead of being recognised and respected.

In that sense, the principles underlying the Racial Discrimination Act require some fundamental changes in the conceptions of the values upon which Australian society functions.

I have mentioned above the important role which group identification plays in helping individuals to gain strength and security in the often impersonal modern industrial society.

In referring to the Racial Discrimination Act, I must re-emphasize this aspect because I feel that in its emphasis on dealing with acts of individual discrimination, the Act falls to protect adequately the *rights* of groups affected by incitement to and acts of discrimination on the grounds of race, creed, religion or national origin.

There are other aspects on which the Act needs to be criticized.

If detailed examination of the Act were my task tonight, I would need to refer to the inadequacy of the enforcement provisions and the failure to attempt to eliminate discrimination and inequalities inherent in a society in which minority groups are excluded from the process of making decisions, even decisions affecting their own group.

On the positive side, a most valuable innovation brought about by the Racial Discrimination Act is the establishment of the Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations.

Even though the powers of the Commissioner are limited, the opportunities created for the office to develop programmes for community education and inter-group relations are significant.

In a recent address, the Commissioner *has* summarised his priorities as: Education, Information and dealing with individual cases of discrimination.

Without wishing to minimise the importance of this third priority of the Commissioner's tasks, allow me to observe in this respect that, because of the restricted powers of the Commissioner, it is essential to be conscious of the need to avoid difficulties experienced in the implementation of a similar Act in the United Kingdom where a House of Commons Committee in 1975 reported that the Race Relations Board is seen by many as "a body which, with its present powers cannot tackle the real problems of discrimination and thus promises more than it can deliver".

In this *address*, I desire to focus attention upon the over-riding importance of programmes for community education and inter-group *developments*.

Success in implementing the purposes of the Racial Discrimination Act will ultimately depend upon all sections of the community and all individuals within it realising that a cohesive multi-cultural Australian society can only be achieved by understanding of and respect *for* each group within it, and by the active and meaningful participation of all groups in the structures *of* our society.

In this connection, it is most regrettable that the important instrument of community involvement provided for in the Act, namely the Community Relations Council, has not yet been established.

This Council, on which all sections of the community ought to be represented, is envisaged to play a major role in assisting the Commissioner to develop educational programmes with respect to the observance and *implementation of the* convention and to promote understanding, tolerance, friendship and co-operation among the different racial and ethnic groups making up the Australian community.

In the absence of such a Council, the Commissioner's task is *severely* handicapped and the impact of his work limited for, ultimately, it is not enough *for the* necessary changes to be recognised in abstract theoretical terms: they must be implemented in the *grass roots* of the community, in the daily life and structures of Australian society.

The Office of the *Commissioner* for Community Relations has made valuable contributions to the development of educational programmes in our schools and institutions of tertiary education, particularly in the crucial area of teacher training. Nevertheless, this must be seen merely as a first priority phase.

The task of community education *is* a much wider challenge which *has*, so far, been inadequately *faced*, owing to the absence of adequate resources and funds.

In its final report to the then Minister for Labor and Immigration, the Committee on Community Relations recommended last year that the development of a vigorous community *relations* programme and the establishment of effective machinery including the *setting* up of community relations resource centres to *implement* it should be undertaken as a priority task and adequate resources be allocated.

It further emphasized that the primary programme development role of the Office of the Community Relations Commissioner should be recognised and strong, and active co-ordinating machinery be developed between his office and others operating in the field of community relations and education.

While nobody can *gainsay* the vigour of Al Grassby's individual efforts and those of his small staff of officers, it is a sad reflection upon the attitudes still prevailing in our Government that the resources placed at their disposal are so limited that the vigorous community relations programme and the establishment of effective machinery for its implementation on a national scale still awaits implementation.

In a way, this situation is being compounded by the *emergence* of a wide variety of unco-ordinated and often unrelated and amateurish efforts in the fields of community relations and ethnic affairs.

Time will not allow me to refer to these in detail, but whilst emphasizing the importance of community involvement on the widest possible scale and therefore, in a sense, welcoming the diversity of programmes, one must underline the necessity for these to be co-ordinated and planned if they are to be economical and effective. The primary role of the Office of the Commissioner in the development of such programmes must therefore be stressed.

Community relations is an area of great sensitivity. Particularly at a time when some of the more recently added components of Australian society, namely the ethnically based organisations, need to be given access to the structures of the established community, basic planning and co-ordination of such developments is essential.

Without this, a multitude of token involvements may be achieved which, in the long term, would fall to bring about the meaningful integration of the diverse groups making up our Australian society.

The American sociologist, Saul Alinsky, in a different context observed that "social workers and academics would like to see better housing, health and economic security, but they are not living in the rotten houses, it is not their children who are sick; it is not they who are living with the *spectre* of unemployment hanging over their heads; they are not fighting their own fight."

The same considerations need to be recognised as applicable in the field of community relations and the integration of ethnic groups.

Disadvantaged groups are not involved in the decision-making structures of the community. Despite an official policy of "self-determination", Aborigines have never had control of their own situation under any government. Ultimately, it is the white man who giveth and the white man who taketh away.

The ethnic community groups similarly are denied effective participation in the echelons reaching final decisions about services affecting their interests and needs.

It is therefore high time that procedures be established which enable representatives of these groups to be consulted and involved in the making of decisions which currently still lie largely in the hands of a Public Service to whose hierarchy significant sections of the Australian community have little access.

To strengthen the effectiveness of the work of the Office of Community Relations, Community Relations Councils envisaged by the Act should therefore be established with *substantial* involvement of representatives of the diverse groups of the community, being *given* meaningful roles and active participation in the development of programmes for community education and relations.

Speaking out *against* racism, the U.K. Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, recently said:

"Good community relations must derive from within local communities themselves. Only here can *the* battle for community harmony be won. There are limits to what a Government can do. The people themselves must provide".

This too applies to the Australian scene. Government must provide leadership and the framework for the development of community *programmes*. Success, however, depends ultimately upon the involvement of the people.

The events at Eureka which we commemorate tonight *remind* us of the evil consequences of disturbed relationships in a community. In concluding last year's Lalor address, Mr Justice Nimmo said:

"We commemorate Eureka because, for the *first time* in Australian history, men of many nationalities and backgrounds made common cause to *win* and preserve fundamental human rights".

Let me, in conclusion, summarise what I have tried to say tonight, by reiterating that the idea of the melting-pot in which the different stocks were to be recast into a standard homogeneous society, has not stood up. The different racial, ethnic and religious groups which make up Australian society insist that their values be respected, along with their rights as citizens.

Such equality is not here yet, and the pangs which attend its birth are not over. Our task is to ensure that the movement towards its achievement continue to gain momentum so that, in the words of a former Secretary of the

Department of Immigration, Bob Armstrong:

"Australians come to a better understanding of the social and cultural background of migrants, their needs, their problems and ways in which community and individual action can assist successful integration.

The diversity of our origins enriches our present lives. But the most important thing is to acknowledge that - irrespective of our origins - we all have a common interest in the future of this country" -

Which, as the Prime Minister reminded us at the time of the proclamation of the Racial Discrimination Act, has a unique opportunity to show *the* world what one of the youngest of all nations can do in promoting peace, tolerance and unity *among* all sections of its people.