Australian Political Elites and Citizenship Education for 'New Australians' 1945-1960

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Sydney

MAY 2001
In memory of Bill Jenkins, my father, who gave me the courage and inspiration to persevere
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7 Commonwealth Department of Immigration Brochure, 'This is how you can help someone to become an Australian citizen', 1952
ABSTRACT

This educational history thesis contributes to knowledge of citizenship education in Australia during the 1940s and 1950s. It provides unique perspectives on an important part of Australian citizenship educational history. This examination of citizenship education also helps to explain contemporary trends and the recent revival of citizenship education in multicultural Australia.

Following the Second World War, Australian political leaders initiated an unprecedented immigration programme to help develop and defend post-war Australia. The programme enjoyed bipartisan support and was extraordinary in terms of magnitude and nature. It became the catalyst for a citizenship education campaign orchestrated by Federal political leaders for the benefit of all Australians. The citizenship education campaign was, however, primarily aimed at non-British adult migrants. The intention of the Federal Government was to maintain the cultural hegemony of the Anglo-Celts evident in pre-war Australia. In accordance with government policy, the new arrivals were expected to assimilate into the Australian community and become loyal citizens. Citizenship rested on a common national language and thus, the focus was on teaching migrants of non-British origin English for the workplace, everyday intercourse and, as a means to dissuade migrant enclaves.

This thesis comprises of three sections which illustrate how the citizenship education campaign was extended through: (i) official education channels; (ii) the media, specifically the Australian Broadcasting Commission; and (iii) annual citizenship conventions which encompasses a case study of the Good Neighbour Movement in New South Wales. These particular areas have been chosen as they identify important and different ways the campaign was expressed and funded. Discussion of the financial arrangements concerning the implementation of the campaign is important as it uniquely illustrates the power of the Federal authorities to direct the campaign as they considered necessary. It also highlights conflict between Federal and State authorities in dealing with the education of new arrivals, primarily due to the traditional two-tier system of government extant in Australia.

The general theoretical framework of this thesis emanates from concepts and ideas of writers who illustrate, in general, the concentration of power within Australia society and supports this work's notion of a 'top-down' paradigm, i.e. one invariably directed by the nation's political leaders. This paradigm is presented in an effort to provide an appreciation of the powerful nature of the Federal Government's immigration policy and citizenship education campaign in the dramatic post-war reconstruction period. The thesis is related to an elite theory of political change but with due consideration to issues of context, that is, Australian society in the 1940s and 1950s.
Understanding that there was a citizenship education campaign provides a novel means of appreciating post-war immigration policy. The campaign embedded and tied together multifarious notions extant in the Australian Government policy for the Australian community in meeting the challenges of a nation experiencing massive social and economic change. Significantly, this study helps to explain the shift from the Anglo-Celtic, monocultural view of citizenship to one that officially recognises the culturally diverse nature of Australian society today.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would firstly like to thank Professor Geoffrey Sherington who has proved to be an outstanding supervisor with a remarkable wealth of knowledge. Professor Sherington has always managed to find the time to provide the professional guidance needed to complete this study and his contribution has been invaluable. His cheerful disposition and that of his staff is also most appreciated.

In the preparation of this thesis I met many resourceful people including library, archival and government department staff to whom I am grateful for their time and effort. I would like to mention Guy Tranter Australian Broadcasting Corporation Document Archives Sydney, Edmund Rutledge and Barbara Court National Archives of Australia Sydney and Canberra respectively, Michael Saclier Noel Butlin Archives Centre Canberra and Mary McPherson Department of School Education Sydney. I would also like to thank the staff from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Canberra including Jann Walker, Alison Compston and Fari Archdaiat, National Library Canberra including Graeme Powell, State Records Kingswood, the New South Wales Teachers’ Federation and the office of Philip Ruddock, Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Parliament House Canberra.

I am thankful to many friends and colleagues for their encouragement and friendly advice, particularly Dr Craig Campbell, Dr John Hughes and the late Associate Professor Michael White. Special thanks goes to Esther Maltby, Brenda Lea and John Helby for their good humour and friendship.

I am most grateful to my family as it was through their support and consideration that I have been able to complete this thesis. My children, Michael (14) and Natalya (11), have been a constant source of motivation and loving devotion. In a sense, their youthfulness has made this study worthwhile. I would especially like to thank Robert for his guidance, understanding and goodness.
## ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>ABC</td>
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<td>Australian Citizenship Convention</td>
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<td>ADB</td>
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<td>AGPS</td>
<td>Australian Government Publishing Service</td>
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<td>ALP</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
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<td>ANU</td>
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<td>AR</td>
<td>Annual Report</td>
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<td>Aust</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Commission</td>
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<td>CIAC</td>
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<td>CIPC</td>
<td>Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council</td>
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<td>CP</td>
<td>Country Party</td>
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<td>DIMA</td>
<td>Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOE</td>
<td>Department of Education</td>
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<td>DPs</td>
<td>Displaced Persons</td>
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Fig 2. Australian Immigration Ministers shared a commitment to post-war immigration which prospered with the assistance of Immigration Secretary Heyes. Australia's first four Ministers for Immigration (L-R) A. Downer (LP, 1958-63), A.A. Calwell (ALP, 1945-49), H. Holt (LP, 1949-56), and A. Townley (LP, 1956-58), farewell Sir Tasman Heyes, Immigration Secretary (1946-61). (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus 1946-1990, A Photographic Archive*, Canberra, AGPS, 1990, Cat. No. 61/28/2)

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Prime Minister Menzies was more 'British' than his Labor counterparts and had close ties with British leaders including Prime Minister Harold Macmillan with whom he personally discussed the issue of who should be appointed Australian Governor-General. These two leaders together in a bookshop during Macmillan's visit to Australia as part of a Commonwealth tour in January 1958.

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(Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 50/19/1)

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(Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 56/19/12)

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(Source: Australian Citizenship Convention 1953, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/9/7)

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INTRODUCTION

The globalisation of the world economy, break-up of the communist block and pervasion of advanced mass communication technologies have created a new international context within which to view citizenship. As Australia celebrates the centenary of Federation (2001) there has been a re-assessment of the role of citizenship in the nation-state and debate concerning Australia's national identity. There has also been a revival of citizenship education.

In 1994, former Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating initiated a Civics Expert Group to develop a strategic plan to enable all Australians to participate more effectively in the nation's civic life. The Group stated that it was no longer possible to assume the old values that once united the Australian community; indeed, diversity had become a hallmark of national strength. Different cultural groups had called for respect from the state regarding their rights and had sought policies and programmes to serve their particular interests. The Group further asserted that citizenship should be the basis of sustaining our contemporary multicultural society and should acknowledge the civic worth of every citizen equally. Democratic values should also require that all citizens had equal opportunity to participate in the exercise of their rights and responsibilities. Without civic education, democratic ideals could not be maintained. The Group's national civics survey indicated, however, that there was ignorance and misconception about Australia's system of government, its origin, and the ways it could serve the needs of citizens.

This report, and others of a similar nature, motivated the Howard Coalition Government in 1997 to allocate $17.5m for a national programme of civics and citizenship education for schools. Through the Federal Government's Discovering Democracy programme, students were to be taught to recognise the importance of Australian political and legal institutions in everyday life and to develop their capacity to participate in their civic community as informed and reflective citizens.

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2. S.M. Macintyre (Chairman), Whereas the People . . . , Summary, p. 5
3. T. Aulich (Chairman), Education for Active Citizenship in Australian Schools and Youth Organisations, Report by the Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training, Canb, AGPS, February 1989
   T. Aulich (Chairman), Active Citizenship Revisited, Report by the Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training, Canb, AGPS, March 1991
4. D. Kemp, Federal Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training, Discovering Democracy, Civics and Citizenship Education, Ministerial Statement, Canb, AGPS, 8 May 1997, p. 4
Thus, the recent revival of citizenship education in Australia has enjoyed bipartisan support in an effort to promote 'active citizenship' in accordance with democratic ideals. Contemporary approaches to citizenship education have also recognised the virtues of promoting individual citizens' participation in the civic life of the Australian nation.

It is noteworthy that following the Second World War, the focus was similarly on individual citizens embracing a greater responsibility in the political, social and civic life of the nation. Subsequently, present-day study of citizenship education contains similar quests to educate Australian citizenry. The post-war period, in fact, laid the foundations for Australia's present population structure and its emerging views of citizenship. Therefore, the study of this period provides both an historical link and antecedents to present-day trends in citizenship education.

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine how, in the aftermath of the Second World War, national leaders initiated a citizenship education campaign that was prompted by Australia's need to populate the nation with non-British migrants. Post-war immigration was a radical departure from traditional immigration practices in that a substantial proportion of migrants was to be recruited from mainland Europe in lieu of a shortfall in British migrants. The stated intention of the Federal Government was to assimilate the non-British migrants into the Australian life pattern and maintain the cultural hegemony of the Anglo-Celts evident in pre-war Australia. Ironically, the influx of post-war non-British migrants introduced a dialectic into Australian citizenship which would eventually acknowledge the presence of ethnic diversity through a policy of multiculturalism in the 1970s. However, in this study, the focus is on an examination of citizenship education in Australia in the 1940s and 1950s.

The post-war period in Australia was one of transition and, as Brown has suggested, involved dramatic social and economic change. Brown has disputed the 1950s portrayal as an 'interlude of fleeting preoccupations in which Cold War ideologies ruled and the people were duped'. He has argued that the 1950s, rather than being categorised as suburbia and the long economic boom, was a period of adjustment. Themes of nostalgia or lost opportunity, Brown stated, should be replaced by the 1950s being characterised by 'complexity, frustration and transition'.

Brown illustrated his argument by depicting a continuity where the guardians and

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6 N. Brown, *Governing Prosperity*, pp. 3-4
critics of society of pre-war years who had been predisposed to managing society became increasingly uncomfortable with the changes of post-war affluence, materialism and mobility of society. He maintained that national decision-makers, although unsure of the resources they could bring to bear to contend with the impending changes, did not let the better times swamp them but maintained a close engagement with Australian society. This engagement was the centre of Brown's interpretation of the 1950s transition from 'managing the nation to governing prosperity'. Brown's argument provides important insight into Australian society in the post-war period and is thus a useful tool for this analysis of the citizenship education campaign evident in post-war Australia.

Brown moved beneath the façade of popularised images of the 1950s. The reader begins to recognise the characters and institutions responsible for monitoring and governing post-war prosperity. He cited how the Australian Army Education Service 'repatriated and guided' the returned soldiers and suggested that the task of the Service was to help soldiers to return to society 'as good and useful citizens'. The returned servicemen were to be encouraged to take on social responsibility and civic interest. Citizenship, as suggested by Brown, was defined through participation and also 'through individual attitude and personality'.

Education for citizenship in the post-war era, therefore, could be seen as an important component of Australian national development. The personality was to be tempered, even retrained; that is, the measure of economic opportunity, social mobility and consumerist enticement had to be mediated by a citizenry prepared by the nation's leaders. Within this overall context of adjustment for change, education of 'new citizens' took on specific meaning.

Citizenship development in the 1950s, as suggested by Sherington, began to incorporate new themes and concepts associated with the rise of the welfare state and world trends. The Second World War provided the basis for the Australian welfare state, which was founded on the principles of full employment (for males) and limited social security. After gaining office in 1941 the Federal Labor Government initiated principles of

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7 N. Brown, *Governing Prosperity*, p. 4
8 N. Brown, *Governing Prosperity*, p. 169
9 N. Brown, *Governing Prosperity*, p. 169
democratic citizenship. The National Fitness Movement provided a new model of citizenship for youth, centred on social participation in local community life.\textsuperscript{11}

In the 1950s, national education policy was affected by post-war prosperity, which led to a demand for longer periods at school. Proposals for change to education involved assimilating the young as future citizens who were to be educated to take their part in a modern democratic society. Comprehensive secondary education initiated in the late 1950s and early 1960s resulted in co-education being introduced to educate males and females together as modern citizens. Education policies did not, however, have the intended effect to increase participation in social and civic life that could have been expected with the rise of the national welfare state.\textsuperscript{12}

The Second World War, the new consumerism, the emergence of the welfare state and the coalescing of society into a national post-war reconstruction concern weakened and diminished class, gender and pre-war sectarian and religious antagonism principally. This was particularly evident in 1951 with the final settlement on the Australian flag and the previously Protestant-supported Empire Day renamed 'Cracker Night', as an event of the new post-war consumer society. As Sherington pointed out, the question of citizenship in the 1950s became one of cultural adjustment for the individual. There was a concern over how to assimilate citizens including post-war migrants, indigenous Australians and young Australians caught up in the consumer society.\textsuperscript{13} This view is supported in this work and becomes particularly evident from an examination of the citizenship education programmes introduced by national leaders for post-war migrants.

Martin has provided a detailed account and useful insight into the approach of national leaders in dealing with the 'migrant presence' in Australia during the post-war period.\textsuperscript{14} She has suggested that policy change concerning the education of migrant students was slow and that those in authority did not take the initiative in responding to the needs of migrant students. Instead, response was associated with more or less discrete challenges to institutional authority by 'less influential' members of society who had immediate contact


\textsuperscript{12} G. Sherington, 'Citizenship and Education in Postwar Australia', pp. 330-333

\textsuperscript{13} G. Sherington, 'Citizenship and Education in Postwar Australia', pp. 331-333

with students such as teachers. The success of challengers was hence, influenced by their structural position in society. Martin has further suggested that response ‘was directed to giving migrant children the minimum language skills needed for them to communicate in a monolingual society’. This action represents a ‘minimalist approach’ and indicates a lack of comprehensive policy formulation aimed specifically at the needs of migrant students. This particular study also supports Martin's thesis insofar as it shows the actions and reactions of teachers and education officials in dealing with migrant students in public schools.

Martin derived her viewpoint from a sociology of knowledge, presenting the argument that Australians had a social knowledge or construct that found it hard to acknowledge the migrant presence except on their own terms. That is, from the experience of an Anglo-British culture in an Australian environment. In support of Martin's view it is illustrated in this work that post-war migrants with their cultural differences were perceived as a 'problem'. They presented a challenge to existing structures and their assimilation presented difficulties for authorities particularly due to linguistic differences.

Martin was critical of government policy concerning post-war migrants and considered that much was done in the name of legitimating those policies. Martin has suggested that from the inception of post-war immigration, the Federal authorities worked vigorously at convincing the Australian public that non-British migrants could be assimilated as easily as the British. This view is significant in understanding an important feature of citizenship education in the post-war period which also encapsulates native Australians being 'educated' to accept the Federal Government's post-war immigration programme.

Jordens, in her study of post-war Australia and the effects of the Federal Government's immigration programme, has pointed out that in less than 30 years Australia was transformed from a society which saw itself as essentially British in culture to one that was emerging as a multicultural society.

Jordens has argued that Australia has changed from a country that preserved its national identity by discriminatory legislation against those who were not part of the 'imagined national community, into a society where the equal treatment of its members,

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15 J. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, p. 84
16 J. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, p. 28
regardless of their gender, race, religion, ethnicity, age, disability or sexual preference is required by legislation'.

Jordens has relied on Federal Department of Immigration (DOI) files to provide her account of the cultural change that has occurred in Australia since 1945. She stated that she used 'two valuable threads to guide me through this archival labyrinth'. The first was an understanding of citizenship based on the view of the British sociologist, Marshall. The second was 'a focus on non-compliance as a spur to administrative change', which she derived from the work of American political scientist Levi.

Jordens has attempted to demonstrate, in an Australian context, how the definition of citizenship changed over time, which was similarly a central theme of Levi's 'wide-ranging compliance studies'. Immediately upon arrival, Jordens said, migrants had to comply with all the Australian regulations and laws. They were expected to become absorbed into the Australian community and eventually to become Australian citizens. This occurred through the government developing two main strategies to work towards migrant compliance. The first was the provision of practical bridges to mainstream society. The second arose from the DOI's development of an understanding of 'psychological disincentives to compliance created by procedural unfairness'.

Jordens has suggested that the role played by the DOI in the constructing and promoting of the political acceptability of the immigration programme has been underestimated and that the DOI enlisted the leaders of powerful mainstream organisations to welcome migrants and, later, recognised the role ethnic organisations could fulfil in assisting the social integration of their communities. Jordens has further argued that largely through the efforts of the DOI, what eventually developed in Australia was the growth of the notion of citizenship based on equality of rights and the acceptance of cultural diversity rather than on British culture and ethnicity. This occurred as the DOI was

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18 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. 1
19 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. xi
20 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. xi
21 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. xi
22 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. xi
23 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. xi
24 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, pp. xi-xii
responsible for implementing the social and economic absorption of non-British migrants into Australian society.\(^{25}\)

More recently, Jordens examined the role of the DOI, describing how the settlement needs of migrants had been catered for over the last 30 years. She praised the work of the DOI, rejecting claims that the Government between 1947-1975 did little, if anything, to help non-British migrants settle in Australia.\(^{26}\) The idea of ‘non-compliance’ of migrants to adopt Australian citizenship was further considered by Jordens as a ‘powerful spur to administrative reform and sometimes even cultural change’.\(^{27}\)

This is a potent argument that reinforces the idea that the DOI and Australian Federal Government were moved into responding to the migrant presence. In claiming that non-compliance led to administrative reform, Jordens appears to be acknowledging an active participation of migrants and/or DOI workers in changing policy concerning migrants.

The claim is symptomatic of Jordens' criticism of Martin whom Jordens has argued did not appreciate the role of the DOI. She has said that Martin was highly critical of the role of the Commonwealth authorities in responding to the migrant presence generally, describing the efforts of the DOI in the areas for which she believed it was responsible, migrant education and welfare, as ‘limited and tardy’.\(^{28}\) Jordens largely attributed this view to Martin's lack of access to DOI archival files. These files, she asserted, proved that the efforts of the Department were ‘far from “tardy” and in some areas were astonishingly innovative’.\(^{29}\)

In agreement with Jorden, it will be argued in this work that the DOI fulfilled a most important role in administering Government immigration policy and citizenship development initiatives. Differing to Jordens, however, it will be elaborated upon how, in accordance with the Westminster System, the Minister carried the ultimate responsibility for policy decisions. The DOI could influence these decisions particularly through senior DOI officials. The DOI, nonetheless, had the task of primarily carrying out the decisions of the

\(^{25}\) A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. 7


\(^{27}\) A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 60

\(^{28}\) A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 2

\(^{29}\) A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 2
Minister and Cabinet. In fact, the work of the DOI and public servants could generally be seen in virtually the same light as that of other community organisations, institutions and forums set up by the Federal Government to foster migrant assimilation. The view of Jordens can be given more credence after the 1970s with the policy shift to multiculturalism. However, even this change was based on practicality and legitimising government policy rather than the mere fact of non-compliance of migrants.

Theoretical Orientation

In this work the focus is on examining the education of 'new citizens' as a campaign directed by the political elite in the 1940s and 1950s. The general theoretical framework of the thesis will be supported by concepts and ideas of writers who show, in general, the concentration of power within Australian society and support this work's notion of a top-down paradigm, i.e., one invariably directed by the nation's political leaders. This paradigm will be presented to provide an appreciation of the powerful nature of the Federal Government's immigration policy and citizenship education campaign in the dramatic post-war reconstruction period. The thesis will be related to an elite theory of political change but with due consideration to issues of context - that is, Australian society in the 1940s and 1950s.

The concept of Australian citizenship in Australia in the 1940s and 1950s was still predominantly influenced by the 'White Australia' policy and the ethnocentricity of the Anglo-Celt. An 'alien' was not a British subject or Irish citizen, but a category that covered European migrants. In 1948, the Nationality and Citizenship Act helped address and ameliorate the exclusiveness and racial overtones of Australian citizenship. The new status of Australian citizen could be considered indicative of the 'new Australia' envisaged by the post-war Labor Government. It was a status to be enjoyed by both native-born and 'new Australians'.

Citizenship prior to the Second World War was allied to a more stratified society that emphasised different outcomes for various sections of the community. The divides in society reflected citizenship ideals accumulated through education, social class, gender, sectarian affiliations and race. Citizenship training therefore provided viewpoints that were particularly moulded by cultural biases and religious divisions existing between Catholics and Protestants. Citizenship training also reflected a gender bias in single-sex schools and the role males and females were expected to fulfil in society. These expectations, particularly for males, could differ according to economic circumstances. The leaders of the nation were invariably cultivated from the ranks of private schools and universities.
Australian Aborigines did not fit into the Anglo-Celtic sense of citizenship. Full-blooded Aborigines were wards of the State and suffered due to their cultural differences. They were generally denied political and civil rights and treated as outcasts of the community.

Australian Federation (1901) officially marked the emergence of the Australian nation-state. The Federation was a body of self-governing States within a Commonwealth Government. Australian nationalism did not follow similar trends to those seen in the historical development of nations on the European continent. The island continent already had a geographical identity, with English as the lingua franca and institutions and customs that were inherited from the British nation. The newly formed Commonwealth of Australia was, in effect, still attached to the British Empire. The Australian constitution, for instance, formally vested executive power in the King or Queen of England with the Australian Governor General as his/her representative.  

Legislative links with Britain were sustained and Australians remained British subjects until the mid-1980s.

Citizenship in Australia until the 1950s thus had a weak affiliation with a national identity, being informally expressed in the common law, the constitution and Acts of Parliament. The status of Australian citizenship was only introduced in 1948 with the introduction of the Nationality and Citizenship Act. It was not drafted on a Bill of Rights. National identity in the period 1901 to 1948 had some identification with Australian prowess on the battlefields in the 1914-1918 war. However, the bond to Britain persisted particularly through blood ties, the White Australia policy and traditional respect for British institutions and practices. In such an environment the development of a unique national citizenship based on less exclusive desires and more democratic ideals would not eventuate until the 1950s, when Australian society experienced massive changes, creating many new challenges for members of the nation’s elite.

Mills has stated that the power elite is made up of members of society whose position enables them to transcend the normal environment of ordinary people. They are in pivotal positions, which enable them to make decisions having major consequences. They are controllers of the major hierarchies and organisations that make up modern society. They run large corporations, the military establishment, the machinery of the state, and claim its prerogatives including wealth, power and celebrity status within the social structure.

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This description could be applied to Australian elites. A survey completed by Higley et al. was used to identify and categorise elite groups in Australia. The nation's elite was found in the upper echelons of society as politicians, senior public servants, trade union officials and powerful employers. The strategic organisational positions of this select group of Australians enabled them to influence or change the direction of national policies 'regularly or seriously'. That is, at the least their opinions and possible actions on national policy questions were often seen by others as important factors for consideration in decision-making.

Although the survey of Higley et al. was completed in 1979, the findings have relevance to the 1950s when there was a substantial concentration of power shared by a comparatively small number of members of society. In the 1950s, however, the elite invariably comprised Anglo-Australians and no new Australians, a situation which has slowly changed over the last four decades. This has occurred within certain constraints dictated by the national elite in order to maintain the status quo. That is an Australian society that has political stability and democratic practices in keeping with the Westminster parliamentary system:

The presumption underlying this study (elites in Australia) is that these distinctive features of Australian society derive primarily from the consensual unified structure that its elites have always formed. The evidence for this presumption is the observable absence of irregular seizures of power, or the threat of them, throughout Australia's history . . . Tutelage by the already consensual unified British elite during the nineteenth century was the genesis of this structure. The process of merging separate British colonies into a Federation in 1901 probably strengthened it. Subsequent generations of elites appear to have calculated that their personal interests were best served by preserving existing institutions and procedures.33

Encel has discussed similar issues from a different standpoint. He maintained that 'in any organised society there is bound to be a power elite, in the sense of a more or less stable body of people who effectively exercise authority, influence and power'.34 Encel emphasised

33 J. Higley et al., Elites in Australia, pp. 22-23
34 S. Encel, Is There an Australian Power Elite? Chifley Memorial Lecture, Melbourne, National Press Club, 1961, p. 3
the role of large corporations and industrialists in influencing government and society. He was critical of the growth of corporations and their dominance of the economy. He noted the close interconnection between industry and government.35

Encel further described a movement of senior public servants from government to private industry. The two-way movement occurred at the highest level of government and management, reinforcing the interlocking concept of Higley et al. whereby the elite, or power elite as Encel has suggested, dominated important organisational positions.36 The rationale of these authors outlines a cogent theme in government policy of virtual uncompromising directives towards migrants and particularly non-British migrants when articulated with other government imperatives such as national security concerns as well as nation-building.

Betts has bolstered the force of the preceding argument by emphasising the effect of the bipartisan agreement on immigration. She has suggested that ‘a tacit bipartisan pact' made between the two major political parties to exclude immigration as an electoral issue allowed political elites to overlook public opinion and proceed with large intakes.37 Although her thesis examined the 1970s, bipartisan agreement was evident in relation to post-war immigration from its inception. Betts has shown that there was no real opposition from other quarters in society, such as the media, intellectuals or academics. This enabled the national elite to pursue their goals in immigration policy virtually without opposition. Thus, consensus among the national elite was the driving force for the introduction of full-scale immigration. By 1945, the urgent need to increase Australia's population through immigration had been accepted in the political arena.38

Davidson has argued that power ‘from below' has never existed in Australia because the Anglo-Celt self-identity of Australians meant compliance with British legal and political practices, which were exclusionary. This occurred because ‘the Australian collective memory was quite false in its assumption that there was nothing to learn about democracy and human rights outside the closed British heritage'.39 Davidson's argument has provided a

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35 S. Encel, *Is There an Australian Power Elite?*, p. 15
36 S. Encel, *Is There an Australian Power Elite?*, p. 19
37 K. Betts, *The Great Divide*, Potts Point, NSW, Duffy & Snellgrove, 1999, p. 4
38 G. Sluga, *Bonegilla, 'A Place of No Hope'* , Parkville, Vic, University of Melbourne Press, 1988, p. 1
useful means to examine the approach of the nation's political elite in dealing with citizenship education in the post-war period, particularly taking Australia's Anglo-Celt self-identity into account. However, this work will differ from Davidson's view as it will also be argued that due to the massive social and economic changes that occurred in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Federal political elite could not always control events. Therefore, power from below was not totally non-existent; at times circumstances were beyond the control of national leaders, who had to adjust to post-war social and economic change. To some extent, however, Davidson's precept could be considered to apply in the early post-war period in respect to the assimilation policy, and follows a line of argument present in the work of Higley et al. in addressing the background and training of elites.

McAllister raised similar themes in his examination of the recruitment and background of Australian elites. McAllister has suggested that there was a general agreement that elites shared many aspects of education, gender, birthplace and occupation. He has further suggested that voters nominated such individuals because of their standing in the community or similar backgrounds. McAllister has referred to Higley et al. who have argued that 'the stability of democratic institutions depends on the establishment of what they term a “consensually unified elite”'. He has maintained that the political elite shared a high level of unity in socio-economic background, expectations and orientation. As well, because of their social and economic integration the political elite were particularly effective in neutralising potentially destabilising influences.

This work does not propose a single or simple explanation for the direction of post-war immigration and the evolution of the citizenship education campaign. However, the elite theory of society provides an illuminating framework within which the hegemony of the Australian elite can be appreciated. Betts hinted at this idea in emphasising the force of bipartisan agreement and lack of opposition to immigration. Encel and Higley et al. cited the power, influence and preoccupation of the elite in maintaining the status quo. Davidson has argued that the Anglo-Celtic self-identity of Australians created a slavish acceptance of the British legal and political system that, in turn, created a selfish and myopic view of democracy and government that has discouraged opinions from below. McAllister has

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illustrated how the elite reinforced their own perspectives while sharing a commonality of background, preserving existing institutions and procedures, thereby providing a unifying force that was effective in neutralising potential antipathies.

Recent discussion on citizenship by Hindess puts forward interesting concepts of the relationship of citizens and state. Hindess sees citizenship as integral to the development of modern nation states. Citizenship is closely allied to the politics and government of a state that, in Western nations particularly, has often been presented as developmental even evolutionary at times.

The historical teleology indicates that the criteria of universal suffrage represents 'a positive' for citizenship as does the rise of the welfare state in Marshall's schema. However, for Hindess present day focus on citizenship has popularised ideals represented by the 'modern' states and their 'agendas'. He proposes an alternative view of citizenship:

\[ \ldots \text{to the extent that national governments respond to the demands of their citizens, or of influential minorities among them it remains tempting to describe citizenship as a conspiracy against the rest of the world.}\]

Hindess suggests that what should be taken into consideration at this point is that the effects of state action is not necessarily restricted either to its own specific territory or its nationals. Hindess also considers that citizenship is a form of governance and population management that divides the world into units of government based on territorial imperatives.

Hindess ends his essay on a sarcastic note but one that questions the role of citizenship overall:

The teleological discourse of citizenship promises the poorest of the world's citizens that if only they would stay at home and learn to behave themselves, they too could be citizens like us.

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44 B. Hindess, 'Divide and Rule, The International Character of Modern Citizenship', p. 61
45 B. Hindess, 'Divide and Rule, The International Character of Modern Citizenship', p. 61
46 B. Hindess, 'Divide and Rule, The International Character of Modern Citizenship', p. 68
The view of Hindess has been supported by Dutton in the Australian context. Dutton points out that for Hindess the most important component of citizenship is its dividing of people within states and between states into citizens and aliens. Dutton looks at the nature of citizenship and discusses the character of the term citizen as applied to Australia. Dutton also emphasises citizenship as a way of governing a population rather than as a concept of extended 'rights' of citizens. Dutton notes the importance of the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948 and its role as an acknowledgement of nationalism which differs from the view of Jordens who deemed it was not the result of any significant motivation. Dutton's argument is supported in this study.

The idea of citizenship as a process of governing populations is expressed in Brown's work. The process focussed on citizens accepting their civic duties and responsibilities as predicated by the government and nation's elite. This, at a time of great social change in Australia, provided a valuable strategy for governing the population and change.

Overall, this thesis is governed by a view that social change in Australia was directed by the nation's political elite. However, the 1940s and 1950s, as Brown has argued, were a period of dramatic social and economic transformation in which the elite sought to govern rather than manage such change. In the process and in the campaign for citizenship education, the elite could not always direct events and processes.

Moreover, this work will illustrate that the unity of the elites in the post-war period was destabilised in response to the growth of Federal powers and the exercise of these powers leading to a pre-eminence in the nation. As argued by Birch, up to 1939 there was 'a strong reticence' on the part of Federal authorities to any involvement in education: this only changed during the war years. The Commonwealth, however, was in no way intent on taking over the education functions exercised by the States. Education was considered a State responsibility. As Birch and Smart have stated:

48 D. Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia*, p. 12
49 D. Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia*, p. 14
50 N. Brown, *Government Prosperity*
Education was a state responsibility, accepted and paid for by the states, with little pressure, at least until the mid-1930s, for the Commonwealth to do anything but stay out of the way. This governments were generally very willing to do . . .52

Spaull has argued that wartime conditions saw an increase in Federal involvement in educational activities. This, Spaull has stated, occurred particularly in the areas related to defence and manpower, such as technical and university education and, to a lesser extent, army education and pre-schooling.53 The initiative for increased government involvement emanated from the Federal Government, although most facilities and teaching staff were drawn from existing resources of the States.54 However, there was a reluctance to deal with education in the schools and little, if any, interest in education questions. There was a preoccupation with international affairs and immigration.55

Spaull has further argued that the war saw a greater public willingness to accept government direction and guidance. In Australia during the Second World War, a part of this acceptance took the form of a growth in a centralisation of policies, administration and ideas, mainly at the Federal level of Government. This was evident in the increased Federal control of economic activity as well as health and education.56 The war meant:

. . . the people were called upon to think and act as one nation and they were mutually under the leadership and control of one Australian government, with the State governments being used as its agents . . . and carrying on the local routine of other matters with reduced resources.57

53 A.D. Spaull, Australian Education in the Second World War, St Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland, 1982, p. 193
54 A.D. Spaull, Australian Education in the Second World War, p. 193
55 A.D. Spaull, Australian Education in the Second World War, p. 264
56 A.D. Spaull, Australian Education in the Second World War, p. 218
57 P. Hasluck, 'The Government and the People 1942-45', in A.D. Spaull, Australian Education in the Second World War, p. 3
The aforementioned views are extended in this work. It is argued that as a consequence of the Second World War, the national Commonwealth Government increased its powers over individual citizens and the individual States that came into existence at Federation. This expansion encroached on the responsibilities and legislation of the States in dealing with citizenship education. Subsequently, with the development of the nation-state, the Federal political elite of the nation was to dramatically influence the course of citizenship development in the post-war reconstruction period. The challenge of the States during the Second World War to revert taxation powers to the pre-war footing failed in the Privy Council. The Commonwealth was now able to gradually enforce a centralised taxation policy, with a greater freedom to direct and fund national priorities including citizenship development. This signalled a new arrangement in Australian politics that subdued the States' capacity to significantly influence the direction of the citizenship education campaign.

In the context of the post-war Federal immigration programme and the arrival of substantial numbers of non-British migrants, the States and their elite had virtually to accede to Commonwealth plans and dictates. There was a commitment to the campaign at the national level, but the responsibility for aspects of the campaign at State level was confounded by Federal/State relations. In particular, disagreement between the Commonwealth and the States and even within State Education Departments themselves led to differences among the elite in respect to policies regarding the citizenship education campaign. The Second World War, in fact, became a watershed in Federal/State politics with the Commonwealth becoming increasingly involved and directing the outcomes and expectations of its citizenry. It was a period that was to influence the great 'Australian social experiment' - post-war immigration as well as the emergence of individual democratic citizenship. The repercussions of this period were to stamp an indelible mark on the future of the nation, which eventually saw the emergence of a multicultural society.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, citizenship education gave substance to themes that propelled Australian society to the end of the century. These included immigration policy, national identity and industrialisation. In pursuing economic development and national security, the Federal Government planned a citizenship education programme in conjunction with the recruitment of non-British migrants. The campaign was directed towards the assimilation of non-British migrants into the community. As Castles et al. have suggested, there was an effort to create a British/Australian ethnicity. However, this did not eventuate as post-war immigration made the 'overt maintenance of a racist definition of the nation and
of the Australian type impossible'. Thus, cultural assimilation did not take place and Australia became a nation of remarkable ethnic diversity.

In the post-war period, however, the importance of the citizenship education campaign was evident in its careful orchestration by Federal political elite members through formal education channels, the media, citizenship conventions and community organisations. It was also intended to educate resident Australians to become more aware of the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship. The aim was to engender and foster community participation in accepting non-British migrants. It was envisaged by the political elite that the demographic disruption arising from the arrival of these migrants would be ameliorated by a national citizenship education campaign. Thus, citizenship education, firstly for new Australians and secondly for native Australians, became the underpinning process to consolidate Australia's rapidly changing post-war world.

Methodological Framework

This study has been based on an examination of the nature of a national citizenship education campaign directed by the Federal political elite in the Australian society of the 1940s and 1950s. Particular reference is made to New South Wales (NSW) where a high proportion of non-British post-war migrants settled as illustrated in Table 1.

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59 S. Castles et al., *Mistaken Identity*, p. 9
Table 1: Assisted Settler Arrivals by State or Territory of Intended Residence 1947-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Vic</th>
<th>Qld</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>WA</th>
<th>Tas</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>1941-6(a)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>2,157</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>6,303</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>10,656</td>
<td>9,619</td>
<td>2,380</td>
<td>1,779</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>1,155</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>28,943</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>48,758</td>
<td>44,877</td>
<td>5,435</td>
<td>7,242</td>
<td>10,367</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>118,840</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>41,488</td>
<td>48,174</td>
<td>6,284</td>
<td>3,380</td>
<td>17,058</td>
<td>1,508</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>1,217</td>
<td>119,109</td>
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<td>1951</td>
<td>27,003</td>
<td>26,479</td>
<td>4,689</td>
<td>1,876</td>
<td>3,253</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>2,010</td>
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<td>32,584</td>
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<td>391,989</td>
<td>58,019</td>
<td>62,813</td>
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<td>15,183</td>
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(a) Assisted migration was suspended during the years 1941-1946
(b) Included in ACT


As well, the 1954 census figures and naturalisation records illustrate that NSW had the largest number of post-war arrivals eligible to vote as at 31 October 1958.\(^60\) NSW could also be considered innovative in post-war education under the dynamic leadership of Director General of Education Sir Harold Wyndham. The NSW Report of the Wyndham Committee (1957) provided the basis of a model of comprehensive education adopted in other

\(^{60}\) NSW 125,000; Vic 101,000; Qld 40,000; Western Australia 45,000, South Australia (SA) 36,000; Tasmania 8,000; Australian Capital Territory (ACT) 2,300; Northern Territory 900. A. Downer, *Federal Parliamentary Debates (FPD)* 1 October 1958, p. 1907
Australian States to help prepare students for citizenship.\textsuperscript{61} NSW, therefore, could be considered a vital study in examining and illuminating the thesis contained in this work.

This study covers the period 1945 to 1960 when Australia received the first great wave of national Government-sponsored non-British migrants. The 'intentions' of the citizenship education campaign are examined. The 'outcomes' of the campaign are not the centre of the study, as the impact of the campaign did not become particularly evident until after the 1960s with the official recognition of Australia as a multicultural society. This work examines Australia in the 1940s and 1950s, to further explain the history of post-war Australian citizenship and provide unique perspectives on an important part of Australian citizenship educational history.

Both published sources and unpublished archive documentation have been accessed for this work. Material collected from archives was abundant and some had not been previously examined. Data was collected from archives in both Canberra and Sydney. Institutions researched were the NSW Department of Education (DOE), NSW Teachers' Federation (NSWTF), Federal Department of Immigration (DOI), Commonwealth Office of Education (COE), Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC), Australian Citizenship Conventions (ACCs) and the Good Neighbour Movement (GNM). Also examined were annual reports, Parliamentary debates and papers, personal papers of national leaders, newspapers, departmental bulletins, newsletters, books, magazines and university theses. The work has been written in narrative form and chronological order to provide a logical and continuous account of the development of the citizenship education campaign.

Chapter One provides the rationale for the development of the massive post-war immigration scheme by the political elite in Canberra. The war years are examined to illustrate Australia's strong relationship with Britain and loyalties to the Crown. The attitudes and sentiments of national leaders, Curtin, Chifley and Menzies, are discussed to explain the role of national leaders in the post-war immigration program and its link with the citizenship education campaign. Major themes, including the importance of the establishment of the Federal DOI, the background to the citizenship education campaign, and the impact of post-war immigration, consumerism, and reconstruction are also addressed.

The thesis incorporates three sections that detail how the citizenship education

\textsuperscript{61} H. Wyndham (Chairman), \textit{Report of the Committee appointed to Survey Secondary Education in NSW}, Sydney, Government Printer, 1958
INTRODUCTION

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campaign was specifically extended through: (i) official education channels; (ii) the media; and (iii) annual citizenship conventions which also encapsulates a case-study of the GNM in NSW. These particular areas have been chosen as they identify important and different ways the campaign was extended and funded. Discussion of the financial arrangements concerning the implementation of the campaign is of importance as it illustrates the power of the Federal authorities to direct the campaign as they considered necessary.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the Commonwealth's overall disposition to education in the 1950s. In particular, policy and provision of annual grants to individual States for education, migrant education responsibilities, Federal/State conflict and the Federal Government's responsibility for adult migrant education are discussed. The aforementioned themes are expanded in two parts in terms of citizenship education for migrants. The first part examines citizenship education in migrant camps for both adults and children. Details of the administration of education in camps, problems associated with learning English and the general portrayal of how the scheme was seen to be operating have been examined. This is based on original research which has not previously attracted the interest of historians. In the second part, State school systems are examined, where large numbers of migrant students added to school populations. The Federal Government's response to the pleas of the States for funds because of the migrant impact on school populations is discussed. Individual State responses to the migrant presence are examined. Specific reference is made to the responses of State education officials and the NSWTF to the post-war education 'crisis' and its impact on migrant students.

Earlier studies on schooling of migrants in the 1950s have suggested a lack of action on the part of policy-makers. Smolicz and Wiseman have suggested that there was a non-recognition of problems experienced by migrant students. They have further suggested that drop-out rates for migrant students were not flagged. Officials therefore did not make any notable structural changes to ameliorate the situation.62

In a similar vein, Martin has argued that educational administrators could act 'as a brake on changes ensuing from the influx of non-English speaking children into the schools'.63 Martin has pointed out that there was increasing conflict over whether or not


migrant children were being adequately catered for in schools. Administrators continued to espouse the view that the existing curricula and school structures were sufficient to accommodate the migrant population. The power of administrators to control information enabled them to produce statistics which promulgated the indifferent treatment of migrant students. Martin has further suggested that observers were handicapped in challenging official complacency so long as the State Departments continued to refrain from collecting adequate data on the background of the migrant pupils, including their knowledge of English, scholastic performance and psychological difficulties.64

Kalantzis and Cope have explained that official investigation into migrant education was not seen as necessary before the 1960s, as it was considered that once migrants arrived in Australia they would assimilate. The few official reports that were written stated that the immigration programme was succeeding.65

This work supports this earlier research, illustrating how official reports orchestrated by the national elite acted as a restraint by legitimising contemporary policies and practices and, consequently, more often only stultified innovation. This study will also show how members of the national elite through the citizenship education campaign worked together in an effort to portray the success of post-war education for migrant school students.

Martin has further argued that migrant students were considered a problem in demographic terms, a viewpoint which is supported in this study.66 This thesis also deals more than earlier works with the significance of Federal-State relations in the context of the 'failure' of citizenship education for migrant students in the schools.

Earlier studies have also tended to ignore other avenues of the citizenship campaign to educate new arrivals. Chapter Three illustrates how the ABC played an important role in the citizenship education campaign primarily through its radio broadcasts under the direction of national elite member, Sir Richard Boyer. It examines the framework, motivation and maintenance of the campaign through the ABC broadcasts. In an examination of Australia's early radio, Johnson raised important questions about the concept of popular culture in Australia. She maintained that radio had the capacity to present notions

64 J. Martin, 'The Education of Migrant Children in Australia 1945-1975', p. 19
65 M. Kalantzis and B. Cope, 'Multiculturalism and education policy', in M. de Lepervanche and G. Bottomley (eds), Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia, North Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1984, p. 88
66 J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 90
of what was considered ‘popular’ and ‘legitimate’ - the distinction between elitist culture and that of popular taste. Johnson has suggested that the ABC was set up in the pursuit of cultural excellence in contrast with commercial stations. Superior cultural tastes were considered to be the preserve of a select group in society, while the ‘less highbrow tastes’ of the masses were evident in their choice of more popular programmes heard on commercial stations. Inglis has suggested that, like the Parliament that established it, the ABC was a ‘thoroughly imperial artefact’, referring to Australian Postmaster-General Fenton when he told Parliament in the early 1930s that the Federal Government had decided ‘to follow the British system as closely as Australian conditions will permit’. This study illustrates how the British cultural heritage influenced the ABC in its efforts to educate new citizens. It also shows that by the end of the 1950s, an ‘Australian voice’ had emerged. ABC programmes concerning migrants and their special role in the citizenship education campaign are detailed.

Chapter Four portrays the ACCs as a major component of the citizenship education campaign in terms of fulfilling a public relations exercise. Jupp has suggested that the ACCs were ‘carefully orchestrated to avoid controversy’. Martin concurred that the ACCs highlighted the success of the post-war migration programme and its future benefits for Australians. Tavan has suggested that the ACCs served an important symbolic purpose in a period when the Government considered that there was a need to maintain public acceptance of post-war immigration. The meeting of national leaders at ACCs would subsequently serve as positive proof of the broad consensus supporting post-war immigration. Tavan has further suggested that the assimilation of migrants was a fundamental aim of the ACCs and the GNM in response to the social transition of the period and the ambivalent, even contradictory, attitudes inspired by such rapid change.

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69 J. Jupp, in J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 28
70 J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 28
These works provide useful insight into the nature of ACCs. This study extends other interpretations of the ACCs by showing how they were a staging centre that provided a hub for government and community, affirming the key role of the Federal Government in the citizenship education campaign. The proponents and disseminators of the campaign are delineated. Through the ACCs major components of the Federal Government's immigration policy and the citizenship education campaign were announced. This chapter covers the progress of the campaign through themes of assimilation, immigration policy, naturalisation, citizenship ceremonies and the contribution of voluntary organisations. The chapter is written primarily from archival documentation.

Chapter Five looks at the Good Neighbour Councils (GNCs) in NSW (formerly the New Settlers League (NSW) (NSL) to illustrate how the citizenship education campaign worked at the grass roots level and extended into the community. It is shown that, in accordance with Kunz's view, the GNC and ACCs acted to keep immigration at the forefront of national attention and were forums for propaganda to assist in the building of a greater nation.72 Martin has presented a different view, suggesting that the Good Neighbour organisations were originally intended as co-ordinating bodies and not direct providers of services. However, this did not turn out to be the case, and the churches and other voluntary associations found themselves increasingly involved in direct service despite lack of training.73

Good Neighbour organisations could have fulfilled a co-ordinating role for British migrants, but as illustrated in this study, the DOI expected the GNCs to take a more active role in the assimilation of non-British migrants. Kelly indicated that the GNCs tended to provide for British migrants, since most of the volunteers were accustomed to settling British migrants. Assistance was usually the type given most easily, e.g., through welcome parties or a speech at a naturalisation ceremony. This Kelly attributed to 'the lack of definition of the organisational goals buttressed by the overwhelming British composition of the Council Executive, Secretariat and affiliated delegates.'74 As Tavan has further suggested, through members' 'neighbourly' attitudes, new Australians were to be assisted in

73 J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 79
74 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, MA, La Trobe University, 1979, Summary and p. 336
their assimilation into the Australian way of life. Native-born Australians were also to be educated to accept the new arrivals and encouraged to develop a greater appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship.75

The foregoing comments indicate that a hurdle needed to be overcome in changing the attitude of native-born Australians to non-British migrants. Nevertheless, as uniquely illustrated in the case study, the GNCs with their affiliated organisations constituted an important grass roots organisation required to provide migrants with a neighbourly presence. Members of the GNCs may have been naïve in their dealings with non-British migrants but the purposes of the Federal Government's immigration plan and citizenship education campaign were serious reactions to events of the Second World War and post-war reconstruction of Australia.

Thus, in this study, the aim is to extend and illuminate knowledge of citizenship education in the 1940s and 1950s. It is argued that the post-war citizenship education campaign was orchestrated by the political elite in Canberra. This work explains the nature of the campaign undertaken by the Federal political elite who were also the architects of an unprecedented post-war immigration programme. Through the implementation of this programme, the flow of large numbers of non-British migrants to Australian shores in the post-war period would transform this rapidly expanding antipodean land into one of the most culturally diverse in the world. It is suggested that despite the professed policy intentions of the political elite to maintain a harmonious process of assimilation, they were actually presiding over a series of policies that were helping to create a culturally diverse society. That is, the elite also had to make adjustments to the new situations that were evolving in the post-war period, influenced by the nature of post-war immigration.

75 G. Tavan, 'Good Neighbours', in J.H. Murphy and J. Smart (eds), The Forgotten Fifties, p. 78
CHAPTER ONE
POLITICAL ELITES, POST-WAR IMMIGRATION
AND THE QUESTION OF CITIZENSHIP

Introduction
The post-war Federal Labor Government launched the citizenship education campaign first as a means to assimilate the non-British migrant into the Australian way of life and secondly as a mechanism to consolidate Australia's changing post-war population. The campaign was of particular importance as the post-war immigration scheme represented a major break from the traditional practice of migrants being recruited from Britain. Australia's major and preferred source of migrants historically had been Britain. Close political and economic relations with the 'motherland' since first European settlement led colonial governments to maintain almost exclusive preference for British immigrants and also to provide substantial assistance with passage costs in order to obtain the numbers and category of migrants required.76

Following Federation, the Immigration Restriction Act (1901), commonly referred to as the White Australia policy, was passed with unanimous support by the newly established Parliament. The Act embodied provisions that enabled the Government to execute a policy of virtual exclusion of non-European immigration to Australia. The Federal legislation thus provided that a dictation test could be given in any European language to proposed migrants. If they were unable to complete the test satisfactorily, they could be refused admission to Australia. The intention of legislators was to screen migrants. Consequently, tests could be given in a language chosen by the administering officer that could 'subtly' confound the prospective migrant.

The Commonwealth followed the example of Australian States, including WA, NSW and Tasmania, which introduced legislation in the late 1890s, requiring a modest standard of literacy in a European language. The future Australian Prime Minister George Reid (1904-1905) found this legislation unacceptable, wanting it stated 'in clear and unmistakable terms'.77 Reid eventually succumbed to diplomatic pressure and in accordance with the suggestion of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, legislation was introduced along the lines of Natal's Immigration Restriction Act of 1897. The Australian Premiers were also persuaded of the expediency of using the Natal device. Chamberlain appealed to the colonies to abstain from legislation which 'offered a gratuitous

76 R.T. Appleyard, 'Post-War British Immigration', in J. Jupp (ed), The Australian People, p. 97
77 A.T. Yarwood, Attitudes to Non-European Immigration, Sydney, Cassell Australian, 1980, p. 82
insult to the Indian and other coloured races which comprised a large portion of the British Empire. Australian leaders were hence complying with the recommendations of the mother country, whilst the legislation could exclude coloured races from entering Australia and sustain the 'dominance' of Britain and the white race.

Following the First World War, there was a revival in imperial ideals. Between 1918-1939, 'Empire Settlement' was the catch-cry of immigration policy. Following imperial co-operation during the First World War, it was envisaged that migrants from Britain and Ireland would settle throughout the white dominions of the Empire. The bonds of 'kith and kin' were to substantiate economic ties between Britain, as the industrial mother country, and her agricultural dominions.

From 1922, the British Empire Settlement Act provided aid to British migrants to Australia approved by Australian authorities. These authorities were prepared to subsidise the transportation of new settlers who would supply Australian needs at minimal cost and trouble. Britain initiated 'Empire Settlement' while Australia was interested principally in British capital rather than migrants. The Act also increased Australia's reliance on Britain's resources as a means of expansion. Furthermore, the Act substantiated the recruitment of migrants from Britain. It empowered the British Government to co-operate with dominion governments, public authorities or private organisations in developing migration schemes and equally sharing the costs of assisted passages. The aim was to develop land settlement and assist individuals in their passage to Australia or in training. Over two thirds of permanent arrivals from Britain in the 1920s received assisted passages. Between 1901-1940 some 425,000 (half the settler arrivals) received some measure of assistance and almost all of these new settlers came from the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland.

From the early 1920s, the Commonwealth held responsibility for recruiting and transporting immigrants while the States advised the numbers they were prepared to accept. This new arrangement resulted in a national immigration policy. Settlement became part of

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78 A.T. Yarwood, *Attitudes to Non-European Immigration*, p. 82
79 G. Sherington, 'Immigration between the Wars', in J. Jupp (ed), *The Australian People*, p. 92
81 G. Sherington, 'Immigration between the Wars', p. 92
82 R.T. Appleyard, 'Post-War British Immigration', p. 97
the 'men, money and market' proposals of the Bruce-Page Federal Government in 1923-1929.\textsuperscript{83} Under this proposal Bruce urged that Empire trade be kept within the Empire.

As a member of the political elite, Prime Minister Viscount Stanley Melbourne Bruce (1923-1929) was a strong supporter of the migration scheme with Britain. Bruce was born in Melbourne in 1883 and was educated at the exclusive Melbourne Grammar School. He studied at Cambridge University, established himself as a barrister in London and viewed England as his home rather than Australia. He served in the Gallipoli campaign in the First World War as an officially enlisted British serviceman and returned to Australia in 1917 for business reasons. He was renowned for his very correct 'English' manner.\textsuperscript{84} Bruce had specific concerns for Australian interests. However, his conservative background and values contributed to his nurturing of ties with Britain and support for the Empire Settlement Scheme.

The Second World War had a major impact on Australia's approach to migration, resulting in a dramatic shift in the number and type of migrants being allowed entry into the country. During the war, Britain's prowess as a major global power suffered with the fall of Singapore. The sinking of British battleships off the East Coast of Malaya in 1942 demonstrated the inability of Britain to help Australia combat invasion. Australian troops had to be called back from overseas to bolster local defences. Australians could at that time have been considered xenophobic and racist, having persisted with the White Australia policy since Federation. However, during the war years, the threat of Japanese invasion actualised the fears of the 'yellow peril' into reality. Japanese aggression in the Far East in 1937, expansion into South East Asia and finally, the bombing of Darwin in 1942 signalled the vulnerability of Australia. The \textit{Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)}, reported on the Darwin bombing: 'This initial blow so far from touching the Australian nation with dread or dismay must serve to brace it for what ever trials may lie ahead'.\textsuperscript{85} In the same year (1942), three Japanese midget submarines penetrated into Sydney Harbour, which left a lasting impression on the citizens of Australia's most populous State. Thus, the Second World War heightened national security concerns, which prompted the Federal Labor Government to make plans to dramatically increase Australia's population through immigration. This partly led to the recruitment of unprecedented numbers of non-British migrants.

\textsuperscript{83} G. Sherington, 'Immigration between the Wars', p. 92
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{SMH}, 20 February 1942, Editorial
Post-war immigration fundamentally emanated from the need to develop the vast continent, when dramatic economic and social transition was the hallmark of post-war reconstruction. After the Second World War, the nation was beginning to feel the effect of the decline in the birthrate which had been apparent since the 1920s. During the depression years, the rate of natural increase had fallen below one per cent of the population. Workers were needed to replace those lost as a consequence of the war and to help restore essential services, which had declined. Australia faced a shortage of about a quarter of a million houses and flats as well as a shortage of schools and hospitals.\textsuperscript{86}

Australia further needed both skilled and unskilled workers to support its growing industrial sector that had expanded significantly during the war years. A developing industrial sector spawned a domestic manufacturing industry that created new scales of integration in industry that were to satisfy the ‘new consumerism’ of post-war Australia. In NSW major national projects were initiated, such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. The iron and steel industries of Newcastle and Port Kembla were expanded. These projects became part of the ‘migrant dreamtime’.

The Federal Labor Government (1941-1949) considered that post-war immigration was vital if Australia was to survive. There was a need to increase the national population and the numbers could not be achieved through natural increase alone. Immigration would supply the shortfall and be part of the Australian Labor Party's (ALP) overall population policy. Labor's population policy was a component of the programme of post-depression and post-war reconstruction which, it was envisaged, would bring economic security to all Australian families. For Labor, increasing the European population to ensure effective defence was not sufficient. Rather, it entailed a commitment to a well-planned programme of economic growth and to the full development of the country's resources. As Markus has argued: 'Immigration as envisaged in 1945 can thus be seen in terms of national development'.\textsuperscript{87}

A preference for British migrants and the proposed goal to convert non-British migrants into Australian citizens could be considered understandable. The Australian background and pre-war society consisted of a homogeneous community based on British

\textsuperscript{86} Department of Labor and Immigration, \textit{1788-1975 Australia and Immigration}, Canb, AGPS, 1975, p. 5

\textsuperscript{87} A. Markus, 'Labour and Immigration: Policy Formation 1943-5', \textit{Labour History}, 46, 1984, pp. 32-33
tradition, and essentially, migrants from Britain. However, in December 1941, ALP Prime Minister John Curtin (1941-1945), announced that Australia was relinquishing its links with Britain and turning to the United States of America (USA). The outbreak of war in the Pacific in 1941 placed Australia in danger of a Japanese invasion. Curtin, within weeks of Pearl Harbour, made a broadcast appeal for American assistance:

Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom. We know the problems the United Kingdom faces. We know the constant threat of invasion. We know the dangers of dispersal of strength, but we know too that Australia can go and Britain can still hold on. We are therefore determined that Australia will not go, and we shall exert all our energies towards the shaping of a plan with the United States as its keystone, which will give our country some confidence of being able to hold out until the tide of battle swings against the enemy.88

Source: Daily Telegraph, 12 February 1942, p. 4

88 J. Curtin, SMH, 29 December 1941, in B. McKinlay, Australian Labor History in Documents, II, Melbourne, Collins Dove, 1979, p. 115
Curtin's comments reflect his pragmatic attachment to the USA, which stemmed from concern over Britain's inability to help defend Australia. He therefore turned to another powerful English speaking nation in an effort to protect White Australia. Britain's Prime Minister Winston Churchill found Curtin's comment `insulting'.

Curtin made an effort to pacify Churchill and denied that his statement indicated any break with Britain. Although the insult to Britain had occurred in a volatile war time climate, Curtin was able to play down his outburst and endeavoured to normalise Australia's relationship with Britain. This indicates Curtin's appreciation of and effort to sustain Australia's long-standing ties with Britain.

Curtin, however, had a strong sense of nationalism. He was born in Victoria in 1885 of Irish/Catholic Labor background. He told Federal Parliament in 1938 when war was threatening Europe: `Our first duty is to Australia'. Indeed, Curtin's devotion to Australia was evident throughout his life. Day suggested that Curtin overworked himself to save
Australia during the conflict, which brought on his early death. Curtin's self-sacrificing attitude during the war years was influenced by his fear of invasion. In 1943, he rekindled Australia's ties with the British Empire and convinced the ALP Federal Conference (1943) that it was important to foster relations with Britain. He argued that the presence of 'teeming millions of coloured races to her north would mean that Australia had to be “harnessed” to other nationals, principally Britain'. Curtin argued that isolationism was not an option for Australians, who had obligations. He referred to these as:

. . . subjects of the British Commonwealth and inhabitants of a world community at large. The full expression of these responsibilities is to be a good Australian, a good British subject and a good world citizen. They are complementary to each other.

Curtin's concern for Australia's national security influenced his turning to the USA and, to some extent, the renewing of British ties. However, his linking of being a 'good Australian' with a 'good British subject' and a member of 'the British Commonwealth' fundamentally stemmed from efforts to maintain Australia's traditional British heritage. In his efforts to promote imperial loyalty, Curtin refused the attempt of his colleague, Arthur Calwell, to foster Australian nationalism by having 'Advance Australia Fair' played in cinemas. Curtin stated that 'God Save the King' was the only national anthem.

Calwell, like Curtin, was a nationalist foremost. He was born in Melbourne in 1896 and, also like Curtin, was of Irish/Catholic Labor background. Keirnan has suggested that Calwell had visions of a new order that would bring 'his people' out of their ghetto conditions to participate in the affairs of the community generally. However, Calwell also had a commitment to Britain, as he looked primarily to the traditional source to increase Australia's population and was a strong supporter of maintaining a White Australia.

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93 D. Day, John Curtin: a life, preface x
95 J. Curtin, in D. Day, John Curtin: a life, p. 525
96 D. Day, John Curtin: a life, pp. 523-524
97 J. Ritchie (gen ed), ADB, 13, p. 341
98 C. Keirnan, Calwell: A Personal and Political Biography, West Melbourne, Thomas Nelson (Australia), 1978, p. 3
Curtin's successor as Prime Minister, Ben Chifley, was born in NSW in 1885,\(^99\) the same year as Curtin. He shared with many of his Labor colleagues an Irish/Catholic working-class background and was a nationalist foremost. Chifley also supported the traditional relationship with Britain, evidenced in 1946 when his Government offered the position of Governor General to Britain's Lord Mountbatten.\(^100\)

Melleuish has suggested there was a sentimental bond between Australia and Britain and that Australians remained resolutely attached to the ideal of the British Commonwealth.\(^101\) The attitude of the Labor political elite illustrates that the close ties with Britain were more than sentimental. With the Second World War, there was a sense of security in returning to the umbrella of the British Empire. The attachment was also traditional and historical, as evident in the continuing predilection for British practices and institutions.

Nurturing imperial loyalty was most evident in another national leader Robert Menzies who, in 1944, founded the Liberal Party (LP). This member of the political elite was born in Melbourne in 1894,\(^102\) joining the ranks of the conservatives following his outstanding educational success on scholarships and attaining his profession as a barrister. The Liberal-Country Party (LCP) won the December 1949 Federal election, inaugurating the first Menzies-Fadden Government. Menzies displayed a great respect for the British form of government. He had firm expectations as to the role of the civil service and, in line with the British precedent, insisted that government administrators were to serve successive governments equally regardless of their personal political views. He therefore resisted pressure from colleagues (chiefly Country Party (CP) ministers) to replace some of those who had served the Chifley Government in influential government positions.\(^103\)

Menzies was concerned that under the previous Federal ALP Government there had been insufficient emphasis on nurturing relations with Britain. Shortly after his appointment,

\(^99\) J. Ritchie (gen ed), *ADB*, 13, p. 412
Prime Minister Menzies gave an address to the Australian Institute of International Affairs entitled: 'The British Commonwealth of Nations in International Affairs'. He told the British Deputy High Commissioner in Canberra, W. Garnett, that his main purpose in the address had been to restore the Commonwealth relationship to its proper place in the forefront of thinking on external affairs. Labor's Minister for External Affairs, Dr H.V. Evatt (1941-1949), had held the view that Australia was no longer dependent on Britain, which was evident in his policies on international relations. Menzies held a contrasting view to that of Evatt, and with his great affection for the British Empire stated: 'The British Empire must remain our chief international preoccupation.'

Menzies also preferred to develop Australia's relationship with Britain than foster ties with the USA. His attitude towards America was influenced by his devotion to developing Australia's British links. Such devotion was evident from his decisions concerning Australian foreign policy. Under the Menzies Government, Australia supported Britain in preference to America when the two powers differed over Indo-China in 1954 and during the Suez crisis in 1956. As Cain has stated:

As 1957 began, Menzies and senior British leaders were united in their continuing convictions that Britain's Suez policy had been fully justified. 'What fools the Americans were' Lord Home, the Commonwealth Secretary, wrote to Menzies six days after Harold Macmillan had succeeded Eden in the Prime Ministership . . . Let me know please if you have any further ideas as to how we might strengthen relations.'

In 1959, Menzies received a 'personal and top secret' message from British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan expressing appreciation of Australia's support:

It was grand to have you here this summer with a good chance for some real talks. I cannot tell you what a great help it is to us to feel that your powerful support is always available.

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107 F. Cain, Menzies in War and Peace, St Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1997, p. 101
108 H. Macmillan (England) to R. Menzies, 'Personal and Top Secret', 2 August 1959, NAA
The intimacy of the relationship between these two national leaders was sustained and became more evident when the important question of who should be appointed Australian Governor-General arose. Macmillan wrote to Menzies with suggestions:

I don't know whether you have thought further about your problem of Governor General about which you were good enough to speak to me ... I did make enquires of my nephew Andrew Devonshire ... he feels that he ought to wait until he is a little older and the children a bit more grown up. I still think it might be worth your considering Anthony Head. He is a very able fellow and of course he could be made a Peer. However, this is really nothing to do with me except that I naturally take a deep interest in everything that effects Australia ... Your sincere friend Harold.109

Thus, Menzies the conservative politician was less nationalistic than Labor leaders and more traditionally British in outlook, describing himself as 'British to the bootstraps'.110 He was 'as so many of his class and generation a man imbued with British values and British civilisation'.111

Overall, Curtin, Chifley and Menzies were raised in the same generation, significantly influencing support for sustaining ties with the British Empire. There was some disagreement within the ranks of the political elite, largely along party lines, over the level of British commitment and support for nationalistic ideals. However, the political elite were generally united through a fundamental commitment to maintaining Australia's traditional British links and developing Australia as an English-speaking, free and democratic nation. Menzies, Curtin and Chifley, as powerful Federal leaders in Government, became the architects of this process.

Closely related to this political and cultural attachment was the issue of security and fear of communism. In March 1951, upon the return of Menzies to Australia from a Commonwealth Prime Minister's meeting held in London, he expressed concern that

(CANB) A6706/1, 56

109 H. Macmillan to R. Menzies, 2 August 1959
110 E. Thompson, Fair Enough: Egalitarianism in Australia, Sydney, University of NSW Press, 1994, p. 4
111 F. Cain (ed), Menzies in War and Peace, p. vi
Australia had up to three years to prepare for a possible war with communist forces. He told Federal Parliament that 'three years was a liberal estimate'. However, being an astute politician, Menzies ably used public concern over communism to political advantage. While Opposition Leader, Menzies promised voters that, if elected to government, he would ban the Communist Party. For Menzies, the issue of anti-communism made good sense and was of central importance in bringing the Liberal and Country parties to power and consolidating them in office. Hence, there was political calculation in Menzies' reference to communist infiltration in Australia.

In the 1950s, there was general concern over communist activities in Australia. In 1955, in a top secret Federal Government Cabinet document, it was stated that the Government was fearful of communists gaining their objectives by 'subversion, filtration or other non-military means'. This raised concern over people who might be entering Australia under the guise of the Federal Government's immigration programme. The Hon S.M. Keon (ALP, Vic) asked LP Immigration Minister Harold Holt (1949-1956) whether he was aware that migrants arriving in Australia had been refused permission to leave ship while in the Philippines because of their communist activities in the East. Holt responded that security checks were carried out on new arrivals but that he would look into the matter. Holt endeavoured to gain political mileage in his response, suggesting that the honourable member and his colleagues spend more time checking the activities of communists inside Australia rather than worrying about their activities outside the country.

To some extent, the world of the 1950s was influenced by the divergent ideologies of the superpowers. The dichotomy amplified the notions of communism and the free democracies. However, Australia's dramatic post-war social and economic changes cautiously engaged the national elite to adjust to new conceptions and strategies and more readily focus on dealing with issues arising from a changing post-war society. Thus, fear of


114 Federal Cabinet Agenda, Top Secret, 'Australia's Activities in the Cold War', January 1955, NAA (CANB) A10299/1, A21

115 S.M. Keon, *FPD*, 24 November 1953, p. 405

communism may have influenced but did not lead to the citizenship education campaign. The `communist menace' `remained a useful bogey in political rhetoric but grew every year less substantial'.

The mood of post-war Australia engendered a national effort for reconstruction and economic development; `populate or perish' became the catch-cry. It served as an impetus for members of the political elite to embark on an immigration programme on a scale previously unheard of in Australian history and on a citizenship education campaign directed primarily at non-British migrants.

**Political Elites' Commitment to Large-Scale Post-War Immigration**

Australia's first Minister for Immigration, the Hon Arthur A. Calwell (1945-1949), recalled that even in the worst days of the devastating conflict of the Pacific war, the Curtin Government gave much thought to population building in Australia:

I remember Mr Curtin telling Cabinet in 1944 that at war's end there would have to be a Minister for Immigration. He said we must have more people to develop and defend Australia.\textsuperscript{118}

Curtin supported the prospect of Australia becoming `a second Britannia in the Antipodes'.\textsuperscript{119} The Prime Minister said that he had `felt intensely the horror of the possibility of a Japanese invasion because of the incompatibility of race and blood'.\textsuperscript{120} Largely due to fear of Asian infiltration, Curtin intended that migrants to Australia be British and that the White Australia policy be maintained. Hence, Curtin proposed that British factory workers be recruited to work in the secondary industries that had been established during the war, rather than the farmers that Australia had sought after the First World War.\textsuperscript{121}

Curtin did not live to implement his plans for post-war Australia. Two weeks after Curtin's death, his lieutenant, Ben Chifley, on 12 July 1945, was sworn in as Australia's Prime Minister and continued as Treasurer. As former ALP veteran, Fred Daly, maintained

\textsuperscript{117} G. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia*, p. 8  
\textsuperscript{118} A.A. Calwell, *Be Just and Fear Not*, Hawthorn, Vic, Lloyd O'Neil, 1972, p. 96  
\textsuperscript{119} D. Day, *John Curtin: a life*, p. 518  
\textsuperscript{120} J. Curtin, in D. Day, *John Curtin: a life*, p. 518  
\textsuperscript{121} D. Day, *John Curtin: a life*, p. 518
Chifley set out to implement the ALP’s post-war programme for a ‘new Australia’.\textsuperscript{122}

Two days after announcing the end of the war, Chifley broadcast to the Australian public Labor's vision for post-war Australia: ‘A vigorous peace-time economy . . . in which there would be jobs and rising living standards for all’.\textsuperscript{123} Chifley referred to the post-war period as the ‘Golden Age’, when there was enormous national expansion, an economic boom, and hence a dramatic need to increase Australia’s population.\textsuperscript{124}

To deal with legislative and administrative aspects of post-war immigration, members of the political elite in Canberra implemented the bureaucratic structure considered necessary to cope with this new national project. In 1945, the Chifley Government established a Federal DOI. This was a change from the previous arrangements for dealing with immigration in Australia. Between 1901 and 1945 the administration of immigration had been the sole or joint responsibility of several Departments: the Prime Minister's, External Affairs, Home and Territories, Home Affairs, Markets, Migration and Interior.\textsuperscript{125}

The scope and nature of post-war immigration was to fully occupy the fledgling DOI. On 13 July 1945, Calwell was appointed Minister for Immigration. As Minister, Calwell carried the official responsibility for policy decisions concerning immigration matters. Mainly ex-servicemen staffed the new Department. Tasman Heyes, a former World War I Sergeant, was appointed DOI Secretary (1946-1961). Heyes had commenced employment in the Commonwealth Public Service as a messenger. His career path exemplified the fluidity of class barriers in post-war society and to the opportunities available for capable men with little formal education to rise up from relatively low-ranking beginnings.\textsuperscript{126}

Heyes was faced with the task of managing an unprecedented level of government involvement in immigration. He shared with other members of the national elite a commitment to the concept of assimilation, a preference for British and Northern European

\textsuperscript{122} F. Daly, \textit{From Curtin to Kerr}, Melbourne, Sun Books, 1977, p. 49


\textsuperscript{124} J.B. Chifley, ’For the Betterment of Mankind – anywhere’, 12 June 1949, in A. Stargardt (ed), \textit{Things Worth Fighting For}, p. 61

\textsuperscript{125} E.W. Waterman, History of the DOI, 1952, p. 1, NAA (CANB) A446/182, 1971/75347

\textsuperscript{126} A. Markus, on T. Heyes, in J. Ritchie (gen ed), \textit{ADB}, 14, p. 447
immigrants and people of `Aryan' stock. He defended the White Australia policy. He also adhered to the nation-building vision of members of the political elite, publicly stressing the importance of immigration, to `assure this nation of substantial economic growth, security and happiness for the years to come'.

The DOI served as an arm of the Federal Government and was pivotal in converting migrants into loyal Australians. The responsibilities of the DOI included the administration of the Commonwealth's powers under the constitution over immigration and its power over the processes by which an alien became an Australian national. It was responsible for the reception and settlement of migrants arriving into Australia. The DOI under Heyes worked in close co-operation with State Governments. DOI officers also worked with most Commonwealth Departments, particularly the Departments of Labor and National Service, Health and Interior and the COE, as each carried out certain functions as agents for the DOI.

The new DOI expanded rapidly. In June 1946, Calwell reported to Parliament that in just over six months the number of male employees almost doubled from 29 to 49. By 1951, the DOI had grown to employ more than 970 both in Australia and abroad.

As Jordens has explained, the power of the DOI until 1975 invariably lay with those who implemented government policy, i.e., the migration planners and selectors. Further, the values of mainstream Australia were mirrored through these bureaucrats, who maintained that Australia's national identity was inseparable from Anglo-Celtic ethnicity and culture.

Through the DOI, assimilation would counter and minimise the impact of the cultural baggage of non-British migrants. DOI Officer E.W. Waterman warned that if this did not happen, then foreign minority communities would be established which would defeat the purpose of the immigration programme. Hence, under the direction of the

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127 A. Markus, on T. Heyes, in J. Ritchie (gen ed), ADB, 14, p. 447
128 A. Markus, on T. Heyes, in J. Ritchie (gen ed), ADB, 14, pp. 446-447
129 A. Jordens, Alien to Citizen, p. 2
130 E.W. Waterman, History of the DOI, p. 35
131 A.A. Calwell, FPD, 27 June 1946, p. 1851
133 A. Jordens, Alien to Citizen, p. 31
134 E.W. Waterman, History of the DOI, p. 7
Federal Labor Government, the DOI under Heyes was largely responsible for administering both the immigration programme and the citizenship education campaign.

On 2 August 1945, just two weeks before the surrender of Japan, Immigration Minister Calwell launched the Chifley Government's historic immigration policy. It was hoped that Calwell's timing in presenting this policy would gain its wider public acceptance among Australians. The policy was released when the terms of peace with Japan and the allied occupation were drawn up with minimum reference to Australia. Japan's military defeat in 1945 appeared to offer Australia only a 'breathing space' in which to get ready for the envisaged renewed challenge.\(^{135}\)

Calwell commenced his ministerial statement by issuing a warning that without immigration, the continent would be lost:

> If Australians have learnt one lesson from the Pacific war now moving to a successful conclusion, it is surely that we cannot continue to hold our island continent for ourselves and our descendants unless we greatly increase our numbers . . . our need to undertake (immigration) is urgent and imperative if we are to survive.\(^ {136}\)

In demographic terms, the immediate objective was to increase Australia's population from 7.5 million by 140,000 per annum. This was about two per cent of its population, with natural increase and immigration each accounting for one per cent. Calwell told Parliament that immigration 'was at best only the counterpart of the most important phase of population building, natural increase'.\(^ {137}\) However, in accordance with Labor policy, the future of White Australia was of paramount importance to Calwell, and the many implications of allowing non-British migrants from Europe to settle in Australia seem to have been of secondary concern. Thus, as Lack and Templeton have suggested, the pursuit of these migrants had their roots in Calwell's belief that there was no alternative to substantial European immigration if White Australia was to survive.\(^ {138}\) Details of the number of arrivals, their nationality, sex and age are set out in Table 2.


\(^{136}\) A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 2 August 1945, pp. 4911-4912

\(^{137}\) A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 2 August 1945, p. 4911

\(^{138}\) J. Lack and J. Templeton (eds), *Sources of Australian Immigration History*, p. 2
Calwell promised that consultation would take place with national leaders in working out the details of assisted migration. Those consulted would include leaders of the Trade Union Movement, Chambers of Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce, Primary Producers’ Organisations and any other similar organisations whose activities had bearings on economic development. He explained that before immigration would be introduced, the men and women of the Australian defence forces had to be demobilised, rehabilitated and re-employed, the current housing shortage had to be addressed, and adequate shipping had to be available to bring new citizens to Australia.139

From the outset, Calwell said, the Government’s objective was that all those granted permanent residence in Australia needed to be converted into loyal Australian citizens. Calwell considered that public support was vital to achieve this goal:

Australia wants and will welcome new healthy citizens who are determined to become good Australians by adoption . . . we will not mislead any intending immigrant by encouraging him to come to this country under any assisted or unassisted scheme until there is a reasonable assurance of his economic future. Any immigration plan can succeed only if it has behind it the support and the goodwill of the Australian people. These assurances therefore are equally important and are equally given to the workers of our Australian industries and to the Australian people generally.140

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139 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 2 August 1945, p. 4911
140 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 2 August 1945, p. 4912
Table 2: Long-term and Permanent Arrivals—October 1945 to September 1961

- Arrivals (incl. 263,076 refugees) .................................................................1,747,893
- Assisted arrivals ........................................................................................................901,456
- Unassisted arrivals .................................................................................................846,437
- Males .......................................................................................................................965,266
- Females ....................................................................................................................782,627
- Workers (January 1946 to June 1961 - 50.5% of arrivals) ...................................882,708

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>0-14 Years</th>
<th>15-59 Years</th>
<th>60 and Over</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>223,939</td>
<td>718,620</td>
<td>22,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>205,738</td>
<td>539,584</td>
<td>37,305</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Assisted</th>
<th>Unassisted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>439,853</td>
<td>406,813</td>
<td>846,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>79,519</td>
<td>47,416</td>
<td>126,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>66,394</td>
<td>23,353</td>
<td>89,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>29,681</td>
<td>50,731</td>
<td>80,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>42,819</td>
<td>191,750</td>
<td>234,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>64,923</td>
<td>13,332</td>
<td>78,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>26,177</td>
<td>10,262</td>
<td>36,439</td>
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<th>Assisted Schemes to 30 September 1961</th>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th># Assisted</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>April 1947</td>
<td>406,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td>November 1947</td>
<td>200,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>August 1952</td>
<td>66,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>April 1951</td>
<td>62,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>August 1951</td>
<td>44,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>August 1952</td>
<td>29,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltese</td>
<td>January 1949</td>
<td>26,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Assisted Passage</td>
<td>September 1954</td>
<td>16,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>August 1952</td>
<td>16,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>August 1958</td>
<td>2,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>February 1961</td>
<td>296</td>
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</table>
In his address, Calwell identified the need for a campaign of citizenship education to accompany the immigration programme. Firstly, new Australians were to be taught what it meant to be a 'good' Australian and secondly, it was considered the duty of the Australian-born to make newcomers feel at ease in their new homeland.\textsuperscript{141}

Equally, the then LP member, Harold Holt, raised the issue of citizenship education for the Australian-born when he told Federal Parliament that a most important issue to be addressed was 'the attitude of the Australian people to immigrants.'\textsuperscript{142} Holt said he found it difficult to understand the 'curiously intolerant attitude'\textsuperscript{143} of native Australians to migrants. He said that it could be due to Australia being a homogeneous society:

\begin{quote}
We are still 98 per cent British and 87 per cent of our people were born in Australia. Our population is nearly 100 per cent of the white race.\textsuperscript{144}
\end{quote}

This, Holt suggested, had led to a large proportion of the population being hostile to foreigners.\textsuperscript{145}

On 29 August 1945, Opposition Leader Menzies officially responded to Calwell's immigration policy announcement. Menzies supported the Labor Government's plans for post-war immigration on two grounds. Firstly, Menzies believed Australia could not continue to hold the island continent for the present population and its descendants. Secondly, with its current population Australia could not 'continue to build its true living standards unless we greatly increase our numbers.'\textsuperscript{146}

Menzies shared Calwell's view concerning the need to convert non-British migrants into Australian citizens. He told Parliament that Australia could learn a valuable lesson from the USA in dealing with them:

\begin{quote}
The history of America is a perfect epic of what can be done by a wise, risk-taking policy of migration and by giving a wide open welcome to those who
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[141] A.A. Calwell, \emph{FPD}, 2 August 1945, p. 4912
\item[142] H. Holt, \emph{FPD}, 29 August 1945, p. 4998
\item[143] H. Holt, \emph{FPD}, 29 August 1945, p. 4999
\item[144] H. Holt, \emph{FPD}, 29 August 1945, p. 4999
\item[145] H. Holt, \emph{FPD}, 29 August 1945, pp. 4998-4999
\item[146] R. Menzies, \emph{FPD}, 29 August 1945, p. 4978
\end{footnotes}
come to its shores, not speaking the English language but those of foreign lands and by saying to them, 'The moment you arrive on this soil my friend you are an American citizen'. We too must say to the immigrant to Australia, 'The moment you arrive on this soil you are an Australian citizen'.

Menzies stated that Australia should not just carefully hand-pick migrants who were 'our kind'. Rather, migrants should be welcomed with less regard to their cultural background.

LCP members were more eager than ALP members to pursue large-scale immigration. The LCP Opposition placed less emphasis on the type of migrant to be recruited to make up the numbers, while the ALP was more apprehensive in selecting new citizens. Menzies pleaded with the Minister that 'if a choice had to be made between a policy of extreme caution and an adventurous policy which accepts risks because great results are involved, then let us have a more adventurous policy'. The LCP, with its traditional links with the employer, had long wanted immigrants to keep down the cost of labour and to ensure industrial expansion by constant enlargement of home markets.

Thus, there was some disagreement within the ranks of the political elite over the number and type of migrants allowed to settle in Australia, particularly with Labor's rigid adherence to a White Australia and concern for native-born Australian workers' conditions. Although, members of the political elite from both the ALP and LCP appreciated the overall national benefits of post-war immigration which led to the recruitment of new settlers from Europe. From the launching by Calwell of the ALP immigration programme blueprint, members of the national elite from both sides of Parliament were also calling for a citizenship education campaign involving all Australians.

State members of the political elite were voicing their support for the post-war immigration programme introduced by their counterparts in Canberra. In NSW, the Hon B. Sheahan (ALP) told the Legislative Assembly that he agreed whole-heartedly with Federal

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147 R. Menzies, FPD, 29 August 1945, p. 4980
148 R. Menzies, FPD, 29 August 1945, p. 4979
149 R. Menzies, FPD, 29 August 1945, p. 4979
150 R. Menzies, FPD, 29 August 1945, p. 4979
member, Dame Enid Lyons, on the population problem. He reiterated the popular slogan that Australia must `either populate or perish'.\footnote{B. Sheahan, \textit{NSWPD}, 3 October 1944, p. 213} Acting Queensland Premier, E. Hanlon, told Parliament that the Queensland Government maintained that a vigorous migration policy should be adopted as soon as possible; his Government was prepared to co-operate with the Commonwealth in this matter.\footnote{E. Hanlon, \textit{QLDPD}, 27 September 1945, p. 504}

The States were further calling for collaboration between State and Federal authorities concerning the implementation of the programme. In NSW, the Hon P. Hunter told the Legislative Assembly of his concern that unless Australia was populated there was no logical means by which rights to hold it could be maintained. He stressed that it should be ensured that the initiation of a policy of migration should be by collaboration between Federal and State authorities.\footnote{P. Hunter, \textit{NSWPD}, 28 September 1944, p. 177} There was further agreement at both Federal and State level, that in accordance with tradition and due to a sense of security, the British were the preferred migrants.

In March 1946, the Commonwealth and British Governments signed an agreement for free and assisted passages for British residents wanting to migrate to Australia.\footnote{A.W. Borrie, \textit{Immigration: Australia's Problems and Prospects}, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1949, p. 2} Eight months later, Calwell expressed concern that shipping remained the crux of the problem in bringing his immigration plan to fruition. He added that Australia on humanitarian grounds should make some contribution to the relief of certain distressed European groups. Calwell stated that various allied governments had been subject to strong pressure at international conferences to accept large quotas of Europe's displaced and persecuted people. Accordingly, that approval had been given for the admission of a limited number of these people to Australia.\footnote{A.A. Calwell, \textit{FPD}, 22 November 1946, p. 508}

Calwell stressed that the Federal Government's immigration policy was based on the principle that migrants from the United Kingdom would be given every encouragement and assistance:

\begin{quote}
It is my hope that for every foreign migrant there will be ten people from the
\end{quote}
United Kingdom. Only time will tell how far this hope can be realised. We have already given indubitable evidence of our preference for the United Kingdom migrants by entering into agreements with the United Kingdom Government for the granting of free and assisted passages to suitable people from the United Kingdom. Aliens are and will continue to be admitted only in such numbers and of such classes that they can be readily assimilated.\textsuperscript{157}

Lack and Templeton have suggested that Calwell's reassurances that for every non-British migrant Australia would welcome ten British new settlers `were but a necessary strategy to overcome the apprehensions of the people long socialised by politicians urging the importance of maintaining a white British Australia'.\textsuperscript{158} However, the maintaining of Australia as a homogeneous society could be considered an important objective of post-war immigration. Subsequently, British migrants were the preferred type. As early as 1944, Calwell began negotiations for renewing the Empire Settlement Act arrangements and endorsed a book of the London journalist, Dudley Barker, who advocated the transfer of complete British factories with workers, houses and services from war-ravaged Britain to the dominion.\textsuperscript{159}

Calwell was also continually aware of the need to provide the Australian public with information that would sway them to support post-war immigration and accept new arrivals from a wide range of different cultural backgrounds. While cautiously revealing plans to allow non-British migrants to settle in Australia, Calwell strategically reminded the Australian-born that immigration was vital for the sake of the nation:

\begin{quote}
\ldots all shades of thought agree that Australia's security, economic stability and destiny as a major Pacific power depend in large measure upon the success of the Commonwealth's immigration programme.\textsuperscript{160}
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{157} A.A. Calwell, \textit{FPD}, 22 November 1946, p. 508
\item \textsuperscript{158} J. Lack and J. Templeton (eds), \textit{Sources of Australian Immigration History}, p. 2
\item \textsuperscript{159} C. Price, 'Immigration', in J.D.B. Miller (ed), \textit{Australians and British Social and Political Connections}, North Ryde, NSW, Methuen Australia, 1987, p. 28
\item \textsuperscript{160} A.A. Calwell, \textit{FPD}, 22 November 1946, p. 506
\end{footnotes}
Calwell promised that a Committee would be set up to prepare a booklet similar to one published in America that gave the alien a background knowledge of Australia's history and culture. The booklet would further provide the migrant with details of Australia's social structure, form of government, an appreciation of the Australian way of life and state what Australia stood for as a nation. 'It will bring home to him', Calwell said, 'the privileges and benefits which derive from Australian citizenship and will better equip him to take his place as a partner in our great Commonwealth'.

Calwell also raised the issue of citizenship ceremonies for new settlers eligible to take out Australian citizenship, expressing his concern over the present procedure associated with the taking of the oath of allegiance by applicants for naturalisation. The prospective new citizen, he complained, merely attended his local courthouse and took the oath before a magistrate or clerk of the courts. He believed that citizenship ceremonies called for a dignified induction ceremony to instil into the minds of the new citizens an adequate appreciation of Australian citizenship, which carried with it certain obligations and responsibilities together with privileges and benefits. He suggested that the American practice be introduced, which would produce the same excellent results in Australia as had been achieved in America. He added that he would submit plans to the next Commonwealth/State Ministers for Immigration Conference and seek the co-operation of State authorities in carrying out his plan. He concluded his address by stressing the importance of increasing the Australian population for both defence and economic purposes as well as maintaining cultural homogeneity:

The call to all Australians is to realise that without adequate numbers this wide brown land may not be held in another clash of arms, and to give their maximum assistance to every effort to expand its economy and assimilate more and more people who will come from overseas to link their fate with our destiny . . . I ask for and expect from all Australians of goodwill the same understanding and appreciation of the problem of building up our national strength as was so generously given by them to the governments of the war years in their great task of ensuring the maintenance of our Australian way of life and our very national existence.

In February 1947, Calwell formed the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council

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161 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 22 November 1946, p. 511
162 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 22 November 1946, p. 511
(CIAC) which was a powerful advisory body set up to help the Federal Government address issues arising from the influx of non-British migrants. It consisted of senior representatives from the government, unions and employer groups, including the Hon Leslie Haylen, MP (ALP Chairman), Mr C.J. Austin, Federal Secretary, Air Force Association, the Hon P.J. Clarey, MLC, President Australian Council of Trades Unions, Mr W.R. Dovey, leading conservative Sydney barrister, the Hon R.A. King (ALP) MLC, Secretary NSW Branch Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), Mr A.E. Monk, Secretary, ACTU, Mr O.D. Oberg, former President of the Australian Council of Employers Federations. With the exception of Mr Dovey, all members of the Council served strictly in an honorary capacity.163 These members of the national elite were raised at the turn of the century during the Federation debate when Australia was British and imperial in outlook.164 However, Federation added cohesion for the development of an Australian idiom. Haylen, in his maiden speech to Federal Parliament, proclaimed his interest in cultivating the spirit of Australianism. Former ALP Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam (1972-1975) remarked of Haylen: 'Only Australia could have produced him'.165 CIAC members, including Haylen and Dovey, had also enlisted in the Australian Imperial Forces, which reinforced ties to the mother country through race and language.

The CIAC was responsible for recommending that a national publicity campaign be launched to present post-war migration to the Australian-born in a positive light. The aim was to assure native Australians that the migrants would create jobs, not take them, and to help educate the Australian public to overcome its isolationist attitude concerning the new settlers. The CIAC held the popular view that the successful settlement of migrants would be endangered if they clustered into national cliques and that this could be overcome if the new arrivals were greeted as Australians. The CIAC stated:

They should be made welcome, not driven in upon themselves by such epithets as 'Pommy', 'Scowwegian' and 'Reffo' and then blamed for creating little colonies of their own.166

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164 Leslie Haylen (dob 1898), P.J Clarey (1890), W.R. Dovey (1894), A.E. Monk (1900) and O.D. Oberg (1893), G. Ritchie (gen ed), ADB, 13-14, pp. 431-607
165 G. Ritchie (gen ed), ADB, 14, pp. 418-419
166 A.A. Calwell, Be Just and Fear Not, pp. 100-101
Calwell claimed that it was partly due to this recommendation that he introduced the term 'new Australian' to describe post-war migrants.  

In the late 1940s, the terms 'Balts' and 'Displaced Persons' (DPs) were banned from official communications. Calwell demanded that all migrants be called 'newcomers', 'new settlers' or 'new Australians'. He was concerned that the earlier terms might eventually assume the unpleasant undertones of words such as 'Dago' and 'Reffo' and subsequently appealed to all Australians to outlaw the expressions. The Immigration Minister stressed that migrants were coming from Europe to join their destiny with that of native Australians in the development of a country which they had willingly adopted. As such, they were preferably new Australians. This move illustrated the further efforts of Calwell to educate Australians into accepting the new settlers.

One month after the formation of the CIAC, on 21 July 1947, an historical agreement was reached with the International Refugee Organisation, which officially led to the large movement of DPs to Australia. The introduction of the DP scheme represented the first major break with the traditional seeking of migrants from Britain. DOI officers were sent overseas to recruit migrants. They were highly selective about whom they allowed to enter Australia. Those chosen were to be almost perfect physically. The high standard of selection could be attributed to the refugees being recruited as workers to assist in Australia's economic development.

The DPs were bought to Australia at no cost to themselves and on a 'Certificate of Exemption' for two years. During this period their labour could be directed by the Federal Government, while they were to receive wages at a standard rate. In a memorandum to Calwell, Heyes stated that in accordance with a tripartite agreement between Broken Hill Proprietary, the Federal Labor Government, and the Newcastle branch of the Ironworkers, the DPs were to be given jobs which were least attractive to Australian workers. Calwell had no misgivings in entering this agreement nor in making it public. The headline of the report

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167 A.A. Calwell, Be Just and Fear Not, pp. 100-101
168 The Argus (Melbourne), 11 August 1949, p. 15
169 K. Tandberg, History of Adult Migrant Education in Australia: Emphasis on Victoria, MEd, Monash University, 1983, p. 54
in the *SMH* provided an account of Calwell's view: 'DPs to Have Only Unattractive Jobs'. It was further stated in the aforementioned agreement that when the contracts of the DPs expired companies would not recruit them until such time as they became naturalised citizens. Thus, Australian citizenship for DPs was a concern to the employers, which led to their taking an active role in the citizenship campaign while political elite members were still reluctant to sever citizenship links with the British Empire.

**The Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948)**

In 1947, Canada instigated a move of member States of the Commonwealth to introduce legislation establishing their own citizenship. As well as being citizens of their particular countries, residents would also remain British subjects or Commonwealth citizens, and this status would be recognised throughout the Commonwealth.

The following year, ALP political elite members in Canberra introduced legislation that gave effect to this principle in Australia. The Chifley Government thus in 1948 introduced the Nationality and Citizenship Act, which created the status of Australian citizenship but without losing the context of the imperial tie to Britain. Immigration Minister Calwell stated in Parliament during the reading of the Act:

> This is an historic occasion in the life of our nation. The Bill, which I have the honour to represent this evening seeks to establish for the first time the principles of Australian Citizenship, while maintaining between the component parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations the common bond of British nationality.

> To say that one is an Australian is, of course, to indicate beyond all doubt that one is British, but to claim to be of the British race does not make it clear that one is an Australian. The time has come for Australia and the other Dominions to recognise officially and legally their maturity of members of the British Commonwealth by the passage of separate citizenship laws. Therefore it gives me great pleasure to introduce this Bill that will enable Australia to proclaim its own national citizenship and establish the duties

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172 T. Heyes to A.A. Calwell, 15 June 1949, in A. Markus, 'Labour and Immigration (1946-9): The Displaced Person's Program', p. 90

and responsibilities as well as the rights and privileges that are inherent in it.  

The Act came into force on 26 January 1949, the 161st anniversary of the British settlement of Australia. Calwell declared:

Australia Day, the anniversary of the settlement of our nation is always a memorable occasion. Our 161st anniversary today is of outstanding importance as it marks another step forward in the development of Australian nationhood.

Calwell claimed that the most notable innovation in introducing the Act was 'the creation of the status of Australian citizen'. Jordens has suggested that the Act did not substantially alter the key definitions of citizenship or bring about any particular nationalistic pressure to create a new and different national status. It was imposed by those in authority on an almost entirely indifferent Australian population, following Canada's creation of a separate Canadian citizenship. Jordens has further suggested that the understanding of citizenship, which Calwell and DOI officers brought to the management of the Act, was clearly based on the norm of British culture and ethnicity. 'No Australian', she stated, 'including DOI officers had any conception of what being an Australian citizen as distinct from a British subject meant'. Thus, the image of Australians enshrined in the Act was that of Anglo-Celts. As suggested by Jordens, the Act primarily supported the Anglo-Celtic concept of what it meant to be an Australian citizen. The Act was also somewhat ambiguous, as on the one hand it created the status of Australian citizen while on the other hand all Australians were to remain British subjects.

Kwan has argued that the challenge for the Chifley Government was to legislate for

174 A.A. Calwell, FPD, 30 September 1948, p. 1060
175 A.A. Calwell, Tomorrow's Australians, Bulletin of DOI, 10, Canb, 10 January 1949, p. 2
176 A.A. Calwell, 'Immigration Amendment Bill: Speech in House of Representatives by the Minister for Immigration', Current Notes on International Affairs, 20, 6, June 1949, p. 256
177 A. Jordens, Alien to Citizen, p. 171
178 A. Jordens, Alien to Citizen, p. 171
179 A. Jordens, Alien to Citizen, p. 172
Australian citizenship without leaving itself open to the claim that it was anti-British. Calwell told Federal Parliament that the Bill was ‘not designed to make an Australian any less a British subject, but to help him to express his pride in citizenship of this great country . . .’ Despite Calwell’s rhetoric, the Act came under criticism from the Opposition. Eric Harrison, Acting Leader of the LP, argued that the purpose of the Bill was ‘to create a fundamental Australian nationality, an Australian citizenship: and was part of a plan - a sinister plan - to liquidate the Empire’. Similarly, Sir Josiah Francis said the Act was ‘pulling down the Union Jack’. CP politician, Sir John McEwan, claimed that ‘when the British people took steps to separate into different nationalities, it was a black day in their history.’

Comments made by conservative politicians illustrate concern over what they considered was an easing of ties with Britain and also the efforts of ALP politicians to use the introduction of the Act to their political advantage. However, ALP political members moved cautiously with the introduction of the legislation. In June 1949, Chifley told Parliament that although his Government was at liberty to do otherwise, he would continue to use the term ‘British Commonwealth’.

An important feature of the legislation which Jordens and Kwan do not mention was that it provided the means for new arrivals to join native-born as Australian citizens, thereby also encouraging their acceptance by native Australians. Through the legislation, the notion of ‘Australian citizen’ allowed all Australians, whether of British or non-British background, to have membership of Australian society, including all the legal and political responsibilities and privileges accompanying such status. Immigrants who became Australian citizens, therefore, shared with native-born Australians the same basic responsibilities and privileges. Subsequently, the acquisition of Australian citizenship by

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181 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 30 September 1948, p. 1060
182 E. Harrison, in A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 191
183 J. Francis, in A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 191
184 J. McEwan, in A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 191
186 Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA), *Australian Citizenship*, Fact Sheet 66, AGPS, June 2000, p. 1
migrants gave them greater opportunity to amalgamate into the wider Australian community. As Calwell pointed out:

The occasion symbolises not only our own pride in Australia, but also our willingness to offer a share in our future to the new Australians we are seeking in such vast numbers. These people to whom we offer a warm welcome to our shores, now have a tangible goal - the honour of acquiring Australian citizenship.\(^{187}\)

Thus, through creating the new status of Australian citizen, the Act was an important step towards the success of nation-building emanating from post-war immigration. The legislation also provided DOI officers with an official guideline for processing applications for citizenship.

Under the Act, aliens applying for naturalisation as Australian citizens were required to satisfy the DOI Minister that they had an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship.\(^{188}\) DOI Officer E.W. Waterman stated:

The Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948) requires close investigation of the aliens claims and applications of most stringent tests to determine general suitability before the application for naturalisation is granted. Broadly, the design is to ensure that only those immigrants who have shown themselves to be worthy members of the community should become Australian citizens and should be entitled to all the rights and privileges of an Australian.\(^{189}\)

However, the legislation was largely predicated on the belief that British subjects were to receive better treatment than non-British migrants. Before non-British migrants could apply for citizenship, they were required to have resided continuously in Australia for a period of one year preceding the date of approval of application and for at least four years during the previous seven years. Further, the Minister had no discretion to accept a shorter qualifying

\(^{187}\) A.A. Calwell, in DOI, *Tomorrow's Australians*, p. 2

\(^{188}\) 'Notes on the Responsibilities and Privileges of Australian Citizenship', in CIAC Report of First Meeting of Committee established to consider the drafting of a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship, 13 October 1955, NAA (CANB) A446/182, 1955/67340

\(^{189}\) E.W. Waterman, History of the DOI, p. 19
residence period. The situation differed for British subjects. They were required to reside in Australia for five years during the eight years preceding the date of application for registration. The Minister for Immigration had the power to approve a shorter period of not less than one year. In practice, the Minister approved all British applicants who fulfilled a 12 month residence requirement.\textsuperscript{190}

Under the Act, the non-British migrant was also to have an adequate knowledge of the English language. Applicants were considered to have satisfied this criterion if they could undertake any ordinary occupation among English-speaking Australians and procure easily their everyday requirements. This requirement exemplifies the strong British Commonwealth links of Australia and the Anglo-Celtic focus of the society in the 1950s.\textsuperscript{191}

The legislation not only served as a means to officially determine who would be granted Australian citizenship but also led to an official change in citizenship ceremonies. In January 1949, the DOI reported that under the Act plans were in progress for a new naturalisation ceremony. The new Australian citizens would receive their certificate of naturalisation stating: 'You are now an Australian citizen and a British subject'.\textsuperscript{192} Throughout the ceremony the Australian flag was to be displayed prominently. Calwell maintained that the naturalisation ceremony should be accompanied by proceedings designed to impress upon applicants the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship'.\textsuperscript{193} In his criticism of the old procedure Calwell reiterated:

\ldots the old procedure under which a man's naturalisation papers came to him through the mail like his annual licence for his dog or his motor car was most inappropriate.\textsuperscript{194}

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\textsuperscript{190} Sir Ninian Stephen (Chairman), \textit{Australian Citizenship for a New Century}, Report by the Australian Citizenship Council, Canb, AGPS, February 2000, p. 34
\textsuperscript{191} Sir Ninian Stephen (Chairman), \textit{Australian Citizenship for a New Century}, pp. 32-34
\textsuperscript{192} DOI, \textit{Tomorrow's Australians}, 10 January 1949, p. 1
\textsuperscript{193} A.A. Calwell, in DOI, \textit{Tomorrow's Australians}, 10 January 1949, p. 1
\textsuperscript{194} A.A. Calwell, in DOI, \textit{Tomorrow's Australians}, 10 January 1949, p. 1
\end{flushright}
Thus, following the introduction of the Nationality and Citizenship Act, the change to the citizenship ceremony by Calwell was a significant move to promote the importance of Australian citizenship and was integral to the citizenship education campaign as illustrated at the ACCs (discussed in Chapter Four). The creation of the new status of Australian citizen, however, in no way affected that of British subject. The enactment of the legislation marked the creation of Australian citizenship identity while maintaining cultural attachment and constitutional association with Britain.\footnote{Over the years the Act was changed. In 1955, procedures for applying for Australian citizenship were streamlined making the application process easier for the migrant to take out citizenship. For example, the time frame for lodging an intention to apply for naturalisation was reduced to six months before lodging an application (previously two years). The requirement for applicants to advertise their intention to apply for naturalisation in the newspaper was also abolished. In 1973, the legislation was renamed the Australian Citizenship Act 1948. In 1984 major changes were made to the legislation. Labor Immigration Minister West told Federal Parliament that the changes were introduced to ensure that the Act reflected ‘the common national identity of all Australians’ (FPD, 2 May 1984, p. 1663). The 1984 amendments included the removal of British subject status from the Citizenship Act. Australians were no longer considered British subjects representing a fragmenting of Australia’s traditional bond with Britain.}
The Continuing Consensus

In October 1949, Calwell appointed a further select body of leading members from trade, industry, academia and the ACTU under the guise of a Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council (CIPC) to deal with matters concerning post-war immigration. The Council comprised of Sir William Dunk, CBE, Chairman Public Service Board, Mr I.M. McLennan, Snr General Manager Broken Hill Proprietary, Mr A.W. Coles, Chairman, British-Commonwealth Pacific Airlines, Sir Douglas Copeland, KBE, Academic, Sir John Jensen, OBE, Chairman British Automatic Telephone and Electric Pty Ltd, Mr A.J. Keast, Managing Director Rio Tinto Constructions and Development Co., Sir Samuel Wadham, Academic, Mr R.J. Vicars, Chairman Tooth and Co. Ltd, and Mr A.E. Monk, ACTU President and member of the CIAC. Haylen told Parliament that the Council was established ‘to arrange accommodation and employment for migrants’. More specifically, the CIPC was appointed to plan and review the progress made in absorbing migrants into industry and to determine ways immigration could contribute to a desirable pattern of development in Australia. It also examined major difficulties connected with accommodation and employment of migrants.

On 14 November 1949, in his election broadcast, Chifley told the Australian public that the great immigration drive launched by his Government in 1945 would be vigorously sustained until Australia was sufficiently populated to ‘achieve the development of her resources and guarantee her security’. Chifley then repeated the need to sustain ties with Britain. He told the Australian public that Australia’s defence programme was fundamentally based on co-operation in British Commonwealth defence and that Britain was the heart of the British Commonwealth. Therefore, it was imperative that Australia, for security and economic purposes, continued to co-operate with the United Kingdom.

At the close of the decade, the Chifley Government's initial population policy was based on Australia's development into a prosperous and self-sufficient nation while sustaining links with Britain. Immigration was a major component of this overall policy initiative. Australia's post-war population shortage and lack of defence capability were

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196 L. Haylen, FPD, 12 October 1949, p. 1265
197 E.W. Waterman, History of the DOI, p. 14
198 J.B. Chifley, ‘No Glittering Promises’, 14 November 1949, in A. Stargardt (ed), Things Worth Fighting For, 1949, p. 82
199 J.B. Chifley, ‘No Glittering Promises’, p. 82
constant reminders used by Calwell and other members of the political elite to educate the public about the importance of post-war immigration and the need for non-British migrants.

The election of the Menzies Government in 1949 brought about new economic and social policies but the foundations of post-war immigration remained intact. In 1951, the International Refugee Organisation which co-ordinated the recruitment of DPs was abolished and the flow of DPs to Australia dwindled. The numbers decreased to 11,708 in 1951, 2,055 in 1952 and 441 in 1953. While the DP scheme was in operation, between 1947 and 1954, 170,700 DPs were recruited by the Federal Government.  This figure was the second largest intake after the USA.

In September 1956, the Hon K.C. Wilson (Labor SA), asked Immigration Minister Holt whether the Federal Government's immigration plan was modified periodically to prevent any undue strain on the economy. Holt responded that this was the case. He added that in deciding on numbers, his Government sought:

. . . the widest and most expert advice including advice from representatives of the Party to which the honourable members opposite belonged and of the trade union movement in preparing and planning the programme year by year.

Holt stated that the CIPC and CIAC had provided advice on immigration policy. Both bodies included representatives of the Labor and industrial movement. Holt said that he believed a bipartisan approach to immigration still prevailed. He pointed out that the Menzies Government was continuing along the same path as the previous Chifley Government, referring to Chifley's 1949 election speech and stating that the two great objectives announced by Chifley were still at the forefront of his Government's planning for its immigration programme. These were that the nation be sufficiently populated to develop Australian resources and that there be a guarantee of the nation's security.

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201 E.F. Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, p. xvii
202 H. Holt, FPD, 18 September 1956, p. 570
203 H. Holt, FPD, 18 September 1956, p. 570
In 1957, LCP Immigration Minister Athol Townley (1956-1958) announced the 'Bring out a Briton' scheme in an effort to recruit more of the traditionally preferred British migrant type. In 1958, Alexander Downer (1958-1963) replaced Townley as LCP Minister for Immigration. Following in the steps of his predecessor Downer endeavoured to recruit more British migrants, but failing to achieve the number required, looked beyond the mother country for new settlers:

> I concede to no one a greater admiration for our British tradition than I personally hold, yet Australia might have to search perniciously beyond England.

In July 1959, Downer introduced a new drive for Southern Europeans due to an insufficiency of British migrants. 'In practice', he announced, 'Australian selection teams would operate mainly at Genoa, Trieste and Milan where they could be expected to recruit Northern Italians.' Thus, LCP policy remained expansionist in terms of an immigration programme but to some extent the LCP view was more British-oriented than that of the ALP on the nature of appropriate new citizens. Nevertheless, the LCP Government invariably recruited non-British migrants to keep up quotas.

At the close of the 1950s, the Hon J.B. Howse (LCP, Vic) summed up the approach of political elite members to post-war immigration policy. Howse told Federal Parliament that there may have been some disagreement on some issues but overall, immigration policy 'was one on which all members agreed and had the whole-hearted support of most Members of Parliament'.

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206 A. Downer, in J. Wilton and R. Bosworth, *Old Worlds and New Australia*, p. 29
207 H. Howse, *FPD*, 6 October 1959, p. 1756
Conclusion

Labor members of the Federal political elite formulated and implemented Australia's unprecedented post-war immigration policy for the perceived long-term benefits of the nation. Members of the political elite were essentially dedicated to a post-war immigration programme that was based on white European immigration and maintaining British institutions and practices. In 1970, Calwell recalled that Australian sentiment, based on reasons of kinship, language, culture, history and political social institutions, preferred a larger proportion of British to non-British migrants. However, non-British migrants were recruited primarily to make up the shortfall in British intake. The Chifley Government's immigration policy was continued under Menzies and hence, there was a consensus among the political elite concerning immigration policy. The States called for increased consultation but it was agreed, above all, that post-war immigration should proceed in the pursuit of national prosperity.

The Federal Government was advised on policy through the powerful immigration advisory and planning councils. They were concerned that non-British migrants would form national groups and create a challenge to existing British-based institutions and practices. Such concern significantly contributed to the launching of the citizenship education campaign. Immigration policy and aspects of the campaign were administered and co-ordinated through the newly established DOI under Heyes. The formation of the DOI was largely the result of national leaders considering it necessary to introduce the bureaucracy required to co-ordinate and administer the various aspects of the Federal Government's immigration policy and education campaign for citizenship.

To some extent the power to influence the policy process reflected inherent biases, and immigration policy decisions were thereby politically motivated. Nevertheless, migrant intake was sustained within projected figures. This was primarily the result of a unified immigration policy directed by the Federal political elite.

The Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948) introduced by the Chifley Government saw the creation of the notion of Australian citizen. The Act, therefore, could be considered an historic piece of legislation, and one which, combined with the effects of the immigration programme, contributed to eventual change in the cultural values of Australian society and the re-defining of Australian nationalism. The legislation in 1948 was nevertheless a symbolic statement of the growing need for a citizenship campaign, but one which

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208 A.A. Calwell, *Be Just and Fear Not*, p. 99
emphasised Australian citizenship with reference to a British background.

In the minds of the national elite, a citizenship education campaign guaranteed a safe and secure expanding Australian nation based on British practices and institutions. Acceptance of citizenship indicated, at least in official figures, vindication of the Federal Government's assimilation policy and security that the migrants had become part of the Australian family and had adopted an Australian national identity. An application for citizenship by non-British settlers was seen as 'placing the seal upon his membership of our community and upon his intention to identify himself permanently with us.'209 As Tavan has suggested, the bestowal of Australian citizenship was an important element within the aim of maintaining a culturally homogeneous society which members of the political elite consistently pursued. Citizenship was perceived as a symbol of the patriotic commitment by migrants and their acceptance of the established pattern of Australian national identity.210

The non-British migrants were expected to assimilate into the Australian community. This was the great aim of post-war immigration policy.211 Throughout the 1950s, the indicator of assimilation was the number of new arrivals taking out Australian citizenship. In 1954, Holt reiterated that 'the culmination of all assimilation activities was their (new settlers) adoption of Australian citizenship'.212 A prerequisite of this action was a knowledge of the English language as stipulated in the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948).

Citizenship rested on a common national language. Crossley, a former principal migrant English instructor, claimed that the problem of teaching English to migrants of non-British origin was uncomplicated until 1947, when the first boat-load of DPs arrived from Europe. It then became apparent that assimilation could be accelerated if provisions were made for the migrants to learn some English before they were sent to their respective workplaces and for the continuation of their studies once they were settled.213

Federal authorities intended to introduce the machinery necessary to teach newcomers to become 'good' Australian citizens. In April 1948, Heyes wrote to the Federal Treasury Secretary, referring to the importance of migrants learning English and the Federal

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209 A. Davidson, *From Subject to Citizen*, p. 169
210 G. Tavan, 'Good Neighbours', in J.H. Murphy and J. Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties*, p. 85
211 G. Bolton, *The Oxford History of Australia*, p. 106
212 DOI, Digest, Report of Proceedings of the ACCs, Canb, DOI, 1954, p. 2
213 R. Crossley, 'Teaching English to DP Migrants', *Education News*, 1, 6, June 1948, p. 3
role concerning the campaign:

... to help the new settlers to become good Australians and to qualify for naturalisation when they have the necessary resident qualifications; and, as another of the qualifications for naturalisation is a working knowledge of the English language, it is incumbent on the Government to place educational facilities before them.214

The objective was to provide non-British migrants with an elementary knowledge of English to enable them to meet their practical everyday needs. Ancillary to learning English was instruction in Australia's cultural history. These were the skills required to enable rapid assimilation of migrants into the Australian community and eventual transformation into Australian citizens. While immigration was part of a national policy, the question of who was responsible for the settlement of the new arrivals became a concern of members of the national elite.

Many obstacles needed to be overcome. There were the problems associated with providing accommodation and employment upon arrival in the new homeland and also with educating non-British migrants to merge into the existing citizenry. These responsibilities had implications for the Australian States, placing new demands on their relationship with Federal authorities in dealing with the post-war migrants. These needs became apparent following the transportation of the new settlers to government-provided migrant camps.

214 T. Heyes to The Secretary, Department of Treasury, 14 April 1948, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1962/65900
CHAPTER TWO
FORMAL MIGRANT EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

Introduction
Citizenship education for non-British migrants was based upon certain precepts that focussed principally on the Federal Government's strategy to populate and develop the nation. The practical aspects of the scheme required the rapid deployment of migrants, and in particular, non-British settlers into the Australian community. The initial cost and resources of the settlement programme were borne by the Federal Government and introduced through its departments, particularly the DOI. This was evident in the establishment of migrant camps and associated education programmes for adult migrants, and male migrants, in particular, who were to be the providers for their dependant families.

Provision for citizenship education stemmed from the practical needs of migrants to learn English for the workplace and everyday intercourse as well as from a desire to discourage ethnic enclaves - in short, to encourage assimilation. The culmination of the citizenship education campaign was intended to be the naturalisation of the non-British migrant after a statutory period of residence.

At the outset of the settlement programme State and Federal Governments were buoyed with enthusiasm and goodwill. State leaders embraced the cause of immigration and the federally directed migrant education campaign for the future prosperity of Australia. However, as the number of non-British migrants increased within the community and because of the traditional two-tier system of Government, stresses became apparent within the settlement programme. These were exacerbated by the special financial arrangements between the States and Commonwealth and the increased post-war education demands that were to be sustained by the States.

As a consequence of post-war immigration, the citizenship education campaign was primarily aimed at adult non-British migrants. A similar course of action was not evident in the public school system in the 1950s towards migrant students. Although children of school age might have been included in a de facto manner, a specific programme of citizenship existed only as part an established curriculum and therefore was developed through the vagaries of the normal educational policy that was Anglo-centric.

The political elite in Canberra encountered challenges from the States. The Federal Government maintained that it was not prepared to interfere in State rights and that Federal funding included provision for increased migrant population. Consequently, State Ministers essentially deferred to the principles of the Federal immigration plan under the duress of Federal funding. Ambivalence between the States and Federal Governments concerning migrant education came in the period of post-war social and economic adjustment and in the
evolution in Commonwealth/State relations that provided Federal authorities with greater taxation powers.

The Commonwealth Government had responsibilities in the area of migrant settlement although no additional funds were provided for child migrant education. The education of these students was to be provided from annual Federal grants to States. However, the changing nature of post-war education and increased demands on the States to fulfil their educational responsibilities, resulted in a larger share of State funds being absorbed into education expenditure. Hall, in his address to the 31st Summer School of the Australian Institute of Education of Political Science, explained the implications for educators of the increased post-war educational demands. These resulted in a disproportionate amount of State revenue being absorbed in educational expenditures to cope with the rapid growth of school populations.215

Consequently, migrant education was an important aspect of the citizenship education campaign, which found itself engulfed by the States and Commonwealth post-war disagreement over funding for education generally. The Federal Government had introduced a national policy of immigration, which had significant implications for the States. Members of the Federal political elite were prepared to accept responsibility for migrant citizenship education primarily in the camps but not as part of the overall settlement policy concerning new arrivals. This created conflict among the elite at the Federal and State levels and, in turn, over the best means to inculcate the values of citizenship. Consequently, child migrant education suffered and migrant students were not provided with equal opportunity in the classroom.

In this chapter, the citizenship education campaign as it extended nationally through formal educational channels is discussed. There is an emphasis on NSW as this State provides valuable insight into the implications of the disagreement in Federal/State relations concerning migrant education. The NSW Director General of Education, Dr Harold Wyndham, provides the viewpoint of officialdom. The NSWTF presents a counter-balance to the bureaucratic administrators' standpoint. Prior to the introduction of large numbers of migrant children into school from the late 1940s, Federal authorities introduced specific programmes to educate adult migrants, which were an integral part of the citizenship education campaign.

Adult Migrant Education

Camp Schools

On 19 August 1946, a conference of Commonwealth and State Ministers for Immigration was held when it was agreed that assistance would be provided to help DPs settle and assimilate into the Australian community. This arrangement created many new challenges for the Chifley Government which had accepted responsibility for the selection, reception, placement in employment and absorption of the new arrivals into the Australian community. As Roe has suggested 'the earlier problems and dialectic of Britons' migration prepared the way for acceptance of others'. The Federal Government's post-war immigration programme, however, was particularly challenging, with the recruitment of migrants from a diversity of cultural backgrounds unable to speak English.

The allocation of housing was also a major obstacle to be overcome due to the dramatic post-war housing shortage. To provide accommodation for the new arrivals, the Labor Federal Government considered it practical to establish migrant accommodation centres. On 28 November 1947, Calwell released in Federal Parliament details of the plans to accommodate migrants immediately upon their arrival in Australia at Reception and Training Centres. Calwell stressed that the decision to provide accommodation for DPs was revolutionary and the first experiment of its kind to be undertaken in this country. He claimed that he was confident that the outcome would benefit both native and new Australians.

At the camps, residents would be provided with English lessons, taught about Australian conditions as well as the benefits and obligations of Australian citizenship. Calwell envisaged that each migrant would attend classes of English instruction covering a period of four to five hours daily. In their leisure time, the migrants would be shown films supplied by the Department of Information that dealt with aspects of the Australian economy.

The Reception and Training Centres were mostly former military camps and were

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218 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 28 November 1947, p. 2924

usually located in country areas. The migrants were expected to stay at the camps for approximately one month to help them become oriented in their new environment. While at the centre migrants would be registered as aliens, issued with clothing, put through routine medical examinations and taught a basic level of English. It was envisaged that this language instruction would enable the migrants, usually male contract workers, to commence employment. They were also to learn enough of Australian conditions and way of living to ‘enable them to become happy and co-operative members of the community’. The Federal Department of Labour and National Service mainly provided accommodation for DPs going to employment. Their families, for whom it was not possible to find accommodation, usually moved into a Holding Centre until suitable private accommodation could be found for them. By 1948, Immigration Reception and Training Centres had been established at Bathurst (NSW) (one Transit and one Holding Centre for families) and Bonegilla (Vic) (Transit Centre). Holding Centres were also in the course of preparation at Cowra and Uranquinty (NSW) (see Appendix 1).

The establishment of centres for DPs was rapid. By 1949, Reception and Training Centres had been established in most Australian States and there were 20 Holding Centres accommodating the wives and families of contract workers. These were mainly located in isolated areas.

The efficient operation of these hostels was considered a difficult task for the DOI due to their complexity. They were ‘in effect small townships, each with its own hospital, school and crèche, kitchens commissariat and the like’. There was no Government restriction on migrants wishing to leave hostels. They could move into private accommodation following DOI approval. Charges in government hostels were on a scale within the means of the migrants. For financial reasons and due to cultural differences, particularly an inability to speak English, many migrants found it difficult to move out of the Government-provided accommodation. Their immediate future in Australia was virtually

220 E.F. Kunz, *Displaced Persons*, p. 139
221 COE, ‘The Commonwealth Office of Education’, *Education News*, 2, 2, April 1949, p. 4
223 G. Sluga, *Bonegilla ’A Place of No Hope’*, p. 23
224 E.W. Waterman, *History of the DOI*, p. 16
225 E.W. Waterman, *History of the DOI*, p. 16
dependent on the decisions of the Federal Government.

The Commonwealth Employment Service, Calwell told Federal Parliament, had undertaken to place European migrants in jobs. Since migrants would be selected with a view to meeting Australia's labour requirements, Calwell envisaged there would be no difficulty in securing suitable employment with a minimum of delay for all the DPs transported to Australia.226

By the late 1940s, through the DOI in conjunction with the Federal DOE and State Education Departments, the Federal Labor Government had implemented schemes whereby the citizenship education of non-British migrants entering Australia could be made effective by four progressive stages:

1. **Pre-Embarkation:** In 1949, English language instruction was introduced in a number of European countries for persons intending to migrate to Australia. An undertaking was given by the Chifley Government to arrange for English instruction to be introduced at four camps in the Bagnoli area near Naples, which held 14,000 persons. Those destined for Australia usually stayed at a camp for four weeks.227

   In the mid 1950s, Mr R. Spear, Area Supervisor for Australian Education in Delmenhorst, Germany, prepared a report on educational activities at the Delmenhorst Education Centre in which he stated that the scheme operating there was now beyond "teething problems and well into the consolidation stages".228 Spear believed that the Delmenhorst scheme exceeded anything he had experienced in Naples. This he attributed to the efforts of DOI Officers Miller, Belford and Ross. Their work, Spear reported, had been outstanding.229 Since the Delmenhorst Centre was set up after the Italian experiment, experience gained at Bagnoli could have also contributed to the improved operation of the Delmenhorst scheme.

2. **During the Voyage to Australia:** In May 1948, the first shipboard education officer was appointed and the Chifley Government

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227 COE, 'Teaching the New Australian', *Education News*, 2, 2, April 1949, p. 14
228 R. Spear, Report on Australian Education Activities, Germany, June/July 1950, NAA (SYD) ST2699/1, 6/12A
229 R. Spear, Report on Australian Education Activities
introduced a programme which allowed migrants to receive English instruction during their voyage to Australia.

3. Immediately on Arrival: In late 1947, the Chifley Government introduced a programme to educate migrants at Reception and Holding Centres nation-wide. Students were graded according to their knowledge of English and the classes contained 25 or more. 'Speech aims came first, reading as a by-product and writing was used as a learning device and not as an end in itself'.

A textbook, 'English for Newcomers to Australia', was prepared by the COE and each member of the class was provided with a copy of this book. Students were taught about Australia's historical background, its relationship with the British Empire, the Pacific and the world. They learnt about Australia's geographical features and social customs. They were also instructed in the duties and privileges associated with becoming an Australian citizen.

4. After being placed in employment: On 5 March 1948, Calwell announced that the fourth stage of the Commonwealth Government's programme had been commenced and continuation classes were in operation. Calwell said, 'The classes were to educate European migrants in the Australian way of life, and to impress on them the desirability of seeking Australian citizenship'.

In 1949, the Federal ALP Cabinet approved an extension of the continuation programme nation-wide to include all adult migrants above compulsory school age who spoke little or no English. In the same year, correspondence classes were introduced for those residing in areas where there was no school or fewer than six pupils.

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232 A.A. Calwell, 5 March 1948, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1962/65900

233 COE, 'The Commonwealth's Educational Interests', *Education News*, 2, 3, June 1949, p. 4
Continuation Classes

Continuation classes were an extension of the English instruction new settlers had received at camp schools. They were usually provided for migrants once they had left the reception camps and joined the work-force in metropolitan and country districts. These classes contained 12 or more students and were co-educational. The classes were conducted two nights a week for approximately two hours each night. Fewer women attended than men. The male migrants were encouraged to attend to improve their basic English to enable them to communicate with native Australian workers and be more productive at work. To motivate non-English speaking migrants to attend English classes, the NSW Department of English prepared and distributed to these new arrivals applications for English Instruction forms (see Appendix 2). Professor R.C. Mills, Director, COE, determined the type of instruction to be given and supplied the teachers with books, teaching notes and other aids. The texts included:

- The Basic Way to English (Teachers' Book)
- Basic Way to English (Learners' Book)
- The Basic Way Reading Book
- From Basic to Wider English
- The General Basic English Dictionary
- Basic by Isotype, Australian Background
- Australian Pocket Book

The curriculum included a segment on Australian history and migrants were taught about the benefits of citizenship and how they should apply for it. The classes were federally funded and provided at no charge to migrants. The teachers’ wages were paid for through the COE. The States were responsible for the provision of classroom accommodation and teachers. Both Federal and State Governments were involved in the running of continuation classes and hence they were a Commonwealth/State co-operative which was evident in NSW.

In March 1948, Chifley wrote to NSW Labor Premier and Treasurer, the Hon James McGirr (1947-1952), requesting the co-operation of his State Government to set up continuation classes to help DPs learn to speak English as well as receive instruction in their
duties as Australian citizens:

As part of the Government's scheme to bring Displaced Persons into Australia it is intended to institute a system of continuation classes in elementary English and Civics which will be available free to Displaced Persons during their period of directed employment. This instruction will indeed be preceded by a month's intense instruction . . . Your co-operation in this project is therefore sought. The Commonwealth Government will reimburse the State for the costs such as administration, lighting, cleaning and instruction.235

In his keenness to have the scheme set in motion, Chifley advised McGirr that the COE had already written to the State Director of Education to make the appropriate arrangements for its introduction:

On the assumption that your Government will be ready to co-operate in this work, the Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education has written direct to your Director of Education in order that there will be no delay in working out the details of the scheme.236

Chifley's letter prompted McGirr to seek advice from his Education Minister, the Hon R. Heffron (1944-1960). The Education Minister then referred the matter to his Department for consideration. The NSW Director-General of Education, Mr J.G. McKenzie, directed that a draft reply to Chifley's letter should be prepared 'after consultation with Dr Wyndham'.237

In accordance with Education Department advice, Heffron advised McGirr that the NSW Education Department would co-operate with the Federal authorities regarding continuation classes for adult migrants. The Minister added that such co-operation would be subject to appropriate arrangements being made.238

On 2 July 1948, McGirr wrote to Chifley explaining how Education Department officials considered the scheme should be introduced. He concluded by saying that if the recommendations were to be accepted by the Federal Government, education officials at

235 J.B. Chifley to J. McGirr, 20 March 1948, SR (NSW) 13/15149
236 J.B. Chifley to J. McGirr, 20 March 1948
237 J.G. McKenzie to G.J. Martin, 2 April 1948, SR (NSW) 13/15149
238 R. Heffron to J. McGirr, 16 June 1948, SR (NSW) 13/15149
both the Federal and State levels should confer to work out the details to enable the scheme to be introduced. McGirr informed Chifley:

My colleague, the Minister for Education, has suggested that the scheme might be based on the following provisions . . . If these principles are acceptable to the Commonwealth Government it is suggested that elaboration of the scheme in further details be a matter of arrangement between the Department of Education and the Commonwealth Office of Education.239

The NSW Education Department requested that all expenses incurred by the State to instruct DPs be reimbursed by the Federal authorities. Further, they would provide teaching material and instruction was to be given in accordance with the syllabus prescribed by the Federal authorities.240 Agreement was reached concerning the level of Federal/State responsibilities and the scheme was introduced.

Approximately one year later, in June 1949, Chifley wrote to McGirr, formally advising him that Cabinet had approved the extension of the classes and that he was pleased with the working relationship between their two Governments:

I desire to express my appreciation of your co-operation in the Commonwealth's plans for the assimilation of migrants who do not speak English.241

Thus, the Federal Government accepted and acted upon its settlement responsibilities concerning adult migrant education both in camps and after placement of migrants in employment. Subsequently, in the early stages of post-war immigration, programmes were introduced in co-operation with State authorities to assist non-British migrants to assimilate into the Australian community. This was evident in the Chifley/McGirr interaction in dealing with the introduction of continuation classes. The amicable communication could largely be attributed to the efforts of the political elite to set adult migrant education in motion as part of the citizenship education campaign with a focus on their joining the work-

239 J. McGirr to J.B. Chifley, 2 July 1948, SR (NSW) 13/15149
240 J. McGirr to J.B. Chifley, 2 July 1948
241 J.B. Chifley to J. McGirr, 28 June 1949, SR (NSW) 13/15149
force and ultimately converting non-British migrants into Australian citizens. However, the efficiency of the settlement programme would come into question.

Campaign Problems Emerge

In 1948, the Bathurst camp (NSW) was reported as running in a more effective manner than the one at Bonegilla (Vic). DOI officials reported that at the Bathurst camp, and in contrast to Bonegilla, movement of workers to their place of employment tended to be delayed. The extra period of residence allowed migrants time to improve their English language skills. The Employment Office at the Centre preferred migrants who could speak some English. The period of unemployment then could be used to advance migrant language skills before being moved out into the work-force.242

Migrants at the Bathurst camp, however, were acquiring language skills but complaining about lack of employment opportunities. In June 1948, the *SMH* reported that at the Bathurst Reception Centre, 860 DPs were concerned that after eight weeks at the Centre, they were still unemployed:

We have daily lessons in the English language . . . But now we are eight weeks in the camp and we ask the employment officer for work but without success. We learned a little English and started to read the newspapers and we get the picture of Australia's troubles . . . We are waiting for work.243

The *SMH* report indicated inefficiency in planning work arrangements for migrants. This contrasted with the statement by Calwell to Parliament in November 1947 that he envisaged that gaining employment for new arrivals would not present difficulties.

Bathurst Camp School

In September 1948, Calwell visited the Bathurst Immigration Centre where 883 DPs from ten different nationalities were enrolled in English classes. The Minister met all instructors, saw five classes in operation, spoke to all classes and joined in the singing of Australian songs. Instruction at the Bathurst Centre was provided from Monday to Friday, 9 am to 12

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243 *SMH*, 14 June 1948, in G. Sluga, *Bonegilla, 'A Place of No Hope'*, p. 24
am and on Saturday from 9 am to 12 am and 1.30 pm to 3.30 pm. Class attendances were considered remarkably good with an absentee rate of only three per cent. The focus was on language instruction, but one quarter to one half of the total teaching time was allocated to learning the Australian way of life. After his visit, the Minister expressed his pleasure at the progress being made at the camp school.244

Calwell publicly praised the Bathurst School adult migrant education programme, suggesting that adult students were learning English and acquiring a respect for national conventions. His visit, however, could be considered as part of a public relations exercise to reassure the Australian public that education in camp schools was being conducted as planned and that migrants were adopting the Australian culture. Part of the citizenship education campaign undoubtedly involved the Australian public continually being told of the success of post-war immigration.

In Victoria, however, problems in adult migrant education were further attributed to inadequacies in camp administrative arrangements. Senior Federal bureaucrats, particularly Heyes, were in a position to monitor policy development. The general operating principles were formulated in Canberra but immediate decisions were a local responsibility. Smith, an Administrator at Bonegilla, recalled:

... the quicker we could get people whether workers or dependents out of Bonegilla the better we liked it because only we and Canberra and the offices in Melbourne and Sydney knew of the number of ships carrying thousands of migrants appearing on the horizon ... Things had to be done sometimes in an ad hoc way, meeting problems quickly as they arose. There was no precedent, no one had ever done this before. In many cases it was like making decisions in wartime.245

There were large numbers of DPs to be accommodated. As one employment officer said: 'The policy was to get them out of the camps'.246 This practice curtailed the English language instruction which had been planned by Federal authorities to occur before the migrants moved out into the Australian community and entered the work-force. Consequently, at times expediency rather than genuine regard for migrants' needs lay at the

244 DOI, Report on Bathurst Immigration Centre, 9 September-16 October 1948
245 P. Smith, in G. Sluga, Bonegilla, 'A Place of No Hope', p. 25
246 G. Sluga, Bonegilla, 'A Place of No Hope', p. 28
heart of this policy.

Sluga has illustrated difficulties and hardships experienced by non-British migrants in her history of Bonegilla. She has referred to 'the potency of Bonegilla as a political symbol' and has suggested that 'no one had ever pictured the lucky country in the shape of tin army huts and barbed wire compounds'.

In March 1950, Mr Pittman, Superintendent of Migrant Education, DOI, wrote to Mr Dawson, the District Controller, Commonwealth Immigration Centre, Bonegilla, concerning the education of adult migrants attending the Victorian camp school. Pittman stressed the need for language learning, asserting that the assimilation programme depended upon the new settlers learning English: 'No matter how costly the plans for assimilation are, they are foredoomed to failure without adequate facilities being available for the learning of English'. Thus, despite difficulties experienced by migrants, their learning English was considered central to assimilating them into the Australian environment.

In NSW, English programmes for DPs attending camp schools were coming under further criticism. In April 1950, Mr Ridley, Camp Instructor, Wallgrove Hostel, wrote to Mills stating that there were problems teaching migrants in the Hostel. Ridley explained that there were three types of migrant at the Hostel - staff, migrants working outside the Hostel, and those unemployed. For staff members, the majority worked shift work in the kitchens, which made it difficult to fit into regular classes. For those travelling outside the camps, most went to work at 5.30 am and returned about 6 pm. Consequently, they had no time or were too tired to attend classes. All the unemployed migrants in the hostel were women with children. The real difficulty with these groups, Ridley reported, 'lay in their mentality'. They were living together and had no contact with native Australians. Therefore, they did not find it necessary to learn English. Most women felt it was sufficient for them if their husbands learnt to speak English. Ridley reported that despite the negative side of the situation, a great deal had been done with personal contact and posters to convince more people to learn English.

In 1950, The Sun newspaper (Sydney) further reported that migrants did not want to

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247 G. Sluga, Bonegilla, 'A Place of No Hope', p. xi
249 Ridley, Report on Continuation Classes Wallgrove Migrant Workers' Hostel, 19 April 1950, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 174/9/5
250 Ridley, Report on Continuation Classes, 19 April 1950
learn English and that difficulty in persuading them to learn the language had provided Immigration and Education authorities with an unexpected problem. It was reported that migrants formed national cliques in camps. The COE was reported as saying that while thousands learned English by radio, correspondence courses and other means, thousands more had virtually cut themselves off from the Australian community life. This was considered dangerous, as when the migrants finished their contracts they would drift into the community and become isolated due to their inability to speak English.251

A further concern was the apathy of migrant students to learn about Australian history. Over the previous two and a half years to 1950, experience in Reception and Holding Centres had proved that the newcomers had little interest in the history of their new homeland, leading to students staying away from classes.252 The concern of the national elite, however, was not necessarily for the migrants as much as for their contribution towards economic expansion of the nation. The migrant was invariably expected to join the work-force and assimilate, for which a pre-requisite was acquiring English language skills.

In August 1950, Heyes sent a memorandum to the Directors of Centres, outlining his principles for the guidance of all Directors in their approach to the migrant education programme and, in particular, concerning the importance of English instruction. Heyes said that it was most important that migrants took full advantage of the education facilities provided by the Commonwealth. Migrant Centres, he said, could easily become separated from the Australian community and therefore, migrants within them made no progress towards assimilation. Heyes reminded all Directors of their responsibilities to encourage migrants to learn and use English as much as possible. Heyes further directed that camp employees who could not speak English should attempt to learn the language and, if necessary, additional classes should be established for this purpose. He stressed that unless migrants realised the importance of learning English, Government policy in the immigration programme could not be carried out in its entirety. Heyes said that he realised that in Reception and Training Centres the problem was somewhat more difficult than in Holding Centres where the population was comparatively static. However, he argued that close co-operation with the Chief Instructor would ensure that a school timetable could be worked

251 *The Sun* (Sydney), 21 July 1950, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1962/65900

252 COE, 'What Does the New Australian Want to Know About Australian History?' *English . . . a new language: A Bulletin for Teachers of New Australians in Continuation Classes*, 1, 5, October 1950, pp. 3-4
out whereby migrant students could be freed from other responsibilities to attend the school.253

In December 1950, Mills reported to Heyes concerning staff classes in migrant centres. He advised Heyes that of the 19 centres nation-wide in which classes were operating, 12 had an enrolment of more than 70 per cent of staff members in evening classes. This figure was considered satisfactory as most of the remainder of the staff would be exempt from attending classes due to an adequate knowledge of English. At the remaining seven centres (Cowra, Northam, Woodside, Parkes, Holden, Benalla) attendance had been unsatisfactory and was attributed to the attitude of the camp Directors. Mills stressed that unless Directors could be persuaded to take a more active part in the education programme, success beyond the present stage was unlikely. Mills considered that it was not the responsibility of the Chief Instructor and his staff to ensure that migrants attended classes:

At present, time and energy, more properly devoted to teaching and associated activities, is being spent in `rounding up' students, often with little or no assistance from the Director . . . I should appreciate appropriate action to improve the position.254

The aforementioned comments focussed on migrants learning English, with a distinct centralised authority essentially maintaining a top-down approach. That is, migrant accountability was exercised at each level, firstly, from the Immigration Secretary to the Director of the COE and finally to the Camp Directors. Thus, each was bound by the directives from the DOI Secretary who was ultimately responsible to the Immigration Minister. In the exchange between Mills and Heyes, the mention of rounding up students supports an argument that migrants consistently found it difficult to attend classes or were not appropriately motivated. Mills also implied that teaching staff had enough to contend with in the classroom. The inadequacies of programmes could be attributed partly to the inexperience of policy makers in dealing with the education of migrants. The lack of Federal/State co-operation and consultation on these issues was also to become apparent.

In the South Australian Legislative Assembly, the Hon M.R. O'Halloran (ALP),

253 T. Heyes to Directors, Reception and Accommodation Centres, 22 August 1950, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1962/65900
complained that even though migration was necessary, some politicians believed that Australia could be trying to absorb too many new arrivals too quickly, calling for more consultation with the other States and COE. O'Halloran asked the South Australian Premier, the Hon Thomas Playford (LP), if he knew of any such consultation taking place. The Premier responded that he was of the opinion that no conference had been held between the South Australian and Commonwealth Governments. He further stated that he did not believe that any conference had taken place between other State Governments and the Commonwealth. The Premier's comments illustrate confusion within the South Australian Government and/or lack of integrated policy and consultation. Federal authorities, particularly the DOI under Heyes, nonetheless still maintained the official responsibility at a practical level for adult migrant education.

By the early 1950s, administrative arrangements concerning adult migrant education were being handed over to the States. In 1951, Menzies sought the advice of Public Service Commissioners to determine a more economical way to carry out adult migrant education and eliminate any duplication of Federal/State responsibilities. The Commissioners reported to Menzies that the roles of the Commonwealth and States were confused and that the role of States in migrant education should be increased. This, the Commissioners suggested, would prevent overlapping, unnecessary administration and be in the interest of economy.

Menzies accepted the Commissioners' advice and hence, a Commonwealth-State Agreement (1951) was forged whereby administrative control of education concerning adult migrants was officially transferred to State Education Departments. State involvement in adult migrant education grew and expenditure incurred was claimed from the Commonwealth. The COE provided technical advice and services and the Federal Government still claimed a voice in overall policy with support funding and liaison, but administration and charge for adult migrant education moved into the hands of the States.

The adult migrant education programme introduced by the Chifley Government continued under the incoming Menzies Government with the provision of basic English instruction being the main ingredient. There was a decrease in continuation classes in the

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256 T. Playford, *SAPD*, 30 October 1951, p. 1015
257 K.A. Tandberg, History of Adult Migrant Education in Australian: Emphasis on Victoria, pp. 90-91
258 A.L. Nutt to A. Downer, 28 May 1959, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20
early 1950s, with declining immigration in 1952 and fewer arrivals under the DP Scheme. In 1949, 13,000 students received instruction in 800 classes; in 1952 the numbers were 15,789 and 1,253 respectively. By December 1954, the number of students had fallen to 10,140 students attending 779 classes.\textsuperscript{259}

In August 1952, a Federal/State Conference was held in Sydney to review adult migrant education. The Conference was organised by the COE and attended by State Education Department officers from across the nation together with senior officers from the DOI and COE. Conference delegates agreed that the meeting gave them the opportunity to express their views on adult migrant education. Pittman told delegates that a new textbook would be introduced which would provide valuable material for revision work. The ability of teachers who were undertaking the completely new work of teaching adult migrants was raised by Mr Drain, Queensland Education Officer, who said that they needed all available assistance to help them to teach this new group of students in an efficient manner. Mr Greening, a Victorian Education Officer, spoke on the difficulties of making the syllabus an effective instrument in the hands of the teachers.

It was generally agreed, however, that the syllabus of English instruction was itself effective. The real problem was 'to make it an effective instrument in the hands of teachers'.\textsuperscript{260} Greening pointed out that the general policy was to employ trained teachers from State Education Departments when feasible.\textsuperscript{261} This would suggest that there was a lack of suitably trained teachers to provide instruction for migrant students.

Greening suggested that as a means of motivating students, a meaningful certificate of achievement should be presented to them. This, he said, would be an incentive for students and teachers and a means of gauging efficiency in instruction. DOI officials stressed that no certificate could be used by migrants to grant them automatic naturalisation. State representatives raised the issue of the standard of English required for naturalisation. DOI officers were asked to clearly define the requirements for naturalisation.\textsuperscript{262} This meeting provided an official forum to discuss mutual Federal/State concerns. The Federal authorities, however, still maintained the ultimate responsibility for policy decisions.

\textsuperscript{259} R.M. McDonnell et al., \textit{Review of Education in Australia 1948-1954}, p. 42
\textsuperscript{260} COE, Conference on Migrant Education, Sydney, 4-7 August 1952, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/3/19
\textsuperscript{261} COE, Conference on Migrant Education, Sydney, 4-7 August 1952
\textsuperscript{262} COE, Conference on Migrant Education, Sydney, 4-7 August 1952
At the State level, the newly appointed NSW Director General of Education, Dr Harold Wyndham, reported to other Directors of Education at their 1952 national conference that adult migrant education was prospering in his State. Wyndham said that at the end of November 1951, there were 177 continuation classes with a total enrolment of 2,818 students whose average attendance was 72 per cent. He added that these had expanded quite significantly. By the end of February 1952, there were 233 continuation classes operating with a total enrolment of 3,584 with a similar attendance rate. Wyndham told Conference delegates that he considered NSW was faced with a unique problem concerning the education of adult migrants. He attributed this to the massive concentration of non-British migrants allocated to work on the Snowy Mountains Authority. Wyndham outlined the following difficulties at the Snowy Mountains:

(i) National groups were reluctant to mix with other national groups.

(ii) Established schools were so few that departmental teachers could not be provided to take all classes.

(iii) Gangs of New Australians were continually moving from place to place.

Wyndham reported that attempts had been made to overcome the difficulties in the following manner:

(i) National classes were formed.

(ii) Australians who had the necessary educational background but no teaching experience as such were enlisted as teachers and New Australians whose English was satisfactory were appointed as teachers for elementary classes.

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264 H. Wyndham, Conference of Directors of Education, Hobart, 1952
Amongst field workers, classes were attached to teachers rather than in fixed places, so that if a camp was moved, the class and the teacher moved. Up to date the scheme has worked very satisfactorily and 48 continuation classes have been established on the Snowy Mountains Authority.\(^\text{265}\)

Wyndham told delegates that harmonious Commonwealth/State relations in dealing with adult migrants had a large part to play in the success of their education in NSW:

\[\ldots\text{ with the co-operative liaison provided by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration the State has a very good charter to develop migrant education.}\]\(^\text{266}\)

The NSW Director General of Education was therefore enthusiastic to engender and maintain a close relationship with Federal authorities in anticipation that the adult migrant education scheme would continue to thrive in NSW.

In 1953, State education authorities requested the DOI to introduce an advanced course in English for migrants. The aim was to bridge the gap between the basic English courses and those required for vocational training, to enable migrants to reach the standard necessary to complete technical and professional courses. Delegates attending the 1953 ACC also requested that the DOI provide an advanced course in English.\(^\text{267}\)

Following these requests, the CIAC appointed a Committee to report on how additional instruction could be provided. The Committee consisted mainly of CIAC members. It included Dr J.R. Darling OBE (Chairman), Headmaster Geelong Grammar, Mrs J.G. Norris, wife of His Honour John Gerald, Judge of County Courts (Vic) and Mr C.J. Austin. Mr R.E. Armstrong (DOI) and Mr J. McCusker (COE) were seconded as consultants.\(^\text{268}\)

On 7 July 1953, the Committee recommended that courses should be introduced to allow migrants to improve their language skills beyond the basic level and that migrants

\(^{265}\) H. Wyndham, Conference of Directors of Education, Hobart, 1952

\(^{266}\) H. Wyndham, Conference of Directors of Education, Hobart, 1952

\(^{267}\) DOI, Digest, 1952, p. 32

\(^{268}\) J.R. Darling (Chairman), Report of Committee Established to Consider the Standard of Migrant Education, July 1953, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20
should be encouraged to complete the courses when they were available. The number requiring the advanced English course was not considered great and the Committee suggested that the establishment of two or three such classes in the larger migrant centres would provide the answer to the immediate problem. Statistics supplied to the Committee showed that at the time approximately 27,000 migrants were enrolled in either evening classes or correspondence courses. The Committee used these figures to suggest that due to the large funds currently allocated to provide basic language instruction, it was reasonable to expect that migrant students enrolling in the advanced English course should contribute towards the cost of the course.\footnote{J.R. Darling (Chairman), Report of Committee Established to Consider Standard of Migrant Education, July 1953}

The Federal Government's agenda to educate migrants was centred on providing English at a basic rather than advanced level. The Commonwealth was therefore not prepared to comply with the request of the State for advanced English courses. Whether this attitude was due to lack of funds or resources, it nevertheless indicates that the Federal Government provided language instruction for non-English speaking migrants only at a fundamental level.

In July 1954, an innovative step was taken in NSW when classes were introduced to improve teacher skills in English instruction. COE Director Weeden wrote to Heyes enclosing a report on the first regional school for NSW continuation class teachers. The class was held at Sydney's Darlinghurst Public School from 7 pm to 10 pm and was attended by ten teachers from eight Sydney suburbs. These teachers were instructed in ways to technically improve English being taught to migrant students (e.g., the importance of oral drill in lessons). The teachers unanimously agreed that they had gained considerable benefit from the school.\footnote{W.J. Weeden to T. Heyes, 17 August 1954, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 174/8/16}

By the mid-1950s, the manner in which new settlers were becoming 'Australianised' was receiving extensive press coverage. In a Sydney local paper, \textit{The Northern District Times}, it was reported that in the suburb of Eastwood where continuation classes were being held, brief talks were given each evening on various aspects of the Australian way of life:
In these talks New Australians learn about such subjects as naturalisation, shopping, medical schemes, police, fire brigades, hospitals, elections, Parliament, government, housing, finance, sport, geography, literature, radio and postal arrangements and organisations.\textsuperscript{271}

In another Sydney local paper, \textit{The Ryde and Eastwood News}, the headline read: 'Free Tuition to New Australians'. It was reported that new settlers unable to speak English 'had wisely taken advantage of the free English classes'.\textsuperscript{272} The presence of migrants and their proliferation in society were noted in the aforementioned suburban newspapers. The press coverage also indicated the settling of migrants into the wider suburban community and the continued dedication of those involved in providing the evening classes.

However, political conflict was evident over a lack of Federal funding for adult migrant education. On 29 February 1956, the Hon J. Cairns (ALP, Vic) called on Holt to re-appraise funding for States in order to provide greater facilities to educate migrants.\textsuperscript{273} Holt responded that the COE was already making thorough provision for the teaching of English to non-English speakers and that the COE was working together with State education authorities in the pursuit of this objective.\textsuperscript{274} In NSW Parliament, the Hon P. Ryan (ALP), complained that the Federal Government had landed migrants in Australia but was acting in an irresponsible manner by not providing adequately for their after-care. Consequently, the States had to meet the cost of their settlement.\textsuperscript{275}

The principles of the adult migrant education scheme were thus firmly based on teaching migrants basic English and were directed at the Federal level. However, by the mid-1950s tension had become evident over a lack of Federal funding to the States for the scheme.

\textbf{Campaign Review}

In October 1956, the adult migrant education programme came under Federal review in relation to increased costs and programme efficiency. The CIAC reported that while the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{271} \textit{The Northern District Times} (Sydney), 28 September 1955, SR (NSW) 9/1103
\item \textsuperscript{272} \textit{The Ryde and Eastwood News} (Sydney), 1 December 1955, SR (NSW) 9/1103
\item \textsuperscript{273} J. Cairns, \textit{FPD}, 29 February 1956, p. 328
\item \textsuperscript{274} H. Holt, \textit{FPD}, 29 February 1956, p. 328
\item \textsuperscript{275} P. Ryan, \textit{NSWPD}, 4 September 1956, p. 2109
\end{itemize}
principle of migrant education was fully supported, there was some concern about the increasing expenditure involved and whether the best results were being obtained in achieving the objective of providing migrants with a working knowledge of English and 'not beyond that'.\textsuperscript{276} The CIAC considered the mid-1950s appropriate to review the scheme in light of its scope, the type of instruction being provided and costs involved. The CIAC concluded that in order to maintain the current standard of instruction it was doubtful whether any appreciable reduction in the rate of expenditure could be contemplated in the foreseeable future.\textsuperscript{277}

In May 1957, Acting DOI Secretary Nutt sent a memorandum to the new DOI Minister, Athol Townley, setting out the background to the adult migrant education scheme. He pointed out that the scheme came into operation in 1947 with the aim of providing an education programme to give non-English speaking migrants an elementary knowledge of the English language to enable them to meet their practical everyday needs. This would help in their rapid assimilation into the Australian community. Through the 1951 Commonwealth-State Agreement, the daily administration of the scheme was under the control of the State Education Departments, which claimed incurred expenditure from the Commonwealth. The budget figures for adult migrant education, Nutt explained, had grown. He pointed out that the costs that absorbed the greater part of the budget arose from the payment of salaries to teachers for class work and to correspondence tutors for their correction of lessons. The teachers continued to be paid at the ruling rates applicable in the States. This amount had increased considerably since the scheme was introduced. The hourly rate paid to teachers in NSW in 1957 was 22/3 for males and 19/- for females. This was the highest rate of any State. The average monthly enrolment in classes had risen from 17,000 in 1951 to 30,000 per month in 1957. It was such factors, Nutt told the Minister, that prompted the DOI to submit the issue of rising costs to the CIAC for a review of the scope of the scheme. Further, the CIAC was to consider ways to cut expenditure, while taking into account the effect of any cost cutting on the assimilation of migrants.\textsuperscript{278}

The Minister asked Nutt whether Treasury had expressed a view on the increased

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\item \textsuperscript{276} ‘Adult Migrant Education Scheme’, in CIAC Minutes of Meeting, 1 March 1957, p. 6, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20
\item \textsuperscript{277} ‘Adult Migrant Education Scheme’, in CIAC Minutes of Meeting, 1 March 1957, p. 6
\item \textsuperscript{278} A.L. Nutt to A. Townley, 28 May 1957, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Nutt provided the Minister with additional information, detailing how decisions were made in relation to the distribution of funds. Informing Townley of the existing Commonwealth-State arrangement whereby the States were responsible for educational facilities, he explained that cost-cutting measures had been under review and that Treasury was aware of the costs. He remarked that all was in accordance with Government policy.280

Immigration Minister Townley was still cautious about future costing of educating adult migrants. In a handwritten annotation to Nutt, he stated:

Thank you very much. Whilst agreeing with all said the expenditure is very substantial. It should not be allowed to go any higher. We may have to reverse our courses or take other action.281

The aforementioned comments of Townley were influenced by a number of factors. First were budgetary concerns. Secondly, Townley was inexperienced in his new portfolio and lacked appreciation of the costs involved in efficiently teaching migrants English and about the Australian way of life. Thirdly, his traditional support had been for British migrants, as evidenced in 1958 in his promotion of Bring out the Briton scheme and, therefore, he had less interest in the needs of non-British migrants. The Minister's comment also illustrates that he was clearly in the position to make the final policy decision concerning the education of adult migrants.

By 1957, over 240,000 Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Germans, Italians, Greeks, Dutch and other nationals had attended adult migrant education classes and had been given instruction in the English language. This was not considered an easy task for Australian educators who had little prior experience in teaching English to new arrivals. The COE reported:

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279 A. Townley to A.L. Nutt, 30 May 1957, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20

280 A.L. Nutt to A. Townley, 4 June 1957, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20

281 Handwritten note of A. Townley to A.L. Nutt, undated, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/20
By careful study of European languages and English, by examination of overseas methods, by experimentation, and by analysis of local experience over the past nine years, an approach to the problem and a system of teaching has been evolved to meet our special needs. This approach and this system have now been embodied in the most recent edition of `English for Newcomers to Australia' the fourth edition - which was put into use early in 1957.282

Members of the political elite were concerned at times that the numbers taking out Australian citizenship were lacking. Despite this, non-British migrants from a wide range of cultural backgrounds became Australian citizens as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3: Naturalisation Statistics 1945 to 1961
Total Naturalised (from January 1945 to June 1961) .......................................................... 297,728

Major Nationalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Yugoslav</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Ukrainian</th>
<th>Latvian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64,840</td>
<td>45,526</td>
<td>31,895</td>
<td>19,162</td>
<td>18,254</td>
<td>16,412</td>
<td>14,934</td>
<td>14,403</td>
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</table>

Persons Naturalised - July 1956 to June 1961 (Aliens Registered as at 30 June 1961)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>11,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>6,898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous Nationality</th>
<th>Financial Year</th>
<th>Aliens Registered 30/6/61</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovak</td>
<td>1,776</td>
<td>1,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>3,318</td>
<td>5,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>2,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>1,530</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>2,862</td>
<td>2,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israeli</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>5,072</td>
<td>8,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian</td>
<td>2,956</td>
<td>3,210</td>
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<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>413</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
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<td>1,561</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
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<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>6,544</td>
<td>8,237</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>1,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Previous Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stateless</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>1,629</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>4,602</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>2,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>236</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>2,460</td>
<td>3,054</td>
<td>3,367</td>
<td>2,983</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>5,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. American</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>2,996</td>
<td>3,666</td>
<td>2,943</td>
<td>2,841</td>
<td>1,989</td>
<td>29,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>1,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>36,243</td>
<td>48,064</td>
<td>47,750</td>
<td>50,625</td>
<td>41,741</td>
<td>427,501</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


By the close of the 1950s, enthusiastic efforts were continuing to educate adult migrants to become good Australian citizens. Migrant teacher Mrs. Lower wrote to NSW Education Department Officer, Mr. Graham, telling him how an assimilation evening she held for students was most successful. Lower arranged for her students to mingle with native Australians who, she believed, ‘opened up a way to encourage friendships between the new and old Australians’. Lower told Graham that her students sang ‘Waltzing Matilda’ in English and when the evening was coming to a close, two students gave short speeches in English. This, Lower said, reflected favourably on the students who had arrived as part of the Federal Government's massive immigration scheme.

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283 A. Lower to M. Graham, 31 August 1957, SR (NSW) 9/1109
284 A. Lower to M. Graham, 31 August 1957, SR (NSW) 9/1109
Policy towards the education of adult non-British migrants was a Federal initiative directed by the political elite as part of their settlement policy. The Federal Government was committed to the principles of adult migrant education as evidenced through the special assistance provided in camp schools and when migrants joined the work-force. Initially, adult migrant education was effectively implemented with State Government assistance. By 1950 administrative problems had evolved and by the mid-1950s tension in Federal/State relations concerning funding arrangements was most evident.

These shortcomings could be attributed to the inexperience of members of the national elite in dealing with migrant education; the magnitude of the programme to be managed; and the Federal Government's reluctance, particularly under Townley, to fund this area of education. Consequently, despite the policy intention of members of the national elite to educate adult migrants as part of the citizenship education campaign, inadequacies in policy initiatives emerged. The Federal authorities, however, expended great effort and provided English language instructions for massive numbers of adult migrants, which was a major component of the settlement programme. They were less inclined to assist in the education of migrant children residing in camps.

Migrant Children in Camp Schools

As a consequence of post-war immigration, a significant number of non-British children of school age resided in migrant camps with their parents. Official documentation containing the exact number was not located. However, in the late 1940s, schools were set up in the camps primarily to teach migrant students English before they entered normal schools. The camp schools were particularly active up to the early 1950s when the Federal Government's DP Scheme was most operational. The Federal authorities did not accept primary responsibility for the education of migrant children as part of its settlement programme. The States were held responsible, despite the special burden placed on them due to the impact of the Federal Government's immigration programme.

In April 1948, Heyes explained in a letter to the Secretary, Federal Treasury, that in the camp schools, migrant students were to be taught by teachers provided by the States. On joining their father at his allocated place of work, children were to attend the nearest State or public school and mix with native Australian students. Heyes espoused the view that migrant students mixing with native Australian children was the best means of effecting
quick assimilation. However, conflict arose within the ranks of Federal/State elite members and with teachers concerning provision for the education of migrant children attending camp schools.

**Camp School Initiatives**

In the late 1940s, a sprinkling of special schools were set up in migrant camps in NSW to help migrant children learn English before attending normal schools. The State Government's decision to set up child migrant camp schools prompted the NSWTF to pass the following resolution: 'The aim of migrant education should be to absorb the children into the social and cultural life of the Australian people'. Subsequently, the Federation introduced the following guidelines for educating migrant students in camp schools:

(i) Migrant children should attend normal Australian schools at the earliest possible date and be taught by Australian teachers, if available.

(ii) Where migrant teachers were employed, they must have had training as teachers, be able to speak English fluently, become members of the NSWTF before commencing duty and their employment conditions be the subject of further discussion with the Education Department.

(iii) In all migrant schools, provision should be made for the education of adolescents and attendance should be compulsory.

(iv) All migrant schools should be partially staffed with Australian teachers and the curriculum planned by a committee representing the NSW Department of Education, NSWTF and migrant teachers.

(v) There should be a liberal supply of equipment, sporting material and suitable library books.

Following an inspection of camp schools, Federation officials complained to State education

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285 T. Heyes to the Secretary, Department of Treasury, 14 April 1948, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1962/65900

286 NSWTF, 'Education of Migrant Children', *Education*, 25 April 1949, p. 87

287 NSWTF, 'Education of Migrant Children', p. 87
authorities that some schools did not comply with NSWTF guidelines. Federation President, Sam Lewis, visited the Parkes School in November 1949, where 148 students were enrolled. Lewis expressed concern that untrained teachers were teaching students. For children in 1A and 2B primary classes, there was a migrant teacher who had previously taught adults and secondary pupils. Another migrant teacher instructing children had training in commercial teaching only and the one Australian teacher was a relieving teacher for the Parkes district.\textsuperscript{288} Lewis was further concerned that school conditions were primitive and that there was a shortage of teaching materials. ‘Kindergarten and 1B’, he complained, ‘were combined with desks in a bad state of repair . . . textbooks were limited to 150 copies of ’My First Book’ (an infant reader), copies of a supplementary reader and bible lessons.’\textsuperscript{289} Lewis called for these inadequacies in educational facilities to be addressed as it was anticipated that by the end of 1949, there would be 2,200 migrant students including 450 children located at the NSW Parkes Holding Centre.\textsuperscript{290}

The NSWTF Council acted upon the complaints of Lewis and requested NSW education officials to appoint Australian trained teachers to migrant schools, provide suitable accommodation for teachers, upgrade school furniture, increase textbooks supplies, and provide appropriate equipment and sporting material.\textsuperscript{291} Education Minister Heffron responded that conditions at the Parkes School were neither primitive nor unsatisfactory. ‘We have’, he said, ‘been watching and sympathetically developing the migrant schools with constant attention . . .’\textsuperscript{292} The Minister did concede, however, that all was not up to standard at migrant schools. He stated that the migrant schools were considered suitable under difficult circumstances as the schools were being established at a time when he and education officials had to prepare for ’an all-time record increase in our school population’.\textsuperscript{293}

Federation officials reported that other migrant schools were experiencing difficulties due to the effects of migration on public school enrolments. In March 1950, Ms H. Barclay, Federation Organiser, inspected Cowra Camp School where 793 pupils were

\begin{footnotes}
\item[288] SMH, 24 November 1949, p. 6
\item[289] SMH, 24 November 1949, p. 6
\item[290] SMH, 24 November 1949, p. 4
\item[291] SMH, 24 November 1949, p. 6
\item[292] R. Heffron, in SMH, 25 November 1949, p. 5
\item[293] R. Heffron, in SMH, 25 November 1949, p. 5
\end{footnotes}
enrolled. Barclay reported that due to insufficient accommodation, 80 pupils were carrying out secondary work at the migrant school. Barclay was further concerned that the average class load was 36, staff comprised only 23 (11 migrant and 12 Australian teachers), there were 22 classrooms with two classes being held in halls, and the kindergarten had 86 pupils where the rooms were particularly unsatisfactory. Barclay complained of an inadequacy of textbooks, none of the staff rooms had chairs, desks were unsuitable, there were no sporting facilities and teachers' living quarters were most inappropriate.\footnote{NSWTF, Information in Respect of Several Migrant Schools 1949-1955, NSWTFA (CANB) 12, N111/M11, 1329}

The Wallgrove Child Migrant Camp School also received an unfavourable report by Federation officials. By August 1950, there were 140 pupils attending the migrant school, ranging from kindergarten to 6th class, with only four teachers on staff, a headmaster, two male teachers and one migrant female assistant. The school consisted of four rooms - two together, one some distance away, another in a long hut divided into a number of rooms which were to be used to house families. They were considered small, having only one window, and entirely unsuited for classrooms.\footnote{NSWTF, Information in Respect of Several Migrant Schools 1949-1955} In 1950, the Federation reported that following representation, improvements were made at the Wallgrove School.\footnote{NSWTF, AR, 1950, p. 13}

Thus, the NSWTF under Lewis was concerned that the State Government was inadequately providing for migrant students attending camp schools. Heffron officially responded that facilities provided to educate migrant students in camp schools were suitable in difficult times in education. It was also expected that migrant students would attend State schools as soon as possible and it was there that they were to receive an adequate education to enable them to assimilate into the community. However, the Cowra situation clearly demonstrates that this was not the case. Students were carrying out secondary work at the Cowra school due to insufficient accommodation at public schools.
Review of Camp Schools

In August 1950, a meeting was held between Federal representatives of the DOI, Labour and National Service, Treasury and the COE to review the division of responsibilities between Commonwealth and States concerning the provision of education for migrant children at Holding Centres as a general consequence of post-war immigration. Acting Prime Minister Fadden endorsed the decisions reached at this meeting. He then officially wrote to the State Premiers setting out the extent the LCP Federal Government would accept responsibility in providing schooling for migrants at Holding Centres and Hostels.

In his letter of advice to the State Premiers, Fadden firstly reaffirmed that children of all new Australians were entitled under State Education Acts to an education on the same basis of that provided for native Australian children resident in the same State. As education was categorised as a State responsibility, Fadden said that it was considered improper for the Commonwealth Government to intrude in this area of State responsibility. Fadden told the Premiers that the tax reimbursement grant by the Commonwealth to the States increased with additions in population. This included increases emanating from migration, and was therefore designed to take into account any rise in the cost of State services to provide for the increase in school populations due to the Federal Government's immigration programme.

Fadden repeated the official and widely held view that where possible, satisfactory assimilation of new Australian children would be achieved when migrant students attended school with Australian-born children. However, where new Australian children were staying at certain Holding Centres and Workers' Hostels, it had not been possible to attend local schools due to lack of places and consequently, migrant children would miss the opportunity to mix with native Australian students. As an alternative, Fadden advised the Premiers that the Federal Government had already provided buildings for use as schoolrooms in Holding Centres for migrant students. However, as the immigration scheme had developed, it had become necessary to use Workers' Hostels for the purpose of accommodating British and non-British migrant families and that this competed with the provision of schooling for their children. As this arrangement had become unsatisfactory, Fadden advised the Premiers that the Commonwealth was prepared to assist in addressing the situation.

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297 R.C. Mills to Officer in Charge, Branch Office, COE, 24 August 1950, NAA (SYD) ST2699/1, 6/14A
298 A.W. Fadden to State Premiers, 24 August 1950, NAA (SYD) ST2699/1, 6/14A
considered that the Holding Centres were a temporary expedient for the housing of children until such time as alternative accommodation became available in the general community. In all other respects the States had been responsible for the provision of educational facilities for migrant children. Fadden concluded by advising that long-standing policies were not to be challenged:

> You will appreciate that these proposals are designed to afford the States some degree of practical help in providing for the influx of children under the Commonwealth Government’s immigration schemes, without upsetting important principles of long-standing, and I take this opportunity of thanking you for the many ways in which your Government is assisting to make easier the absorption of new settlers into the community.299

Fadden thus re-emphasised the traditional demarcation of responsibilities between the States and Commonwealth concerning responsibilities for education. The Commonwealth was not to be seen as interfering with the States established responsibilities; however, a concerted effort was being made by teachers to educate migrant students at some camp schools, particularly to help them to learn English.

**Greta (New South Wales) Camp School**

At the Greta camp school at the end of 1949, 540 pupils were enrolled.300 Mr J. Cox, Headmaster of the camp school, had adopted a language immersion approach:

> The child must learn to think in English from the start. English is the basis of all instruction. It is the avenue to mutual understanding. It is the key to the success of the whole immigration project. English must be spoken to the pupils and by them, all day and everyday, in every activity in school and out of it.301

To help the 15 teachers at the camp school instruct migrant students in English, Cox

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299  A.W. Fadden to State Premiers, 24 August 1950
300  NSWTF, Information in Respect of Several Migrant Schools, 1949-1955, NSWTFA (CANB) 12, N111/M11, 1329
301  J. Cox, ‘Helping Migrant Children to settle into School Life’, *The New Era: in home and school*, February 1951, p. 32
introduced the practice that the teachers' appropriate actions and signs should accompany all instructions. While this was happening, the migrant student, in his or her turn, carried out the actions and said what they were doing. The outcome, Cox reported, was quite effective as the student ‘learns to “go quietly”, to “stand up”, to “pick up the pencil”, to “say good morning miss”’.  

A sense of nationalism, Cox believed, should be instilled within the migrant students to help them become loyal Australian citizens. To achieve this, the migrant students attended school assembly each morning where they sang hymns and Australian anthems. They also attended ceremonies to celebrate Empire Day, Anzac Day and other national days. Cox claimed that his approach worked quite well and pointed out that even though the teachers were not trained to teach migrant students, they carried out their duties effectively.

Despite Cox's positive comments, NSW DOE Inspector Williamson reported that there were operational problems at the Greta Camp School:

> The educational aspects are, of course, the most important consideration. The main difficulty lies in the relatively short period that children remain in the Camp. Their very rapid passing on from the Reception Camp . . . renders any schooling impracticable . . . The stay in the camp frequently depends on the family shifting to another part of the State or on its getting a home. The only ones who can be called 'permanent' are the children of camp staff who are almost all New Australians, even to the camp police, Assistant Superintendents, etc.

Cox made a conscious effort to facilitate the assimilation of migrant students and attempted to give them a means to cope with the existing school system. Because families resided in camps for short periods only, children were unable to acquire English language skills. However, Federal authorities did appreciate the importance of migrant children learning English and made some effort in this direction under the prevailing circumstances.

In May 1951, Weeden, Acting Director COE, advised the Officer in Charge of Sydney Branch that at the direction of the DOI, notes were being forwarded to Camp

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302 J. Cox, 'Helping Migrant Children to settle into School Life', p. 32
303 J. Cox, 'Helping Migrant Children to settle into School Life', pp. 31-32
304 H.A. Williamson, Inspector's Report, 15 March 1950, SR (NSW) 13/15165
Directors urging them to make wireless facilities available to schools in all centres. The Officer in Charge was requested to advise the Director of Education in each State of the DOI initiative and that it appeared likely that wireless facilities would be available for the use of school broadcasts at schools in migrant holding centres.\textsuperscript{305} This innovative step by the DOI and COE demonstrates the importance of English instruction for migrant students as part of the citizenship education campaign. Because the Commonwealth saw the importance of this facility it expedited its introduction into camp schools without financial or political impediment.

Despite the implications of the Federal Government's immigration policy on the States, demarcation of existing Federal/State relations in education, as Fadden reiterated, were not to be challenged. The Federal Government did little to provide for migrant students attending camp schools as part of their settlement policy. This differed quite significantly from the approach in dealing with adult migrants at camp schools.

Even State Government efforts to assist in the education of migrant children attending camp schools could be considered minimal. As Heffron claimed, States were unable to undertake the task adequately due to other priorities in education. Attempts to provide for migrant students at camp schools largely fell on the shoulders of teachers. Through the efforts of members of the NSWTF there was a positive policy of teaching English to migrant students in NSW camp schools and an enterprising effort made to help them assimilate into the Australian community as part of the citizenship education campaign. However, State education systems nation-wide were considered the ideal apparatus for migrant students to traverse cultural boundaries and become absorbed into the Australian community.

**Migrant Children in the State School System**

On 2 August 1945, when Calwell officially released to the nation his Government's post-war immigration programme, he stated that children were the preferred migrants:

> Children are indeed the best immigrants of all . . . It is vital that children should come out young enough to pass their school days with Australians and to have become thoroughly assimilated to the country by the time they

\textsuperscript{305} W.J. Weeden to Officer in Charge, 4 May 1951, NAA (SYD) ST2699/1, 6/14A
It was anticipated that through the Anglo-Australian schooling system, migrant students would be transformed into loyal Australian citizens. Through mixing with native Australian students and participating in established school programmes, the migrant student was expected to absorb the Australian mindset. At a practical level, this was reinforced through school assemblies, the raising of the flag, the prefect system and by the respect shown for teachers and other pupils.

Between 1900 and 1950, civics education was prominent in Australian schools through the teaching of the institutions and principles of citizenship by educators. With Federation came a re-organisation of primary and secondary schools and the introduction of a programme of progressive education. This programme aimed at a `child centred' system with outcomes in harmony with national needs, of which civics was an element. Civics courses included information about political structures and processes, details of democratic election procedures, and citizens' rights and responsibilities. References were made to nationalistic ideals and also to the nation's British ties. Murdoch's civic textbook, *The Struggle for Freedom* (1911), had an English and imperial emphasis, but 'displayed a sophisticated attitude to nationalism'. Hoy, in her work *Civics for Australian Schools*, noted that civics was of interest to the citizen because it concerned the student and his or her relation to the community. It also dealt with the affairs of everyday life. In the chapter `The Empire' Hoy instructed students on the importance of Australia's ties to the Empire and the 'strong common interests of the Mother Country and the Dominions'. Balogh, in his work on citizenship, referred to traditional relations with Britain in his statement: `As citizens of Australia and the British Empire, we enjoy peace, order and good government'.

After the Second World War, educational theory became more based on

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306 A.A. Calwell, *FPD*, 2 August 1945, p. 4913
307 A. Barcan, *Citizenship as an Educational Aim*, Melbourne, Institute of Public Affairs, 1992, p. 6
308 J. Thomas, 'The History of Civics Education in Australia', in S.M. Macintyre (Chairman), *Whereas the People*, p. 162
309 S.M. Macintyre (Chairman), *Whereas the People*, p. 30
310 A. Hoy, *Civics for Australian Schools*, Sydney, Lothian Publishing, 1940, p. 120
311 E. Balogh, *Prelude to Citizenship*, NAA (CANB) A9816/3, 1944/46, p. 6
psychological principles and less on historical and philosophical approaches. There was a decline in education for citizenship with a revision of the curriculum nation-wide and integration of certain humanities subjects into social studies. Separate courses in history (including civics and morals) and geography were replaced by social studies. In the NSW Curriculum for Primary Schools of 1952, the following view of citizenship was presented:

The child will find self-realisation through suitable adjustment of his personality to his environment. The principles governing the selection of content for the social studies courses placed: the children's needs and interests first; preparation for citizenship of Australia and the British Commonwealth second; and preparation for world citizenship third.312

A major post-war educational reform was the emergence of secondary education for all. This development was related to the need for a more educated work-force in the advancing industrial society. It was also to provide the basis for citizenship in a modern democracy. The first major report on education to be completed after the Second World War was that of the Committee of Enquiry into Secondary Education in NSW chaired by NSW Director General Dr H.S. Wyndham. This report was released in 1957 and became the model for educational change throughout Australia in the 1960s. The content of the Wyndham Report was closely associated with the view of preparing youth for citizenship in terms of individual diversity while living as a member of a social group.313 Students were to be educated for the emerging 1950s democratic citizenship. They would be given the opportunity to participate individually as part of the economically and socially changing post-war society. As suggested by Irving et al., the general expectations as expressed by the lecturing staff of Sydney Teachers' College to the Wyndham Committee was that comprehensive schools would reconcile individual opportunities with democratic ideals for future citizens:

Democracy is a growing and developing ideal of our country and while adolescents should be helpful (sic) to live in society as it is they should develop an understanding of its underlying principles, ideals and difficulties, which will make them eager to and able to assist in the development of better

312 A. Barcan, *Citizenship as an Educational Aim*, p. 6
313 T. Irving et al., *Youth in Australia*, p. 39
Throughout the 1950s, it was intended that migrant students were to be absorbed into the Australian community through established school programmes and practices. The effectiveness is questionable because of the general decline in citizenship education in the 1950s and the fact that recommendations contained in the Wyndham Report were not introduced until the 1960s. The new social studies curriculum was maintained until the introduction of the Wyndham Scheme in NSW. The existence of migrant students within the school population, therefore, seems to have had little, if any, effect on curriculum or citizenship education.

It was the States that undoubtedly had the official responsibility for educating migrant students. Yet they were primarily concerned with problems associated with a growing school population. In May 1949, Professor R. Mills, Director, COE, wrote to Heyes expressing his concern over the impact of migrant students on school populations. He acknowledged that the education of all children including migrant students up to school leaving age was a State obligation. However, as the State Education Departments were already far behind in their building programmes owing to the war, they were 'being considerably embarrassed by the sudden additional burden placed on their facilities by the rapid rate of migration'.

Despite the impact of the Federal Government's immigration programme on the already burdened State education systems, the Federal Government adhered to its traditional policy of non-interference in State education being provided in normal schools. The lack of additional Federal funding led to the conflict between State and Federal Governments concerning the education of migrant students adding to school populations, and ultimately led to setbacks in the citizenship education campaign.

Migrant Students' Impact on School Populations

In 1948, the Victorian Education Department established two special classes to help migrant students learn English. Six months later only one special full-time class remained in operation. The Victorian Minister for Education adhered to the established opinion that

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314 T. Irving et al., *Youth in Australia*, p. 40
315 R.C. Mills to T. Heyes, 7 July 1949, NAA (CANB) A437/1, 1949/6/309
316 D.M. Waddington et al., *Review of Education in Australia 1940-1948*, p. 34
migrant students were best served by attending classes with native Australian students.\textsuperscript{317}

A similar opinion was held in Western Australia where in 1950 the Minister for Education reported that he believed that although segregated schools served an important purpose, mixing with Australian children was the most beneficial to 'Australianise' the migrant students:

State schools where migrant children ultimately enrolled, all pointed to the rapid absorption of migrant children when they mixed daily with Australian children.\textsuperscript{318}

In the South Australian Parliament, the Hon J.F. Walsh (ALP) suggested a different strategy from that used in other States for teaching migrant students English. Walsh suggested that the migrant students be centralised in one school for about 12 months to enable them to understand and speak English as well as to mingle with Australian children.\textsuperscript{319} On behalf of the Minister for Education, the Hon T. McIntosh expressed the official view shared with other States:

It has been found that children of new Australians learn English most easily when they mix naturally with ordinary Australian children.\textsuperscript{320}

However, SA introduced a policy that was unique. In 1952, Education Department officials decided that the State's Progress Certificate would not be withheld from migrant students because of language difficulties. Those migrant children who exhibited outstanding ability, were able to cope with secondary work and had reached the age of 14 years were allowed admission to secondary school.\textsuperscript{321} The initiative in SA indicated awareness by education officials of the importance of giving migrant students some level of equal opportunity in education, rather than delaying educational progress on the grounds of insufficient English language skills. Migrant students, however, were still essentially considered a burden in

\textsuperscript{317} Vic Minister for Education, \textit{AR}, 1950-1951, p. 13
\textsuperscript{318} WA Minister for Education, \textit{AR}, 1950, p. 5
\textsuperscript{319} J.F. Walsh, \textit{SAPD}, 27 September 1949, p. 634
\textsuperscript{320} T. McIntosh, \textit{SAPD}, 27 September 1949, p. 804
In October 1951, NSW Premier McGirr wrote to Prime Minister Menzies seeking Federal financial assistance to cope with increased school enrolments due to migrant student intake. McGirr argued that it was beyond the capacity of local schools near Workers' Hostels to absorb migrant students. Menzies refused the request and expressed the opinion that education was constitutionally a State responsibility and that consideration had been given to migrant numbers settling in Australian States when determining State Federal grants.322

As suggested by Smart, a statement made by Menzies at the 1950 Premiers' Conference symbolised the tough position which he and his Government were to take concerning State demands for additional financial assistance over the next decade.323 Chairing the 1950 conference as Prime Minister for the first time since 1941, Menzies stated:

> It is a long time since I presided over a Premiers' Conference (last time 1941). I have been a long time in Opposition since then, and the duty of a good Leader of the Opposition is to say, `No! No! A thousand times no!'324

In line with the national trend, however, the educational environment in NSW in the 1950s was beset with problems stemming from resource deficiencies in material and personnel. In March 1949, Sam Lewis warned NSWTF members:

> We are travelling towards a crisis in education, the magnitude of which none of us knows ... There is an acute lack of accommodation, obsolete buildings, inadequate equipment and staff shortages causing heavy class loads.325

Migrant students were invariably an additional burden for educators by virtue of their number and were to be treated no differently from native Australian students. Barcan has claimed:

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323 D. Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, St Lucia, Qld, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 30
324 R. Menzies, in D. Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, p. 30
325 S.P. Lewis, 'Crisis Looms in Education', Education, 25 March 1949, p. 62
The problem of non-English speaking migrant children was evaded. The Minister (NSW Education) remarked in 1948 that it was not the policy of the Department to 'segregate migrant children and general speaking, they will be absorbed in the normal public schools'.

The education of migrant students, however, was not so much an issue ignored. Rather, to a large extent, it was assumed that migrant children would assimilate naturally and therefore had no special educational requirements. The NSWTF Journal, *Education*, reported that large numbers of teachers, when asked what they were doing about migrant students in their classrooms, replied: 'Nothing, we just put them in the classes and they soon get along very well.'

As the following illustrates, education officials were willing to keep up an appearance that justified the proposed wisdom of this attitude. At Sydney's inner-city Darlinghurst Central School where, by 1950, there was a notable 15 per cent migrant population from more than 20 nations, the Headmaster, Mr Dutton, and Mistress of the Girls' Department, Miss Williams, claimed that it was the responsibility of the migrants to become like Australian-born students. Their technique was that the simplest way to teach English, particularly to those under ten, was just to place the migrant student in a class with Australian-born students. Dutton claimed:

> At best, this works as it did with the Greek boy, George, who enrolled at the primary school two weeks before the half-yearly exam . . . He could not understand enough English to sit for them, but four weeks' later came third in the monthly test for his class.

Dutton claimed that most migrant students were eventually indistinguishable from other students:

> In the playground it just isn't possible to pick more than a few of them. They wear the same clothes, eat the same lunches, play the same games and shout

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326 A. Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in NSW*, Kensington, NSW, NSW University Press, 1988, p. 239

327 NSWTF, 'The Education of New Australians', *Education*, 2 November 1955, p. 4

328 *Sunday Herald* (Sydney), 1 October 1950, p. 2
the same catch cries as any of the other 850 girls and boys.329

The optimistic view of Dutton was reinforced by a headline in a newspaper feature article on Darlinghurst School: 'They come from the ends of the earth and their names are hard to pronounce; but they're all good Australians now . . .'330 Dutton and the media overlooked differences in culture, physical appearance and accent. As well, the cuisine of migrant students was certainly different from that of most Australian students. Nevertheless, for some educators the migrant student was expected to assimilate instinctively and thereby either sink or swim in the hectic post-war educational environment.

At the 1952 National Conference of Directors of Education, Wyndham reinforced the view of other State Education Directors that migrant students did not require special professional attention to enable them to settle into the school environment. Wyndham told the other Education Directors that NSW migrant students who attended normal schools had progressed satisfactorily with the assistance of native Australian students:

It is found that migrant children who have experienced the advantage of enrolling at normal schools have quickly adapted themselves to language requirements of an Australian school community. It is fair to say that they have been assisted considerably by the goodwill with which Australian children received them. Having quickly mastered essential language, they have progressed normally in their school work and in some cases outstanding achievements having been observed.331

Wyndham referred to what he considered was one problem concerning migrant students:

In isolated cases, students experienced difficulty adapting themselves to sporting codes . . . This was due to lack of familiarity with the games being played rather than the migrant student not wanting to participate . . . migrant children were participating in other extra-curricular activities.332

329  Sunday Herald, 1 October 1950, p. 2
330  Sunday Herald, 1 October 1950, p. 2
331  H. Wyndham, Conference of Directors of Education, Hobart, 1952
332  H. Wyndham, Conference of Directors of Education, Hobart, 1952
No elaboration was provided as to the nature of those activities.

Wyndham's remarks illustrate a lack of concern for the cultural backgrounds of migrant students. Whereas migrant students obviously found certain extra-curricular activities more in keeping with their own cultural outlook, this avenue of bolstering child migrant enthusiasm seemed to be glossed over in favour of indoctrinating these children into traditional Australian sporting activities.

The gloss and naivety of pronouncements by the media concerning Darlinghurst School, as well as Wyndham's comments, portray an idealistic view of the presence of migrant students. This no doubt had a two-fold appeal. First, it assured the public and members of the national elite that all was well concerning the education of migrant students. Secondly, it supported the general guidelines of the assimilation programme and was a way to counter the NSWTF critique.

In the Victorian State Parliament, the political elite was blaming migrant students for native Australian children being denied a satisfactory education. The Hon A.E. Shepherd (LP) complained to the Victorian Legislative Assembly:

They (migrant students) are taxing the accommodation provided for the education of children in the Williamstown, Footscray and Sunshine districts.333

Consequently, by 1951 the education of migrant students was becoming a political issue. Shepherd added that he was in favour of immigration but wanted to ensure that new Australian students would be capable of attaining the educational standards that currently prevailed in Australia. He was also concerned that migrant students would drop out early from school and go to work. He affirmed:

We want migrants and others, but we desire to ensure that they will be able to attain the educational standards that at present exist in this country. We do not desire boys and girls aged 11, 12 or 13 to enter industry when our ultimate aim is to keep them at school until they reach the age of 15 years.334

Shepherd's comments support the contention that imperfections in the Victorian education

333 A.E. Shepherd, VICPD, 26 June 1951, pp. 3076-3077
334 A.E. Shepherd, VICPD, 26 June 1951, p. 3077
system not only deprived native Australian students but also new Australian students of an adequate education. His concern for migrant students was laudable in so far as his desire for them to stay at school until they were 15. However, his concerns probably stemmed more from fear that migrant students would not assimilate into Australian society if they did not stay at school for the legally required period.

By the mid-1950s, Victorian teachers through formal channels were airing problems caused by migrant students entering classrooms. Martin has suggested that this was the earliest record of such a request.335 The Victorian Teachers' Union (VTU) asked Victorian Education Department officials that teachers be specifically appointed to teach migrant students English. Union officials complained that migrants' lack of language skills was disruptive to the class and was restricting their participation in the classroom:

The increasing number of New Australian children in certain schools is making a very grave problem for class teachers. The normal class teaching is affected by the inability of the New Australian children to speak, write and understand English to a satisfactory standard. It is impossible for teachers to give the necessary time to these children when they have large classes. The problem is particularly acute in some areas and schools and we would suggest that the appointment of specialist teachers for the purpose asked would not only be of benefit to the New Australian children but also enable normal instruction to proceed with the other children.336

This request was rejected by Education Department officials who claimed it would be unwise to segregate migrant students from Australian-born. This, they said, would restrict the ability of migrant students to learn English, while through mixing with other students they would better acquire a working knowledge of English. An acute shortage of teachers was also given as the reason preventing the appointment of teachers to instruct migrant students in English. Education Department officials claimed that they had the matter under investigation.337

In virtual contrast to the Union's claims, the Victorian Minister for Education stated in his Annual Report (1955-1956) that district inspectors had found that migrant students

335 J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 90
336 VTU, Schubert to Secretary, Victorian Education Department, 15 October 1954, in J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 90
337 J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 94
were being adequately provided for and were making 'quite remarkable progress within a short period.'\textsuperscript{338} This was at a time when Victorian politics were in chaos. Between October 1945 and June 1955, that State held nine elections and between 1948 and 1955, had eight changes of Government.\textsuperscript{339} Victoria's political turmoil undoubtedly hindered efforts to introduce effective policies for the assimilation of migrant students. There were not only inexperienced ministers responsible for portfolios but also education officers who had to overcome repercussions associated with adjusting to such a number of changes in Government.

Furthermore, the refusal of Victorian Education Department officials to the request of educators illustrated bureaucratic inertia. The Teachers' Union request was a challenge to established practices as well as to the policy-making machinery and therefore, a source of irritation for education officials. Existing educational practices were maintained, with an official response that the matter was being investigated. In SA in the mid-1950s, however, a degree of tolerance was being observed by teachers to facilitate the education of migrant students.

**Haines Report (South Australia)**

South Australian educators were the pacesetters in endeavours to introduce a comprehensive programme to help migrant students learn English. The South Australian Minister for Education, the Hon B. Pattinson (LP), stated in his *Annual Report* (1956) that his Department had been approached at various times by teachers for guidance in the matter of teaching English to migrant students.\textsuperscript{340} These approaches culminated in a Committee of teachers under the Chairmanship of Inspector of Primary Schools, Mr N. Haines, being set up in 1956 to examine the issue of teaching English to migrant students attending State primary schools. The Committee consisted of seven experienced teachers who had worked in schools with a high migrant population. The study was effective in identifying many problems associated with migrant students in schools. It was disclosed that 1,400 migrant students were disadvantaged at school due to insufficient language skills.\textsuperscript{341}

\textsuperscript{338} Vic Minister for Education, *AR*, 1955-1956, p. 10


\textsuperscript{340} B. Pattinson, SA Minister for Education, *AR*, 1956, p. 15

The response of teachers to the Committee's questionnaire indicated the perplexing situation in which the teachers were being placed for instructing migrant students. Teachers with a few migrant children in the class maintained that time spent in getting migrant students' language skills up to standard was divisive and affected the general instruction of the class. On the other hand, if a migrant student was not given adequate instruction, he or she would fall behind. The general apprehension and confusion of teachers led them to ask questions:

(a) What am I to do with the few migrant children when they are not able to take part in the set lesson?

(b) Should I neglect the few or the many?

(c) As it is important to keep a pupil extended in class and particularly in his early days in a class should I give the migrant child large amounts of such activities as drawing and craft work which he can do without knowledge of a particular language?342

The questions asked by teachers were all associated with methods to help migrant students learn English. Teachers were obviously concerned that migrant students were in need of some special form of language instruction. In contradiction to the official line, mere attendance of migrants in the class did not necessarily mean that they would become equal participants in the school education system.

In an effort to address difficulties that surfaced after responses to the questionnaire were considered, the Committee's approach could be considered to be quite practical. In schools experiencing severe problems, the Committee met with the headmaster. Numerous meetings were also held where Committee members discussed relevant matters with interested parties. They then decided on three basic aims:

1. To endeavour to help the migrant student learn sufficient English so as to enable them to take their place in a normal class.

2. To try to achieve this as speedily as possible.

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342 N.L. Haines, in C. Price (ed), The Study of Immigrants in Australia, p. 155
3. To attempt to avoid all forms of segregation which would severely restrict the process of assimilation.\textsuperscript{343}

For schools with a large migrant intake, the Committee suggested that migrant students could be placed in a remedial or opportunity class or be grouped together where they did all subjects. Alternatively, it was suggested that migrant students be placed in the normal class and periodically leave the class for tutorial work in English.\textsuperscript{344} A handbook entitled ‘English for Migrant Children’ was to be distributed to migrant students and used in reading and writing exercises.\textsuperscript{345} Pattinson, in his ministerial response to the Haines Report, stated that there were already special classes set up for students having difficulty with English. They were conducted, he said, under the guidance of ‘enthusiastic and capable teachers’ who had carried out ‘very successful work’. Other classes were to be established in accordance with the Haines Committee recommendations when suitable teachers could be recruited.\textsuperscript{346}

Despite official rhetoric that the recommendations had been immediately acted upon, there were some delays and cutbacks in providing materials and teachers. Martin pointed out that by the time the bureaucracy had processed the Committee's recommendations and advised the Minister on what was considered an appropriate course of action, changes had been made to the original recommendations of the Haines Committee.\textsuperscript{347} Martin added that the administrators redefined the practical aspirations of the Haines Report into a political agenda.\textsuperscript{348} The efforts of educators to deal with the migrant presence also led to conflict between teachers and education administrators over the viability of introducing special programmes to facilitate equal migrant involvement in classroom activities.

In 1960, in an address to a conference on immigration convened at the Australian National University, Haines discussed the developments and outcome of the Committee’s recommendations. In a critique of special education for migrant students, Haines

\textsuperscript{343} N.L. Haines, in C. Price (ed), \textit{The Study of Immigrants in Australia}, p. 156
\textsuperscript{344} N.L. Haines, in C. Price (ed), \textit{The Study of Immigrants in Australia}, pp. 157-158
\textsuperscript{345} ‘English for Migrant Children’, undated, in M. Pitts, \textit{The Role of Education in the Assimilation of Migrants in Australia}, MEd, University of Sydney, 1963, p. 163
\textsuperscript{346} B. Pattinson, SA Minister for Education, \textit{AR}, 1956, p. 5
\textsuperscript{347} J. Martin, \textit{The Migrant Presence}, p. 92
\textsuperscript{348} J. Martin, \textit{The Migrant Presence}, p. 93
commented that first, being placed in a class for backward children had its setbacks as it offended intelligent children and their parents; secondly, migrant students being segregated was a mistake and had been abandoned as this resulted in no contact with Australian children and placed a severe strain on teachers; and thirdly, the practice of migrant children leaving the class for tuition was found to be working very well.\textsuperscript{349}

The Haines Report was prepared during difficult times in education, and its recommendations provided migrant students with some level of equality of opportunity in the classroom. It must be seen as a positive step in the introduction of policies concerning the education of South Australian migrant students, particularly in view of the difficulties faced at the time by those responsible for providing an adequate education for students in classrooms.

\textit{'Crisis' in Education - Implications for Campaign}

The years 1955 to 1960 saw extensive change in Australian education. By the mid-1950s, school enrolments had reached unprecedented levels and migrant students suffered as a consequence of educators endeavouring to cope with massive demographic change. In the past, coping with increased enrolments in primary schools had been the main problem. This period saw vigorous growth in the demand for secondary education. Queensland Secretary for Public Instruction Devries, in his \textit{AR} (1955) summed up the increasing pressure being placed on those involved in the education sphere:

\begin{quote}
Education is an expanding and continuing process. At no time in our history have complex needs of society made such demands on the resources of Government as education is making today.\textsuperscript{350}
\end{quote}

In 1955, the NSW school population peaked at 500,000 which Education Minister Heffron reported was a State record.\textsuperscript{351} Wyndham conceded that the most urgent task was to provide accommodation for an increasing school population and staff for schools:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{349} N.L. Haines, in C. Price (ed), \textit{The Study of Immigrants in Australia}, p. 158

\textsuperscript{350} G. Devries, Queensland Secretary for Public Instruction, \textit{AR}, 1955, p. 32

\textsuperscript{351} R. Heffron, NSW Minister for Public Instruction, \textit{AR}, 1955, p. 3
In nearly every educational system since the war the most obvious and urgent task has been to provide accommodation for an increasing school population and staff for schools.\textsuperscript{352} A NSWTF survey revealed that a lack of teachers was the most severe problem.\textsuperscript{353} The situation in one high school had deteriorated to such an extent that as the class was so overcrowded, the teacher could only keep order in the first rows. 'So I cut my losses', the teacher said, 'by putting the bright boys in the front and concentrated on them'.\textsuperscript{354} What chance would a migrant student unable to speak English have? The outcome, to say the least, could be considered bleak. High school teacher, Mr E. Campbell, found some migrant students resentful because teachers were unable to provide them with the special attention they required due to excessive workloads.\textsuperscript{355} The Hon A. Landa (ALP), however, told the NSW Legislative Assembly that migrant children after a year at school were 'dinkie-di aussies and become more so as time goes on'.\textsuperscript{356}

In May 1957, the \textit{SMH} reported that NSW Labor Premier J. Cahill (1952-1959) had admitted that the NSW education system had approached 'breaking point'.\textsuperscript{357} Consequently, there was concern that students could not receive individual help with their particular problems in the current educational environment.

In Victoria, Education Departments were experiencing shortages of staff to cope with the growth in education; officers were overworked, necessitating the importing of inexperienced officers. Fitzgerald has suggested that cultural, professional and administrative factors operated against the diffusion of new thought and practices being introduced into schools. Department officials were pre-occupied with dealing with routine tasks, and did not have the time to reflect on educational reform matters or persuade teachers to re-evaluate existing educational practices.\textsuperscript{358}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{352} H. Wyndham, 'Educational Developments in NSW', \textit{Education News}, 5, 5, October 1955, p. 3
\item \textsuperscript{353} \textit{SMH}, 1 June 1957, p. 1
\item \textsuperscript{354} \textit{SMH}, 1 June 1957, p. 1
\item \textsuperscript{355} E.S. Campbell, 'The Migrant Child', \textit{Activity: A Bulletin for Teachers of General Activities Classes}, 12, 1959, p. 12
\item \textsuperscript{356} A. Landa, \textit{NSWPD}, 7 June 1956, p. 379
\item \textsuperscript{357} J. Cahill, \textit{SMH}, 31 May 1957, p. 2
\item \textsuperscript{358} R.T. Fitzgerald, in J. Martin, \textit{The Migrant Presence}, p. 91
\end{itemize}
These constraints help explain why migrant students were to be treated the same as Australian children. Department officers were too inexperienced, overworked and ill-equipped to recognise or grapple with the problems these students experienced, or to formulate sound policies or programmes to settle these children into the Australian community.

In the mid-1950s, the Hon J.P. Bourke (ALP) told the Victorian Parliament he believed that the State's responsibility did not extend to meeting the excessive demands placed on the Victorian education system by the Federal Government's immigration programme:

There is no doubt that millions of immigrants are required in Australia . . . the bringing of them to this country, however, without the State having real financial control of its economy and expecting the State to care for these people in such primary matters as education and hospitalisation is a policy that cannot be justified.  

The States maintained that the Commonwealth had a special responsibility to provide additional funds for migrant students adding to school populations. Yet it was being reported in Federal Parliament that one of the most pleasing features of immigration was the attitude of Australian-born children towards migrant students throughout Australia. The Hon Fred Chaney (LP) told the House of Representatives that only rarely did children not mix freely and accept one another 'as citizens of this country with no thought of national prejudice'.

There was official denial on the part of the political elite in Canberra that problems were arising concerning the assimilation of migrant students into the Australian community. Those who suffered educational setbacks due to cultural differences received no special treatment but were to be managed within existing services.

By the mid-1950s, as part of the post-war educational reforms, greater attention was given by Australian educators to catering for the educational needs of maladjusted and handicapped school children. Special provision for the handicapped had increased both in quantity and quality and guidance services for the maladjusted had been provided on an increasing scale. Educational problems of migrant students were increasingly being treated through regular school programmes. There was little, if any, consideration given to their


360 F. Chaney, *FPD*, 4 October 1956, p. 153
special need for language instruction. Teachers largely saw migrant students who could not cope in class as a form of backward child or slow learner. The inclusion of migrant students in classes for maladjusted or backward students exemplified a continual lack of regard for migrant students' cultural and linguistic background. Inadequacies in child migrant education became clearly evident with the release of school inspector reports in the late 1950s.

On 10 July 1957, NSW Education Department Inspector J.P. Austin, reported:

Many boys of normal intelligence were being posted to General Activity classes because of language difficulty, whereas if they could be given concentrated help, they would be capable of following a more enacting course.361

Education Department Inspector M. Peake reported that in the Waverley (Sydney) district teachers were making a real effort with children needing special language instruction. However, he believed that a more constructive programme should be introduced. Peake maintained that some part-time instruction in English by a special teacher could be devised which would enable migrant students to join normal school classes. This would avoid the situation whereby migrant students lacking the English language were placed with slow learners in the General Activity classes.362 In his submission, Peake attached a statement from Mr Muir, the Headmaster of Darlinghurst Central School. This statement supported his request for the appointment of an additional teacher to teach English to the 127 migrant students scattered throughout the four Departments of the school. Details of the Headmaster's statement are as follows:

361 J. Austin, Inspector's Report, 10 July 1957, SR (NSW) 3K13341
362 M. Peake, Inspector's Report, 11 June 1957, SR (NSW) 3K13341
The Case for a Special Teacher at Darlinghurst Central School

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<thead>
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<th></th>
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<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>51</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>102</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>127</td>
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(Source: M. Peake, Inspector's Report, 11 June 1957, SR (NSW) 3K13341)

Inspector Bloomfield also reported that in a total of 18 schools he inspected in Sydney, 547 migrant students were experiencing difficulty learning and were in need of specific attention in English language instruction. He said that the schools with the greatest needs were mainly in the city area where the majority of migrants had settled. They included Bourke Street, where 90 migrant students required language instruction, Newtown with 69 students, Camdenville with 26 and Gardener's Road with 23. To support his claim, Bloomfield elaborated upon the views of headmasters at the schools he inspected:

Headmasters are nearly unanimous that children in the ten year (and over) range need special instruction urgently; about half feel that the service would be of value to children in the lower primary age-group; most regard special instruction to pupils in the infant school as being not desirable.\(^\text{363}\)

The Inspectors' submissions and figures support the opinion that migrant students, especially older ones, were in urgent need of special instruction in English if they were to be provided with an equal opportunity to succeed at school.

\(^\text{363}\) Bloomfield, Inspector's Report, 7 July 1957, SR (NSW) 3K13341
In an effort to introduce constructive practices to assist migrant students to learn English, on 14 November 1957, a NSWTF Executive Resolution was sent by Federation General Secretary Norington to Wyndham requesting that the State Education Department 'supply sets of instructional pictures, reading cards and books in the appropriate language for the teaching of new Australians'. Norington noted that the Federation was aware that the Education Department supplied this equipment to teachers with classes including large numbers of migrant students. However, it was felt that these 'very necessary aids' should be supplied in all cases where migrant students were taught in conjunction with Australian-born students.

Wyndham responded that pupils who most needed assistance were those who were enrolled in schools where there were large numbers of foreign-speaking children. Wyndham assured the NSWTF that help would be provided for migrant students requiring assistance through the limited resources available. These included clinical and remedial services provided by government departments at no cost to the students.

In 1958, the NSWTF requested that Wyndham arrange for the secondment of General Activity class teachers to prepare textbooks in English and Mathematics, which would help migrant students placed in these classes. Wyndham responded that a list of books was made available in the *Educational Gazette* and that each year some were issued to General Activity classes. 'Unfortunately', Wyndham added, 'the issue is limited because of finance available'. Wyndham maintained that most migrant students did not require special reading material. He stated that the great majority of migrant students:

... quickly gain an elementary knowledge of English and if enrolled at normally populated schools make such rapid progress with the language that they have little need for special reading material.

Despite school inspectors' reports to the contrary, Wyndham consistently supported the view

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364 H.S. Norington to H. Wyndham, 14 November 1957, NSWTF (CANB) 12, N111/M11, 1330
365 H.S. Norington to H. Wyndham, 14 November 1957
366 H. Wyndham to H.S. Norington, 21 February 1958, NSWTF (CANB) 12, N111/M11, 1330
367 NSWTF, *AR*, 1958, p. 15
368 H. Wyndham, 'How Non-English Speaking Children Fare in Schools', *Education*, 19 March 1958, p. 6
of other members of the national elite through his denial that any special problems had become apparent concerning the education of migrant students.

Queensland Survey

The view that migrant students' needs were being addressed was supported in the findings of a survey carried out in Queensland. In 1959, the Queensland DOE carried out a survey of 25,882 migrant students attending State schools. The survey was completed at the request of the CIAC, and therefore, may be considered a Federal Government initiative under the direction of members of the national elite. The Research and Guidance Branch within the Queensland DOE carried out the practical aspects of the survey. 369 This Branch provided a number of services including clinical guidance and speech correction. There was no specific section to advise on policies concerning the education of migrant children. They were categorised as part of the Department's overall special education programme.

Martin believed that for the late 1950s, the survey was uniquely comprehensive. 370 The survey, however, was more a statement of demographics than an expression of interest in policies concerning migrant students. This was borne out in the section entitled 'Aim of the Survey' where it was stated: 'The survey was to obtain statistics of the number of migrants in our schools, their nationality and distribution and some indication of their educational progress'. 371 The emphasis on demography was again evident in the 'Findings and Conclusions' section of the survey. In the eight points made in this section only one referred to educational progress. The remainder dealt with the migrant distribution in the State, for instance, where they attended school, what their nationality was, their average age compared to the State average and origin of non-British nationalities.

At a seminar on migrant youth, member of the national elite, the Hon K.C. Wilson, MP and Chairman of the CIAC, used the survey findings to praise the post-war immigration programme:

370 J. Martin, The Migrant Presence, p. 95
I was interested to read in a survey of the Queensland Department of Education that of the 23,000 children examined it was found that the migrant children were equally bright as our own Australian-born and more than half of the migrant children were in the upper half of the classes. I do therefore feel that we can have a great sense of pride in our immigration efforts.372

Wilson's statement of the finding that migrant students were above average may seem plausible. However, in point three of the survey's 'Findings and Conclusions', it was reported that 'about 69 per cent of the migrant children and children of migrants in Queensland were children of British mothers'.373 Clearly, more than half of the children would have had a knowledge of English, which was considered the prerequisite to achieving at school.

The survey, for all its failings, did represent some attempt to identify migrant students attending Queensland State Schools. By the same token, it was used to demonstrate that migrant students under contemporary circumstances were officially doing well. It was stated in the survey that the results agreed with the positive outcome of a Commonwealth study, led by Mr Justice Dovey (1960) (discussed in Chapter Four).374

The results of the Queensland survey were not published until June 1961. This was an unusually long time since the survey was completed several years prior to its publication. It would seem that officials at the Queensland DOE were waiting to see the outcome of the Dovey Report prior to producing its findings. Thus, the manner in which the Queensland survey was handled concerning its release and the positive picture of migrant students, as portrayed in the Queensland report, indicated a concerted effort by education officials to buttress the opinion of those in authority. Migrant students, it was concluded, did not need any special attention, ensuring that existing policy remained in situ.

In the late 1950s, migrant students were identified by the Australian Teachers' Federation as part of the difficulties associated with demographic changes in school populations. This was evident in a petition which was signed by over 130,000 people from

the various Australian States seeking Federal aid for education:

In the last ten or twelve years we have brought about 1,000,000 people to this country. There are perhaps 125,000 more children in State schools as a direct result of immigration because one-eighth of the population generally consists of children attending State schools. Of course, it is highly likely, as statistics appear to show there is a higher proportion than that of children in the families of migrants. But take the figure of 125,000 children. Multiply it by approximately £60 per annum as the cost to a State Government of educating a child. This single factor alone, therefore, has placed an extra burden on the State of approximately £7,000,000 a year as a direct result of Commonwealth policy, and so is a direct challenge to the Commonwealth to take some action in order to help the States to bear the burden.375

In April 1958, NSWTF officials acted on behalf of the Australian Teachers' Federation and delivered the aforementioned petition to ALP Opposition Leader Dr Evatt for presentation to Federal Parliament. The Federation initially asked Prime Minister Menzies to present the petition to Parliament but he declined. Lewis was pleased that Evatt would present the petition and that the approach of Labor stood in direct contrast to that of Menzies.376

At the close of the 1950s, Menzies echoed his earlier sentiments that education was a State responsibility. When asked in Parliament what action he intended to take concerning the petition, Menzies responded that he considered it unsatisfactory if the Federal Government provided the funds and had no power in deciding policy concerning primary and secondary education.377

On 26 August 1959, the NSWTF was criticised by the Hon D. Hughes (CP) in the NSW Legislative Assembly for exaggerating some of its information in pursuit of additional funding for education. Federation statements that it was impossible for teachers to continue under existing conditions, were referred to by Hughes as being propaganda and an exaggeration. The question, Hughes suggested, was whether teachers could continue in a way that was most efficient for education. Hughes referred to the report produced on secondary education, the Wyndham Report. He believed that NSW was on the `eve of a

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375 Australian Teachers' Federation, 'Commonwealth Aid for Education debated in Federal Parliament', *Education*, 21 May 1958, p. 2

376 S.P. Lewis, 'A.T.F.'s 130,000 Petition Presented', *Education*, 30 April 1958, p. 1

377 R. Menzies, *FPD*, 1 May 1958, p. 1
magnificent development in education if it chooses to implement the Wyndham Report.\textsuperscript{378}

For Wyndham, the preparation of this report would no doubt have taken priority over other educational issues.

Wyndham's treatment of migrant students could also be related to the view he shared with other education officials that the schooling process was a means of moulding children into becoming citizens. Into the 1960s, Wyndham's view was that the school, more than any other agency, had the ability to teach children traditions and that of practices of civic and national duty. He used the example of formal ceremonies of the school, the singing of the national anthem and the hoisting of the flag; through these and the observance of national days of commemoration, the schools passed on national tradition. Wyndham implied that this was working with migrant students as experience had shown that schools, having accepted these children as a matter of course `embrace them in their civic and national observances without self-consciousness on either side'.\textsuperscript{379}

Wyndham told the 1963 ACC that migrant students were to be treated no differently from native-born Australian students:

\begin{quote}
So far as my own State is concerned and I think that this is true of most other States - we deliberately refrain from collecting any statistics in regard to school pupils from overseas. Once they are enrolled in schools, they are, from our point of view, Australian children.\textsuperscript{380}
\end{quote}

Wyndham claimed that there were almost no reliable statistics regarding migrant intake into schools. In 1958 he estimated that between 2000 and 3000 non-British migrant students entered NSW schools each year.\textsuperscript{381} The newcomers, he said, were accepted `without any special identification'.\textsuperscript{382} Therefore, their individual problems were treated through the same resources available to native-born Australians. Strong suggested that the practice of not singling out migrant students could be `explained by the long-standing official practice of not identifying migrant children statistically in routine returns this be construed as

\textsuperscript{378} D. Hughes, \textit{FPD}, 26 August 1959, p. 435
\textsuperscript{379} H. Wyndham, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1963, p. 20
\textsuperscript{380} H. Wyndham, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1963, p. 21
\textsuperscript{381} H. Wyndham, `How Non-English Speaking Children Fare in Schools', p. 6
\textsuperscript{382} H. Wyndham, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1963, p. 21
Education officials also lacked the time or resources needed to compile statistics on migrant students.

The pragmatics of post-war education demands required an uncomplicated recognition of migrant students. The overriding opinion was that migrant students would assimilate without any assistance; that is, of their own accord. The cultural diversity of migrant students was dismissed under the successful application of the assimilationist policy. It was not so much a policy that in fact was working but rather, one that was assumed to be working.

Official reports that did eventuate in the 1950s and, in particular, in the latter half of that decade acted more as a restraint to demands for assistance by teachers by legitimising contemporary policy practice. They reinforced the official view that migrant students were not disadvantaged in the classroom. This was particularly evident in the findings contained in the survey carried out by the Queensland DOE on migrant students attending Queensland State Schools. This survey did little, if anything, to highlight the difficulties experienced by migrant students and was more intent on showing that they were succeeding at school.

In Victoria, there were some efforts on the part of educators to teach migrant students. However, as the State experienced political turmoil and a dramatic shortage of education facilities and teachers, there was little time available to introduce sound policies to educate migrant students.

In NSW, Wyndham maintained that the education of migrant students was basically succeeding and therefore migrant students required little, if any, additional care. This contrasted with the NSWTF view that migrant students should be provided with special instruction to learn the English language to help them to effectively participate at school. The Federation was at times criticised for its efforts and other comments concerning the education of migrant students. Official reports from education inspectors, however, provided clear evidence of the difficulties with which educators had to contend to achieve minimal education standards for migrant students.

The report of Inspector Peake in 1957, with an attached statement by Headmaster

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Muir, Darlinghurst School, was the very same school where in 1950 Headmaster Dutton had said that migrant students were succeeding. This shift indicated, at very least, that by the late 1950s there was some official acknowledgement that migrant students were experiencing difficulties at school, fundamentally due to inadequate English language skills. Despite these findings, migrant students increasingly became a logistical problem and more frequently, their special needs became subsumed into existing educational facilities.385

There were unsuccessful efforts by the States to secure additional Federal support to educate migrant students adding to school populations. For the most part, the requests for Federal assistance exacerbated the conflict in Federal/State relations emanating from the financial and demographic crisis in education in the 1950s experienced nation-wide.

Conclusion

The immigration and settlement policy of the Federal Government contributed to the fresh appraisal and resurgence of citizenship education in the dynamic post-war Australian environment. The Federal Government's initial formulation to invest the nation with an increased population paved the way for a future Australian society whose constituents were to be radically different from the homogeneous society of the pre-war years. It inaugurated a new drive in citizenship education that required an acknowledgement, even if passively, of migrants of a non-Anglo background.

The Federal Government's citizenship education campaign as it transpired through the settlement programme was directed at deploying and assimilating non-British adult migrants, essentially those residing in camps, as quickly as possible. The emphasis was on converting non-British adult migrants into Australian citizens so that they would take their place in the workplace and the Australian community. The process, however, had its shortcomings. These were a reflection of meeting the requirements of post-war economic development and national security concerns in the shortest time possible. Populate or perish was the immediate driving force and rationale for the immigration programme, despite the consequences created in implementing the Federal Government's settlement policy.

The citizenship education campaign introduced by the Federal Government in the 1950s became the hallmark for the future exposition of citizenship in the 1990s. However, unlike recent expositions, the campaign of the 1950s was primarily aimed at adult migrants.

The omission of a more far reaching programme that might have encompassed migrant students and an acknowledgement of their special needs within the State school system might well have helped defuse Commonwealth/State tensions concerning child migrant education.

The educational crisis in the schools of the 1950s was exacerbated by the lack of constructive policy towards migrant students. Competition for financial and material resources contributed to the malaise in Commonwealth/State relations. The national elite dismissed protests from teachers and teacher unions concerning migrant students by reporting that the way to assimilate migrant students was to immerse them with Australian-born students in the existing school structure.

The States, in effect, were left to fend for themselves in terms of the overall education of migrant students. Although the States complained about lack of funding due to increased migrant student intake, they often supported the contention that these students were adequately being catered for under the existing curriculum. The apparent conflict between State and Federal Governments arose primarily out of competition for resources generally and the Commonwealth's resistance to accepting total responsibility for the settlement programme.

This shortcoming can be viewed either as expedience on behalf of the Commonwealth or naivety and ignorance. It nevertheless portrays the assimilation policy as a shallow and insensitive process. This neglect also illustrates that the citizenship campaign, although high in ideals, at times, lacked practical planning and financial resources. Consequently, expedience provided the States with a solution in place of alternative policies and Federal funding for the education of migrant students.

The expansion of Federal Government powers, particularly in respect of taxation in the post-war years, provided a diminishing role for States in national education policy issues concerning its citizens. It might be claimed that Federal intervention in citizenship education would have been a 'natural fit', and one that was best handled by the Federal rather than State authorities for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

In contrast, the ABC, due to its national stature as well as broadcast technology, was well suited to provide the Federal Government with an added dimension to the citizenship education campaign. It had the advantage of 'editorial and political independence' from States and Commonwealth Governments and was not prejudiced by the Federal/State financial 'compromises'.
CHAPTER THREE
THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA
AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION:
AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING COMMISSION

Introduction

The massive number of non-British migrants arriving on Australians shores that were to become Australian citizens prompted the Federal Government to seek avenues to facilitate its policy of citizenship education. Changing technology provided additional ways of providing education for these new citizens. Introduced during the inter-war years, radio had become a prime way of informing citizens during the war itself. Under the auspices of the ABC, radio became an important tool in the post-war citizenship education campaign. Its contribution to the campaign could be attributed to the nature of the Commission's operation and the role of Sir Richard Boyer, ABC Chairman (1945-1961).

The ABC was a Statutory Corporation, being ultimately responsible to Parliament but theoretically independent in the day-to-day conduct of its operation. The Commission was a semi-government organisation, which was federally funded and, therefore, was not affected by the discord that evolved in post-war Federal/State financial arrangements in education. The independence of the ABC with its 'British roots' added a further dimension to the Commission's ability to positively contribute to the campaign.

Political elite members in Canberra looked to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the inter-war years as the framework upon which to build the ABC. The BBC, after ten years in operation, had proved so successful that it became the model for other countries of the British Commonwealth including Canada and Australia. The underlying principle in the running of radio by the BBC was complete independence from outside control and the same policy was adopted in Australia. When the ABC Bill (1932) was presented to Federal Parliament, the Hon W. (Billy) Hughes stated:

The underlying principle in the control of wireless by the British Broadcasting Corporation is complete independence of outside control . . . political control (in Australia) would be a disaster.386

Members of the political elite usually adhered to the practice of allowing the Commission to function independently from Federal Government control. Prime Ministers Chifley and Menzies were both disposed to leave the ABC to operate quite independently; each made it

386 W. Hughes, FPD, 10 March 1932, p. 959
a practice to answer questions in Parliament reminding members that the ABC was an independent body.\textsuperscript{387}

In 1957, Boyer remarked that he had been given an unusual degree of freedom in managing an opinion-forming medium as powerful as the ABC.\textsuperscript{388} Boyer's view was supported by that of Sir John Medley, a former ABC Executive, who recalled in the 1960s that Boyer at the ABC felt he was in charge of one of the remaining enclaves of freedom. Medley added that Boyer was consistently ready to resist any attempt by Governments or groups to erode its charter.\textsuperscript{389}

The charter of the ABC enabled the Commission through its broadcasts to contribute to the citizenship education campaign more effectively than commercial radio stations. The Commission's general programme policy stipulated that the ABC was not just to entertain, like the commercial stations, but also to inform and educate the listener. The commercial broadcasting stations could only provide lip service to the campaign or essentially have input through programmes such as news. The major consideration of those controlling commercial stations was to capture audiences for the advertising pound. In contrast, the ABC was publicly funded and its agenda was not financially motivated but rather, it was to provide a national service. The ABC's campaign contribution focussed on adult migrants as they were to be educated to join the work-force.

The role of ABC radio in the campaign was further strengthened through Boyer being an influential member of the national elite. He shared the cultural values of other members, believing that Australia should build upon its British heritage in the pursuit of national prosperity. Boyer's message through ABC radio was simply based on the values of the 'old country'. Patriotism was formulated and interpreted in such terms as freedom and democracy. Boyer's intention as ABC Chairman was to educate and inform to such a degree that reason and morality would pave the way for producing individual loyal citizens in a democratic society. Boyer was aware of how easily mass media (radio) could be manipulated in the hands of unscrupulous leaders as he had witnessed during the war in Nazi Germany. He believed, that if nurtured correctly, through education and diversity of viewpoint, radio could create cultural awareness and a citizenry capable of maintaining a

\textsuperscript{387} K. Inglis, \textit{This is the ABC}, p. 188

\textsuperscript{388} R. Boyer, \textit{Twenty-Five Years of the Australian Broadcasting Commission-What is its policy}? Sydney, ABC, 14 June 1957, pp. 8-9

\textsuperscript{389} J. Medley, 'Sir Richard Boyer', \textit{The Australian Quarterly}, 3, 3, September 1961, p. 56
vital liberal democracy in the turbulent post-war Australian environment.

Hence, under Boyer ABC radio was a pertinent instrument in the citizenship education campaign. With his ‘guidance’ it was able to contribute greatly to informing new and resident Australians about citizenship values that were intended to harmonise the economically and socially changing post-war Australia.

Formation of the ABC

On 1 July 1932, Australia's first national broadcasting station began transmission. The ABC was a Federal Labor Scullin Government initiative. Labor was defeated at the 1931 polls but the conservative United Australian Party Government led by the Hon Joseph Lyons continued with Labor's plan for a national radio service. Hughes, in his Parliamentary address concerning the ABC Bill, stated that ABC radio was a means to continue nurturing the country's bond with Britain:

It (ABC radio) has done an incalculable service to the Empire . . . it has made Empire government at last possible. One voice can now be heard in every other dominion and we, in turn, can hear theirs . . . there was never a time in the history of the Mother Country or of the world when it was so desirable that there should be such a convenient, flexible instrumentality for informing and moulding public opinion.390

Postmaster-General Fenton also told Parliament that the Government had decided unanimously to follow the British system as closely as Australian conditions would permit.391 He most enthusiastically supported maintaining links with Britain:

It is anticipated that under the Empire broadcasting system, it will be possible for naked blacks to listen-in in the jungle to the world's best operas . . . I believe that by means of wireless we shall be able to bring the different part of the British Empire into very close touch with each other . . . It should also help to deepen our Empire spirit considerably if we, through the wireless, can listen to the greatest artists, speakers and lecturers who participate in broadcasting programmes.392

390 W. Hughes, *FPD*, 10 March 1932, p. 958
391 J.E. Fenton, *FPD*, 9 March 1932, p. 840
392 J.E. Fenton, *FPD*, 9 March 1932, p. 845
Few legislators, Semmler has suggested, understood the significance of broadcasting.\textsuperscript{393} Hughes and Fenton, however, supported the view of other political elite members that the Commission through radio was to serve as a means of strengthening British links.

Political elite members also adopted the BBC practice when deciding who should control the ABC. Where Governors were appointed to run the BBC, five Commissioners were appointed to direct ABC operations. In May 1932 the first ABC Commissioners were appointed by the Scullin Government. The Commission members were part of 'the establishment' and conservative. They included Charles Lloyd Jones, founder of David Jones retail outlet, Herbert Brookes, a businessman with strong conservative political affiliations, Dr R.S. Wallace, who had been educated at Oxford University and was Vice Chancellor of University of Sydney, Mr R.D. Orchard and Mrs E.M.R. Couchman, both of Sydney.

Federal Cabinet appointed Lloyd Jones as ABC Chairman as it was considered wisest to allot the Chairmanship to a Sydney man whose 'primary claim to consideration was a business chief...\textsuperscript{394} Lloyd Jones immediately announced that the Commission would operate under the BBC framework, a view he shared with Prime Minister Lyons:

\begin{quote}
We intend following in the footsteps of the BBC... This action is in line with the advice given by the Prime Minister (Mr Lyons) to walk in the footsteps of the BBC and fall in behind Britain.\textsuperscript{395}
\end{quote}

The democracy of the airwaves was dependent on the elite who ran the broadcasting station. This elite was drawn from powerful commercial and government institutions and could influence the everyday lives of ordinary citizens. As Thomas has remarked, during the 1930s and 1940s, the Commissioners were members of the cultural elite who believed that they could enrich Australia's cultural life through radio. They hoped that through the creation of an Australian BBC they could produce a more tolerant, informed and cultured

\textsuperscript{393} C. Semmler, \textit{The ABC — Aunt Sally and Sacred Cows}, Carlton, Vic, Melbourne University Press, 1981, p. 10
society. However, by the end of the 1940s, they had to re-assess their view and modify their conception of what was appropriate broadcasting material for the ABC.396

The British cultural bias created a division between cultural elite members and the nation's mass population. Conflict further evolved within the ranks of the political elite over the extent of British influence in ABC broadcasting at the expense of national programmes. Ministers became impatient at what they considered the ABC’s failure to Australianise its programmes.397 In 1941, Curtin attacked the ABC for its failure to develop an Australian consciousness. ‘There was too much “canned stuff” in our (ABC) programmes’, he said, ‘and our ABC talks and plays carried no Australian sentiment’.398 When a journalist commented to Curtin that American programmes were broadcast for the entertainment of USA service personnel, the Prime Minister replied sharply: ‘There are a few Australians here too, aren't there?’399 Thus, the nationalistic view of Curtin differed from that of Lyons and other conservatives including the ABC Commissioners, who were more inclined to support an ABC which was invariably based on the transmission of British culture to Australia.

After the Second World War, the ABC reported that there was growing pressure to protect and encourage national culture, which the Commission considered when formulating its programming policy.400 Subsequently, the ABC branched into different forms of programming by introducing new stations in an effort to overcome the public perception of it as being the ‘snooty’ and elitist broadcaster. One broadcasting station catered for a more ‘discriminating’ section of the community. The other was designed for listeners who preferred light and easy listening entertainment.

Cultural edification became grist for the radio mill. The traditional values of country-bush and squattocracy were repackaged for popular consumerism in the radio serial. ABC programmes such as ‘Dad and Dave’ ran from 1937-1954 and were regarded as being quintessentially Australian. In 1948, the ABC introduced a new type of radio programme

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398 J. Curtin, in F. Dixon, *Inside the ABC*, p. 103
399 F. Dixon, *Inside the ABC*, pp. 103-104
400 ABC, *AR*, 1947, p. 6
called 'The Feature' which aimed at providing information in an interesting form and was a means of 'raising cultural standards and developing an informed opinion'. The ABC Features Department worked at depicting the Australian way of life and history. A policy of encouraging Australian talent was further evident. By 1952, approximately 95 per cent of the feature programmes presented were the work of Australians. Hence, in the aftermath of the Second World War and with the growth of democratic citizenship, ABC radio reviewed its programming policy to cater for the masses and expansion of Australian nationalism. However, it still remained an important means of sustaining ties with Britain.

Each year the Royal Christmas address and Empire Day speeches were broadcast on ABC radio. To mark the 1951 Commonwealth Jubilee, a special series of historical dramatisations under the title, 'Fifty Years a Nation', was heard nation-wide. Australian Governor General W.J. McKell introduced a series which concluded with a special message to the school children of Australia recorded at Buckingham Palace by Her Royal Highness the Princess Margaret. Even though ABC content and presentation were beginning to reflect the national character, the British monarchy was still prominent in the minds of the national elite.

Richard Boyer

Sir Richard James Fildes Boyer was a member of the national elite who promoted the nurturing of the nation's British heritage through ABC radio. In 1940, Boyer was appointed a member of the ABC Board. Five years later, aged 54, he accepted the position of ABC Chairman. He was active in this position until his death in 1961, just two weeks before his planned retirement. Boyer's experiences in the early twentieth century and privileged education provide insight into his approach to his ABC Chairmanship and the role he undertook in the post-war citizenship education campaign.

Boyer was born the son of a Methodist clergyman at Taree, NSW, in 1891. He was educated at Sydney's exclusive Newington College and graduated from Sydney University with an MA honours in history. While attending Newington, Boyer took an interest in current affairs. Debate arose over whether or not Australia should contribute to

\[401\] ABC, AR, 1948, p. 13
\[402\] ABC, AR, 1952, p. 10
\[403\] ABC, AR, 1952, p. 13
the purchase of a battleship for the Royal Navy. Enthused with British support, youthful Boyer wrote to the SMH: 'Let us put our hands in our pockets in our munificence of public spirit, give not one ship but a fleet of ships'. Loyalty to Britain remained with Boyer throughout his life.

Boyer was also considered a leader. This was encouraged at Newington, which was founded on the ideal of the English public school. 'Here citizenship was closely related to the concept of leadership'. Religious practices as well as organised games and sport were designed to form the character and values of those seen as future civic leaders. As a product of his early life experiences, Boyer took his prominent role in service to the nation seriously.

Boyer's early inclinations were to follow in his father's footsteps and he briefly served as chaplain at the Royal Military College at Duntroon. When the First World War broke out he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Forces. Boyer's leadership qualities were evident from his war experiences. He enlisted as a private and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. He fought at Gallipoli and while on overseas active duty was injured and consequently in 1918 was invalided home. Due to his poor health, Boyer and his wife settled on the land in Queensland where from 1920 they established a successful grazing property. Boyer's leadership skills were again apparent when he was elected President of both the Graziers' Federal Council (1941-1942) and the United Graziers' Association of Queensland (1941-1943).

During his career, Boyer was actively involved at a senior level with a number of institutions, which were interwoven through their work to assimilate non-British migrants and assist their conversion into Australian citizens. He was Chairman of ACCs (mid-1950s) and was appointed President of the GNC (NSW) in 1957. He served as an Honorary Director of the Commonwealth Department of Information (1941-1945), President of both

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405 G. Bolton, *Dick Boyer*, p. 8
406 Staff Correspondent, 'RJF Boyer, Man of Ideas', *SMH*, 18 July 1945, in R. Boyer, private papers, Canb, National Library of Australia
408 G. Sherington, 'Citizenship and Education in Postwar Australia', p. 329
409 V. Palmer, 'Sir Richard Boyer', *Hemisphere*, 1, 12, 20 November 1957, p. 20
410 *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 9 July 1955, p. 11, in R. Boyer, private papers
the Australian Institute of International Affairs and Australian National Committee for
United Nations.411 In 1956, Boyer was knighted for his services to the community. In 1959
he joined the CIAC as the representative of all the GNCs of the Commonwealth.412 In 1960,
he was a member of a special committee of the CIAC which, under the Chairmanship of Mr
Justice W.R. Dovey, produced the first report on the progress and assimilation of migrant
children in Australia.

Boyer's war experiences heightened his concern about the outcome of the Cold War.
The ABC Chairman directed the transmission of ABC Radio in Asia, referred to as 'Cold
War broadcasts'.413 Mr G.T. Chippindall, Director General of the Postmaster-General's
Department, referred to these broadcasts in a letter to the Rt Hon R.G. Casey, Federal
Minister for External Affairs. Chippindall told Casey that he had seen Boyer and received a
clear and unequivocal statement concerning the stage which had been reached in giving
effect to the immediate plans Casey had in mind for Mandarin, Indonesian and Thai
broadcasts.414

Through the ABC, Boyer aimed to help build in future Australians a deep sense of
responsibility for all problems involving the issue of peace in the world.415 His contribution
to the citizenship education campaign through ABC radio was influenced by the view he
shared with other national elite members that Australia should expand as a free, democratic,
English-speaking nation while Australia's British heritage was to be guarded.

Boyer's appeal to create an Australian citizenry was the attempt to safeguard and
foster both a world of the 'ideal' and the 'traditional'. Boyer accepted post-war immigration
reluctantly but saw it as necessary for the future well-being of the nation. In practice, the
non-British migrant was to tread the path of assimilation and with the assistance of ABC
radio, learn language and Australian culture based on its British tradition, ultimately
becoming a loyal Australian citizen in a democratic society.

411 Daily Telegraph, 9 July 1955, p. 11, in R. Boyer, private papers
412 A.L. Nutt to R. Boyer, 27 May 1959, in R. Boyer, private papers
413 G.T. Chippindall to R.G. Casey, 10 June 1955, NAA (CANB) A10299/1, A21
414 G.T. Chippindall to R.G. Casey, 10 June 1955
415 Staff Correspondent, 'R.J.F. Boyer, Man of Ideas', SMH, 18 July 1945, in R. Boyer, private
papers
ABC Radio as Cultural Educator

Although the ABC was established on the BBC framework, in the aftermath of the Second World War it was a case of articulating and broadcasting a re-appraised and revamped culture of a bygone era into a new format for the emerging mass radio audience. Listeners became aware of their roles as consumers particularly through the commercial stations. Boyer believed that the intent of a national broadcasting facility running under a dual system made it necessary to provide a balanced programme: "The zip and drive in American radio was thrilling and the balance and dignity of British radio was attractive too". Boyer was a fervent believer that ABC radio distinguished itself from commercial stations because it had the obligation to include the whole field of broadcasting. In covering the broad perspective, the ABC was invariably put to the test of balancing programming to serve cultural elites and migrant minorities as well as the masses of city and country listeners. The provision of programming had to be tempered and mediated by demands for variability.

Boyer saw radio as a sphere of influence that had no bounds. This was a view he shared with the first Chairman of the BBC, Lord John Reith, who referred to radio as "that instrument of almost incalculable importance". He differed from Reith, as war experiences heightened Boyer's concern about the ability of radio to shape listeners' everyday approach to life. In 1942, Boyer remarked that radio had its finger on the very heart of social and national life. Further, he asserted every future Australian on reaching maturity would "owe more of his loyalties, his beliefs and his general attitude to life to his "ghostly" friends from the family listening set than we have yet realised". At war's end, Boyer commented that radio had been originally thought of as a cheap and effortless form of entertainment but that this had changed during the course of the war.

Boyer further adopted Reith's view that the prime objective of national radio was to educate the listener. Reith believed that future generations would judge the BBC not in terms of the amusement provided but "by what we stood for". He complained in the USA...
that 'best men lacked much idea of their responsibilities to the public because there was no institution like the BBC'. Boyer believed that if national radio was contributing to reminding listeners of the width and depth of the nation's common sentiments and characteristics then it was indeed worthwhile. The audience was not just to be entertained or cajoled with commercial imperatives. Boyer wanted to raise the audience to new heights of awareness and emancipate the listener into the realms of cultural consciousness and responsible citizenry in a democratic society. This was reflected through programmes such as the news, concerts, education for adult migrants and an assortment of programmes for listeners in rural areas and minority groups.

In 1946, Boyer told delegates attending an ABC Radio in Education Conference that this period marked the emergence from a time in which radio:

... has been used by Presidents and Prime Ministers of democracies as a major instrument of freedom, by Popes and Seers as a world-wide pulpit for spiritual enlightenment, and by Tyrants as the most facile method yet known to man of debasing whole sections of humanity.

Chifley attended the conference with Boyer, where they agreed that it was important for radio to fulfil an educative role. Chifley pointed out that Australia had one and a half million listeners, which he considered was a fair proportion of the Australian population of 7,000,000. He believed that radio was a most powerful means to influence public opinion. He also adopted the view of Boyer in making particular reference to the effects of radio during the Second World War and how it was a means to sustain ties with Britain:

It has been used for debasement in some countries and has resulted in their complete destruction. But it has also brought to hundreds of millions entertainment and education. Its value in this regard is enormous - although I have at my disposal cables on the latest international developments, I find the BBC talks and commentaries most informative.

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421 J. Reith, in A. Briggs, *Governing the BBC*, p. 62
422 R. Boyer, in *The ABC Weekly*, 11 March 1950, p. 29
423 R. Boyer, ABC Radio in Education Conference, 21 January 1946, p. 94
424 J.B. Chifley, ABC Radio in Education Conference, 21 January 1946, p. 95
Chifley praised the national broadcasting service for its splendid work, both in adult and child education generally. He concluded by stating that it was important to introduce into programmes short, informative talks to work towards the building of a more tolerant community. He was concerned that the world was suffering from intolerance. However, people could be taught that they had a responsibility as citizens to all other citizens.\textsuperscript{425} Thus, the impact of repressive regimes and the atrocities of the war brought into sharp focus the need to create more tolerant and enlightened societies. Boyer, like Chifley, saw the need to address the question of tolerance, education and citizenship.

In 1946, Boyer launched the journal \textit{Talk}, modelled on the 1930s BBC's \textit{Listener}, which aimed to make 'the service more responsive to popular and regional opinion.'\textsuperscript{426} The journal diverged from the Commission's 1932 aspirations of developing 'high culture', and focussing on defining the necessary conditions of post-war democratic citizenship. It aimed to balance the growing forums of public discussion by providing the individual listener 'with the private conscience necessary to social responsibility.'\textsuperscript{427}

By the late 1940s, the ABC was also extending the training for citizenship to 'Listener Groups'. These groups were assembled from among family, friends and business associates who would discuss programmes with the help of scripts, background notes and bibliography, guided by their judgment and shared conscience. The topics discussed in June 1950 included 'Psychology as the Foundation of the Social Science', 'Can Psychology Help Us?', 'Building the New Australia', and 'Ourselves and the Peoples of South East Asia'. Many of the models for such commentary originated in Britain, and were designed to meet the needs of a society troubled by social division and profoundly affected by war.\textsuperscript{428}

In 1947, democratic citizenship was further seen in action with the introduction of national broadcasting of Federal Parliament. It was suggested in an ABC school broadcast booklet:

\begin{quote}
We live in a democracy, and it is only fair that as both sides of such questions (opinions) should be heard the ABC makes a point of arranging debates and discussions on controversial question. Whenever the Parliament is sitting, debates from one House or the other are always broadcast on the
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[425] J.B. Chifley, ABC Radio in Education Conference, 21 January 1946, p. 95
\item[426] N. Brown, \textit{Governing Prosperity}, p. 176
\item[427] N. Brown, \textit{Governing Prosperity}, p. 176
\item[428] N. Brown, \textit{Governing Prosperity}, p. 178
\end{footnotes}
ABC radio became a stage for political debate with politics becoming more public through electioneering being broadcast on ABC radio. The Commission's view was that the broadcasting of Federal Parliament and the use of the radio medium as a national forum for the discussion of political, social and ethical problems had been of the greatest utility in aiding the growth of an informed, independent and virile democracy. Thus, the broadcasting of Parliament was evidence of the post-war effort to heighten awareness among listeners of the importance of democratic institutions. ABC management espoused democratic ideals. However, this philosophy did not completely extend itself to management structure and decision-making.

There was a highly centralised system concerning programme policy in the ABC. Following his employment as an ABC Executive, C. Semmler pointed out:

> Whatever the ABC puts into the programme schedules is the result of a decision made by the officers responsible . . . programme proposals originate at the executive level - controllers, directors of output departments, heads of production sections . . . producers and editors . . . have had little say in the setting and adjusting of the programme framework.

Boyer was assertive in his role as ABC Chairman. He adopted the practice of Reith, who was little influenced by his Board. Boyer's input into ABC policy decisions was notable and he was a defender of the ABC from political manipulation. The nexus of power, politics and media, however, at times created uneasy tensions. For the ABC there was some level of accountability if indiscretions occurred. In the late 1940s, Boyer experienced difficulty in dealing with Calwell. The Immigration Minister boasted that he had won an apology from Boyer 'for a most mischievous broadcast in the most appalling bad taste, which ridiculed European migrants to Australia.' It was easy for politicians to vent pique on the ABC if

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429 Statement for Inclusion in ABC School Broadcast Booklet, July 1951, NAA (SYD) SP724/1, Box 52
430 ABC, AR, 1952, p. 4
431 C. Semmler, The ABC – Aunt Sally and Sacred Cow, p. 43
432 A. Briggs, Governing the BBC, p. 37
433 K. Inglis, This is the ABC, p. 180
they felt it was not operating even-handedly. Yet, the ABC for legal reasons and under Boyer was able to invariably function quite independently from outside influence.

Boyer continuously supported the view of other national elite members that building upon the nation's British inheritance was fundamental to Australia's future prosperity and vital to the growth of a greater democratic nation in the post-war world. By the close of the 1950s, ABC policy was still directed towards building an informed democracy, which was specifically linked with assisting citizenship:

In general, the Commission regards its charter as a national broadcasting instrumentality as laying upon it the responsibility of aiding citizenship, in addition to providing entertainment and information. By 'aiding citizenship' is meant not the diffusion of any particular point of view, but the stimulating of independent judgments on the problems of life - social, political, philosophic and of independent appreciation of cultural values.\footnote{ABC Draft Directive Talks Policy, undated, attached to memo from C. Moses to ABC Director of Talks, 9 August 1957, NAA (SYD) C1979/T1, Box 1}

\section*{ABC's Campaign for Citizenship}

\subsection*{Migrant Campaign Initiatives}

On 11 January 1949, a meeting was held between Dr Crossley (University of Sydney), Messrs Ewers and McCusker (COE Executives) together with senior ABC members, Semmler, Bronner and Bull, to discuss the ABC's involvement in the broadcasting of programmes to educate newcomers. Ewers commenced proceedings by explaining that except in discussions concerning financial commitments, the COE acted on behalf of the DOI. It was decided that the ABC was to be responsible for the payment of broadcasters' fees. This was to be the only cost borne by the ABC.\footnote{R. Bronner (Chairman), Minutes of Meeting, 'English Broadcasts for European Migrants in Australia', 22 December 1948, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43}

Following the meeting, Semmler wrote to Mr Charles Moses, ABC General Manager, advising him of two proposed programmes to assist in citizenship education for adult migrants. They were:

(a) To assist in the teaching of English by means of exercises in pronunciation, idioms.

(b) To supplement other education facilities with information about
Australian social conditions and way of life, customs and usages, thereby helping migrants towards becoming Australian citizens.

After the collaboration of ABC senior executives with COE, DOI officials, and after much ABC in-house senior management discussion, on 4 June 1949, the first ABC programme, 'For New Australians', went to air. The programme was broadcast every Saturday at 7.05 am to 7.15 am and Sunday 7.45 am to 8.00 am over national, regional and short-wave stations.

A lesson booklet, 'For New Australians', was produced monthly to assist the radio English instruction and was available at ABC offices nation-wide, from the COE and State Departments of Education. Students attending an evening class or who were enrolled in a correspondence course were entitled to receive the radio booklet (see Appendix 3). The use of the booklet grew; in 1949, 6,474 booklets were distributed and in 1951, 13,250 booklets. The number of booklets distributed was not an exact representation of the total number of listeners to the ABC broadcasts, as one book was often shared by a family. Nevertheless, the notable number of requests for the booklet indicated the rapid rise in popularity of the ABC programmes.

In June 1949, the SMH reported that the COE, in conjunction with the DOI, had launched through the ABC a special programme for new arrivals entitled 'English for New Australians' (also referred to as 'For New Australians') which was designed to provide 'the thousands of DPs with information to aid them in understanding some of the complexities of life in their new country'. ABC Producer Kay Kinanne of the ABC Youth and Education Department said that preliminary reports indicated that the migrant programme could become very popular. Yet the standard of the programmes came under criticism. Inglis has suggested that those at the COE, where the scripts were prepared, and ABC school broadcasters, who produced the programme, did not think that it was serving its purpose

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436 C. Semmler to C. Moses, 13 January 1949, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43
438 The ABC Weekly, 7 July 1951, p. 7
439 SMH, 15 June 1949, p. 2
440 K. Kinanne, in SMH, 15 June 1949, p. 2
ABC programmes, however, were more often positively reported upon by those who were responsible for the key decision-making in institutions associated with the introduction of the radio broadcasts for migrants. On 13 October 1949, Mills (COE) wrote to Heyes stating that the ABC radio broadcasts were currently heard over 36 ABC stations throughout Australia each Saturday and Sunday morning. The programmes, he believed, were helpful as a means of keeping contact with groups of newcomers; by their nature they could effectively help those who already had an elementary knowledge of the English language.

On 30 November 1949, Mills also wrote to Barry (ABC) thanking him and his staff for their co-operation in the migrant education scheme. He remarked that migrants were benefiting from the bi-weekly broadcast of English lessons and that their assimilation into the Australian community was being assisted by the ABC broadcasts.

The ABC was also contributing to citizenship education for native Australians by presenting post-war immigration in a positive light. The ABC News Department ran stories that portrayed migrants in a favourable manner to the Australian-born and continued to run specific programmes for migrants to help them assimilate.

Campaign Expansion

In the early 1950s, radio broadcasts directed at educating adult migrants expanded and there was an emphasis on encouraging migrants to apply for Australian citizenship. For example, the COE sent a news bulletin to the ABC for inclusion in the 'For New Australians' programme to be broadcast on Sunday, 26 March 1950, when listeners were to be informed that Mr George Gross of Estonia was the 100,000th migrant to arrive in Australia. The occasion was to be used to explain to migrants how they could apply for Australian citizenship:

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441 K. Inglis, *This is the ABC*, p. 168
442 R.C. Mills to T. Heyes, 13 October 1949, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/1/1
443 R.C. Mills to K. Barry, 30 November 1949, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 40
When newcomers have been in Australia for one year, they can take the first steps to becoming an Australian citizen. They can write to the Commonwealth Migration Officer in the capital city of their State and ask for the Declaration of Intention form. If you do not send in a Declaration of Intention form after you have been in Australia for one year, you may find that it will take you longer than five years to become an Australian citizen.445

In 1951, the series 'For New Australians' was extended to 45 minutes weekly. By June 1951, there were two sessions, an elementary one on Saturdays at 12.45 pm and a more advanced one on Sundays at 7.45 am. The lessons of the elementary series progressed at a very gradual rate with constant revision, repetition of simple sentences and practice. Most of the teaching was by example and repetition rather than by grammatical rules. The longer sessions on Sundays consisted of a grammar lesson and music supplied by both native and new Australians. The broadcasts also contained a talk by a new Australian explaining difficulties encountered, the way to overcome them and a mail bag section responding to correspondence from migrants.446

In early 1951, a new series on assimilating non-British migrants, 'What is a Recipe for Success?' was broadcast.447 Another programme was scheduled to commence in February 1952 to deal with the assimilation of migrants from a different perspective to those previously broadcast. This change in programming was introduced as most new Australians had now been in Australia for two years and over. Mr B. Molesworth, ABC Director of Talks, said that migrants were now beginning to settle into the Australian way of life and therefore, the aim was to determine 'how they were getting on with us and we with them'.448 While the programme was to be informative, the emphasis was 'to be on making it an entertaining, fast-moving broadcast, pointing out the friendly relationship between old and new Australians'.449

As a means of helping new and native Australians to understand each other, at an

446 The ABC Weekly, 7 July 1951, p. 7
447 The ABC Weekly, 10 March 1951, p. 7
448 B.H. Molesworth to Manager, ABC Talks Department, 26 November 1951, p. 1, NAA (SYD) C1985/T1, Box 16
449 B.H. Molesworth to Manager, ABC Talks Department, 26 November 1951, p. 1
ABC Managers' and Federal officers meeting in 1952 it was agreed that a programme entitled 'Happy to Know You' go to air. The programme was featured in The ABC Weekly:

We Meet the Newcomers: In an informal atmosphere Keith Smith interviews migrants wherever he finds them around Australia . . . reveals the drama and humour, the everyday experiences of people learning to live in a new land.

During the early 1950s, efforts were made through the ABC to nurture a positive relationship between native-born and new Australians. This was at a time when post-war immigration was having an increasing impact upon society. The ABC radio sessions were, however, primarily designed to teach the newcomers English, and to acquaint them with Australian customs and conditions. A further aim was to interest them in features of Australian life and attempt to mould these new settlers into well informed Australian citizens residing harmoniously in the general community.

On 14 March 1952, Heyes wrote to Boyer concerning extra time for radio lessons and advising that the DOI would provide funding of £400 to £450 to meet the costs of an additional programme. Heyes emphasised that in providing such funding he did not contemplate an extension of other existing sessions, which according to advice from the COE, would create difficulties. Boyer responded to Heyes advising that financial assistance was not required as migrant programme costs would be provided from the ABC budget and that difficulties with the COE had been ironed out. He concluded that the ABC was pleased to be in a position to help in the assimilation of new settlers. Further, the use of the national radio for this purpose was a special function of national broadcasting that he particularly enjoyed undertaking.

As suggested by Jordens, the ABC refused the DOI's offer of funding for an additional migrant programme on the grounds that the introduction of the new programme would interfere with the entertainment of its mainstream listeners. Hence, the radio

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450 ABC, AR, 1952, p. 11
451 The ABC Weekly, 27 June 1952, p. 16
452 T. Heyes to R. Boyer, 14 March 1952, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43
453 R. Boyer to T. Heyes, 21 March 1952, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43
454 A. Jordens, Alien to Citizen, p. 100
broadcasts for migrants were primarily for the purpose of assisting migrants adapt to their new environment but were not usually of interest to the mainstream audience. The ABC was constantly aware of its task and responsibility to appeal to and cater for the wider Australian community and changing tastes in radio entertainment.

On 28 March 1952, Boyer wrote to Heyes updating him on ABC radio migrant education programmes. He assured Heyes that the Commission would maintain an interest in assimilating migrants and would be glad to be of any possible assistance. Boyer mentioned that as Heyes was aware, the ABC had for some time been devoting considerable attention to special programmes directed at migrants. He made reference to 'English for New Australians', 'New Australians' Programme' and 'Happy to Know You', which were broadcast regularly on regional stations. Boyer also listed plays and features aimed specifically at assisting in the assimilation process. The list included 'I Survived the Gas Chamber', 'The Samuels' in which consideration was given to some of the special problems of a Jewish family, 'The Capellis' which gave a picture of some new arrivals from Italy and 'Postscript to Jubilee' in which problems of new arrivals were considered and a plea made by politician Billy Hughes for sympathetic consideration of these problems. Boyer mentioned other pending broadcasts which portrayed a picture of Australia or explained migrant problems to the Australian-born. He assured Heyes that he would be pleased to be of any possible assistance.\footnote{R. Boyer to T. Heyes, 28 May 1952, NAA (SYD) SP1558/2, Box 38}

During the same period, preparation was being made for an extension of 'For New Australians' by a further 15 minutes in order to provide more convenient session times for the new arrivals. The total weekly time would then be 60 minutes, divided into two sessions of English lessons and a Sunday session that combined wider experience of the English language as well as news and talks of interest to migrants. Special sessions had been conducted in migrant camps and close collaboration in preparing the programmes continued with the DOI and COE. The COE's booklet 'For New Australians' maintained a monthly distribution of 15,000 copies.\footnote{ABC, \textit{AR}, 1952, p. 14}

A further initiative was the broadcasting of a programme centred on encouraging native Australian children listeners to contribute to the citizenship education campaign. In 1952 'Gretel Comes Home' was introduced, based on the story of a Central European child settling in Australia. The listener was encouraged to display a helpful attitude towards new
arrivals. Many children responded by sending in letters describing how they had made friends with new Australians, and some of these were broadcast during the session. Information about the lives of children in other lands was further represented in a series of talks while a number of serials and talk series were devoted to various aspects of Australian life. They included 'The Outback Forty Years Ago' and 'Before the White Man Came'. In this way the ABC was further contributing to the citizenship education campaign by its shift in policy programmes for children and promoting of Australian culture.

In NSW, however, radio programmes for adult migrants were being criticised by the Dr Harold Wyndham. Wyndham told delegates attending the 1952 Annual Conference of Directors of Education that he envisaged a need to revise radio broadcasts and that the shortcomings of the radio courses were manifold. The most outstanding problem, he said, was that while the aim of the broadcasts was to provide an independent language course, the lack of contact between teacher and student left the planners of the course with a scant knowledge of the students' progress. Other problems, according to Wyndham, included insufficient emphasis on pronunciation, inadequacy of the broadcasting time allocated for English lessons and a shortage of the textbook, 'English for Newcomers'.

While criticism at the State level was evident, Federal members of the political elite praised ABC radio programmes for migrants. In July 1952, Menzies received a letter from the Victorian Premier, the Hon J. McDonald MLA, containing a resolution passed by the Women's Section of the CP of Victoria in which it was stated that 'English for New Australians' should be eliminated from ABC broadcasting. Menzies opposed the resolution on the following grounds:

The Commonwealth Government has placed the greatest emphasis on the learning of English as a first essential step in the assimilation of non-English speaking migrants and in the implementation of this policy, had enjoyed the wholehearted support of all sections of the Australian community. This has been made clear to the Australian Citizenship Conventions, which had been held each year since 1950. At the Australian Citizenship Conventions, the following Resolution was adopted: That the COE be commended on the method it has adopted on teaching English to migrants by means of radio lessons.

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457 ABC, AR, 1952, p. 15
458 H. Wyndham, Conference of Directors on Education, Hobart, 1952
459 R. Menzies to J. McDonald, 21 July 1952, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43
In a report prepared by DOI and GNM officers on resolutions passed at the 1953 ACC, the ABC was further commended for encouraging new settlers to adopt Australian citizenship. Particular reference was made to ABC radio programmes explaining citizenship requirements and broadcasting citizenship ceremonies. It was noted in the report that this was one of the most desirable means of publicising the importance of citizenship.\(^{460}\)

It is evident, however, that there was some conflict within the nation's elite at the Federal/State level over the effectiveness of ABC programmes for migrants. At the Federal level, favourable reports were prominent concerning the education of migrants. At the State level, criticisms were being voiced concerning programme content. This differed from the complaints made to the Federal authorities by the States described in the previous section; those primarily centred around disagreement over funding arrangements to deal with the education of migrants. In this instance, the criticism was essentially focussed on programming style. However, the States were not in a position to interfere with ABC programming decisions, particularly due to the nature of the ABC structure and its independent status.

In the mid-1950s there was disagreement between the ABC and DOI over aspects of programmes for migrants including the preparation of the scripts for 'English for New Australians'. Basically, the ABC wanted full editorial control over broadcasting material. Moses advised Bronner, ABC Director Youth Education, that he deemed it necessary to re-open discussion concerning the whole arrangement between the ABC and COE.\(^{461}\) Bronner wrote to the ABC Controller of Programmes advising that the Commission's experience over five years had proved the need for this revision of, or rather, reversion to ABC policy. That is, the ABC should revert to its established policy of paying for the scripts and thereby exerting full editorial rights.\(^{462}\)

At an informal lunch, ABC Executive Keith Barry met with COE Director Weeden to discuss the situation. It was decided that the best alternative was to attach a COE liaison officer to the ABC. The liaison officer would help in the handling of the programmes for

\(^{460}\) DOI and GNM, Report of Action taken Departmentally and by Good Neighbour Organisations on the Resolutions of the Fourth ACC (1953), Canb, December 1954, NAA (SYD) SP411/1, Box 27

\(^{461}\) C. Moses to R. Bronner, 9 April 1954, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43

\(^{462}\) R. Bronner to Controller of Programmes, 20 April 1954, NAA (SYD) SP285/2, Box 43
new settlers. The exact details of the work were not outlined. For the scripts, however, it was agreed the ABC would pay fees either to the COE or to a script-writer.463

A few months later, Boyer wrote to Heyes stating that he would like the ABC and DOI to maintain their previous amicable working relationship. Boyer mentioned that a proposed restructuring of the Sunday programme had been designed to further assist in the assimilation of migrants. He pointed out that there was close collaboration taking place with the COE concerning language. The COE, he hoped, could prepare a short section of points of grammar and idiom arising out of the serial itself for broadcasting. Boyer pointed out that the ABC took very seriously its contribution to the effective assimilation of migrants, saying that the ABC now broadcast programmes for new Australians for 60 minutes a week over all ABC network stations and that these broadcasts were produced and written by experts. He concluded by stating that the ABC was grateful for the continued encouragement and co-operation the ABC received from both the DOI and COE, assuring Heyes that the aim of the ABC in broadcasting programmes for migrants was ‘always to render the maximum possible assistance to the assimilation of new Australians’.464

A harmonious working relationship between the ABC and DOI generally prevailed, which was further evident in a personal letter from Heyes to Moses thanking him for agreeing to arrange a talk to be given on the ABC by the Hon A.S. Hulme, MP, Chairman of the CIPC. Heyes added that Holt as well as members of the CIPC appreciated greatly the actions of the ABC. He concluded:

We all value the opportunity, which the broadcast gave to bring home the significance of immigration to the large audience who listen to the national stations.465

Millionth Migrant and Campaign Review
The ABC assisted in the national campaign in 1955 to publicise the arrival of the millionth post-war migrant, Mrs Barbara Porritt, through national broadcasts. Holt took the opportunity to speak favourably to listeners about the building of Australia through immigration. He also highlighted the importance of naturalisation for new settlers, praising

463 K. Barry to C. Moses, 5 July 1954, NAA (SYD) SP411/1, Box 27
464 R. Boyer to T. Heyes, 8 September 1954, NAA (SYD) SP411/1, Box 27
465 T. Heyes to C. Moses, 5 July 1956, NAA (SYD) ST1790/1
the work of the ACCs and GNM. After the celebrations, Holt wrote to Moses personally thanking him for what he considered was the `valuable and efficient co-operation of the ABC in helping to make a success of publicity arrangements on the arrival of the millionth post-war migrant'.

The arrival of the millionth post-war migrant saw the ABC introduce an entirely new elementary course in English radio lessons with scripts prepared by the COE. The new course for migrants consisted of 75 lessons divided into three sections, each of 25 lessons (see Appendix 4). Two sections ran concurrently on Saturdays at 8.15 am and 12.45 pm (EST) respectively. This meant that two lessons, each at a different level of instruction, were available each Saturday. The 50 lessons of the first two sections were rigidly controlled in structure and vocabulary while the last 25 lessons were controlled in structure but only partially restricted in vocabulary. The purpose of the last 25 lessons was to bridge the gap left by the termination of the intermediate to advanced lessons formerly broadcast on Sunday mornings.

The new radio programme was intended to be consistent with the correspondence course and classroom techniques. The broadcasts included a variety of characters including 'Mary', an Australian woman, 'John', her husband and 'Paul', their new Australian friend. The presence in the cast of a new Australian whose pronunciation was bound to be slightly imperfect was seen as being open to criticism. However, the presence of Paul allowed for a great deal of quick natural teaching within the dramatised part of the script. This would not have been possible without Paul, since English speakers were not in the habit of dissecting their language among themselves. In preparing the syllabus, care was taken to allow for constant repetition and revision. In effect, the new course was designed as a specialised piece of work which made the fullest possible use of the potentialities of radio.

As part of the ABC re-assessment of migrant programmes, Barry wrote to Moses advising that at the 1956 Programme Directors' Conference it was unanimously decided that 'Happy to Know You' was out-dated. Barry explained that there were now over a million

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466 H. Holt, 'Building a Nation', *ABC Schools Broadcast - Open Door*, Canb, 23 September 1955
467 H. Holt to C. Moses, 18 November 1955, NAA (SYD) SP411/1, Box 27
469 COE, “For New Australians” Radio Lessons for Newcomers to Australia', *English . . . a new language*, 5, 2, March 1957, pp. 7-8
migrants in Australia and therefore, 'a new way should be sought of keeping new
Australians in front of listeners by means of a special programme'. In response, Moses
wrote to the Controller of Programmes expressing concern over the proposal to discontinue
the programme. Rather than axing the programme, he suggested that it be updated. There
was a matter of ABC policy concerning migrant education programmes to be considered:

You will appreciate that there are policy questions involved in this matter, in
that it is important for us to make it clear that we are doing all we can to
assist in the migrant project . . . I think that before any change is made we
would need to write to the DOI to explain our reasons for the change and to
make it clear that we would not be lessening our efforts to assist in the
assimilation of migrants.

'Happy to Know You' Broadcaster, Keith Smith, sent a proposed new format for the
programme to ABC Director of Talks, Carmichael who forwarded it to Moses. The new
format was favourably received and continued to centre on assimilating the new settler. It
was also to focus on promoting other aspects of immigration, including newcomers'
contribution to the progress of Australia, the importance of naturalisation, and the benefits of
naturalisation, by including an interview with a newly naturalised Australian.

In 1957, the COE further reported that the ABC radio lessons could be used as a
self-contained course or as a supplement to class or instruction lessons. This concept
differed from that of the late 1940s when the lessons were originally introduced as a
supplement only. However, the importance of the ABC booklet in English language
instruction as an educative aid was consistent and in March 1957, the COE described the
booklet for correspondence students as:

The necessary supplement to a means of teaching which, however skilfully
handled, cannot teach students how to speak aloud, nor train their ear to
understand the spoken language. All correspondence students are given full
information about the course and urged to listen carefully and above all to

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470 K. Barry to C. Moses, 7 December 1956, NAA (SYD) C1985/T1, Box 16
471 C. Moses to K. Barry, 3 January 1957, NAA (SYD) C1985/T1, Box 16
472 K. Smith to A. Carmichael, 14 May 1957, NAA (SYD) C1985/T1, Box 16
473 COE, 'The Provision of Migrant Education in Australia', English . . . a new language, 5, 6,
Special Edition, November 1957, p. 3
take part in the practice provided by the 'Say it with Paul' sections.\footnote{COE, "For New Australians", Radio Lessons for Newcomers to Australia', \textit{English . . . a new language}, 5, 2, March 1957, p. 11}

On 25 March 1957, the first ABC radio programme for women was broadcast (see Appendix 5). The programme, 'Making Friends', was designed for women who had entrenched themselves in the suburban domestic scene and had little or no other means of tuition in English. The COE prepared the scripts and the programme was broadcast nationwide daily in the mid-morning for five minutes. It was not a serial, but familiar characters in the series were developed. They included 'Mrs Kelly' who was portrayed as an Australian woman and central character. Mrs Kelly had a newly married daughter, 'Pat', who moved into her new home and met 'Stephanie' a young new Australian mother with a family of three small children. In the series, the characters' everyday experiences were used as a vehicle to assist the female listeners cope with situations in their new homeland and as a means to encourage women from different cultures to mix. The emphasis, however, was on teaching English to the new Australian women and assisting them to learn about the Australian way of life.\footnote{COE, "Making Friends", A radio programme for new Australian women', \textit{English . . . a new language}, 5, 5, June 1957, p. 4}

In 1958, several popular new segments were broadcast. 'Separate Worlds' by Barbara Jeffries was introduced on 'The New Australian' programme which was broadcast on Sunday mornings on national and regional stations. The six-episode serial commenced with the precocious 'Gerda', the 16-year-old daughter of new Australians defending her 'modern' taste in music before her bewildered parents. Then there was a portrayal of a confused European boy who desperately wanted to be a 'real' Australian and how he confided in his Australian friend, 'John', about his desire.\footnote{\textit{The ABC Weekly}, 30 July 1958, p. 7} Thus, there was a shift from high culture instruction to popular culture entertainment in migrant programmes.

Another popular series heard on ABC radio was 'They're a Weird Mob', a dramatisation of John Patrick O'Grady's best-selling novel. It was the story of 'Nino Cullotta', an Italian journalist, and his gradual assimilation in his new country. In one scene Nino gains a new respect for Australian lifesavers when they rescue him out of the Bondi (Sydney) surf. Nino's workmates Pat and Dennis were gruff, rough, but ultimately
considerate and true friends. The series was reported in The ABC Weekly to have been successful as it was about what was actually happening to some 50,000 European migrants arriving in Australia each year.477

On 24 June 1960, COE Director-General Weeden wrote to Moses informing him that at a Conference held to discuss migrant education, the State Education Department officers attending agreed that both programmes 'For New Australians' and 'Making Friends' were favourably commented upon and that the latter was growing in popularity among migrant women.478 Yet, the following month, the Sunday programme 'For New Australians' was discontinued. Finlay wrote to Weeden advising that the ABC was looking into the COE's suggestions that another radio lesson to assist new Australians learn English be broadcast. He added, however, finding the time was a problem with the many urgent demands on programme times and that the matter was quite complicated:

The subject of programme times has been discussed on a number of occasions but our view is that it is not unreasonable that listeners to highly specialised 'service' programmes should be asked to hear them outside peak hours for ordinary programme listening.479

Finlay thanked Weeden for the close co-operation and assistance of his office in the various joint projects in the field of language teaching.480

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478 W.J. Weeden to C. Moses, 24 June 1960, NAA (SYD) SP1036/1, Box 6

479 A.N. Finlay to W.J. Weeden, 15 July 1960, NAA (SYD) SP1036/1, Box 6

480 A.N. Finlay to W.J. Weeden, 15 July 1960
Television, the Fledgling Medium

On 5 November 1956, Menzies opened the ABC national television service in the presence of distinguished guests including the Director-General of the BBC, Sir Ian Jacob. The opening ceremony audience was addressed by members of the national elite including Menzies, Boyer, and Postmaster-General Davidson. Following these addresses, Jacob was interviewed by Moses when he expressed the good wishes of the major national broadcasting organisations of the British Commonwealth represented at the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference to be held the next day.\(^\text{481}\) Thus, as when national radio was introduced in Australia, the British influence was again distinct at the launching of television in Australia.

By the close of the 1950s, the use of television as part of the citizenship education campaign was being explored. In June 1960, Weeden wrote to Moses expressing the view that a great deal of interest had been shown in the possibility of using television as a medium for working in the migrant education field and that the ABC radio programme, 'Making Friends', had a distinct possibility. If the ABC thought television programmes were a possibility, he stated, then consideration should be given to forming a committee consisting of representatives from the various interests concerned to consider the planning of suitable television material. Weeden requested the views of the ABC on the matter to enable him to pass them on to the various interested groups including DOI and State Education Departments.\(^\text{482}\)

Weeden was advised that the ABC was interested in the possibility of using television in the field of language teaching and to assist in the assimilation of migrants. Further, that the ABC was currently looking into what had been done overseas and that the COE would be advised once the results of the ABC's investigations had been received.\(^\text{483}\) Thus, television was considered as a new means to educate new arrivals. It had greater potential as an educative tool than radio due to its visual component. However, as a foundling medium in Australia, its impact was not realised until the 1960s. Radio was well established and receivers were widespread and affordable. Television sets were costly and hardly affordable for migrants. Television in its early years was for the privileged, which did not include DPs.

\(^{481}\) ABC, \textit{AR}, 1957, p. 11

\(^{482}\) W.J. Weeden to C. Moses, 24 June 1960, NAA (SYD) SP1036/1, Box 6

\(^{483}\) A.N. Finlay to W.J. Weeden, 15 July 1960, NAA (SYD) SP1036/1, Box 6
Boyer still saw radio as an educative force of immense significance. In 1960, he stated that radio broadcasts to teach migrants English would be expanded to the north of Australia:

The use of the radio medium in adult education has been its employment in teaching English to European migrants as well as supplying a great deal of factual information on the Australian scene. It might also be worth mentioning that this technique of English language teaching by radio is being extended to Indonesia and our own territory of Papua and New Guinea. I think we are justified in the belief that one of the greatest services we can do to the emerging nations of the immediate north of our continent is to pass onto them the English language. Not only is our mother tongue the key to the riches of wisdom and tolerance which we believe to lie in our own inheritance, but there appear to be good prospects that English may become the lingua franca of the human family.\footnote{R. Boyer, 'Mass Communications and Adult Education', Sir John Morris Memorial Lecture, The Adult Education Board of Tasmania, 1960, p. 8, in R. Boyer, private papers}

Conclusion

From the perspective of a government institution, the ABC had several advantages in promoting the Government's post-war immigration policy and contributing to the citizenship education campaign. It was only 13 years old at the war's end and had a charter that gave it a high level of independence. As a purely Commonwealth conception, the ABC had little trouble liaising with Federal Departments in pursuing its policy and little difficulty in the provision of financial support. The States, with much older institutional bureaucracies and historically developed relationships with the Federal Government, were unable to run as smoothly in fulfilling an integrated citizenship education campaign.

On the practical side, ABC radio introduced programmes whereby migrants could achieve an Australian cultural facility and language command. ABC radio could set the cultural and moral tone for new Australians with its education programmes. To initiate the post-war migrant into the nuances of Australian democratic life and to become active citizens, these newcomers absorbed information through media outlets, particularly ABC radio. This occurred under the ABC chairmanship of Boyer, a national elite member and a conservative patriarch with ideals of British loyalty and democracy.

ABC radio had a charter and structure different from commercial radio. It was the bastion of cultural elitism and the epitome of good taste. In its early years, it imitated the BBC and Empire values and then programmes were introduced that contained nationalistic
influences of the 1940s and 1950s. While carrying out its various functions, the ABC had to introduce other radio stations that had wider appeal with light entertainment and increase its representation.

The paradox for the ABC was that radio needed to strike a balance of impartiality between town and country, and government monopoly versus ABC independence could not be taken for granted. What remained essentially for the ABC to retrieve were editorial and financial independence, standards in production, audience participation and technology. Against the backdrop of the emerging consumerism and American dominance of radio and television, the ABC under Boyer was a creator and staunch defender of British-based values and traditions in the forging of Australia’s national identity which was promoted through citizenship education of migrants.

The nascent technology of radio represented for Boyer a tool for good or evil. But in his hands, supported by the educative and informative precepts of the ABC charter, ABC radio served as a liberating force in Australian society for migrants and Australian-born alike in a turbulent post-war Australia. Boyer provided the ABC both with strong leadership and ideals. Bipartisan agreement contributed greatly to the ABC’s quest to be an educator in citizenship, limiting potential interference and providing cohesion of policy.

The inauguration of the ACCs by the Federal Government provided another national forum and helped bridge the gap between State and Commonwealth by providing a national focus to a ‘grass roots’ and community movement for the citizenship education campaign. The conventions were to keep the migrant presence and the nature of Australian citizenship on the national agenda for many years. The conventions also evidence the dominant role of the Federal authorities in the citizenship education campaign.
CHAPTER FOUR
AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP CONVENTIONS 1950-1960

Introduction

The ACCs were a direct outcome of the Chifley Government's ambitious post-war immigration programme and, as Calwell told Federal Parliament, were designed to promote a nation-wide movement towards a deeper appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship.\(^{485}\) The conventions were funded by the Federal Government through the DOI with no State financial involvement and proceeded under the auspices of political elite members in Canberra as a national extravaganza.

The ACCs were an important vehicle used to educate the nation - that is, to educate the Australian-born and the new arrivals as part of the citizenship education campaign. They were to have a two-fold function, firstly to present an 'operating face' and an organisation that would arouse and enlist the Australian community into appreciating the necessity of the immigration scheme, and secondly, to educate all Australians to become better citizens and serve as a practical and educative arm in the transition of new arrivals into Australian citizens. The Australian-born were to be conditioned to accept the new arrivals as part of the 'Australian family'. Citizenship ceremonies were highlighted at the conventions to impress upon the nation the symbolic importance of Australian citizenship. Thus, the ACCs were the Federal Government's expression of both its largesse and conviction in promoting citizenship for all Australians.

They were also an important forum for the political elite to exercise their power through influential committees. The practical aspects of the forum provided an organisational structure under Federal auspices to inculcate regional and local organisations in the service of a national enterprise encapsulating the citizenship education campaign. Funding by the Commonwealth was considered at times excessive. However, the ACCs were designed to have a high profile and the conventions had the support of Parliament with few dissenting voices. The social functions, exhibitions and ceremonies with many invited guests from all over Australia were all calculated to be impressive. National radio broadcasting and filming of these important events further involved the Australian community in the citizenship education campaign.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part contains an examination of the purpose and organisation of the conventions. It is shown how decisions made by the national elite in determining who would be eligible to attend the conventions support the view that the conventions were politically structured to promote the aims of the political elite. In the

\(^{485}\) A.A. Calwell, \textit{FPD}, 8 September 1949, p. 1431
second part, convention themes assimilation and citizenship ceremonies are examined to shed light on key components of the citizenship education campaign promoted through the conventions. Jorden's view that the primary aim of the conventions was to promote political acceptance of the immigration programme among the electorate is supported. Tavan's suggestion that the conventions served an important symbolic purpose to maintain support of the Australian population to post-war migration is also substantiated. It is further illustrated how the conventions were uniquely used by members of the national elite to promote Australian citizenship and as a means to positively present but not review Government immigration policy. It is also shown how the conventions were used to remind the Australian public of their role in helping assimilate new settlers and to co-ordinate the efforts of members of voluntary organisation as part of the citizenship education campaign.

**Purpose of Conventions**

By the close of the 1940s, when DPs were having an impact on the Australian population, it was becoming apparent that assimilation of non-British migrants posed difficulties not faced by British migrants. Federal authorities were aware that assimilation of migrants could not be achieved through official means only. The support of the Australian public was considered necessary to enable the smooth assimilation of the new arrivals. On 18 August 1949, Calwell released to the nation details of the Government's plan for the inaugural ACC:

A nation-wide movement to ensure the speedy and smooth assimilation into the Australian community of the many thousands of newcomers who are now reaching our shores from the United Kingdom and from Europe will be launched next January. The first step in this nation-wide organisation would be the holding in Canberra from January 23 to January 27 1950, of a great Australian Citizenship Convention.

The aim of this Convention will be to promote a nation-wide movement towards a deeper appreciation of the privileges and obligations of Australian citizenship. The fact that our lack of numbers places upon Australians the particular responsibility for sharing these privileges and obligations with as many New Australians as possible will be emphasised.

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486 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. 78
487 G. Tavan, 'Good Neighbours', in J.H. Murphy and J. Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties*, p. 79
488 A.A. Calwell, Press Statement, 18 August 1949, p. 1, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/1/1
Calwell called upon the Australian public for assistance in the assimilation of non-British migrants:

> Consideration will be given (at the convention) to all possible ways and means of overcoming by community effort the problems associated with the assimilation of new settlers, particularly those unaccustomed to our language and way of life. Such people must be offered every encouragement and facility to attain the standard of citizenship necessary to enable them to become British subjects and Australian citizens in the fuller sense and not merely the legal sense of the word.\(^{489}\)

A key role of the ACCs was thus to remind native Australians of their responsibility to help assimilate the new settlers into the Australian community and of the importance of absorbing new settlers into the Australian way of life.

ACCs were also used as a forum to present the Federal Government's immigration policy in a positive manner. In a letter to Chifley, Calwell said that ACC addresses would be delivered by personalities chosen `for their ability to impress upon native Australians the significance of immigration from the point of view of Australia's defence, security and economic stability'.\(^{490}\) Moreover, official steps were taken to ensure that convention delegates did not review the Government's immigration policy. At the 1953 convention, Mr J.T. Massey, Convention Co-ordinator, instructed discussion group leaders to ensure that delegates were not to discuss or criticise Government immigration policy in their convention discussions.\(^{491}\)

In their letter of invitation, proposed guests were reminded of the vital task ahead, assimilating new settlers, and of the important role church and voluntary organisations were expected to play in this process. The key role these organisations would play in the success of post-war immigration was stressed in a letter from Chifley to McGirr:

> In planning for the assimilation of the large number of migrants being brought to Australia under the Commonwealth Government's immigration policy the ACCs were used as a forum to present the Federal Government's immigration policy in a positive manner. In a letter to Chifley, Calwell said that ACC addresses would be delivered by personalities chosen `for their ability to impress upon native Australians the importance of immigration from the point of view of Australia's defence, security and economic stability'. Moreover, official steps were taken to ensure that convention delegates did not review the Government's immigration policy. At the 1953 convention, Mr J.T. Massey, Convention Co-ordinator, instructed discussion group leaders to ensure that delegates were not to discuss or criticise Government immigration policy in their convention discussions.

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\(^{489}\) A.A. Calwell, Press Statement, 18 August 1949, p. 1

\(^{490}\) A.A. Calwell to J.B. Chifley, 25 August 1949, p. 1, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/1/1

\(^{491}\) J.T. Massey, `ACC 1953 Notes for Standing Committee and Discussion Leaders', undated, in R. Boyer, private papers
schemes, we have adopted the principle that success can be achieved only if the newcomers are accepted wholeheartedly by the Australian public and that the main channel for securing the practical interest of the ordinary citizen is through the churches and voluntary organisations. 492

On 8 September 1949, Calwell advised Federal Parliament of plans to formally involve the Australian community in the assimilating of new settlers through the setting up of the GNM nation-wide: 'Following the convention (1950) a good neighbour committee will be formed. 493

Community involvement in the citizenship education campaign for migrants remained high on the Government agenda. This was evident from the letter sent by Immigration Minister Holt to Boyer setting out reasons for a second ACC:

To review the progress of community work since the first Citizenship Convention; plan future activities to enable prospective citizens to attain the standards of citizenship required of Australians and give particular attention to the problems of assimilation . . . and was largely influenced by the results of the first Convention in developing a spirit of understanding and goodwill between newcomers and the Australian people. 494

The importance of community involvement in the citizenship education campaign was again evident in a national radio broadcast given by Holt when he told listeners that he hoped the forthcoming 1953 ACC would help make the process of community involvement in citizenship education as effective and successful as possible:

The ACC has become a significant institution in our public life. It brings together once a year the most representative gathering of its kind held at any time during the year . . . Most of the delegates are leaders in their own section of our community. They are able in their turn to take the lessons of the Citizenship Convention back to their own organisations and thus by their explanation and influence spread them throughout the whole community . . . This meeting each year of community leaders provides the opportunity for a

492 J.B. Chifley to J. McGirr, 8 October 1949, p. 1, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/1/1
493 A.A. Calwell, FPD, 8 September 1949, p. 142
494 H. Holt to R. Boyer, 23 November 1950, in R. Boyer, private papers
By the mid-1950s, national leaders considered that the foundation stones had been laid in the assimilation process, resulting in a broadening of the scope and aims of the ACCs. There was a greater emphasis on improving future immigration policy; planning and addresses were given by academics and experts in the field of immigration and related topics. The ACCs also continued to espouse community involvement in the citizenship education campaign. Concurrently, the conventions were designed to help settle the new citizens into Australian society. A deeper appreciation of the nature of the conventions can be gained through an examination of their structural framework.

**Convention Organisation**

**National Elite Determine Structural Framework**

On 26 July 1949, Mr R. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary, Aliens Assimilation Division, DOI, wrote to Heyes, advising that he, together with other senior DOI officers Messrs Foxcroft and Murphy, had prepared `specific proposals for securing the support and co-operation of the Australian people in carrying out our assimilation programme'. Immigration Secretary Heyes supported the proposal. He then submitted the plan to Calwell, which the Immigration Minister officially approved.

The ACCs were to be conducted at a national level, which prompted Calwell to ask Chifley to sign the official letters of invitation to be sent to potential delegates. Responding favourably to Calwell's request, Chifley told the Immigration Minister that he would be pleased to send invitations to the bodies suggested by the Minister. Senior DOI officers selected guests from DOI files which Calwell approved. The DOI was responsible for the sponsoring and administration of the ACCs from funds especially allocated for 'assimilation activities'.

DOI staff sent invitations to a large cross-section of the community. Invitations were

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495 H. Holt, 'Immigration', ABC Broadcast, Canb, 19 January 1953, in R. Boyer, private papers
497 A.A. Calwell to J.B. Chifley, 25 August 1949, NAA (CANB) A461/8, P349/1/1
498 J.B. Chifley to A.A. Calwell, 30 August 1949, NAA (CANB) A461/8, P349/1/1
499 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. 79
extended to church groups of all denominations, voluntary bodies, employer and employee
organisations, State Governments, senior government officials, press and radio. They were
also sent to representatives of the Salvation Army, the Red Cross, Apex Clubs, Christian
Associations, the Country Women's Association, the National Council for Women, the
Australian Council for the World Council of Churches, the Australasian Council of Trade
Unions, the Australian Federation of Women Voters, the Returned Soldiers' League, the
Jewish Welfare, the Federal Catholic Immigration Committee, the United Nations
Association of Australia and the Australian Broadcasting Commission.  

Prime Minister Chifley called on State Premiers to co-operate to ensure the smooth
running of the ACCs. The Prime Minister also told the Premiers that he appreciated that
some voluntary committees, already sponsored by State Departments, were doing splendid
work in the field of welfare for British migrants. He felt that very satisfactory arrangements
could be made to bring these organisations within the 'scope of the general scheme with
advantage to all concerned'. He added that he had formed this opinion after discussions with
Massey.  

Mr J.T. Massey, who was appointed Voluntary Organisation Co-ordinator, played a
key role in ACC organisation. He was considered an appropriate appointment to the position
due to his wide experience in the community, war efforts and close association with
immigration as Ship's Welfare Officer with two parties of British migrants. The
importance of Massey's appointment was evident from his letter of introduction signed by
Chifley:

Because of his high standing in public life, his knowledge of migration
matters and his wide experience in community work, Mr Massey has been
chosen to organise the Convention, and subsequently, the local Committees.
I regard his task as one of vital importance in the future of this country and I
confidently appeal to every individual and organisation concerned to extend
to him their whole-hearted co-operation.

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500 DOI, List of Organisations despatched to attend ACCs, 10 November 1949, NAA (CANB)
A461/8, P349/1/1

501 J.B. Chifley to J. McGirr, 8 October 1949, p. 1, NAA (CANB) A461/8, P349/1/1

502 T. Heyes to A. Brown, Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 4 October 1949, NAA (CANB)
A461/8, P349/1/1

503 J.B. Chifley, Letter of Introduction of J.T. Massey, 7 October 1949, NAA (CANB) A461/8,
P349/1/1
Massey arranged discussion groups at the earlier ACCs (1950-1955) where delegates formulated resolutions. Those passed by delegates at an ACC General Assembly were then submitted to senior DOI officers for consideration.\textsuperscript{504} Thus, the conventions established a means through which the DOI and mainstream organisations could continually communicate.\textsuperscript{505} Colonel R.S. Ryan, CMG, DSO, MP, ACC Chairman (1951) reported to convention delegates that the majority of the 1950 convention resolutions were implemented:

\begin{quote}
The success of last year's gathering caught the imagination and the resulting recommendations were adopted almost entirely by the Commonwealth Government and are now in operation.\textsuperscript{506}
\end{quote}

A few years later, Holt told 1954 convention delegates that of the hundreds of resolutions passed at previous conventions, in excess of 80 per cent had found practical expression in some form in the immigration and assimilation policies of the Commonwealth Government.\textsuperscript{507}

DOI officers were expected to report back at future conventions on the status of previously passed resolutions. This supposedly put the onus on DOI officials to be accountable at future ACCs. It is uncertain to what extent DOI officers had the ultimate authority to determine whether resolutions were implemented. Resolutions were acted upon when 'department officers found them practicable'.\textsuperscript{508} Thus, resolutions could be censored by DOI officers thereby diminishing delegates' involvement in decision-making concerning the outcome of convention resolutions.

Following each ACC, there was an official Report of Proceedings in \textit{Digest}, which

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\textsuperscript{504} DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 19 \\
\textsuperscript{505} A. Jordens, \textit{Redefining Australians}, p. 79 \\
\textsuperscript{506} R.S. Ryan, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1951, p. 32 \\
\textsuperscript{507} H. Holt, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1954, p. 8 \\
\textsuperscript{508} DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 19
\end{footnotesize}
\end{flushright}
was produced and distributed through the DOI to organisations and delegates engaged in working in the field of assimilation. DOI officers described *Digest* as:

> A statement of the present unanimity among Australian citizens of all religions, all political views and walks of life towards the nation's immigration drive; and a guide-post to future activities proposed to attract migrants and to absorb them into the economy and national life.\(^{509}\)

Reporting details of resolutions passed and speech material pertaining to ACC proceedings, the *Digest* was a practical publication used by officials to educate the public about the success of post-war immigration. Following the second ACC (1951), Massey sent a memorandum to Heyes expressing concern that *Digest* would be sub-standard. Massey had been told by the DOI Public Relations Officer, Hugh Murphy, that due to a staff shortage, a maximum of four pages with illustrations was all that could be produced and that this would be inserted into another DOI magazine, *The Good Neighbour*, as a special feature. Massey told Heyes:

> From our point of view it would be unwise not to give the State Ministers some suitable mention as their officers could greatly assist our GNCs and organisations in their local work for assimilation. We need to maintain and cultivate their present co-operative attitude. The Police, Education and Immigration officers are also important aides when I visit the capitals.\(^{510}\)

It would seem Heyes acted upon Murphy's concerns and steps were taken to improve the production of *Digest*. The 1951 report was 40 pages, twice the size of the one produced the previous year. The standard of production was maintained throughout the 1950s. *Digest* continually served as an official publication outlining the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship and positively promoting the Federal Government's immigration programme. It also consistently filled an important role in the citizenship education campaign, serving as a glossy textbook for delegates to refer to in their efforts to educate new settlers to attain Australian citizenship.

In 1953, Massey reviewed the press coverage of ACC proceedings. Massey

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\(^{509}\) DOI, *Digest*, 1956, p. 1

\(^{510}\) J.T. Massey to T. Heyes, 3 February 1951, NAA (CANB) A438/1, 1950/7/759
instructed delegates that all official statements and interviews were to be arranged only through Murphy. He urged that press and other interviews or statements were not to be given by anyone except by arrangement with him. Press representatives were also not to be admitted to discussion groups so that delegates could express themselves without restraint. The ABC was exempted and Commission representatives were able to attend as invited guests to the ACC. The earlier ACCs were thus fundamentally structured by and under the direction of the national elite, in particular, senior DIO officers with the official approval of the Immigration Minister. These members of the national elite went to great effort to ensure that they flowed smoothly.

ACCs Proceed as a National Event
The inaugural ACC (1950) established the framework for future conventions to proceed as national showpieces (see Appendix 6). The first and all subsequent ACCs were held in Albert Hall, Canberra, Australia's capital, and more often in January to coincide with the celebration of Australia Day. The first ACC was held between 23-27 January as it fitted in with the celebration and as the period marked the anniversary of the proclamation of the 1948 British Nationality and Australian Citizenship Act. The DOI officers felt that this timing would justify the aims and ideals of the ACC being given special emphasis. The occasion was to be used to inspire in all Australians a sense of individual responsibility for maintaining the standards of citizenship worthy of a great democracy.

Distinguished members of the community chaired and addressed the conventions. They were often members of the CIAC, including Sir Richard Boyer, the Hon G.W. Brown and Mr Justice Dovey. Approximately 200 carefully selected delegates representing 100 national organisations usually attended these spectacles. Digest's colourful portrayal of the inaugural ACC set the tone for future assemblies:

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511 J.T. Massey, 'ACC 1953 Notes for Standing Committee and Discussion Leaders', undated, in R. Boyer, private papers

Opening day, January 23, dawned clear, bright and sunny. It was perfect Australian weather - an augury, a smiling promise for the success of the week that lay ahead. Albert Hall scene of the official opening was decked with flags which ruffled in the breeze . . . In front of the hall was a large floral map of Australia . . . It was an artistic conception patterned and presented by New Australians, their tribute to the occasion.513

In the early years of the ACCs, national security inadequacies saw political leaders use the conventions to remind Australians of fear of invasion and of the importance therefore of populating the nation. Menzies told delegates at the inaugural ACC that he believed the world was at present not peaceful: 'If Australia was to contribute to the pacification of the world', Menzies said, 'it is our duty to present to the world the spectacle of a rich country with a great people with an adequate population'.514 Chifley also reminded delegates of the importance of building Australia as an English-speaking stronghold in the Pacific.515

At the following convention (1951) division between members of the political elite was evident and there was disagreement over the viability of the ACCs. ALP Federal member, the Hon George Lawson (Qld), questioned Holt in Federal Parliament as to whether further conventions should be held due to the large and extravagant expenditure incurred in accommodating delegates.516 The Minister responded that the ACCs were fully endorsed by both sides of Parliament.517

These national forums, however, invariably operated to instil within all Australians a sense of national pride and identity. The 1951 convention was referred to as the Jubilee ACC. This title was a reminder to Australians that it was 50 years since Federation and of the need to continue migration. Holt told ACC delegates:

If we are to proceed in the next fifty years to even more spectacular achievement and a stronger and more prosperous nationhood, we shall need the strength and momentum that migration can give in that period.518

513 DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 2
514 R. Menzies, in DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 3
515 J.B. Chifley, in DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 4
516 G. Lawson, FPD, 27 September 1951, p. 146
517 H. Holt, FPD, 27 September 1951, p. 146
518 H. Holt, in DOI, Digest, 1951, p. 4
The 1953 ACC was considered unusually significant as it was the first in the reign of Queen Elizabeth II. Loyal greetings were sent to her by the 219 convention delegates:

> Delegates assembled at Canberra for the fourth ACC, which is representative of all sections of the Australian community, wish to extend to Your Gracious Majesty affectionate greetings and expressions of abiding loyalty at this our first ACC held in your Majesty's reign. We offer the fervent hope that your Majesty's reign may be long and glorious.\(^{519}\)

At the following convention, enthusiasm to sustain close ties with Britain was again apparent. Convention Deputy Chairman, Mr Justice Dovey, rose and moved a resolution of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen as proceedings drew to a close:

> On the eve of the Royal visit to Australia, this ACC of Australian citizens assembled in the national capital to strengthen through citizenship and undivided loyalty to the Crown the bond of kinship between native-born and new settlers, with humble duty offers to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second a warm affectionate welcome to your Australian realms.\(^{520}\)

The resolution was passed by delegates, all loyal to Queen Elizabeth, and with the playing of the national anthem, the convention officially drew to a close.\(^{521}\)

As a symbol of the importance of Australian citizenship, impressive naturalisation ceremonies were held at the earlier conventions. Holt told the audience attending the 1950 convention naturalisation ceremony that the date of this ceremony had been especially selected as it was Australia's national birthday. A ceremony held on Australia Day would focus the attention of all Australians on the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship.\(^{522}\)

Evening functions were another impressive event. They were often lavish, the type of function enjoyed by those of the upper echelons of Australian society. Official receptions

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\(^{519}\) DOI, Digest, 1953, p. 2

\(^{520}\) W. Dovey, in DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 6

\(^{521}\) DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 6

\(^{522}\) H. Holt, in DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 16
were usually held for delegates at Parliament House hosted by the Immigration Minister and his wife, or at Government House hosted by the Governor General and his wife, with official transport provided for guests.

Evening activities also served an educative purpose. Delegates were taught about the different cultural backgrounds of non-British new settlers and about methods used to educate migrants through the media. The ABC provided films and programmes for viewing by delegates.

By the mid-1950s, there were signs that the ACCs had lost some of their impetus and productiveness. The ACCs, however, were undoubtedly a major event both politically and socially for national officials and delegates. With the arrival of the millionth migrant to Australia, Mrs Barbara Porritt from England, the ACCs were used as an exhibition of the nation's prowess in hosting migrants. For the 1955 convention programme, a migrant motif was selected. In bold embossed type were the figures, 1,000,000 - heralding 1955 as the year in which Australia would receive its millionth post-war migrant. Mrs Porritt attended the 1956 ACC where there was a pictorial display at the convention entitled: 'The Millionth Migrant Story'. The display showed the wedding of Mr and Mrs Porritt in England and featured their journey to Australia. In his opening address to 1956 convention delegates, Holt referred to the historical arrival of the Porritts: 'I believe that our experience with the first million settlers from overseas justifies our belief that we should continue to go forward'. The Hon C.H. Hand, Tasmanian ALP Minister for Tourism and Immigration, congratulated Holt on becoming 'a migrant millionaire'. Opposition Leader Evatt told delegates that the problem of absorbing the second million migrants was not easy and that it was the duty of all Australians to help every new Australian 'to become a thoroughly good Australian and to remain so'.

In the second half of the 1950s, the success of the Federal Government's immigration programme and the work of community organisations in assimilating new settlers gained international recognition. Two distinguished American visitors addressed the 1956 ACC. Mr Scott McLeod, American Representative of the Inter-governmental

523 DOI, Digest, 1955, p. 3
524 DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 16
525 H. Holt, in DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 6
526 C. Hand, in DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 18
527 H.V. Evatt, in DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 11
Committee for European Migration, told delegates:

No other nation has been able to command such broad based interest and enthusiasm for an immigration programme as Australia has done . . . I am particularly interested in your Good Neighbour Movement. It seems to me that it is the kind of thing which, as we say in the USA, gets down to grass roots level, and assures successful assimilation.528

American Congressman, Francis E. Walter, congratulated Australia on its `good neighbour policy' which he supported:

The new citizen who is not well re-settled is discontented and unhappy and contributes less to the security, strength and stability of his new homeland. Australia has received more than 1,000,000 new citizens from Europe since the war . . . I might add that you have dealt far more intelligently with the welfare of your new citizens than we in the United States have done.529

In an effort to present citizenship for new arrivals in a positive light, LCP Immigration Minister Townley used the 1958 ACC to present the first official citizenship award to an outstanding new Australian citizen. It was also used to outline a revision of the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948). The Minister said that the Act would be revised in an effort to eliminate discrimination between naturalised citizens and those who were native-born.530

The Minister was referring to Sections 20 to 22 of the Act which gave the Minister for Immigration the power to deprive naturalised Australians of their citizenship.531 Only

528 S. McLeod, in DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 13
529 F.E. Walter, in DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 12
530 A. Townley, in DOI, Digest, 1958, p. 12
531 Section 20 of the Act declared that a naturalised Australian who resided outside Australia continuously for seven years would lose his or her citizenship unless he or she had, at least once during the second and each succeeding year, or at such other times as the Minister in special cases allowed, notified an Australian Consulate of intention to retain it. Section 21 enabled the Minister to strip a naturalised persons of their citizenship because of: disloyalty towards the Sovereign; unlawfully trading or communicating with the enemy in any war in which Australia was or had been engaged; gaining naturalization through fraud; not being of good character at the date of naturalisation; being sentenced in any country within five years of his being naturalised to imprisonment for one year or more. Section 22 entitled the Minister to deprive a naturalised person of citizenship if he or she, being previously a citizen of another Commonwealth country, lost such citizenship on grounds similar to those mentioned under
seven out of the 150,000 post-war migrants who had been granted citizenship by 1958 had had their citizenship removed. However, the legislation had caused some resentment among some European settlers. Subsequently, the Nationality and Citizenship Bill 1958 was introduced which revoked Sections 20 to 22 of the principal legislation. The Bill declared that a person convicted of obtaining naturalisation by false statement or by concealing a material circumstance and the Minister was satisfied that it would be contrary to the public interest for such person to continue to be an Australian citizen, then the Minister could deprive the person of his or her citizenship.\(^{532}\)

Immigration Minister Downer told Parliament that it was probably true that no other country had gone to the extent of removing the legal differences between native-born Australians and those who had assumed Australian citizenship. The Minister added that he considered that the changes to the Act were another example of `the Government's determination to absorb, not by compulsion, but by opportunity, our new settlers into Australian customs, traditions, privileges and rights'.\(^{533}\)

Due to the small number of new settlers affected by the legislation, the change could be considered of relative significance because discretionary power was still in the hands of the Minister for Immigration. However, it also created the impression for new settlers that they could now more readily regard Australia as their `home'. This, Immigration Minister Downer told Parliament, was `the underlying intention of this Bill'.\(^{534}\)

At the 1958 Convention, Townley took the opportunity to tell delegates of an immigration policy initiative which was introduced. He said that he was submitting to Parliament a complete revision of the Immigration Act for consideration:

This Act was passed early in the century and it has become merely a patchwork of amendments and should be redrafted. One of the more important changes is the proposal to abolish the dictation test - the famous not to say notorious dictation test that has caused such spirited controversy over the years. We plan to introduce a streamlined system of simple entry permits.\(^{535}\)

\(^{532}\) A. Downer, _FPD_, 26 August 1958, p. 711

\(^{533}\) A. Downer, _FPD_, 26 August 1958, p. 712

\(^{534}\) A. Downer, _FPD_, 26 August 1958, p. 712

\(^{535}\) A. Townley, in DOI, _Digest_, 1958, p. 12
Following the 1958 ACC, criticism was again vented in Federal Parliament concerning the cost of conventions, which were considered redundant. Federal member, the Hon C. Morgan (ALP, NSW) also expressed concern that the Commonwealth did not contribute in any way financially to the organising of citizenship ceremonies. Morgan asked Townley:

As it was a very important way of breaking down barriers and creating the right spirit between those sections of the community, would the Minister consider granting a small allowance to help defray the cost of such functions or, alternatively, spend on them some of the money now spent on the annual Citizenship Convention at Canberra which appears to have become redundant and is certainly less important than these local gatherings.\(^{536}\)

Townley responded by praising the ACCs. He added that these conventions were attended by most of the people who took part in the activities which Morgan had mentioned.\(^{537}\)

During the same political debate, the Hon R. Aston (LP, NSW) accused the ALP of endeavouring to use the ACCs solely for political purposes.\(^{538}\)

The earlier years of the ACCs were usually conducted in a harmonious manner with some division among the members of the political elite over the viability of the ACCs evolving. This conflict became more evident at the close of the 1950s when there was disagreement over a review of immigration policy and the productiveness of the ACCs, particularly when citizenship ceremonies were no longer featured at conventions. Despite the apparent disunity among the political elite, the conventions were still directed by members of the national elite to serve as a national showpiece.

Following the 1959 ACC, DOI officers considered a review to improve ACC proceedings. DOI Officer, Mr J. Hawton, wrote to the Assistant Secretary, Assimilation Division, DOI, advising 'at this milestone an appreciation of future activities in this field might bear review'.\(^{539}\) He considered that the general principles behind the ACC and the overall operation format did not come into question. Rather, he thought that a change of

\(^{536}\) C. Morgan, *FPD*, 18 March 1958, p. 359

\(^{537}\) A. Townley, *FPD*, 19 March 1958, p. 359

\(^{538}\) R. Aston, *FPD*, 19 March 1958, p. 484

\(^{539}\) J. Hawton to Assistant Secretary, Assimilation Division, DOI, 3 February 1959, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1964/45953
venue ‘might be an avenue whereby added stimulus and interest in this important function could be gained’. He suggested the Bonegilla Reception Centre, aboard a migration vessel at berth in Melbourne or Sydney, or in each of the State capitals in turn. Hawton concluded, ‘I have not developed these ideas at this stage, but present them for decision on a policy basis in the first instance’. The change in policy direction was considered novel by DOI Officer Mackay, who was advised by another DOI Officer, Mr Lamidey, that this was ‘essentially a matter for Secretary's consideration and I think you should take it up with him personally’.

By the 1960 ACC, no decision had been reached to change the convention venue. It was to remain in Canberra. What did change, however, was that the 1960 ACC took place from 9-11 February, the first year a convention was not held during the Australia Day festivities. The February period was chosen in 1960 for no other reason than convenience. Still evident at the 1960 ACC was the promotion of the success of migration. Menzies told convention delegates what he considered were national achievements due to the immigration programme:

Numbers, national development, economic strength and we have had optimism, that confidence which enables business to look to the future and also enables production to look to the future for the good of the country.

Thus, the positive outcome of post-war immigration and Australian citizenship were consistently commended at conventions under the direction of national elite members in Canberra. The message sent to Her Majesty by 1953 ACC delegates evidenced that the conventions were a means of fostering Australia's ties with Britain. The values and beliefs rooted in such a bond could have influenced delegates' decision-making at the ACCs. Despite some disharmony between members of the national elite media coverage, notable personalities, overseas dignitaries, the celebration of the arrival of the millionth migrant all spotlighted the esteem of the ACCs which saw a change in format in the mid-1950s.

540 J. Hawton to Assistant Secretary, Assimilation Division, DOI, 3 February 1959
541 J. Hawton to Assistant Secretary, Assimilation Division, DOI, 3 February 1959
542 B. Mackay to Lamidey, 4 February 1959, NAA (CANB) A446/165, 1964/45953
543 R. Menzies, in DOI, Digest, 1960, p. 6
Official Change in Convention Format

The 1956 ACC heralded a significant organisational change in ACC proceedings. The Digest front-page headline read: 'Bigger Role for Delegates'. Delegates no longer formulated resolutions while attending an ACC. Rather, they met in discussion groups to consider convention papers presented by experts in specific fields associated with migration.

The scrapping of resolutions, Heyes said, allowed for more time to be spent in the general sessions. Heyes denied the view of Mr R.J. Coombe, a former GNC President (SA), a member of the CIAC and an experienced delegate to the ACCs, that governmental embarrassment over recurring resolutions was a factor in this decision. However, the practice of delegates passing resolutions also required some level of accountability on the part of DOI officers, who were expected to report back to delegates on the outcome of resolutions previously passed. The abolition of resolutions, therefore, could be further attributed to a desire of DOI officials to decrease their level of accountability to ACC delegates.

Boyer told 1956 ACC delegates that due to the change in convention format, they now had a greater part to play in deciding Australia's future immigration policy. Boyer stated:

We have been given the greatest courtesy yet extended to us because . . . we have been asked to criticise and discuss, and improve, if necessary, the Government's entire policy as to who shall come to Australia, in which numbers and from what quarters.

Boyer's view is questionable. It could be argued that despite the change of format, delegates were to have little, if any, influence on the direction of immigration policy. Heyes, in fact, vetted papers presented at conventions in an effort to eliminate discussion that could prove contentious.

In preparation for the 1959 ACC, Heyes expressed concern about the content of Professor Sir Macfarlane Burnett's paper, 'Migration and Race Mixture from the Genetic Angle'. Heyes wrote to Burnett saying that he was of the opinion that if Burnett spoke

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544 DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 3
545 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, pp. 169
546 R. Boyer, in DOI, Digest, 1956, p. 3
negatively of the White Australia policy and details were reported in the press, it could cause injury to relations with Australia's Asian neighbours:

This aspect of our established immigration policy is a matter of controversy . . . The press naturally tends to concentrate upon this kind of discussion and the views would almost certainly be cabled to Asian newspapers with the probability that they would feature the material in a sensational way.547

As Burnett's paper fell within the jurisdiction of External Affairs, Heyes also wrote to Mr J. Kevin, Assistant Secretary, Department of External Affairs, on the matter in efforts to divert conflict. Heyes told Kevin he would take every step to ensure that, as far as possible, speakers do not seek to open up a debate on the established policy and shall request Chairmen of discussion groups and the Chairman of the General Assembly to rule such discussion out of order.548

The letters of Heyes to Burnett and Kevin indicate that the Immigration Secretary was most conscious of ensuring that the ACCs were conducted in a manner that avoided unfavourable reporting of proceedings. He shared the perpetual desire of national officials to present the Federal Government's immigration programme in a favourable manner. The letters also indicate the Immigration Secretary's awareness of Australia's security fears, as evident in his dealing with the Burnett paper. Thus, the new ACC format was not, in effect, of notable significance. The monitoring of ACC proceedings also served as a means to scrutinise the participation of non-British migrants in ACC proceedings.

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547 T. Heyes to M. Burnett, 3 October 1958, NAA (CANB) A1838/1, 1468/4/6
548 T. Heyes to J. Kevin, 18 November 1958, NAA (CANB) A1838/1, 1468/4/6
**Migrant 'Token' Representation**

Migrant representation at ACCs was kept to a minimum and `confined generally to cultural exhibitions for consumption'.\(^{549}\) This was evident at the inaugural ACC (1950), where delegates attended the opening of an arts and crafts exhibition displaying works of new Australians from 15 different nationalities. Holt said, when opening the Arts Festival, `a truly Australian national culture has not yet been developed but it would be the better for European influences bought into it by the new Australians'.\(^{550}\) This theme continued and the following evening delegates attended a musical festival arranged by new Australians.\(^{551}\)

During the 1950 Convention, Estonian-born Mr Ingomar Natliv addressed delegates, making a plea on behalf of migrants to the Australian-born for tolerance and understanding:

> We shall do everything possible to show our loyalty to this country so that very soon we shall be regarded not as new Australians, but like you as Australians. In the years not far ahead, you will, I am sure feel that we are proud of this country and I hope that you will be proud of us.\(^{552}\)

Natliv was employed by the DOI, which probably influenced the nature of his speech. If the sentiment of his comments is considered, Natliv's involvement in the ACC could have been part of a promotion orchestrated by the DOI to cultivate goodwill between native-born and new Australians.

At the 1951 ACC the cultural background of new settlers was further displayed. *Digest* reported:

> A public concert and an open-air pageant during convention week illustrated the quality of the European culture that is enriching our national life through the immigration programme.\(^{553}\)

The new settlers were encouraged to share their cultural inheritance with native Australians

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\(^{549}\) G. Tavan, 'Good Neighbours', in J.H. Murphy and J. Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties*, p. 81

\(^{550}\) DOI, *Digest*, 1950, p. 12

\(^{551}\) DOI, ACC Official Programme, Wednesday, 25 January 1950, NAA (CANB) A446/167, 1966/45172

\(^{552}\) I. Natliv, in DOI, *Digest*, 1950, p. 13

\(^{553}\) DOI, *Digest*, 1951, p. 24
at the 1950-1951 ACCs. This did not continue into the 1952 convention where there was little, if any, encouragement of an intermingling of cultures and the emphasis was clearly on addressing problems associated with assimilation. This was at a time when there were increased national security concerns due to the Korean War conflict which could have prompted the discouraging of cultural diversity.

Senior DOI officials were also reluctant to include migrant representatives in convention proceedings, as evidenced in a briefing Heyes gave to 1953 ACC discussion group leaders. Heyes directed the group leaders that the migrant representatives should not be asked to give addresses or participate in any special way unless by the desire of the group or with the permission of the group chairman holding the discussion.554

With an increase in the number of organisations applying to attend ACCs, an important outcome of the 1954 ACC was the setting up of a committee to review the nature of the ACCs and re-assess how it was decided who was to be included on the invitation list. The CIAC at its 19 March 1954 meeting appointed a committee to consider representation at the future ACCs. The committee was chaired by conservative, the Hon G.W. Brown, MBE, MP, BA (Cambridge) and ACC Chairman. Members included Mrs J.G. Norris, OBE, MA and member of the CIAC Committee to investigate additional language instruction for migrants (1953). The committee co-opted the services of Massey because of his special experience and knowledge of the churches and voluntary organisations throughout Australia and Mr R.E. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary, Assimilation Division, DOI, who attended as a DOI adviser.555

The Committee unanimously agreed that the annual ACCs fully justified their continuance. Further, they agreed that the discussions held at the ACCs attended by representatives from all avenues of Australian national life were of great assistance in planning and implementing assimilation activities throughout the community. However, it was agreed that there was a need to keep within a reasonable limit the number attending the ACC.

With the growing numbers of migrants adding to the Australian population, requests for ACC participation essentially increased. Convention organisers agreed that future applications for representation should be referred to the committee of the CIAC. This

554 J.T. Massey, ACC 1953 Notes for Standing Committee and Discussion Leaders, in R. Boyer, private papers
555 G.W. Brown (Chairman), Report of Committee Established to Consider Representation at ACCs, undated, p. 1, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 140/5/25
committee recommended that no alteration should be made to the arrangement whereby a cross-section of migrants were included in delegations from the GNM. However, it was also proposed that the DOI be authorised to increase the number of migrant representatives from 16 to 20 to ensure that no section of the migration population was without representation.556

However, the increase of migrant representation at ACCs was minimal. In the early 1950s, there were no migrant delegates at ACCs. By the 1957 convention, only 13 per cent (31) of the 237 delegates present were non-British.557 Thus, throughout the 1950s, ACC proceedings were directed by national elite members with only limited and superficial input from non-British migrants, who were more often considered outsiders. The conventions, however, were promoted through ABC radio which, as a national service directed by Boyer, was able both to broadcast ACC proceedings and to provide valuable aid in 'educating' new Australians and Australian-born alike.

**ABC's Important Role**

The ABC was consistently responsible for broadcasting on national radio the ACC opening ceremonies and speeches. ABC involvement extended to a Commission representative attending proceedings as an official delegate. Boyer responded to Chifley's invitation for an ABC representative to attend the 1950 ACC by advising that the ABC appreciated the opportunity of being present.558

At the 1950 ACC, Professor R.C. Mills, COE Director, paid tribute to the ABC for its radio programmes containing English language instruction. He told ACC delegates that 'most people admit that these lessons are a very good method of dealing with the problem of giving the new settlers an improved knowledge of our language'.559 Following the 1951 ACC, Boyer wrote to Heyes praising the proceedings and pledging the co-operation of the ABC in future forums:

I don't know of any conferences that I have attended where facilities have been better organised. It just couldn't help being a success and I am sure that everybody went away not only better informed but very enthusiastic and

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556 G.W. Brown (Chairman), Report of Committee Established to Consider Representation at ACCs, p. 4
557 G. Tavan, 'Good Neighbour', in J.H. Murphy and J. Smart (eds), *The Forgotten Fifties*, p. 81
558 R. Boyer to J.B. Chifley, 22 November 1949, NAA (CANB) A461/8, P349/1/1
559 R.C. Mills, in DOI, *Digest*, 1950, p. 8
keen to play their part in this great project . . . Please call on me if there is anything I can do at any time.\textsuperscript{560}

The ABC involvement extended to teaching ACC delegates about assimilation activities. At the 1952 convention, delegates attended the screening of the immigration film, 'Mike and Stefani', and the ABC Forum of the Air, 'What do you mean by the Assimilation of Migrants?' At that convention, a resolution was passed commending the radio sessions in which migrants have taken part and suggesting that this practice should be encouraged.\textsuperscript{561}

At the 1953 ACC, the ABC continued its involvement by informing participants about English programmes for migrants. Delegates attended a viewing of the ABC radio programme, 'For New Australians' and a presentation of 'Happy to Know You'. Holt wrote to Boyer stating that he considered this convention had been worthwhile and that this would not have been achieved without the practical interest and support of the national broadcasting service. The Minister also praised the ABC for sending a representative to the ACC and Boyer for his valuable contribution:

Please accept this letter as an expression of my personal appreciation and that of the Commonwealth Government for all that you have done and are doing to ensure a successful national development.\textsuperscript{562}

At the 1954 ACC, radio broadcasts catering for the migrant audience were again raised. Delegates discussed serials and language instructions and resolved:

1. The national broadcasting station should work towards presenting its serials for migrants in a form and in language which would encourage more new Australians to tune into such programmes.

2. Time during radio lessons should be allocated to a suitable serial story.

3. The ABC be asked to announce during its general programmes, the times at which English lessons would be broadcast.

\textsuperscript{560} R. Boyer to T. Heyes, 2 February 1951, NAA (CANB) A438/1, 1950/7/759

\textsuperscript{561} DOI, Digest, Resolution No. 11, 1952, p. 30

\textsuperscript{562} H. Holt to R. Boyer, 10 February 1953, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1
4. Adult migrant programmes be arranged at times suitable to reach women at home.\footnote{DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 31}

Decisions reached at the ACCs, therefore, contributed towards the nature of English language instruction through ABC radio for new Australians.

In the mid-1950s, there was also an effort to include ACC proceedings in television programmes. Prior to the 1957 ACC, Heyes wrote to Moses, congratulating him on the successful launching of ABC television. The Secretary suggested that the 1957 ACC could provide material which could be of interest to viewers as part of an Australia Day television programme and suggested that highlights of papers presented by delegates be televised. Even if this did not occur, Heyes said he would be grateful if the ABC would arrange to broadcast the official opening as the Commission had done in previous years. Heyes told Moses that the cost of providing land-line facilities for the broadcast would be met by the DOI.\footnote{T. Heyes to C. Moses, 6 November 1956, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1} Moses advised Heyes that he had been examining the possibility of using some of the ACC material on television. There was no direct telecast from Canberra but he would do something if at all possible. He mentioned that he would arrange for a sound broadcast of the opening on January 22 from 3.00 pm to 4.00 pm and that it would be preferred from the ABC's point of view to broadcast speakers from different political parties.\footnote{C. Moses to T. Heyes, 14 December 1956, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1}

The 1957 ACC opening ceremony was broadcast on ABC radio. However, a disagreement took place between the ABC and DOI officers over opening ceremony broadcast material. ABC Officer Barry complained to Moses that Heyes had not responded to the ABC's request to enable speakers from different parties at the opening of the ACC to be broadcast. Furthermore, he complained that the ABC had been misled about the timing of the speeches, expressing concern that 'only Mr Townley and Mr Holt (both LP members) had concluded by the end of the hour . . . We missed the speeches of Mr Whitlam (ALP) and Sir Thomas Playford (LP)'.\footnote{K. Barry to C. Moses, 1 February 1957, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1} Barry was further concerned that the ACC opening ceremony took longer than anticipated and it was announced that there was no time to read the various messages sent which included one from Labor Opposition Leader Dr Evatt.\footnote{K. Barry to C. Moses, 1 February 1957} Barry stated
that in view of the circumstances, the ABC may need to review its position on broadcasting ACC opening ceremonies:

Political repercussions have now blown up over immigration at the ACC. I feel our attitude in regard to the opening of the ACC and the speakers broadcast may have to be re-examined should the occasion arise again next year.\(^{568}\)

In preparation for the 1958 ACC, Heyes wrote to Moses requesting that the ABC arrange a direct broadcast of the opening ceremony and advising that the cost of land-lines would be borne by the DOI. He suggested that at this ceremony the ABC broadcast the speeches of the Liberal representatives, Menzies and Townley, as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr A. Lindt. The Secretary suggested that the opening ceremony would provide interesting viewing for television and that facilities could be made available for ABC officers to film the proceedings. He advised Moses that Mr E.W. Waterman, Director of Public Relations of the DOI, would be Sydney in November and if ABC officers wished to discuss matters with him, he would be pleased to call on them at their convenience on Monday afternoon.\(^{569}\) Heyes made no mention in his letter to Moses of the problems that had occurred the previous year concerning the ABC opening ceremony broadcast. The letter was polite but also carefully worded by the Secretary not to cause any undue conflict with the ABC.

The ABC Officer, Clemment Semmler, sent an inter-office memorandum to Finlay, Acting General Manager ABC, on the matter, in which he complained that the 1957 direct broadcast was `pretty much of a fiasco'.\(^{570}\) He added that from the ABC's position, to stop complaints from listeners, a representative of the Opposition should be included in the opening ceremony broadcast.\(^{571}\) Finlay, noting Semmler's advice, wrote to Heyes advising that it would be possible for the ABC to broadcast directly the opening ceremony nationally. He stated that the ABC wanted to ensure the best possible broadcast and therefore, wanted the Leader of the Opposition to be involved in the opening ceremony to provide a balanced

\(^{568}\) K. Barry to C. Moses, 1 February 1957

\(^{569}\) T. Heyes to C. Moses, 12 November 1957, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1

\(^{570}\) C. Semmler to A. Finlay, 10 December 1957, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1

\(^{571}\) C. Semmler to A. Finlay, 10 December 1957
The 1958 ACC opening ceremony was broadcast on ABC radio and filmed for television with Evatt included in the coverage. It appears Heyes acted on the ABC's call for an unbiased coverage of the opening ceremony. Menzies opened the convention and delivered his address to more than 250 delegates in attendance. Menzies boasted of the remarkable results Australia had achieved from immigration in terms of population building and, also, increased national development. The ACCs thus proceeded as a national spectacle with input from the ABC and the focus was constantly on assimilating the new settlers into the Australian way of life.

**Convention Themes**

**Assimilation**

**Assimilating the New Arrivals**

The major thrust of the 1950 ACC was to promote wide-spread support for the national assimilation drive. It was also to serve as a means to stress to ACC delegates and the wider community of Australia the urgent and continuing need for a larger population. Delegates passed nearly 50 resolutions designed to assist the quick assimilation of migrants into the Australian community and stressing the importance of the acquisition of language skills for non-British migrants. It was recommended that co-operation of all Australians should be sought to give non-British new settlers practical encouragement to seek instruction in English.

Convention speakers examined the difficulty of assimilation of migrants due to a lack of English. Mr T.R.M. Sloane, NSW DOE Officer, told convention delegates that in NSW country areas, 106 centres had been established with 2,917 people enrolled, while in Sydney there were 41, with 1,392 people enrolled in English classes. It was suggested that a significant problem to overcome was how to get migrant women, particularly those married, to enrol in English classes, as they were often reluctant to attend.

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572 A. Finlay to T. Heyes, 20 December 1957, NAA (SYD) SP613/1/0, 8/7/17/part 1
573 R. Menzies, in DOI, *Digest*, 1958, p. 5
574 T. Vhalonasiou, Australian Citizenship Conventions, MEd, University of Melbourne, 1983, p. 5
575 DOI, *Digest*, 1950, p. 19
576 DOI, *Digest*, 1950, p. 8
Menzies told 1950 ACC delegates of the importance that he placed on newcomers assimilating into the Australian way of life. This he equated with the maintaining of Australia's British heritage:

When they [migrants] come here, we must receive them as Australians . . . they will all be British and they will all be as we are, the King's men and King's women.\(^{577}\)

At the 1952 ACC, Holt supported Menzies' view that Australia should maintain its British heritage:

Australia, in accepting a balanced intake of other European people as well as British can still build a truly British nation on this side of the world . . . all were agreed, that Australia must be kept preponderantly British in its institutions and the composition of its people.\(^{578}\)

Following the 1953 Convention, the *SMH* reported that it was time for a change of attitude concerning assimilation problems and a need to address what it meant to be an Australian: 'The question is easily asked by vague generalities of a soothingly familiar kind.'\(^{579}\) The *SMH* article echoed major themes of immigration and the problems associated with the assimilation into Australia of non-British new settlers. It was reported that there was a need for 'speedy assimilation' as this would help secure Australia.\(^{580}\) This was a particular concern as the British migrant intake had fallen and Australia had become more reliant on non-British migrants. Questions were also arising about Australia's national identity.

In his address to 1956 ACC delegates, Boyer said that Australia had reached a milestone in its history with the arrival of the millionth migrant but was concerned about Australia's future nationhood:

This is a nation in its own right . . . There is in the Australian character something I hope will never be lost. Believe me, when you get a mingling of

\(^{577}\) R. Menzies, in DOI, *Digest*, 1950, p. 3  
\(^{578}\) H. Holt, in DOI, *Digest*, 1952, p. 10  
\(^{579}\) *SMH*, 25 January 1953, p. 2  
\(^{580}\) *SMH*, 25 January 1953, p. 2
cultures . . . you will remember that in the long term the most dynamic and
deep of these cultures will finally win.

Unless we know what we stand for and unless what we stand for is good
enough, it is we who in the long term will be assimilated . . . We have been
thinking that the newcomers are on trial. It is we who are now on trial.\textsuperscript{581}

Townley used the following Convention to emphasise Australia's British heritage and to
praise plans to increase the number of British migrants arriving on Australian shores under
the Bring out a Briton Scheme. The main objective, he said, was to strengthen Australia's
economic development and defence capability through population building, particular with
British migrants. He stressed:

\begin{quote}
Ours is . . . a British country and we have a degree of kinship with the `old
country' which we do not have with other countries no matter how highly we
regard individual new citizens from those other countries.\textsuperscript{582}
\end{quote}

In 1958, there was a shift to encouraging cultural diversity. Prime Minister Menzies told
1958 ACC delegates Australia's culture had been enriched `by the lively minds and
experience, and the lively imagination of thousands of people whose cultural background is
remote from our own'.\textsuperscript{583} The cultural heritage of non-British migrants had not previously
been commended by the Prime Minister.\textsuperscript{584}

At the 1959 ACC, Downer told delegates that his Government was continually
searching for new ways to promote migrant integration.\textsuperscript{585} To help achieve this, he said that
DIO officers were going out into homes and factories to meet with newcomers to whom
they would converse in their native tongues and not just English. Downer explained:

\begin{itemize}
\item R. Boyer, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1956, p. 31
\item A. Townley, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1957, p. 8
\item R. Menzies, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1958, p. 5
\item T. Vlahonasiou, Annual Citizenship Conventions, p. 96
\item A. Downer, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 11
\end{itemize}
The idea is to create a field force spreading out through city and country districts whose primary purpose will be to offer guidance, advice and friendliness to our new settlers. Wherever possible members of this field force will have some knowledge of at least one European language.\footnote{A. Downer, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 11}

The DOI officers, he pointed out, would also facilitate naturalisations and registrations. This move could be attributed to Downer's disappointment at the rate of applications for naturalisation and therefore, that the work of the GNM was not achieving the desired goals.\footnote{A. Downer, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 11} It further illustrates that the DOI played an increasing role in assimilation of new settlers into the Australian way of life, directed by the Minister for Immigration.

In a move towards migrant integration, Mr and Mrs van Keulen, a Dutch couple who migrated to Australia in 1951, presented to the 1959 ACC their paper 'Assimilation or Integration?' They called on native Australians to make a greater effort to help new settlers feel at home in Australia. Mrs van Keulen was critical of the term, new Australian. 'The term “Australians” embraces all classes. But the label new Australians gives a feeling of meaning an inferior class.'\footnote{van Keulen, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 27} Mrs van Keulen stated that in discussion groups, it was decided that overcoming language problems was most important in assimilation.\footnote{van Keulen, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 30} Mr van Keulen said that the unanimous opinion in discussion groups was that the word 'assimilation' was not appropriate. 'Delegates agreed that the word “integration” should be more widely used'.\footnote{van Keulen, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, pp. 31-32}

Mr A. Olechnik, GNC (NSW), appealed to delegates, particularly the leaders of new Australian groups and organisations like the GNCs, to do everything they could to make new settlers realise that the sooner they became integrated or assimilated in the Australian community the better.\footnote{A. Olechnik, in DOI, \textit{Digest}, 1959, p. 29} Olechnik did not see it necessary to differentiate between assimilation and integration.

Vlahonasiou has suggested that the interchanging of the terms suggests that there had apparently been little progress towards a greater appreciation of migrants' cultural
heritage. However, by the close of the 1950s there was some acknowledgement by national leaders of Australia's development as a culturally diverse society. With Australia's demographic change through immigration, there was increasingly an appreciation of the cultural contribution of new settlers to the Australian way of life. Assimilation remained the official policy into the 1960s. However, the development of a policy of integration signalled a decline of Anglo-Celtic domination which Dr J. Darling endeavoured to explain to 1959 ACC delegates:

The policy should aim at building into a new unit the capacity of 'old' and 'new' Australians, rather than attempt to force all newcomers into the pattern of Australia 'as it used to be' . . . there seemed to be a very strong feeling that migrants regarded the term new Australian an insult, although it was intended originally as a term of 'exquisite politeness'. The fact that it is so regarded now by migrants seems to indicate that we should try to avoid it.

At the 1960 ACC, delegates held discussions based on four agenda papers presented at the ACC. Mr and Mrs Masero, who migrated to Australia in 1951, presented a paper entitled 'Understanding - the Key to Assimilation'. They stated that the 'learning of the language should start right from the moment we declare them eligible to migrate to Australia'. Conference delegate McDonald GNC (SA), said that most delegates from group discussions supported Masero's comments. McDonald repeated delegates' general opinion on bilingualism:

Bi-lingualism is the ideal for migrants to try to attain not to force the language of their fathers in preference to a complete adoption of English and not to rely too strongly on the fact that it is the only language.

An intermingling of cultures was also promoted at this ACC. A pageant entitled 'We the People' was held in which migrant and Australian-born artists participated. The pageant told the story of Australia's growth to nationhood from the raising of the British flag in 1788 to

592 T. Vlahonasiou, Annual Citizenship Conventions, p. 117
593 J.R. Darling, in DOI, Digest, 1959, p. 28
594 Masero, in DOI, Digest, 1960, p. 25
595 G.S. McDonald, in DOI, Digest, 1960, pp. 26-27
1960. A series of nine tableaux recalled Australia's history. The final tableau told the story of the migrants' contribution to Australia's development. The presentation was made by migrants including Mrs Adry Zevenbergen, a Dutch migrant to Australia.\(^{596}\)

By the late 1950s, there was a move towards an acceptance of the cultural heritage of non-British migrants into the Australian way of life. The slow transition from assimilation to integration was not in word only but an acknowledgment of the growing cultural diversity in Australia. The change in attitude by Menzies in 1958 and his reference to Australia's growing cultural diversity could be seen as a growing recognition of the migrant voice. Still, the ACCs promoted the need to increase British intake to maintain Australia's British heritage and assimilate new arrivals. As part of the campaign, the 1960 ACC reported that migrant students were assimilating into the Australian community.

**Report on the Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia: The Dovey Report**

In the late 1950s, Immigration Minister Downer requested that the CIAC prepare a report on aspects of post-war immigration. The CIAC's investigations covered police, child welfare and health authorities, employers' and trade associations, trade unions, social/sporting clubs and voluntary associations throughout Australia. The committee also carried out special nation-wide surveys of pre-school centres, education and delinquency among migrants.\(^{597}\)

The committee appointed to carry out the investigation was composed of influential members of the Australian community. They included Sir Richard Boyer, ABC Chairman, GNC (NSW) President and CIAC member, the Hon P.J. Clarey, Labor MP (Vic), CIAC member, Dr J.R. Darling, Headmaster of the Geelong Grammar School and member of the CIAC Committee to investigate additional language instruction for migrants (1953), Mr A.E. Monk, President of the ACTU, CIAC and CIPC member, and Mrs A.M. Norris, representing the National Council of Women of Australia.\(^{598}\)

As Martin has suggested, the findings concerning migrant students should have been 'a milestone in the systematic co-ordination of knowledge about migrant children and in the development of policy in terms of what was actually happening in schools'.\(^{599}\) However,

\(^{596}\) DOI, *Digest*, 1960, p. 3

\(^{597}\) W. Dovey (Chairman), *Report on the Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia*, Special Committee of the CIAC, DOI, Canb, February 1960, p. 8

\(^{598}\) DOI, *Digest*, 1960, pp. 37-39

\(^{599}\) J. Martin, *The Migrant Presence*, p. 97
when the official findings concerning child migrant education are considered it could be argued that the aim was rather to convince delegates and the Australian community about the success of post-war migration and settlement.

Mr Justice Dovey, former Deputy Chairman of ACCs and member of the CIAC, presented to the 1960 ACC the findings of a study on migrant children of schooling age in Australia. The *Report on the Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia*, contained an investigation of the performance of migrant children at State schools throughout Australia. It was stated in the report that since migration began, more than 470,000 young migrants had come to Australia and nearly 500,000 first generation children had been born in the country. It was further stated:

> Their progress is important to us all. They will play a vital part in the future of our country. But more than that, they are important to us in their own right, as individuals. For these reasons, the Minister for Immigration, the Hon A.R. Downer, MP, asked the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council to undertake a comprehensive investigation of their progress in the Australian community, at school, at work and in their social life and our Committee was appointed to undertake the task.600

Dovey told ACC delegates that the report concerning migrant school students was prepared after wide community consultation:

> It is not only our report, it is the report of literally thousands of Australians throughout the length and breadth of this land... I also wish to pay tribute to at least 1,000 teachers in all classes of schools throughout Australia whose work in relation to youth as a whole - and for our present purpose to our migrant youth cannot be too warmly commended.601

The findings and recommendations were based on information gathered throughout 1959 by personal interviews, correspondence and nation-wide surveys. The report claimed that migrant children were progressing well and that they were being effectively absorbed into the school system. According to the report about 97 per cent of young migrants settled down

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600 W. Dovey (Chairman), *Report on the Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia*, Forward

601 W. Dovey, in DOI, *Digest*, 1960, p. 4
well into life in Australia. It was further reported that they were above average in scholarship.  

Mr T. Brennan, Director of the Department of Social Work, University of Sydney, had difficulty in determining what 'settling down' meant. Brennan said that he could only assume how the 97 per cent was made up as details were not provided. Brennan also criticised the finding that the students were above average in scholarship and said that he had experienced some difficulty in reading the overall report:

I report that I don't like the method but if I have to use it, I can derive from the evidence given and hold with more confidence, a conclusion about the scholastic record of migrants, which is quite contrary to the general finding of the report.

Professor Morven Brown presented a different view. He reported to ACC delegates (1960) that following discussions held during the convention, the overall opinion was that the report provided, for the first time, a clear and reliable account of the progress towards an authentic Australian character of nearly a million first generation migrants. He told ACC delegates:

The heartening conclusions in this Survey will stand to refute any who seek to cast malicious or irresponsible doubts on the good name and character of migrant homes and truly Australian children who have merged and are emerging.

Brown said that it was generally agreed that the report deserved the widest circulation and should be distributed to all organisations concerned with migrants.

The Dovey report, however, made no distinction among the various migrant groups

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602 W. Dovey (Chairman), Report on the Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia, Section 1, General Findings and Recommendations
603 T. Brennan, in C. Price, The Study of Immigrants in Australia, p. 140
604 T. Brennan, in C. Price, The Study of Immigrants in Australia, pp. 141-142
605 M. Brown, in DOI, Digest, 1960, p. 38
606 M. Brown, in DOI, Digest, 1960, pp. 38-39
607 M. Brown, in DOI, Digest, 1960, pp. 38-39
and failed to differentiate specifically between British and non-British students. As well, no allowance was made for length of stay in Australia, gender or social class in the report. Due to flaws in the research methodology and the interpretation of the information collected, the findings contained in the report were eventually discredited.

The report was used by members of the national elite to present to ACC delegates and the public at large the official view that migrant students were adopting the Australian way of life through their normal schooling experiences. The ACCs also focussed on converting adult migrants into Australian citizens.
Citizenship

Conversion into Citizenship

‘To attain a better understanding and appreciation of Australian citizenship and responsibilities’. This was the first objective listed in the general preamble to resolutions passed at the 1950 ACC, demonstrating the importance of portraying Australian citizenship positively in ACC proceedings for all Australians. At the 1951 ACC, Mr Justice Simpson of the Supreme Court of the ACT gave a short explanation to the audience attending the citizenship ceremony of what he considered were privileges and responsibilities associated with Australian citizenship:

The British Commonwealth of Nations is a combination of independent nations bound together only by common allegiance to one sovereign - our King . . . you are required to serve and obey the King . . . In Australia every citizen over the age of 21 is entitled to vote at the election of members of the legislature . . . All men and women are equal before the law and that applies . . . from the Governor General to the most inferior official . . . Our laws not only protect you whilst living in the country of your citizenship but are designed to assist you when you travel abroad . . . You have become citizens of this great and free democracy in which all citizens natural-born or naturalised are equally free.

With a similar message to that delivered by Simpson, Massey elaborated upon aspects of naturalisation in a memorandum he sent to 1951 ACC delegates:

When a member of a foreign nation is made a member of the Australian nation by naturalisation he becomes an heir of all the traditions of his new country. More than that he enters into a new inheritance obtaining all the rights and privileges of the members as well as their duties and responsibilities. He owes allegiance to the King, he obeys the laws of the State and receives its protection.

A feature of the 1951 ACC was the proposed drafting of a Charter of Australian Citizenship.
aimed at the harmonious merging of alien-born migrants to the Australian national family. There was, however, no further reporting on steps being taken to prepare the Charter at that Convention.

At the 1951 ACC, delegates agreed that voluntary organisations should vigorously encourage new Australians to become naturalised as soon as possible. To assist, the DOI was to prepare a brochure on Australian citizenship and democratic way of life for distribution to new Australians and include a brief statement of Australia's developments and achievements.

Subsequently, Heyes wrote to the Director of Education in all States enclosing a pamphlet prepared by members of the DOI entitled, 'This Is How You Can Help Someone to Become an Australian Citizen' (see Appendix 7). Heyes said that the prime purpose of the leaflet was to enable native-born Australians to explain to new arrivals how they may become British subjects and Australian citizens. The pamphlet presented Australian citizenship in a positive light and was headed: 'Tell your non-British friends that there are 10 important benefits of Citizenship'. The benefits listed were:

1. You have the full protection and assistance of Australia's law.
2. You may vote at Federal and State elections.
3. You may seek election to the Federal or State Parliaments or local governing bodies.
4. You may sit on a jury . . . you may become a judge or magistrate in Australia's courts.
5. You may serve with any of Australia's armed services and hold any rank.
7. You have the right to become a permanent Government official.
8. You are eligible for all social service benefits.

611 DOI, Digest, 1951, p. 2
612 DOI, Digest, 1951, p. 37
613 T. Heyes to Directors, DOE, 24 March 1952, NAA (SYD) C3939/2, N1955/25/75193, Box 15
9. You can hand in your alien registration card and forget the restrictions aliens are subject to.

10. You have a homeland with a stake in its prosperity. You have a right to a full share of everything Australia has to offer.\(^{614}\)

After the distribution of the pamphlet, Heyes sent a memorandum to the Chief Migrant Officer in Sydney in which he said that the pamphlet had been printed some time earlier mainly for use in the DOI publication, \textit{Good Neighbour}. However, as other avenues were not being pursued to encourage aliens to become naturalised, every effort should be made to ensure effective circulation of the pamphlet in every suitable way.\(^{615}\)

In an attempt to explain the meaning of Australian citizenship, Holt reminded all Australians in a national broadcast of the important bond between Australia and the British family of nations and freedom of a democratically elected Parliament:

As a new settler applies for naturalisation to qualify for full citizenship he must renounce allegiance to his former country and swear allegiance to our Queen. The new citizen then acquires the security of the British family of nations over which Her Majesty reigns. This guarantee of new freedom conferred through a democratically elected Parliament giving their allegiance to a most loved monarch is a priceless heritage. Those of us who are born in Australia are perhaps inclined to take these privileges for granted. They are eagerly sought by the new settler who thereafter shares them in common with his fellow Australian citizens.\(^{616}\)

\(^{614}\) DOI, \textit{This is How You Can Help Someone to Become an Australian Citizen}, 1952, NAA (SYD) C3939/2, N1955/25/75193, Box 15

\(^{615}\) T. Heyes to Chief Migration Officer (Sydney), 7 July 1953, NAA (SYD) C3939/2, N1955/25/75193, Box 15

\(^{616}\) H. Holt, 'Immigration', ABC Broadcast, 19 January 1953
In the mid-1950s, however, senior DOI officers were expressing concern over the low rate of lodgment of Declarations for Intention forms by prospective new citizens. Between 1945 and 1953, more than 800,000 migrants had arrived in Australia with approximately half being from non-British countries. The number of aliens registered in the Commonwealth at 30 November 1953 was 307,350; naturalisation certificates issued between January 1945 and November 1953 were only 25,340.617

The low rate was attributed to many migrants being unaware that a Declaration of Intention was necessary. DOI Officer Armstrong said that every effort was being made to bring this requirement to the notice of those concerned.618 DOI officers considered another reason for the non-lodgment of the Declaration was that although some migrants were aware that they were eligible to submit the Declaration after one year's residence, they realised that they could wait for the completion of three years' residence before submitting their Declaration. In doing so, migrants would not delay their naturalisation.619 The low rate of applications for naturalisation received press coverage. The *SMH* headline read: 'Talks on Assimilation Problems, Citizenship: The Goal for New Australians'. In addressing problems concerning assimilation, the *SMH* reported that efforts were being made to answer questions such as how more new Australians could be encouraged to become naturalised as soon as possible. The taking of Australian naturalisation was referred to as 'a significant victory in the new Australian's struggle to understand and participate in the Australian way of life'.620 The *Sunday Mail* (Adelaide) reported that some migrants did not seek naturalisation because of the hope that their native lands might recover their former power and they could go 'home'.621 It was further reported that a DOI official had said that he was confident many migrants would seek citizenship as they became fully aware of the benefits and privileges of naturalisation.622

In March 1953, Heyes suggested to Holt that the main objective of the 1954 ACC

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617 E. Benjamin, 'Some Comments on the Fifth Citizenship Convention', *Social Service*, January-February 1954, p. 17
618 R. Armstrong to Assistant Secretary General Division, DOI, 22 June 1953, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/9/7
619 R. Armstrong to Assistant Secretary General Division, DOI, 22 June 1953
620 *SMH*, 20 January 1953, pp. 1-2
621 *Sunday Mail* (Adelaide), 14 June 1954, p. 17
622 *Sunday Mail*, 14 June 1954, p. 17
should be to adopt a Charter of Australian Citizenship. Heyes considered it necessary for Australians to become 'more deeply conscious of our standards of citizenship' and that the 'privileges and obligations of citizenship needed to be clarified as they were for the moment somewhat obscure'.\textsuperscript{623} Holt approved the Secretary's suggestion and Australian citizenship became the 1954 convention theme.

With the focus on citizenship, Boyer told those attending the naturalisation ceremony held at the 1954 convention:

Citizenship means that you have to take your part in determining the policy of this country, in laying the foundations for its future by keeping its civic and national life clean; it means giving of your voluntary services without thought of reward to help those in distress; it means struggling against the lowering of our ethical standards; it means, too, that you have to help this nation to be tolerant, and above all to stand firm for the freedoms without which nothing is worth while.\textsuperscript{624}

Boyer reminded delegates that some new Australians were from republics but stressed that they had now found themselves with a Queen. He also spoke with great loyalty about the Queen:

Some of you who have come from countries which for years have been republics, now find yourselves with a Queen, and I suggest that one of the first ideas you need to get straight is how we Australians and all the British people regard our Monarchy . . . Our Queen is the pinnacle of a true democracy . . . she is the guardian of our democracy, and the real secret of the present power of the British Throne and the affection which we accord to it is that it represents not only the achievements, the history and tradition of our people, but that it represents the best that is in us . . . In our British sense the Monarchy has found its strength, its permanence and its claim on our loyalty chiefly in goodness.\textsuperscript{625}


\textsuperscript{624} R. Boyer, \textit{Your New Citizenship}, address given at the naturalisation ceremony, ACC, 1954, p. 3, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/8/2

\textsuperscript{625} R. Boyer, \textit{Your New Citizenship}, address given at the naturalisation ceremony, ACC, 1954, p. 3
Boyer’s speech was aimed at cultivating feelings of pride and patriotism. It supported the popular view that the new Australians were privileged to become citizens of a free land, and one closely linked to the British family of nations.

Two months after the 1954 ACC, Holt reported that there had been an increase in the number of migrants seeking Australian citizenship. This, he said, was due to the visit by the Queen to Australia:

The Queen's visit has fired the imagination of newcomers many of whom were able to feel the personal warmth of her personality . . . press and radio publicity of the (Queen's Coronation) stimulated the response.\(^{626}\)

Inter-departmental correspondence within the DOI supported the Minister’s claim concerning an increase in the number of migrants taking out citizenship. In this correspondence it was not attributed to the Queen's visit but rather, the increase was considered the result of many new arrivals now being eligible to take out Australian citizenship. Thus the year 1954 saw a marked increase in the rate of applicants for naturalisation, which coincided with the completion of five years’ residence in Australia by the first great inflow of non-British people that began in 1949. By October 1954, the rate per month was four times as great as it was a year before.\(^{627}\)

At the 1955 ACC, discussion continued on how to entice non-British migrants to take out Australian citizenship and educate all Australians on how to improve their citizenship skills. The Hon G.W. Brown praised the efforts of the GNM and said that their work was twofold: 'To make new Australians good Australians and old Australians better citizens'.\(^{628}\) At this convention, a resolution was passed by delegates stating that the Minister be asked to request the CIAC to draft a Statement of Australian Citizenship for presentation at the 1956 ACC and that the draft be circulated to all relevant organisations for consideration.\(^{629}\)

Following the 1955 ACC, at the July CIAC meeting a sub-committee was formed to consider the question of a Charter of Australian citizenship. The Committee was chaired by

\(^{627}\) K.J. Smith to H. McGinness, 12 October 1954, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/8/2  
\(^{628}\) G.W. Brown, in DOI, Digest, 1955, p. 16  
\(^{629}\) DOI, Digest, 1955, p. 20
Mr O.D.A. Oberg, CIAC member, former President of the Australian Council of Employers Federation, and included Mr H.R. Mitchell, Mr A.E. Monk, ACTU President, CIAC and CIPC member, Mrs J.G. Norris, OBE CIAC and Committee to Report on Additional Language Instruction for Migrants. In attendance were senior members of the DOI including Immigration Secretary Heyes, Mr G. Watson, Assistant Secretary and Mr G. Spicer, Secretary and Executive Officer to the Council.630

The Committee members were provided with information which included guiding principles on the formation of a Charter of Citizenship. These principles were prepared by ACC discussion groups and included:

1. That the document should describe in an inspirational way, the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship - the basic ideals inseparable from true citizenship of this country. It should be in sentiment:
   (i) British
   (ii) Christian
   (iii) Democratic

2. The Charter should state:
   (a) that each personally belongs to the Australian community and the British Commonwealth of Nations;
   (b) that each person should have faith in the future of Australia;
   (c) the rights, obligations and standards of conduct by the individual in his relations with other individuals with the community and with the Nation.

3. That the Charter should be short and be written in simple language.631

Also attached were copies of a Credo and supporting statements drafted by Dr C.E.W. Bean

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630 O. Oberg (Chairman), Report of First Meeting of Committee established to consider drafting of a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship, Melbourne, 13 October 1955, p. 1, NAA (CANB) 446/182, 1955/67340

631 ACC Discussion Group, ‘Guiding Principles thought desirable to be considered as the basis of a Charter of Citizenship’, p. 1, in O. Oberg (Chairman), Report of First Meeting of Committee established to consider drafting of a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship
in collaboration with Boyer at the request of the DOI. These leading members of the community suggested:

It is best to have a short ceremonial creed, perhaps a little emotional in intention, with three expansions or explanations setting out what new and old Australians as citizens should understand. These should be short but long enough to make clear the points:

i) Our conception and degree of freedom - which is the outstanding privilege of Australians;

ii) Our tradition - the principles of which is based on our way of life; and

iii) The British Commonwealth which probably few non-Australians understand.\footnote{C.E.W. Bean and R. Boyer, ‘Suggested Credo and supporting Statements’, p. 1, in O. Oberg (Chairman), Report of First Meeting of Committee established to consider drafting of a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship}

After lengthy discussion, the Committee adopted the following resolutions:

The original object of the Charter was to present to migrants at the time of naturalisation, a brief statement, in memorable form, of the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.

The possibility of extension of the use of such a Charter goes beyond the original conception, and is not a pre-requisite to its adoption for naturalisation purposes.

The Committee feels that some form of statement of the type originally envisaged is desirable.

The Committee agreed, also, that the DOI would draft a suitable pamphlet or brochure setting out the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship, which could be dated at naturalisation ceremonies.\footnote{O. Oberg (Chairman), Report of First Meeting of Committee established to consider drafting of a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship, pp. 2-3}
Holt stated that as the introduction of a Charter was a matter of importance it was not one that should be rushed and the Council should seek the views of `representative citizens on its draft proposal.\textsuperscript{634} A draft letter was prepared by the sub-committee and sent out to organisations nationally seeking their views on the proposal for a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship and requesting a response to the following questions:

(c) Is it desirable that we should aim at preparing a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship?

(b) What important principles and statements do you consider should form the basis of such a Charter or Statement?

(d) Should there be a Charter or Statement for distribution only to those who are granted naturalisation or alternatively should it be designed for all Australian citizens? I should also be glad to receive any additional comments regarding the proposal that you might wish to make.\textsuperscript{635}

A few months later, senior DOI Officer McGinness advised Waterman that the CIAC had recommended that there be no Charter of Citizenship for general use. However, a statement of responsibilities and privileges should be prepared for candidates for naturalisation only, and that Heyes had directed that the DOI's general division take over the responsibility for the preparation of the Statement. McGinness told Waterman that although the CIAC proposed that the DOI prepare the Statement, it might be desirable to eventually have outside assistance: `The task of describing citizenship's implementations being not necessarily one of Department officers . . .'\textsuperscript{636} Despite the input of the CIAC and proposed suggestion of outside advice, it is quite evident that Federal authorities were controlling the agenda. DOI officials held positions of responsibility that enabled them to make decisions concerning the Charter of Citizenship with the Minister for Immigration making the final decision.

The national elite were reluctant to approve the completion of the Charter of

\textsuperscript{634} A. Jordens, \textit{Redefining Australians}, p. 7

\textsuperscript{635} O. Oberg (Chairman), Report of First Meeting of Committee established to consider drafting of a Charter or Statement of Australian Citizenship, pp. 2-3

\textsuperscript{636} H. McGinness to E.W. Waterman, 2 December 1955, NAA (CANB) A446/182, 1955/67340
Australian Citizenship. Jordens has suggested:

The ball appears to have been dropped into the too hard basket (by Immigration Minister Harold Holt). This may have been a deference to pressure from conservatives who in 1948 had opposed any elaboration of our national status beyond the traditional honoured concept of British subject.  

It has also been suggested by Tavan that the disbanding of the idea:

... was a significant indicator of the ongoing tension and ambivalence created by residual loyalties to an ethnic-racial definition of members of the nation, and the evident necessity in increasing 'multi-ethnic' and pluralistic society, to define more concisely the rights and responsibilities of individual citizens.

Jordens believed that the Charter was dropped because it was considered too difficult to deal with and did not accord with traditional conservative concepts of citizenship. Tavan maintained that its abandonment indicated an ongoing tension created by the growing presence of a multi-ethnic society within one that was homogeneous. Both opinions provide possible reasons for opposition, but do not delineate the more practical aspects of why the Charter was not introduced.

The initial impetus for the Charter was to entice more non-British migrants to become Australian citizens. By October 1955, when the Charter was put out as a proposal for comment by national organisations, the naturalisation of migrants had increased considerably. Although the Federal Government continually encouraged migrants to become naturalised in the following years, the shelving of the Charter was essentially due to its having outlived its usefulness as originally intended.

Furthermore, the national elite had probably overstepped their mark in acquiescing to the Charter proposal initially. Such decisions as defining responsibilities of citizenship were better deliberated within the elite ranks than sent out for comment to national organisations. To all intent and purposes, the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948) had already been created to provide an Australian citizen status. In essence, the Charter for

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637 A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, pp. 6-7
638 A. Tavan, 'Good Neighbours', in J.H. Murphy and J. Smart (eds), *Forgotten Fifties*, pp. 86-87
citizenship was out of the realms of the settlement programme. However, the attraction of the Charter provided a possible solution in more desperate times when applications for citizenship were quite low.

The fact the Charter was never completed also indicates a difficulty in defining Australian citizenship. It was easier to make gradual changes to legislation, as evident with the introduction of the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948). The conservative political elite in Government probably foresaw the dangers of declaring citizenship rights or migrant rights, or even a Bill of Rights that could be difficult to amend. It was simpler to raise the emotional content in promoting Australian citizenship than to pursue the unknown destiny of citizenship charters.

A highlight of the opening day of the 1958 convention was the presentation of the first Gertrude Kumm Award for Citizenship. The award was made as a token of Australian citizenship and served the symbolic purpose of promoting the importance of being a good Australian citizen. It was donated by Mrs F. Gertrude Kumm, who was well known for her work as a member of the CIAC. Townley told ACC delegates that this award would be presented each year to a post-war migrant who had performed an outstanding act of citizenship. The first award was made on the advice of the Royal Humane Society and in future years, the State President of the GNM was to be asked to nominate a migrant to receive the citizenship award. It was a moroccan bound copy of the book, 'This is Australia', signed by Townley.

The 1958 citizenship award was presented by Prime Minister Menzies to a young Dutch girl whose father was drowned while saving a child's life. Her father, Mr Van Der Kruys, had arrived from Holland and was only 41 at the time of his death. His passing meant that his children and his widow, who was expecting another child, were left destitute. Appeals launched by two Melbourne newspapers raised more than £13,000 for the family. The Victorian State Housing Minister provided a house for the family at 7/- a week rent. Social Service benefits were paid immediately. Thirteen new Australian workmen worked overtime and gave £50 to the family.

At the 1959 ACC, the Gertrude Kumm Award for citizenship was again presented for an outstanding act of citizenship. The recipient was Russian-born, Alexander Peter

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639 DOI, Digest, 1958, p. 13
640 DOI, Digest, 1958, p. 13
641 DOI, Digest, 1958, p. 13
Saranin, who had arrived in Australia in 1951 and became an Australian citizen in 1958. Saranin received his award for his distinguished services to the community.642

At this convention, however, Downer told delegates that he was disappointed with the number of migrants taking out Australian citizenship. The Minister took the opportunity to praise aspects of Australian citizenship and, for the first time, sought the help of ethnic group leaders to help increase the numbers of migrants seeking Australian citizenship.643 This was a change in direction for the Federal Government in its efforts to recruit new citizens and evidences a breaking down of the barriers between `them' and `us' in terms of seeking assistance from community leaders in the conversion of new arrivals into new citizens. It also exemplifies that the Federal Government would take whatever steps it considered necessary in the pursuit of new citizens and the importance the Government placed on post-war migrants adopting Australian citizenship.

In 1960, Menzies again presented the citizenship award. On this occasion, to Italian-born Sergio Guidici in recognition of his outstanding scholastic achievements. He was the first post-war migrant to be selected as a Rhodes Scholar. At the presentation Downer took the opportunity to promote the outstanding educational achievement of new citizens.644 The holding of citizenship ceremonies, however, were considered the most important means of promoting Australian citizenship at the earlier conventions.

**Citizenship Ceremonies**

Citizenship ceremonies at ACCs were an official symbol and legal means used to `impress upon new settlers the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship'.645 During the 1950 ACC, six new Australian citizens personally received their Australian citizenship certificates in accordance with the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948). Holt used the occasion to praise the change in the naturalisation ceremony made by the previous ALP Federal Government. The first Minister for Immigration, he said, had wisely decided with a sufficient degree of national spirit to make the naturalisation ceremony an occasion that would register more strongly in the mind of the applicant and would make people in the same locality aware of what was happening. Holt added that the new ceremony which was

642 DOI, *Digest*, 1959, p. 15
643 A. Downer, in DOI, *Digest*, 1959, p. 11
644 DOI, *Digest*, 1960, p. 16
645 W.D. Borrie, in *The ABC Weekly*, 25 February 1956, p. 8
held in open court `comprised the renunciation of former allegiance, an oath of allegiance to
the Crown, the conferring of a Certificate and address on the responsibilities and privileges
of citizenship by the presiding Judge`.646

At the 1950 ACC, each recipient of Australian citizenship at the convention was
individually called before Mr Justice Simpson. The new citizens repeated after the Judge the
words by which they renounced their foreign nationalities and swore allegiance to the
British Crown. After the oath, Simpson handed to each new citizen his or her Certificate of
Citizenship.647

The following year, a special citizenship ceremony was held at Albert Hall during
ACC proceedings, in which the Minister for Immigration exercised his legal rights to grant
citizenship at his discretion. Holt told the audience that in his capacity of Immigration
Minister he was the legal guardian of the four candidates for naturalisation as they had
arrived in Australia unaccompanied by parents or guardians and were under the age of 21.
As they had shown themselves likely to be good citizens, the Minister decided to grant them
naturalisation after they had been in Australia for one year instead of the usual five years.648
Immigration Minister Holt in these actions illustrated the power of his position and also
demonstrated an opportunism in using that power to promote Australian citizenship.

On the first evening of the 1954 ACC, an impressive, new-style naturalisation
ceremony was carried out which highlighted changes in ceremonial procedure. It was now
legal for persons other than magistrates to preside at such gatherings. All States adopted this
new policy and, for the remainder of the decade, naturalisation took place as a municipal
ceremony followed by a social reception.

At the 1954 ACC, 15 young new Australians took the oath of allegiance in Albert
Hall before a large tableau symbolising the road to citizenship.649 Klaut Beuttner, who had
arrived in Australia from Estonia unable to speak more than a few words of English, spoke
on behalf of the new Australian citizens. His achievement in Australia was illustrated by the
fact that by 1953 he was dux of Perth Boys High School with some 740 students. Klaut told
delegates that all the recipients were proud to be Australian and that they would try to be

646  H. Holt, in DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 16
647  DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 18
648  H. Holt, in DOI, Digest, 1951, p. 30
649  E. Benjamin, 'Some Comments on the Fifth Citizenship Convention', pp. 17-18; DOI, Digest,
     1954, p. 5
good citizens in the interest of themselves and of Australia. The climax of the naturalisation ceremonies, Digest reported, was when the voice of Her Majesty the Queen was heard in her dedication speech on the occasion of her 21st birthday:

Her Majesty re-echoed the pledge given to the Crown by the young citizens that night when she said, 'my life, whether it be short or long, shall be devoted to your service'.

What could be considered a well-staged citizenship ceremony, closed with a choir singing 'Help us to Build a Nation', written at the turn of the century with Federation. Following the ceremony, it was resolved by ACC delegates that the DOI be commended for the manner in which it organised the naturalisation ceremonies at this ACC and that all ceremonies should be patterned on this ceremony.

Between 1955 and 1960, no citizenship ceremonies were held at the ACCs. There was no reason given for the omission in Digest but the change could be attributed to the ceremonies now being held in the community. In 1959 Downer praised the existing citizenship ceremony format. He said that in cities and towns nation-wide Mayors and Shire Presidents were conducting 'warm, human, dignified ceremonies, which themselves not only make a great occasion of each naturalisation act, but also provide a strong inducement to other newcomers to seek citizenship'. Despite the change in format, there was an effort among the elite to promote the significance of Australian citizenship through elaborate ceremonies, evident at the earlier ACCs.

Conclusion

The ACCs were orchestrated by key members of the national elite in Canberra who more often enjoyed the confidence and loyalty of those attending these spectacular events. They were a Commonwealth initiative, and were adequately funded by the Federal Government

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650 K. Beautner, in DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 26
651 DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 23
652 DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 5
653 DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 27-28
through the DOI. The investiture of the ACCs was a direct response by the Federal Government to the perceived need to educate all Australians about the importance of post-war immigration and to be more aware of the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship. The positive outcome of post-war immigration and Australian citizenship were consistently commended at conventions under the direction of national elite members in Canberra. Bi-partisan agreement and close monitoring of the ACCs by DOI officers set a centralist stamp on proceedings.

The ACCs were controlled from the top-down and were attended by representatives of most sections of the community. This enabled the affiliated organisations to then educate the migrant at home and in the workplace. The marshalling of these groups satisfied the logistic needs of the immigration programme, as the government did not initially have the required resources. Volunteer organisations such as the GNCs and NSLS provided an economical means to handle non-British migrants. Public involvement was also seen as a means to raise citizenship awareness for all Australians.

The ACCs, however, ultimately served the aims and goals of the national elite. Delegates to the ACCs were chosen by the DOI largely for the purpose of helping in the citizenship education of non-British new settlers. At various times, criticism of the ACCs was heard concerning the expense lavished on delegates and the usefulness of the spectacles. However, such criticism was ultimately silenced by leading members of the elite. There were attempts made to define Australian citizenship in terms of a Charter but this was eventually seen as too difficult and unnecessary and not within the jurisdiction of the Federal DOI.

Behind the scenes Heyes vetted and censored ACC resolutions and speeches. The change in format in 1956 reduced the accountability of the DOI officials to the ACC delegates. In practice, there was a lack of accountability from the DOI in respect of resolutions passed at ACCs and particularly following the change in convention format. Thus, the conventions could ultimately be considered a carefully arranged public relations exercise by the national elite as part of their citizenship education campaign.

More often, citizenship education embraced the ideal of complete assimilation, British values and heritage. Boyer conceded the difficulty of defining the Australian way of life except in the aforementioned terms. Australian citizenship was considered a privilege, and naturalisation an obligation of all non-British migrants if they were to reap the benefits of living in a free and democratic nation. Thus, citizenship was only officially recognised once the migrant underwent naturalisation or participated in an elaborate citizenship
ceremony as promoted at the earlier ACCs.

Citizenship education invariably emphasised the attainment of English language skills. General opinion was that language was the key factor in assimilation. Although migrant voices at the ACCs were in the minority, they were gradually influencing the greater acceptance of their 'cultural baggage'. By the late 1950s, acceptance of bilingualism and integration was moving citizenship education gradually from the inflexibility of earlier years. Integration rather than assimilation was becoming the policy for settling non-British migrants. Thus, the easing of the assimilationist policy and gradual acceptance of the cultural background of migrants was reflected with the move to the growing acknowledgement of integration as a primary dictate of policy in the 1960s. Nevertheless, policy concerning migrants was dictated from the highest levels and the ACCs played a valuable role in highlighting government immigration policy and increasing awareness of the importance of Australian citizenship for all Australians. They were also an important means of co-ordinating the community work of the GNM in the citizenship education campaign.
CHAPTER FIVE
GOOD NEIGHBOUR MOVEMENT (NSW) 1950-1960
CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

Introduction

In the words of Sir Richard Boyer, delegates participated in the inaugural ACC (1950) for the purpose of "laying upon the shoulders of the Australian people an obligation to welcome the newcomers as an act of national service". The national elite in Canberra considered that the transformation of non-British new settlers into loyal Australian citizens was not merely an official responsibility but one in which every patriotic citizen had a role to fulfil.

At the 1950 ACC, delegates agreed that many organisations were doing splendid work and were assisting in the assimilation of new arrivals into the Australian way of life at the community level. However, it was claimed that their efforts were unco-ordinated and that there was no general plan "for progressive assimilation of post-war migrants".

In an effort to address these problems, ACC delegates agreed to the immediate launching of GNCs and NSLs throughout Australia. The co-ordinating body for voluntary assimilation activities was the GNM. The Movement had its roots in 1921 when the Australian Federal and State Governments entered into an agreement whereby State Governments were responsible for settling new arrivals from Britain. The NSL (NSW) was formed in the same year. The League was to operate on non-sectarian and non-political grounds as well as work in close co-operation with Commonwealth authorities. It was to provide "that personal and friendly touch to new settlers that no government department could".

In the post-war period, the DOI sought to involve cultural, education and religious groups including the NSLs and GNCs in its efforts to address social problems emanating from the arrival of large numbers of non-British migrants. Members worked mainly in a voluntary capacity. However, the DOI provided limited funds for administrative purposes and to employ a few staff. Mr J.T. Massey was employed as National Co-ordinator of Voluntary Assimilation Activities. There was hence an inter-linking of activities of the GNM and ACCs through Massey who was also ACC Co-ordinator.

Following the inaugural ACC, Mr Hugh Murphy, Public Relations Officer, DOI, wrote to Heyes advising that he was planning for the monthly production of the publication,

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656 DOI, Digest, 1950, p. 2
657 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, p. 25
The Good Neighbour. Murphy confidently anticipated that the new production would completely satisfy senior DOI officials. DOI officers considered the monthly newspaper to be the main vehicle for publicity to foster among all Australians an appreciation of the importance of immigration. The SMH told readers that The Good Neighbour was produced to help the Federal Government assimilate migrants and would be distributed to Federal and State parliamentarians, the press, radio stations, churches, clubs and other organisations associated with the GNM. In 1951, Mr W.S. Bengtsson, Senior Research Officer, Liberal Party of NSW, requested from Immigration Minister Holt, 12 copies of each edition for LP use.

By the early 1950s, GNM independent and autonomous co-ordinating bodies had been set up in each Australian State and Territory. These organisations were comprised of existing church and voluntary organisations and other instrumentalities interested in assimilation activities. Massey informed GNM executives that they were not to define immigration policy. The executives were told that the work of members of Good Neighbour organisations was based on assisting in absorbing the new arrivals. Massey reminded them that the role of members was to complete tasks Government departments were unable to carry out:

Our task is assimilation and is a uniting and not a disintegrating task. We are not required to define Government policy or to do what Government departments already do or can undertake. Our League has the backing of both State and Commonwealth and we have liaison to both although are free to act in an unhampered way. It is only by each member body using its imagination to surround every newcomer with goodwill and the facilities of the community that the Council can become an effective power of friendship throughout the State.

One month later, in May 1951, Massey warned Council and League Executive members that they had a difficult task ahead in helping build Australia into a greater nation:

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658 H. Murphy to T. Heyes, 20 June 1950, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 261/6/5
659 SMH, 5 August 1950, NAA (CANB) A455/1, 261/6/5
660 W.S. Bengtsson to H. Holt, 14 March 1951, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 261/6/5
661 J.T. Massey, in Minutes of the Conference of Representatives of GNCs and NSLs held at the office of the NSL (NSW), 20-21 April 1951, p. 4, NAA (CANB) A439/1, 1951/11/296
We together are pioneering a rather complex honorary service of superlatively great value in nation building and in personal goodwill and helpfulness between individuals and Australians and Australians-to-be . . . There is a colossal job ahead if Australia is to properly assimilate thousands of British and other New Australians.\textsuperscript{662}

In 1955, \textit{The ABC Weekly} reported that the eagerness with which volunteers came forward to do work suggested that 'the Movement accords with Australia's ideas of how newcomers should be welcomed'.\textsuperscript{663} It was further reported that one million migrants in eight years was a mammoth task and that this was being achieved with the help of the member organisations of the GNM:

They are helping migrants to learn English, participate in our institutions, join sporting and cultural bodies and churches. We are encouraging them to desire to accept the responsibilities and privileges of full citizenship and as equals among equals to share our destiny each contributing cultures and skill, building a nobler and greater Australia.\textsuperscript{664}

Thus, the community support that was engendered by the ACCs through the NSL and GNCs could be seen as an important tool in the proposed success of the immigration programme and settlement policy of the political elite in Canberra, evident in NSW.

\textbf{The New Settlers League (NSW)}

\textbf{League Formation}

In February 1950, just one month after the inaugural ACC, the NSL (NSW) Co-ordinating Council was established. The Council was set up in accordance with guidelines established at the 1950 ACC, to direct community participation in assimilation activities in NSW. The Council operated under the control of a central Executive, which was comprised of Anglo-Australians and leaders in society. The Executive included Mr A. Kearns, DOI Officer, Mr H. Best, State Immigration and Tourist Department and the Right Reverend Bishop W.G. Hillard (Chairman, 1950-1960). The Executive met fortnightly and initially dealt with

\textsuperscript{662} J.T. Massey to GNC and NSL members, 2 May 1951, NAA (CANB) A439/l, 1951/11/296
\textsuperscript{663} \textit{The ABC Weekly}, 22 October 1955, p. 9
\textsuperscript{664} \textit{The ABC Weekly}, 22 October 1955, p. 9
consolidating the Council, and later with expanding the League through the formation of new branches. 665

The Executive appointed Mr A. Halloran, OBE, President of the Council (1950-1962). Mrs Margaret Watts, MBE, was employed as permanent Executive Secretary (1950-1962) and in her paid position she had a definite influence on the direction of the League in NSW. 666 Watts would report to League members on organisation activities and directly to Heyes on action taken by the NSW League on implementing resolutions passed at ACCs. The nature of the NSL (NSW) Executive membership and the role of Heyes suggest that the Commonwealth bureaucracy was significant in decision-making within the League's operation in NSW.

In January 1951, The Good Neighbour reported that since the 1950 ACC, the NSL (NSW) had built up its membership of constituent bodies to include 60 organisations and seven Government Departments. It was noted that the NSW League enjoyed a strong representative Executive Co-ordinating Council. 667 Watts noted with regret that Mr S. Stilling, Acting Secretary, had retired at the end of October 1950, from his position in the State Immigration Department. This included part-time work for the League. However, as Stilling was a co-opted member of the League Executive, his useful services were still retained. 668 Therefore, in early years, there was also notable input into NSW Good Neighbour activities from the State bureaucracy through Stilling. In 1950, the Governor of NSW, Lt General Sir John Northcott K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., was appointed League Patron.

Citizenship Education 'in Action'

Following her appointment, Watts contacted League members to co-ordinate their contribution to the campaign. Member bodies included the Red Cross with its world wide services; the Salvation Army with its international migration work; the YWCA with its Open House every Saturday night for newcomers; the Association for New Citizens; and the New Australian Cultural Association. 669 In an effort to provide a friendly and good-

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665 NSL (NSW), AR, February 1950-1951, p. 1; NSL (NSW), AR, February 1952, p. 2
666 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, p. 142
667 DOI, The Good Neighbour, January 1951, p. 3
668 NSL (NSW), AR, February 1950-1951, p. 1
669 NSL (NSW), AR, February 1950-1951, pp. 1-2
neighbour touch and serve as a Government agency in the community, NSW League functions usually centred on organising social activities. League voluntary workers arranged morning teas and, under the direction of the League's Social and Reception Committee, a large 1950 Christmas party was arranged for 600 British migrants. New Australian artists were used to help entertain guests. Welcome parties for new arrivals were another highlight of League activities and perceived as uniquely Good Neighbour. The League used funds received from non-governmental sources to pay some of the expenses incurred in hosting these parties. A major contributor was the Millions Club of NSW, which had been established in 1921 to assist British new arrivals to settle in Australia.

In 1951, the estimated cost for welcome parties was £40. Following a Council Executive decision, the League looked to the NSW DOI for assistance in funding social activities. Department officials acceded to the request, which resulted in the Department paying for the Council's catering and approved expenditure costs. The NSW Immigration Department officials, when providing the funding, expressed concern that the Council had not been fully utilising two of the Department's welfare officers. It was further intimated that non-British migrants should be given a more active role in NSW's 'good neighbour' activities.

In an effort to broaden the involvement of non-British migrants groups, the NSW League sent letters to 19 of these groups seeking their co-operation. The League Executive, however, approached them with apprehension. Non-British organisations, unlike their British counterparts, had to undergo an investigation before being considered for Council membership. The apprehension on the part of League officials, Kelly suggests, was due to their 'suspicion of the unknown'. A further consideration was that the new cultural groups could prove a threat to the bonds of kith and kin and traditional ties with Britain.

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670 NSL (NSW), AR, February 1950-1951, pp. 1-2
672 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, p. 164
673 NSL (NSW), AR, September 1953, p. 2
674 NSL (NSW), Minutes of Executive Committee, 5 June 1951, in M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, p. 105
675 NSW (NSW), Minutes of Executive Committee, 5 June 1951, in M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, p. 105
676 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict and SA, 1947-1971, p. 106
Nevertheless, the DOI expected the League to receive the newcomers willingly. What was eventually effected was a subtle dialectic, which was to foster a changing society and acceptance of the newcomers' cultural baggage. The early years of the League however could be considered a 'honeymoon period' between the NSL and the DOI. Even though it did not entirely meet the expectations of Federal authorities, the League still provided a buffer between the migrant and the government and endeavoured to help new arrivals settle into the Australian community. To achieve the League's objectives, there was a consistent linking between ACCs and the League's operation.

At the 1952 ACC, delegates from GNCs and NSLs were issued with a guide entitled, 'The Good Neighbour's Guide Book', which was prepared by the DOI. It contained practical advice for Australians interested in the Movement and suggestions for the formation of branches. It further contained a list of good neighbour activities that had been found 'beneficial in furthering happy assimilation of migrants into the community'.677

Following the 1952 ACC, a report was prepared on action taken Departmentally and by Good Neighbour organisations on resolutions passed at the 1952 Convention. In this report, Heyes wrote that DOI officers looked forward to 'the pleasure of continuing to work with 'Good Neighbour' in a spirit of harmony and co-operation in the years ahead'. He praised the GNM for having 'displayed increasingly valuable co-operation in helping the migrant education scheme'.678 Heyes stated that members of the voluntary organisations played a prominent role in advising migrants of the facilities available for learning English and in encouraging them to join classes or take correspondence and radio courses. To illustrate the success of community involvement in helping migrants acquire language skills and directing them to classes, reference was made to NSW where there had been a notable increase in the number of migrants learning English. In November 1951, 3,057 adult migrants were attending continuation classes. This increased to 5,518 in just one year.679 Heyes further praised the NSW League for establishing the 'All Nations Club' in Sydney under the leadership of Sir Robert Garran, Representative of NSW Government in the Legislative Council 1896-1898 and 1899-1900 and joint author of Annotated Constitution of

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677 DOI, The Good Neighbour, March 1952, p. 1
678 DOI and GNM, Report of Action taken Departmentally and by the Good Neighbour Organisations on the Resolutions of the Third ACC, Canb, 17 December 1952, p. 16
679 DOI and GNM, Report of Action, 17 December 1952, p. 1 and Annexure G
The objectives of the Club, Heyes said, coincided with the ideals of assimilation. He believed that the services which the Club provided, when fully established, would significantly meet the needs of new settlers and Australian members by enabling them to intermingle to exchange views and absorb the culture of various countries.681

Despite the positive remarks of Heyes concerning NSW League initiatives, conflict existed within the organisation. In October 1952, when Jean Scott travelled from Sydney to Cooma to establish a branch of the League there, she found that the GNC in Canberra had not taken steps to prepare for her visit as previously arranged:

The representative relieved himself of the opinion that the lack of assimilation in Australia could be attributed to the Department's decision to appoint 'highly trained social workers with the latest brand of psychology when what was needed was the interest of motherly women who had reared families'.682

The DOI was endeavouring to instil within Good Neighbour activities a level of professionalism in dealing with non-British migrants. League members, however, considered it sufficient to work on the level of cultivating neighbourly attitudes. Consequently, there was invariably little, if any, recognition of difficulties migrants were experiencing in their Australian cultural transition because of a lack of professionalism and experience on the part of League members. Moreover, GNM officials were reluctant to include non-British migrants in influential positions within the organisation.


682 A. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*, p. 41
Migrant 'Token' Representation

At the 1952 annual conference of Good Neighbour Presidents and Secretaries, it was decided that migrants should not yet have a place upon an equal footing with members on Councils or Executives but should be co-opted to sub-committees or advisory panels. Subsequently, the DOI Officer Armstrong expressed the opinion to ACC officers that it would be 'unwise for Leagues and Councils to assume that they could adopt a general policy with regard to the admission of national groups'.

Between mid-1952 and 1953, the NSW Executive discussed several times the question of an advisory migrant committee. Even though migrants groups were eager to be involved in decision-making, the Executive resisted the introduction of ethnic groups into the League's work. Open forum meetings were held between Executive members and migrant group representatives. Watts endeavoured to maintain this contact as a medium of discussion. However, migrant interest waned and Watts pointed out to Executive members that NSW was in danger of losing migrant involvement in the League unless they were more readily included in activities. This resulted in a conference being held with representatives of all migrant groups known to the League, including both British and non-British as well as League Executive members. Following the meeting, a Migrant Associate Committee was formed. Despite the 'well meaning' intentions of NSL members, it could be considered likely, however, that the social as well as cultural divisions between them and non-British migrants could have hindered their efforts in dealing with non-British migrants.

At the Fifth Conference of Presidents and Secretaries of GNCs and NSLs held in Melbourne in June 1953, Colonel W.G.L. Bain, Vice President NSL (NSW), informed delegates that an associate committee of migrant representatives had been formed in NSW. It comprised of representatives from various national groups who were under the Chairmanship of a member of the League Executive. This group, he explained, was formed for the purpose of considering problems raised by migrants which would then be considered by the League Executive. The Council, however, had not agreed to national groups

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685 M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Viet and SA, 1947-1971, p. 121
becoming part and parcel of the Executive. They would only be appointed as individual members of branch committees. This situation was similar to dealing with ACC migrant representation. Migrant involvement was directed by organisation officials, kept to a minimum, and to a large extent could be considered tokenistic.

At this Conference, Massey told delegates that British migrants did not experience the same difficulties as the non-British in assimilating, but that every effort should be made to gain the co-operation and advice of British migrants. He stressed that `the assistance of our own kith and kin in this nationally important work was essential'.

Colonel Bain told delegates that the welcome parties organised by the NSW League members had been a success. During 1953, four had been held, attended by some 3,000 British and non-British newcomers. Further, he said that NSW League representatives attended naturalisation ceremonies in Sydney each Friday morning where the League's representative gave the newly naturalised citizens a welcome card and congratulated them on having acquired Australian citizenship and British nationality.

In June 1953, *The Good Neighbour* raised the question of the meaning of assimilation. The newspaper reported that in its first issue in 1950, the question of what was meant by assimilation was raised. At that time it was referred to as being a two-way process. Assimilation was described as:

> ... a moving of the Australian citizen towards the migrant to welcome him into the community. It was a moving of the migrant towards the Australian citizen to help him learn and understand the Australian way of doing things ... in both its aspects assimilation implied movement; it presupposed constructive action.

Assimilation was the objective and goal of the national elite. It was an ideal in so much as everyone knew what the end result should be but somehow defied definition except, above all, implying that migrants should become more like the Australian-born. *The Good Neighbour* suggested that there needed to be more constructive action. A movement of the

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686 Minutes of Fifth Conference of GNC and NSL Presidents and Secretaries, Melbourne, 5-6 June 1953, p. 2, NAA (CANB) AA1980/254/1, 45

687 J.T. Massey, in Minutes of Fifth Conference of GNC and NSL Presidents and Secretaries, p. 10

688 Colonel Bain, in Minutes of Fifth Conference of GNC and NSL Presidents and Secretaries, p. 2

689 DOI, *The Good Neighbour*, June 1953, p. 2
migrant into the community meant certain adjustments had to be made on both sides with a vigilant eye kept on the object of citizenship and what that meant for Australians and migrant alike. This was consistent with the view that assimilation was designed for Australians as much as for new arrivals.

In the early 1950s, discussions took place at the official level about the efforts of the League in assisting in the assimilation of new arrivals. Real progress or constructive measures were primarily articulated in terms of expansion of League activities, the opening of branches and conferences. As well, welcome parties and social functions were used to indicate the extent of action taken by the League. These activities played an important part in espousing Australian society to the migrant presence. However, the DOI was still critical of the League's operation. The League was in a paradoxical position. In the eyes of members of the national elite it was an extension of government policy and, in the public arena, an organisation expected to fulfil the shortcomings of the DOI. The League members on the other hand, were invariably volunteers, neither paid nor trained, unlike DOI staff. The officers at the DOI continually expected the NSL members to perform at a level beyond their competence.

First Regional Conference

In May 1953, the first NSL (NSW) Regional Conference was held in Sydney, where Acting Minister for Immigration, the Hon H. Beale (LCP) informed delegates of the League's positive progress. In just three years the League had opened 31 branches, a greater number than in any other State. Further, there were more than 100 voluntary and other organisations with branches throughout the State affiliated with the NSL (NSW). 'This clearly indicates', Beale told delegates, 'the enthusiasm and energy with which the League in NSW had approached the task of assimilation'.

Mr Belinsky, a post-war migrant, stressed to delegates the important link between decisions made at ACCs and GNCs. He warned conference members of the danger of losing the confidence of migrants if resolutions passed at ACCs were not introduced. Further, he considered that it was most important that migrants should be made to feel at home, asking that they be treated 'like brothers and sisters'.


691 Belinsky, in NSL (NSW) Report of the First State Regional Conference, p. 50
another migrant woman, Mrs H. Procuik from the Ukrainian Women’s Association. Procuik was also a delegate to the ACCs, which signifies how the two organisations could be further linked in their practical operation. Procuik told delegates that the strangeness of new surroundings was felt acutely by the migrant women, whose aim should be to join Australian women’s movements if they were interested in furthering the status of women.  

The League, however, was criticised at a Federal level by a Commonwealth migration officer. The officer complained that although he had difficulty in obtaining detailed information from the League, he believed that the League did not have contact workers in each of its branches to whom he could provide the names and addresses of migrants living in their particular area. He expressed concern that it was highly probable that the League was doing little, if anything, to establish points of contact for migrants in country districts. The officer curtly claimed:

Unless we get down to the person-to-person relationship, we cannot expect real and proper assimilation, and that the mere forming of committees and the establishment of branches is to a large extent ineffective unless the migrant meets the Australian.  

In this statement the officer implied that the NSL needed to complete tasks that the DOI was unable to do in providing person-to-person contact with migrants.

Although the Commonwealth was at times critical of the League’s efforts, the NSW League maintained its efforts to implement resolutions passed at ACCs. The League invariably served as an arm of the DOI, which was evident from Watts’ reporting to Heyes. On 13 November 1953, Watts wrote to Heyes reporting on steps taken by the League regarding resolutions passed at the 1953 ACC. Watts noted that in NSW positive steps had been taken to involve migrants in Coronation ceremonies for Queen Elizabeth. As part of the Queen’s visit to Sydney, a list was provided for the purpose of migrant representatives receiving invitations to the Royal Garden Party in Sydney.  

Watts further informed Heyes that the NSW DOE had sent full information and lists of English classes for migrants to the League. These were distributed to the branches and on

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692 H. Procuik, in NSL (NSW) Report of the First State Regional Conference, pp. 50-51
693 Commonwealth Migration Officer, Sydney, 22 April 1953, in A. Jordens, *Redefining Australians*, p. 85
694 M. Watts to T. Heyes, 13 November 1953, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/9/8
display on the office notice boards in Sydney for their use. In an effort to teach new arrivals
about the Australian way of life, there had been several spontaneous efforts made by native
Australians to take migrant women into their homes to enjoy informal friendly afternoons
and evenings together. Home friendship circles, Heyes was informed, were extending from
the East Hills-Ilalawarra area through the suburbs of Sydney under the direction of GNM
members Mr and Mrs F. Thick of Kingsgrove. Further, the NSW Migrants' Associate
Committee, which represented 23 national groups, was consistently providing the League
with its views on assimilation and that these views were also heard at a League monthly
open forum.695 Although, the format of citizenship ceremonies was a major concern.

Citizenship Ceremony Initiatives

In November 1953, Watts told Heyes that she was concerned about the little publicity given
to naturalisation ceremonies in NSW. Every week, however, a NSL representative
welcomed and congratulated those naturalised at the Central Police Court on behalf of all
the voluntary organisations. She further complained about the nature of citizenship
ceremonies:

The Naturalisation Act prescribes that a Judge or Magistrate must officiate at
these ceremonies, and as there are not a sufficient number to cover the need,
the State Government cannot allow Municipal ceremonies to be held, so that
the Court cannot be taken into the civil atmosphere until the Act is
changed.696

In 1954 (as mentioned in the previous chapter), the Act was changed and ceremonies were
now held in the community. The DOI publication, The Good Neighbour, in an article 'Love
Honour and Obey', summed up what was expected of new Australian citizens. The
publication reported on Good Neighbour involvement in the new style ceremonies:

The object of all assimilation work is naturalisation. When a new settler
becomes a citizen . . . he has been assimilated into the community.
Naturalisation and the means of attaining it are therefore of vital importance
to all good neighbours in Australia because that is in fact what all their
activities among new Australians are directed towards.

695  M. Watts to T. Heyes, 13 November 1953
696  M. Watts to T. Heyes, 13 November 1953
The new style naturalisation ceremony is paying big dividends . . . a great deal of credit for it is due to the thoughtful and practical assistance Good Neighbour have given in helping bring this happy position about.

Their deliberations at this month's Citizenship Convention may well advance the whole question of naturalisation further still.697

With the change in ceremony proceedings, the NSW League's involvement in naturalisation ceremonies increased significantly. In February 1954, the Chief Migration Officer for NSW, Mr B.C. Walls, negotiated with NSW municipal and country councils to have naturalisation ceremonies taken out of the police court atmosphere into a much more suitable civic setting of Town Hall or Council Chambers.698

At 3 pm on 26 March 1954, the first NSW naturalisation ceremony in a civic setting was held in the vestibule of the Sydney Town Hall. Watts congratulated NSW League members on 'bringing about this wonderful ceremony'.699 Watts described the vestibule as being 'dignified and spacious' where 'the Lord Mayor of Sydney Alderman P. Hills in full robes of office conducted the ceremony with 'dignity and understanding'.700 On the dais with the Lord Mayor were members of the national elite. These included the State Minister for Immigration, the Hon G. Kelly, the Hon F. Osborne, MP representing the Federal Minister, the Hon L. Haylen MP, representing the Leader of the Federal Opposition and CIAC Chairman, the Hon V. Treatt, Leader of the State Opposition, NSL (NSW) President, Mr A. Halloran, and, Mr C. Denton, Chief Stipendiary Magistrate.701

The Town Hall was filled. Standing at the side of the hall were Mayors from suburban municipalities who were joined by 80 representatives of the NSW League including Hungarian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Polish, Dutch, Romanian and Maltese members of the Migrants' Associate Committee. The new citizens were from 12 different countries; six were stateless and all united in reciting the oath of allegiance together. At the conclusion of the ceremony each new citizen was presented with a coloured print of Her Majesty the

697 DOI, The Good Neighbour, January 1954, p. 2
698 NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 26, February 1954, p. 2
699 NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 27, March 1954, p. 2
700 NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 27, March 1954, p. 1
701 NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 27, March 1954, p. 2
Queen. This was a gift from the NSL (NSW) and could be considered a symbol of citizenship. Attached to it was a large envelope containing the League's congratulation card with a flag emblem and containing a special invitation to the League's next welcome party.\textsuperscript{702}

Between June 1953 and June 1954, 16 naturalisation ceremonies were held in NSW. These included three in the Sydney Town Hall where a League speaker was always available to congratulate the new citizens on behalf of the community. The League representative would give new Australian citizens a small card with the Oath of Allegiance or a picture of Her Majesty the Queen. Member organisations arranged for tea or supper to follow.\textsuperscript{703}

Despite such favourable reporting on naturalisation ceremonies, Watts told delegates in June 1954 that Mr C. Austin, Commonwealth Liaison Officer, was critical of Good Neighbour activities relating to migrant education. After visiting three States he was concerned that in every State members made contact only with new settlers who knew some English and excluded those who did not know any of the language. The same thing, Austin said, occurred at Good Neighbour socials, meetings and discussions.\textsuperscript{704} Thus, the ability of migrants to speak English became a new test of active citizenship by the Australian-born.

Austin suggested that every member of the branches and the member organisations should seek at least one non-English speaking migrant and convey the name and address of the nearest school and teacher for night or day classes. Further, he suggested that members go out of their way to help individual migrants to learn English by simple conversation. Austin quoted a nurse in the NSW country town of Orange who told him that she attended 60 women, none of whom knew any English. He said he had found the same need in Goulburn, Griffith and other country towns. Watts told League members that she had promised Austin that they would endeavour to do more to supplement the work of his educational experts and suggested that home hospitality would work in very well with this individual scheme.\textsuperscript{705}

The NSW League operated consistently at the level of arranging social events and working in the community on behalf of the DOI. By July 1954, over 7,000 migrants had

\textsuperscript{702} \textit{NSL (NSW) Newsletter}, 27, March 1954, p. 2
\textsuperscript{703} \textit{NSL (NSW) Newsletter}, 30, June 1954, p. 3
\textsuperscript{704} \textit{NSL (NSW) Newsletter}, 30, June 1954, p. 4
\textsuperscript{705} \textit{NSL (NSW) Newsletter}, 30, June 1954, p. 4
attended meetings, public addresses and welcome parties arranged by NSW League members. The July 1954 welcome party was attended by 'nearly 700 with a preponderance of British and about 30 other nationalities'.\textsuperscript{706} This party was considered by members to be the best of the 15 that had been organised by the League Executive. Mrs Furley, a member of Council Executive 'captained the roster of member organisations who helped prepare the supper and included the Liberal Party'.\textsuperscript{707} There was no mention of ALP representation. During this welcome party, Keith Smith, producer and director of the ABC programme, 'Happy to Know You', made a recording for his session which was to be heard over 2FC on a Thursday night at 8.15 pm.\textsuperscript{708}

In August 1954, Watts wrote to Heyes reporting to him the NSW League's progress on implementing 1954 ACC resolutions. Watts reported that every effort was being made by both city and country branches of the NSW League to encourage migrants to become proficient in English. In country centres, she said, some branch members were equipping themselves with books and literature sent from the city branches to teach English to those unable to attend English classes.\textsuperscript{709} There was also official migrant involvement in NSL (NSW) activities by the mid-1950s.

**First Migrant Conference**

On 16 October 1954, the first Migrants Conference was held in Sydney. It was attended by representatives from 23 national groups and over 400 delegates from government and industry.\textsuperscript{710} Boyer chaired the Conference and told delegates that it 'marked a significant step forward in the development of the relationship between the different nationals in our midst'.\textsuperscript{711}

At the official opening, representatives of each migrant group sat on the platform with the Lord Mayor of Sydney, Alderman P. Hills. The Lord Mayor told the audience that nothing was of greater importance in the lives of newcomers than naturalisation. 'It is the

\textsuperscript{706} NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 31, July 1954, p. 1
\textsuperscript{707} NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 31, July 1954, p. 2
\textsuperscript{708} NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 31, July 1954, p. 1
\textsuperscript{709} M. Watts to T. Heyes, 12 August 1954, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/8/2
\textsuperscript{710} NSL (NSW) Newsletter, 34, October 1954, p. 3
\textsuperscript{711} NSL (NSW) Report of the First Migrant Conference in Australia, Sydney, 16 October 1954, p. 1
sign of true acceptance of the new country’. Other members of the national elite were in attendance. They included G.W. Brown, MBE, MP, CIAC (Chairman), Committee to Examine ACC Migrant Representation (1954), Mr O. Oberg, C.M.G., Deputy Chairman, CIAC and NSL (NSW) Chairman, the Rt Rev Bishop Hilliard. Mr M. Rosentool spoke on behalf of migrants. He said that the inability of newcomers to speak English was a major restriction and called for new arrivals to learn English. As well, at each session experts and government department officials were present to provide information.

This historical migrant conference was officially reported upon in a positive manner. At the Second Biennial NSW Conference (1955), Watts told delegates that the migrant conference gave migrants an opportunity to express their opinions with ‘constructive recommendations which were carefully considered by the Government Departments concerned’.

Boyer welcomed delegates to this Biennial State Conference and Mr Justice Dovey, representing Holt at the conference, read a message from the Minister congratulating the League on its success: ‘As Minister for Immigration, I commend you for what you are doing for us all and I give my assurance of the Commonwealth Government's continued support for your activities’. It was also reported to conference delegates that NSW League officers had addressed 115 naturalisation ceremonies and that member organisations had given tea parties after each large ceremony at the Sydney Town Hall. Further, the ceremonies at local councils had been impressive and well conducted, generally concluding with a friendly supper party with Aldermen and community representatives.

The conference was a means used to promote the success of League activities by national elite members and the important role of the League in citizenship ceremonies as they were now being held in the community. The mid-1950s was also significant in marking a milestone in post-war immigration with the arrival of the millionth migrant.

**Organisational Review and Change of Name**

712 P. Hills, in NSL (NSW) Report of the First Migrant Conference in Australia, p. 2

713 NSL (NSW) Report of the First Migrant Conference in Australia, p. 6

714 *NSL (NSW) Newsletter*, 40, August-September 1955, p. 1

715 *NSL (NSW) Newsletter*, 40, August-September 1955, p. 3

716 *NSL (NSW) Newsletter*, 40, August-September 1955, p. 1
Following the arrival of the millionth migrant to Australia, Mrs B. Porritt from England, in the mid-1950s, the GNM, like other organisations involved in the citizenship education campaign (ACCs and ABC), re-assessed the organisation's direction. There was, however, no significant change in direction. Massey restated the Movement's role at a national Conference of Presidents and Secretaries of GNCs and NSLs:

We are still fundamentally an Australian co-ordinating body co-operating with one another and with the Governments (Commonwealth and State) in promoting goodwill and friendship towards all newcomers in our midst.\textsuperscript{717}

At this conference, Watts spoke positively of NSW League activities, which invariably centred on organising social activities for migrants at the community level. Fellowship teas, she said, were held in hostels on Sunday afternoons to enable British women and families to meet local residents. Migrants from hostels had been invited to four GNC welcoming parties, which had been attended by between 800 and 1,000. The Council had also always found speakers for naturalisation ceremonies, and member organisations took turns arranging a welcoming social after each ceremony. These ceremonies, Watts believed, were a most fruitful source for public relations.\textsuperscript{718}

The year 1956 marked a period of most significant consolidation for the GNM in NSW. The NSL (NSW) changed its name to The GNC of NSW. Watts advised members that the change occurred:

. . . to conform to other States of the Commonwealth and because the new name conveyed more truly the spirit of our service to newcomers from overseas. The change of name has been accepted without undue difficulty and has caused general satisfaction.\textsuperscript{719}

The following year, Boyer was appointed President of the GNC (NSW). At the 1957 ACC, Boyer provided the first comprehensive assessment of the GNM. He maintained that its

\textsuperscript{717} J.T. Massey (Chairman), in Report of the Eighth Conference of GNC and NSL Presidents and Secretaries, Brisbane, 24-25 May 1956, p. 2, NAA (CANB) A1980/254/1, 48

\textsuperscript{718} J.T. Massey (Chairman), in Report of the Eighth Conference of GNC and NSL Presidents and Secretaries, p. 2

\textsuperscript{719} GNC (NSW), \textit{AR}, 25 September 1956, p. 1
future was intimately intertwined with the annual ACCs. These conventions, he believed, acted as a powerful annual stimulant for the leaders of the Councils and national organisations alike in their assimilation activities. The GNM had a vital role to play in encouraging naturalisation and committees should be set up in each State specifically for this purpose. 'Newcomers', Boyer told ACC delegates, 'should always be told that Australians regard naturalisation as essential evidence of the good faith of migrants'.

At this conference, GNC officials expressed concern that some organisations were self-centred and jealous of their interests and not anxious to co-operate. Massey said that he would make himself available to attempt to address this problem by approaching organisations to discuss their part in the GNM and suggest definite projects for them. This move by Massey indicates the significant role of the Federal bureaucracy in determining the operation of GNCs and efforts at the Federal level to ensure their smooth operation as part of the citizenship education campaign.

Citizenship was the key message elite members were endeavouring to instil into the migrant population through the community organisations. It was through the ACCs that the Federal Government announced their policies that extended to the NSLs and GNCs. It was at the ACCs that the community organisations were reminded that their fate was intertwined with the success of the conventions. Yet, to some extent, the success of the conventions was dependent on the community organisations to deliver and execute Government policy. The role of Massey, therefore, in co-ordinating the ACCs and GNCs on behalf of the DOI was pivotal in working towards the successful implementation of the Federal Government's post-war immigration programme and the GNC's contribution to the citizenship education campaign.

At the GNC (NSW) State Conference held in October 1957, Townley reiterated Boyer's earlier sentiments when he told delegates that he believed encouraging new settlers to become naturalised was a most important aspect of GNC activities:

> The success we are having should be a spur for further efforts to gain the confidence and friendship of our new settlers, to advise and help them in the early period of their settling in, to maintain friendly contact with them at all times and to encourage them to become citizens.

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720 R. Boyer, in DOI, *Digest*, 1957, p. 25
721 DOI, *Digest*, 1957, p. 13
At this conference, delegates from the different branches state-wide reported on citizenship activities in their areas which centred on their involvement in naturalisation ceremonies. Mr A. Grassby (the future ALP Minister for Immigration, 1972) expressed concern over delays in naturalisation in Griffith. He said that the Griffith branch provided education in social service benefits and rights and responsibilities of voting for new Australian citizens. Grassby suggested that a good film, showing all facets of Australian life, be screened after naturalisation ceremonies.\(^{723}\) The Lismore representative reported that 12 naturalisation ceremonies had been held during the year and that all the local community organisations attended these ceremonies.\(^{724}\) The Batlow representative reported that GNC members in the area provided a special centre 'of friendship and advice to all the migrants into the district - bringing them right into the Australian community.'\(^{725}\) The representative for Queanbeyan remarked that 2,300 migrants were now residing in the town and that there had been 169 naturalisations to date. The Bathurst delegate reported that during the preceding two years, the branch had functioned 'almost entirely as a social club with dances at the Continental Café.'\(^{726}\) The Lithgow representative stated that GNC speakers had been provided for naturalisation ceremonies. The Orange representative said that the emphasis had been on education and encouragement towards naturalisation, assistance with ceremonies, and 'with all this a friendliness and spirit of caring which breaks down prejudice and barriers.'\(^{727}\) Thus, there was consistently a focus on converting new arrivals into Australian citizens at the grass roots level. Members' work was invariably voluntary but funds that were provided by the DOI for administrative purposes and wages were considered minimal by GNC members.

\(^{723}\) A. Grassby, in GNC (NSW) Report of the Third Biennial State Conference, Summary, p. 3
\(^{724}\) GNC (NSW) Report of the Third Biennial State Conference, Summary, p. 5
\(^{725}\) GNC (NSW) Report of the Third Biennial State Conference, Summary, p. 5
\(^{726}\) GNC (NSW) Report of the Third Biennial State Conference, Summary, p. 5
\(^{727}\) GNC (NSW) Report of the Third Biennial State Conference, Summary, p. 7
Financial Constraints

In late 1957, Watts and another GNC executive member visited the Newcastle branches where members complained about lack of funding to carry out GNC work. The members were ‘feeling depressed about future activities unless some financial support was forthcoming as the scope of the work was too heavy without some paid assistance’.728 The executive requested and received limited financial assistance from the DOI. The funds were used to hire a part-time secretary for the Newcastle branch, to take up her appointment in late 1958.729 This move to fund a worker evidences the growth of the organisation. It also shows how the GNC was dependent on the DOI for funding to operate, in this case with its expansion.

In 1957, a report was prepared on the GNC (NSW) by Mr I. Netliv, Assistant Secretary Assimilation Division, DOI. Netliv was also a delegate to ACCs, which further exemplifies a connection between the ACCs and GNCs in assimilation activities. Netliv was critical of the organisation for centring its work on the Sydney area and neglecting the country region. Netliv reported:

The Council should pay increasing attention to its contact workers and spread their activities since the contact workers are the real Good Neighbours who meet the migrants personally in their everyday surrounding.730

Because of the large number of migrants living in hostels, the Council executive considered that it was an almost impossible task to contact them all. A further problem was the inability to contact new arrivals who were not normally included on the welcoming lists. These were mainly Italians and Greeks brought to Sydney by chain migration. In March 1957, the GNC (NSW) Executive claimed ‘because their names and addresses are unknown these are not included in Good Neighbour welcome parties and activities’.731

There was little, if any, effort to overcome such difficulties. In June 1957 'a debate on the printing of welcome cards implied that in one area at least the Council was being forced to confront the situation'. Executive member, Miss Lower, was keen for the cards to be printed in Greek, Hungarian, German, Italian and Dutch. She believed that the printing in these languages was just as necessary as in English. Others felt that unless every language was included, such as Slovak and Polish, there would be hurt feelings. The Executive agreed, however, that the cards be printed only in English. This signifies the importance of English skills for migrants but at the same time a lack of appreciation by GNM officials of the cultural backgrounds of the new settlers. The GNC's activities, however, continued to be portrayed in a positive light by GNM officers.

**Watts Review of Campaign 'Success'**

At the first Area Conference held in Tamworth in November 1958, Watts outlined the current status of the NSW GNC. She claimed its main task was to combat loneliness. To achieve this, a co-ordinating council was operating under the Presidency of Boyer which had 90 member organisations and met five times a year. Watts stressed the outstanding service being carried out by GNC members to assist migrant women by helping them learn English as well as driving them to hospital and interpreting at baby health clinics. Watts also said that a great deal of effort had gone into organising welcome parties for migrants. During 1958, four Sydney welcome parties were held for approximately 800 to 1,000 migrant guests with a roster of eight member organisations to prepare the supper. Clearly, the activities of the GNC had changed little over the years and the welcoming parties remained a major means of helping absorb new settlers into the Australian community.

Watts added that a large delegation attended the ACCs annually, giving great inspiration to all that attended these conventions. She stressed the great importance that she considered was ascribed to naturalisation ceremonies. At each ceremony there was a representative GNC speaker who distributed GNC greeting cards to new citizens. These new citizens, she believed, could be 'harnessed to our great nation building Movement for they

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734 M. Watts, in GNC (NSW) Report of the First Area Conference, Tamworth, November 1958, p. 4
know in a very special way how to speak about the condition of newcomers and to help them over their initial difficulties.\textsuperscript{735} Watts suggested that assimilation was a two-way process and that newcomers were expected to do their part to overcome the barriers of shyness, language and prejudice. National groups had become increasingly helpful and co-operative: 'If we all pull together with tolerance and goodwill, the uniting spirit of the Good Neighbour Movement can have untold results.'\textsuperscript{736}

In July 1959, the second Area Conference of the NSW Council was held in the Riverina district attended by some 50 organisations. It was reported that the GNC (NSW) had over 46 centres including branches and contact groups. In Sydney, there was a home hospitality circle comprising some 30 homes where equal numbers of Australians and those from Europe met monthly for a chat, music and supper. This scheme, it was noted, had ‘snowballed.’\textsuperscript{737} Watts told delegates that she hoped that contact teams could develop the personal and social method of bringing families together. She saw this line of approach as very important as it could bring members of migrant English classes into the home circles.\textsuperscript{738}

In April 1960, a third GNC (NSW) Area Conference was held at Wollongong, where Sir William Hudson KBE, emphasised the importance of new settlers taking out Australian citizenship:

\begin{quote}
Today we are engaged in an exercise of citizenship ... Full citizenship is approached when people ... endeavour to make such a contribution of thought or deed as will build up the common stock - the community stock - of desirable aspiration and accomplishment.\textsuperscript{739}
\end{quote}

There was a constant call for non-British migrants to take out Australian citizenship, but there was a minimal funding by the DOI to the GNM. At the close of the 1950s, the growth of GNC (NSW) salaried staff had increased very little. Between 1951 and 1959 there was

\textsuperscript{735} M. Watts, in GNC (NSW) Report of the First Area Conference, p. 5
\textsuperscript{736} M. Watts, in GNC (NSW) Report of the First Area Conference, p. 5
\textsuperscript{737} M. Watts, in GNC (NSW) Report of the Second Area Conference, Riverina District, July 1959, p. 3
\textsuperscript{738} M. Watts, in GNC (NSW) Report of the Second Area Conference, p. 3
\textsuperscript{739} Sir William Hudson, in GNC (NSW) Report of the Third Area Conference, Wollongong, April 1960, p. 3
only one State Secretary, no field officers, one junior in 1955 and between 1951 and 1955, one assistant secretary. By 1959 there were only three officers.\footnote{M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict & SA, 1947-1971, p. 247}

In August 1960, however, the NSW Council received approval from Massey to advertise for an outside worker. The new employee was a Council field officer, at £800 per annum. The Council Executive reacted negatively as it considered the wage insufficient. The consensus was that the position warranted a skilled, resourceful person who should be appointed at no less than £1,200 a year.\footnote{GNC (NSW) Minutes of Executive Meeting, Sydney, July 1961, p. 3, in M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict & SA, 1947-1971, p. 199}

After lengthy negotiations, DOI officers agreed to the Council’s proposal. Mr G. Alexis (Russian) was hired at £1,300 per annum to ‘speak at meetings and explore community resources.’\footnote{GNC (NSW) Minutes of Executive Meeting, Sydney, July 1961, p. 3, in M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict & SA, 1947-1971, p. 199} Alexis was successful in his application for the position due to ‘his long experience of community work, public relations, range of languages and his practical knowledge of Good Neighbour activities.’\footnote{GNC (NSW) Minutes of Executive Meeting, Sydney, July 1961, p. 1, in M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict & SA, 1947-1971, p. 200}

For nearly ten years Alexis was a representative of the Russian Orthodox community on the Council’s Migrant Associate Committee as well as a NSW representative at the ACCs. After taking up his position, he endeavoured to obtain an accurate picture of the migrant situation in Sydney and its surrounding suburbs.\footnote{GNC (NSW) Minutes of Executive Meeting, Sydney, July 1961, p. 1, in M.J. Kelly, Social History of the GNCs of NSW, Vict & SA, 1947-1971, p. 200} The appointment of Alexis clearly indicated a growth in paid staff to carry out new initiatives in GNC activities and a link between the ACCs and GNC, with Alexis being a NSW representative to the ACCs. It was also clear that co-opting an experienced member of an ethnic community, familiar with the ACCs and GNCs, would provide the required professionalism and experience in protocol. His experience in community organisations created a relevant bridge between the community, GNC, ACC and DOI. The position was nevertheless, still financially dependant on the DOI.

At the 1960 GNC (NSW) State Conference, Boyer reported to delegates on the current successful status of the GNC in NSW. There were now some 50 branches of the
GNC spread throughout the State. He advised delegates that native Australians should be tolerant and accept new migrant groups and that the newcomers should not act politically as a separate group:

This free British community of race has an enormously broad level of agreement, it is a spiritual agreement on the things that matter . . . It is not good that our migrants should be tempted to form a political group on the basis of their own race or the fact that they are migrants . . . It is a free country and you have freedom to express your views in any of the Parties and there is no need for any separatism on this score.745

In 1960, The Good Neighbour reported Downer's opinion that the advantages of Australia's present immigration policy outweighed whatever difficulties and changes in Australia's traditional British-based outlook which might arise from the influx of non-British migrants. The Minister explained that there was merit in the non-British migrants arriving with their cultural baggage, but also pointed out that he believed Australia had great riches of language, background, institutions and ideas to impart to them. 'So far', he said, 'most of us have not recognised this task with sufficient seriousness. We leave it to elements in the churches and a few organisations such as the GNM to undertake the work'.746 This, he considered, was unsatisfactory. He suggested that native Australians should accept the burden of educating new settlers in the fundamentals of Australia's national consciousness. Thus, he considered that the community should accept a more active national role to educate for citizenship. The Minister concluded:

There is our own flowering nationalism, our rising place in world councils, our strategic value to our allies, our increasing self-sufficiency. The world applauds this, and so, of course, do we, but it is already resulting in a perceptible alteration to our relations with the Mother Country.747

In 1961, Watts summed up what she considered was the future direction of the Movement:

746 DOI, The Good Neighbour, 80, September 1960, p. 1
747 DOI, The Good Neighbour, 80, September 1960, p. 1
In our Good Neighbour Movement men and women of goodwill come together from different religious and political beliefs to help Australia on the basis of friendship for the thousands of newcomers reaching our shores.\footnote{GNC (NSW) Newsletter, 60, February 1961, p. 1}

The comments of Watts differed from those of Downer who acknowledged that cultural changes were taking place in Australian society. It would seem that the theme espoused by Watts had changed little from that of the formative period of the GNM and the objective agreed upon at the inaugural ACC, that new settlers should be made to feel that they belonged in Australia through the cultivation of neighbourly attitudes.

**Conclusion**

The GNCs and NSLs had become the Federal Government's instrument and vanguard army that would proselytise the virtues of the Australian way of life. These organisations were to welcome and make the migrant feel at home. In short, it was their members' patriotic duty to ease the migrant into the Australian cocoon. In the educative process, the migrant was expected to become a naturalised citizen, which, in effect, was the final stamp of approval and acceptance by the host nation that the migrants had finally acceded to the status quo.

As evident in the case of NSW, the League was expected to implement ACC resolutions in efforts to educate the new arrivals. Massey not only held high hopes and ideals for the volunteer organisation but considered that the job, despite its difficulties, would only be accomplished when the last migrant had been assimilated into the Australian community. Massey further stressed that GNC members, like ACC delegates, would not be involved in deciding Federal Government immigration policy and were not to compete with existing government services. The agenda seemed specific but the task, as Massey pointed out, was colossal, and one where it was not easy to define the obvious demarcations earlier pronounced by him.

In NSW, the League was critical of the naturalisation ceremonies prior to the Naturalisation Act in 1954. After the introduction of the legislation, however, Watts was quick to involve municipal and country councils in naturalisation ceremonies. It was hoped that the localised settings, attendance of NSL members and presentation of cards with oaths of allegiance and pictures of the Queen would instil a greater appreciation of citizenship and motivate other migrants as much as it instilled a greater pride in all Australians.
From 1958 to 1960, the GNC (NSW) held its annual area Conferences out of Sydney which illustrates growth in the Council organisation. Familiar themes were espoused such as nation building, the practical problems of assisting migrant women, loneliness, responsibility and obligations of citizenship, hospitality and English migrant classes. Although criticisms were directed towards the NSL (NSW) prior to 1956 and the GNC of NSW afterwards, they were mostly from the pressure of a growing migrant population which was demanding more professional help and identifying some of the cultural bias of the GNM towards British migrants. The GNC nevertheless was expected to conform to Government policy and direction.

The charter for the GNC also required the co-operation and enlistment of many organisations, religious and secular, both in the city and country, as well as teachers; in short, where Government agencies were not and could not be active in the community. It was meant to be a national patriotic effort that not only required a guidance of migrants but also expected the Australian-born to welcome migrants into their homes and extend the hand of friendship. Watts said that this was the goal being achieved in NSW.

The public relations exercise in NSW alone was a huge undertaking. In this aim the organisations were successful, particularly at the community level. In NSW this could be largely attributed to the efforts of Margaret Watts. She was also instrumental in co-ordinating efforts to help migrant women to assimilate. This was of particular significance as they had generally been given little special consideration by Federal authorities in the introduction of adult migrant education programmes.

Initially, non-British migrants were treated with some suspicion and excluded from participation on committees and at conferences. Towards the end of the 1950s, changes were taking place as national groups were growing in representation, particularly at GNC conferences. Even if this could be considered tokenistic, the trend for non-British migrant participation was to escalate.

The GNCs provided the neighbourly support that the Government bureaucracy could not, primarily due to insufficient resources. The GNC lacked professionalism but made up for its shortcomings by giving the migrant and the Australian a means to come to terms with one another, which after all was one of the basic premises and functions of the GNC. In its first ten years of operation to 1960, the GNC endeavoured to fulfil its charter to the ACCs and educate the new arrivals in the ways of Australian citizenship. Its influence in NSW can be seen as extensive, particular through the co-ordination of sister groups.

The question whether this organisation could provide the cultural hegemony that the
elite of the nation envisaged in NSW or Australia would be properly answered in the 1970s and 1980s. Although the community was required to enact a two-way dialogue with the migrant population, the same policy was not necessarily the case between the DOI and the GNC. This created some friction over the years, which finally saw the abolition of the GNCs in the 1970s under the conservative Fraser Government. This was when the Government was able to provide the required services through the more experienced and professional public service organisations. Furthermore, the change in the make-up of Australian society by the 1970s and the experience of the 20 years with migrants made the GNCs to a large extent redundant. Nevertheless, in the 1950s, the GNM in NSW working on the coalface of migrant assimilation, might have failed to convert the migrant but believed that it was managing the situation on behalf of the national elite in Canberra.
CONCLUSION

As a consequence of Australia's post-war immigration programme, a citizenship education campaign was orchestrated by the leaders of the nation for the perceived benefit of all Australians. Through the power and influence of the Federal political elite, a concerted effort was made to mould non-British migrants into Australian citizens. There were also efforts to instruct resident Australians on the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship. Although national leaders had difficulty in defining what it meant to be an Australian citizen, it was still identifiably Anglo-Australian in orientation and centred on traditional British practices and institutions.

Understanding that there was a citizenship education campaign provides a new perspective in appreciating post-war immigration policy. The campaign embedded and tied together multifarious notions extant in the Australian Government policy for the Australian community in meeting the challenges of a nation experiencing massive social and economic change.

The introduction of mass immigration was the Federal Government's response to Australian insecurity over insufficient population. These shortcomings emanated from the effects of the depression, a low birthrate and the near invasion of the continent during the Second World War. The wartime Labor leadership had delineated the approach Australia was to take in the post-war reconstruction period. Curtin had decided prior to war's end that there was to be a Minister for Immigration. This signifies the status of this new portfolio in Australian politics. The move also illustrates the high profile that the citizenship education campaign was given by the political elite in their efforts to cope with the post-war period of dramatic social and economic change.

There were many forces at work in Australian society that could have deterred post-war immigration plans and impaired the Federal Labor Government's conception of a new Australia. There was, for instance, the prejudice that non-British migrants, 'foreigners', would taint Australian society and change the Australian way of life. Nevertheless, due to their strategic and powerful positions in Australian society national leaders were able to take appropriate steps to endeavour to address such issues.

Calwell intimated a change in citizenship status, which was realised in the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948). It was an attempt to establish a new relationship among all Australians and initiate the status of Australian citizenship. To what extent this new relationship was planned is questionable in terms of its ultimate goal. Whether Calwell wanted to institute new meaning for Australian nationalism and identity new loyalties different from the traditional ones could be postulated, but is debatable. Nevertheless, Australians and national leaders found it difficult to prescribe or identify their own
citizenship outside the bounds of British tradition. The Act, however, was intended to coalesce the community and distance it from the stigma of the White Australia policy in a post-colonial era. Although never officially acknowledged by national leaders, resistance to foreigners was a product of Anglo-British prejudices of racial white superiority. The Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948) did not dispel bias against non-Europeans, but it nevertheless was an important step in ameliorating a distinction between Anglo-Australians and non-British migrants.

The intention of the citizenship education campaign for Australians therefore resides in two notions. The first was to give new meaning to Australian citizenship that did not embrace the negative qualities of racial exclusiveness and superiority, and the second was to develop a citizenry that was bounded in a national calling to welcome migrants in a united programme of nation-building.

Calwell had 'given notice' in 1945 that migrants would not be brought into Australia for two years; that is, until adequate provision was made for returned servicemen and women, and economic and social conditions were adequate for both migrants and Australian-born. He hoped to also attract overseas industry to Australia to invigorate the economy. Calwell reassured the Australian public that only healthy migrants would be entering Australia. He was constantly preparing, planning and educating the community into acceptance.

Although every effort was made to attract British migrants, the shortfall would be made up with Continental Europeans. The Federal Government was intent on minimising possible social disruption due to the cultural diversity of the new arrivals. By the use of government instrumentalities, propaganda found expression through ABC radio programmes and in cultural exhibitions and citizenship ceremonies at the ACCs. The conventions provided a spectacle to deflect the birth pains of mass non-British migration and created favourable media headlines concerning the nature of post-war immigration.

The act of legitimising government policy in the media and official reports reassured the Australian public of the virtues of government wisdom. This wisdom was enhanced to some degree by the psychology of a war economy and the demobilising process whereby adherence to Federal decrees might command greater sanction than would otherwise be expected in an established peacetime economy. To what extent the regimentation of the war years affected the structure, evolution and process of the immigration policy and the DOI is debatable. However, it was often from the ranks of service personnel that many public service positions were filled. The military metaphor was one often expressed in the early
migrant camps, particularly in their accommodation.

While Calwell and the Labor Government had 'prepared' the Australian population for non-British migrants, there was also the most important education campaign for the newcomers. It was a citizenship education campaign aimed largely at transforming non-British adult migrants into loyal Australian citizens. Therefore, the acquisition of English became a major priority and requisite. English lessons were to be given at virtually all opportunities, prior to embarkation, on board ships, at migrant camps and after moving into the community. Language acquisition satisfied two necessities. It provided the migrant with a means to communicate in Australian society and industry and it acculturated the migrant. The assimilation policy embodied an ideal of total conversion and a non-recognition of migrant culture except in terms of art, music or historical quaintness, as portrayed particularly in the 'show and tell' of the early ACCs.

The intention of the citizenship education campaign for adult migrants directed by the political elite in Canberra was, in fact, evident at virtually every turn of their lives. In the official sense the education occurred through regulated classes in language, history and social studies. In less official circumstances, it was effected through social gatherings organised by volunteer organisations and the social intercourse of everyday life. The successful assimilation of migrants was dependent upon their ability to participate effectively in the work-force and socialise in the Australian community at large. In the post-war years, through the citizenship education campaign, the Federal Government endeavoured to fulfil these needs. The extent of the campaign was immense, as was the influx of non-British migrants, which at times exceeded the official quota intake of 1.1 per cent of the population. The arrival of the millionth migrant in the mid-1950s exceeded immigration expectations. It also acclimatised the country to the presence of non-British migrants.

The signalling of a shift in policy from assimilation to integration in the late 1950s is often attributed to the migrant presence, suggesting that the assimilation strategy was not successful. An alternative explanation based on the initial aims of the citizenship education campaign is that Australian society was coming to terms with the non-British migrants and that a point of no return had been reached. Simply, the foundations of society or the status quo had not been unduly upset. This confidence was displayed in the changing format of the ACCs, the growth of the DOI and recruiting of bilingual staff. The formal change in the mid-1950s of the ACC format, in fact, acknowledged the DOI's growing role in the community and success of the immigration scheme.
The two-tier system of Government in Australia, however, had the effect of
stultifying genuine progress in addressing issues concerning the education of migrants. The
existence of a strong centralist government with a responsibility towards education as a
whole might well have contributed more immediately to accommodating migrants' educational requirements. The conflict between Federal/State authorities concerning migrant education and how aspects of the campaign should be introduced aggravated existing disharmony in Federal/State relations in education. The economic purse strings, however, were largely in the hands of the Federal Government. This inequitable situation led to State educational needs in the post-war period becoming a political football, with tension in Federal/State relations in dealing with the overall education of migrants. Consequently, the elite defined the issues and the approach but there was a lack of unity among the elites in the context of Federal/State relations over who was responsible for aspects of the campaign.

In certain respects citizenship education in schools failed. Child migrant education
was left to the States, particularly after students left the migrant camps. The Federal
Government was reluctant to involve itself in the State education systems, supporting its
traditional practice by declaring that interference was an erosion of State rights and responsibilities.

As late as 1960, the Dovey Report supported existing policy in relation to migrant
students by indicating the success of the State school systems in educating migrant students. Commonwealth-State relations, however, suffered particularly from the mid-1950s as State education enrolments increased. Migrant students became, as Martin stated, a passive supplement to the general crisis. Efforts were made by teachers to address migrant student problems. The Haines Report in South Australia, pleas from Teachers' Federations and reports by education inspectors in the late 1950s, however, had little effect in changing policy towards migrant students. Consequently, despite the efforts of the teachers and teacher unions, the education of migrant students was considered by education administrators as sufficient through established educational practices. This was to the detriment of providing migrant students with the opportunities or ideals of democratic education. Child migrant education could thus be considered unsuccessful at the institutional level, with educational officials ultimately ignoring apparent problems.

Despite failings in child migrant education, through the ABC and ACCs the Federal
Government was still able to propagate its policy of citizenship nationally and generate credence and momentum for the post-war immigration programme. These government instrumentalities, under the leadership of the national elite and the DOI, were unfettered in
respect to expressing the citizenship education campaign. They did not have to contend with Federal/State arrangements and were directly funded by the Commonwealth.

The ABC, under Sir Richard Boyer, developed innovative programmes for the campaign. It provided language instruction and situational role-playing between migrant and Australian families to work towards the assimilation of the new arrivals into the Australian community and develop a friendly relationship between all Australians. The ABC with its BBC heritage became more Australianised in the 1950s. British accents in broadcasts were replaced with those increasingly Australian, and the Australian content in serials grew significantly. Post-war democracy was also promoted through the broadcasting of Parliament and programmes were introduced to address issues arising from the emergence of individual democratic citizenship. Thus, as a national broadcaster and under the strong leadership of conservative Boyer, the ABC was able to inform, educate and promote national post-war citizenship values for both native Australians and migrants.

The ACCs served a symbolic purpose and impressed upon the nation the success and importance of the Federal Government's post-war immigration programme. The establishment of these conventions further indicated the importance of the citizenship education campaign as envisaged by the political elite. The ACCs were used to promote Australian citizenship at specially organised citizenship ceremonies held at initial conventions, which were attended by prominent members of the Australian community. The ACCs were also to promote a deeper appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities of Australian citizenship nation-wide and to co-ordinate community organisations to work towards the assimilation of new settlers. At the inaugural ACC, the GNM was revised and representatives met at the conventions annually where their community efforts would be co-ordinated by DOI officials.

Through the GNM and guidance of the DOI, the well-being and fostering of migrants into the Australian community was expected to be achieved. The NSW study shows the extent of the GNM organisation and its involvement in the community. It also illustrates the efforts of NSW Secretary, Margaret Watts, in promoting increased involvement of Australians and non-British migrants in settling within a changing social fabric. There was an early reluctance in the GNC membership to include non-British migrants in an official capacity, due to Anglo-centric sentiments. However, the DOI, in particular, pressured the organisation to be more democratic in representation at executive levels. Nevertheless, the ACCs, and particularly the GNCs, provided valuable grass roots and community level contact for the migrant and promotion of the citizenship education
campaign. The neighbourly help provided interaction for both native-born and new Australians that was only supplanted with the growth of the DOI and government welfare agencies in the 1960s and 1970s when the ACCs and GNCs had outlived their usefulness.

In the introduction to this study a theoretical framework was proposed, based on an elitist conception of society and a top-down paradigm that illustrated power emanating from the upper echelons of Australian society. As late as 1971 the Hon A.J. Forbes, Minister for Immigration (LP), expressed the opinion that:

> The maintenance of immigration became the uncontested objective of all major political parties. This unanimity of opinion surely unique in national affairs was to continue without serious challenge or question for the next quarter century. How this came about to be so completely accepted by the Australian people, has no single, simple explanation. Quite certainly, however part of the answer derives from the traumatic experiences of World War II.\(^{749}\)

The opinion of Forbes seems to crystallise yet, at the same time, raise questions concerning aspects of post-war immigration. That immigration was a bipartisan policy indicates the power of the national elite and a cohesive plan unchallenged from below. The influence and authority of the elite in orchestrating and planning the immigration programme has been demonstrated. That it derived from the traumatic experiences of the Second World War is acknowledged in respect of the government in seeking national security and economic prosperity.

Two major trends from the late 1930s, particularly in terms of historical continuity, become evident. First was the rise of Federal powers in national leadership and control of the nation-state, and the second the shift in citizenship development. The war invigorated the development of these themes in dramatic fashion. For different reasons, post-war reconstruction in Australia provided an impetus and rationale to accelerate both trends. The Federal Government prior to the war had begun to assert itself nationally in response to the depression and as in other Western countries, government intervention was needed to address economic problems. Goals of full employment and citizenship were initiated. In Australia, education and national fitness were targets to raise community standards and citizenship awareness. The Federal Government took the lead in these matters, a lead that

further consolidated during the war with increased financial powers over the States. The nature of Australian citizenship changed after the war with the rise of the welfare state and the immigration of non-British migrants.

In the post-war period, there was a shift from the collective citizenship evident in the war years to individual democratic citizenship. There was a focus on individual cultural adjustment at a time of dramatic national change; hence, the emphasis on an education campaign of individual citizens taking on responsibilities. Migrants were to be educated to take their part as loyal citizens in the Australian community. Comprehensive secondary education was introduced to assimilate youth as future citizens who were to be educated to take their part in a modern democratic society adjusted to a new post-war world.

All this occurred, however, with constraints imposed by members of the national elite in maintaining existing institutional practices, while at the same time they were trying to adjust to the new post-war environment. Citizenship education was attuned to settling migrants and Australians to a new order, which was still predicated on the concept of maintaining cultural hegemony and social stability. These trends, however, were to generate consequences not fully envisaged by the political elite. The formation and exercise of the citizenship education campaign, the growth of Federal powers and impact of non-British migrants were major elements in the creation and official acceptance by the Whitlam Labor Government of a nascent multicultural society in the 1970s. Thus, since the Second World War, there has been a shift from the Anglo-Celtic, mono-cultural view of citizenship to one that officially recognises the culturally diverse nature of the Australian society.

Contemporary activity in Australian citizenship might well lend itself to analysis as proposed by this study. Correlations and analogies are evident with the citizenship education campaign of the post-war period. As already noted, in approximately the last six years there have been major initiatives by Government to raise awareness in Australian citizenship. The 1994 Joint Parliamentary Standing Committee Report on Migration, *Australians All Enhancing Australian Citizenship*, shows similarities to the citizenship campaign of the 1950s. The general guidelines of citizenship awareness and education in the Report remain much the same as in 1948 except that deference was directed to a multicultural society rather than one solely based on British culture. In the Report, a greater emphasis was also placed on citizenship education within the school system.750

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750 J. McKiernan (Chairman), *Australians All Enhancing Australian Citizenship*, Report by the Joint Standing Committee on Migration, Canb, AGPS, September 1994
It is interesting to note that in 1998 Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Minister Philip Ruddock (LP) established an Australian Citizenship Council to provide the Minister with advice on appropriate arrangements to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Australian citizenship, signifying the importance of the introduction of the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948). The diverse representation on the Council is notable, even if it is fairly select. The Council was chaired by Sir Ninian Stephen. Other members of the Council included rugby union player and Aboriginal Mr Mark Ella AM, Professor Donald Horne AO, Miss Tan Li, Miss Mirta Gonzalez, Ms Sally Anne Atkinson AO. The Council stated that the introduction of the status of Australian Citizen, which allowed migrants to join the wider Australian community on an equal basis, was 'fundamental to the success of the great national-building program of mass migration which commenced after the Second World War.' The Council also endorsed the Discovering Democracy programme as a significant Commonwealth initiative of civics and citizenship education in schools, and recommended that it be continued as part of the Australian school curriculum.

On Australia Day, 26 January 1999, the 50th Anniversary of the introduction of the status of Australian citizenship was celebrated with an affirmation ceremony at Galston, NSW, in Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Minister Ruddock's electorate of Berowra. The affirmation by an Australian citizen reads:

As an Australian citizen, I affirm my loyalty to Australia and its people whose democratic beliefs I share, whose rights and liberties I respect, and whose laws I uphold and obey.

The nature of this Affirmation is distinctively different from the swearing of allegiance to the Queen in the 1950s. The modification and presentability of citizenship ceremonies has been evident from the inception of the Nationality and Citizenship Act (1948). The practice has created an affirmation more relevant to a multicultural society.

The recent referendum on the republic has added another dimension to the recent

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751 Sir Ninian Stephen (Chairman), *Australian Citizenship for a New Century*, p. 3
752 Sir Ninian Stephen (Chairman), *Australian Citizenship for a New Century*, p. 32
753 Sir Ninian Stephen (Chairman), *Australian Citizenship for a New Century*, p. 83
754 DOIMA, 50th Anniversary of Australian Citizenship, Fact Sheet 64, Canb, AGPS, June 2000, p. 1
drive for citizenship education and nature of citizenship. It has put on notice some symbolic
and quasi-legal ties with Britain and the monarchy. To some extent, reference to the Queen
has diminished in importance in a multicultural society, and it could be said that it is not a
civic duty to uphold the monarchy per se. In most cases the monarchy has been replaced by
Australian institutions and practices, e.g. Australian awards in the Australia Day honours
lists and the replacement of the national anthem 'God Save the Queen' with one more linked
with Australia's own identity, 'Advance Australia Fair'. Nevertheless, certain traditional and
conservative quarters, such as the Church of England in Australia, still uphold British
traditions due to their links with the Queen.

The republican issue has abated with its defeat at the referendum held in November
1999, as has the controversy surrounding its implementation. The question of whether the
defeat of the republican issue was due to conservative elements in society and suspicion of
some members of the national elite might very well present fertile ground for research with
respect to the elitist view of society.

While multiculturalism has had a dialectic effect on Australian society that has
created modifications to citizenship, the present conservative Federal Government still seeks
to maintain a close link to British heritage and democracy. In the Government publication, A
New Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, it was recommended that multiculturalism can be
enhanced and refocussed by all sections of the community in 'acknowledging the
contribution of all Australians to the success of Australia's multicultural society, and, in
particular, the heritage of Great Britain and Ireland from which our democracy has
evolved'.755

Prime Minister Howard (LP) has stated that the nation's democratic values and
practice of a 'fair go' have been fundamental to Australia's success as a multicultural and
cosmopolitan society. The Prime Minister has further stated that government policies and
programmes should be 'subject to periodic evaluation and renewal to keep them relevant
and responsible to changing circumstances'.756 Periodic evaluation can provide change.
However, such evaluation can be masked by the prevailing elites in society.

It is probable, or at least questionable, that present-day immigration policy does not
have the same bipartisan support that immigration experienced in the 1950s. However, the
extent to which multiculturalism and the republican issue have changed the perceptions of

755 DOIMA, A New Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, Canb, AGPS, December 1999, p. 18
756 J. Howard, A New Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, p. 1
the national elite may be judged by the outcome of the referendum on the republic and the current surge in Australian citizenship education.

Australians have historically taken a cautious road in citizenship development. This is indicative of the nature of Australia's government and its particular form of democratic constitutional tradition, which has also tended to generate a strong national elite. It has been illustrated in this work that paradoxically, Australia's British-based institutions lack strong democratic values, particularly in respect of representation from the lower echelons of society. Power from 'the people' might have become more evident in the recent republican debate and also in the call for increased Aboriginal rights. These issues, however, did not seem to be sanctioned by leading members of the political elite who were in key positions of authority to influence the final outcome.

In August 2000, there was a call for a Bill of Rights by former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser (LP), which Prime Minister Howard has been able to simply dismiss through his position of power in Australian society. The handling of such issues by members of the political elite raises fundamental questions concerning the nature of democratic rights for all Australian citizens, regardless of their cultural background.

Federal Governments today are instituting citizenship education in schools to promote greater participation of individual citizens in the nation's civic life. To some extent there has been a re-assessment of citizens' rights and the call for equal participation in a culturally diverse society. However, certain inherent biases lie with such courses of action, which stem from the theory of the elite. The maintenance of the existing power structures and status quo is fundamental to the sustaining of the elite. Therefore, citizenship participation and education, although aimed at extending individual involvement, does so with respect to an appreciation of existing governing structures. Whether this situation will change in the future is debatable. However, as this study indicates, there are still questions to be answered as to whether present day Australian citizens experience 'real' democratic citizenship in terms of social, economic, political and cultural equality and, in relation to the role of the nation-state in pursuing these goals.
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GOOD NEIGHBOUR COUNCIL OF THE AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY (FROM 1966) GOOD NEIGHBOUR COUNCIL OF THE AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY INCORPORATED
AA1980/254
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23: ACT Good Neighbour Council, Minutes of Quarterly and Annual General Meetings, March 1950-February 1956
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45: Minutes - Fifth Conference of Presidents and Secretaries of Good Neighbour Councils and New Settlers Leagues
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C1979    General Correspondence Files - Talks Department
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C1985    Programmes Files - Talks Department, Radio and Television
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B22 British Teachers-Migrants
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C28 General Activity Teacher' Committee
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- 821: Replies by Members of Parliament 1963 - Teacher Shortages, Additional Funds
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APPENDICES

1 LOCATION OF MIGRANT CENTRES NATION-WIDE

2 NSW DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: APPLICATION FOR ENGLISH INSTRUCTION FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING MIGRANTS (undated)

3 FIRST ABC BROADCAST BOOKLET, 'FOR NEW AUSTRALIANS', 1, 1 JUNE 1949

4 ABC NEW ELEMENTARY ENGLISH INSTRUCTIONS BROADCASTS 'FOR NEW AUSTRALIANS' SCRIPT, 1955

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7 COMMONWEALTH DEPT OF IMMIGRATION BROCHURE, 'THIS IS HOW YOU CAN HELP SOMEONE TO BECOME AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN', 1952
Appendix 1

LOCATION OF MIGRANT CENTRES
NATION-WIDE

(Source: DIMA Library, e&oe, Canberra)
Appendix 2

NSW DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
APPLICATION FOR ENGLISH INSTRUCTION FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING MIGRANTS (Undated)

(Source: Immigration-Publications and Publicity Mediums to Aid Migrant Education, NAA (SYD) C3932/2, 1955/25/75715, Box 39)
Appendix 3

FIRST ABC BROADCAST BOOKLET
‘FOR NEW AUSTRALIANS’, 1, 1 JUNE 1949

(Source: Mitchell Library, Sydney)
Appendix 4

ABC NEW ELEMENTARY ENGLISH INSTRUCTIONS BROADCASTS 'FOR NEW AUSTRALIANS' SCRIPT, 1955

(Source: 'Open Door' Scripts, NAA (SYD) C3011/1, Box 11)
Appendix 5

ABC BROADCAST FOR WOMEN
‘MAKING FRIENDS' SCRIPT, 1957

(Source: `Making Friends', a Programme for Australian Women Scripts, NAA (SYD) C3011/1, Box 1)
Appendix 6

ACC OFFICIAL PROGRAMMES, 1950 AND 1960

(Source: Australian Citizenship Convention Programmes, NAA (CANB) A446/167 1966/45172)
Appendix 7

COMMONWEALTH DEPT OF IMMIGRATION BROCHURE
'THIS IS HOW YOU CAN HELP SOMEONE TO BECOME AN AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN'

(Source: Encouragement of Aliens to Seek Naturalisation, NAA (SYD) C3939/2, N1955/25/75193, Box 15)
Fig 1. National security concerns prompted Labor Prime Minister John Curtin to disregard traditional links with Britain and turn to the United States of America. American General Douglas MacArthur with Prime Minister Curtin at the War Council meeting, Parliament House, Canberra, March 1942. (Source: *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 27 March 1942, p. 1)
Fig 2. Australian Immigration Ministers shared a commitment to post-war immigration which prospered with the assistance of Immigration Secretary Heyes. Australia's first four Ministers for Immigration (L-R) A. Downer (LP, 1958-63), A.A. Calwell (ALP, 1945-49), H. Holt (LP, 1949-56), and A. Townley (LP, 1956-58), farewell Sir Tasman Heyes, Immigration Secretary (1946-61). (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus 1946-1990, A Photographic Archive*, Canberra, AGPS, 1990, Cat. No. 61/28/2)
Fig 3. Migrants were recruited from Europe primarily to develop and also protect Australia. A shipload of male migrant workers arriving in Australia, 1954. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 54/4/37A)

Fig 4. Indicative of the bi-partisan nature of post-war immigration. With Liberal Prime Minister Menzies on the dais of the the first ACC (1950) are South Australian Liberal Premier Playford, Messrs Holt and Calwell, present and past Ministers for Immigration, the late Labor Prime Minister Ben Chifley, Queensland Immigration Minister Moore and Western Australian Immigration Minister Thorn. (Source: DOI, *Digest*, Report of Proceedings of the Australian Citizenship Conventions, Canberra, DOI, 1952, p. 15)

Fig 5. National leaders were constantly pursuing public support for post-war immigration and therefore, took every opportunity to present it positively, evident from the Department of Immigration `Action Display', 1957. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 57/11/23)
Fig 6. British workers were the preferred migrants. Labor Prime Minister Chifley with Immigration Minister Calwell greet first post-war migrants, a party of British building tradesmen who arrived at Sydney in January 1947, on the liner, Largs Bay. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 47/4A/4)
Fig 1. English instruction was the main component of the post-war citizenship education campaign for non-English speaking migrants. Migrants learn English with the help of gramophone records and associated printed lessons. (Source: DIMA, Immigration in Focus, Cat. No. 49/24/3)

Fig 2. English lessons were provided by the Federal Government at four progressive stages for migrants: pre-embarkation, during the voyage to Australia, immediately on arrival and during employment. Dr Eva Haarman (standing right) of Vienna gives an English lesson to other Australian migrants on the Italian liner, Fairsea en route to Australia, 1955. (Source: DIMA, Immigration in Focus, Cat. No. 55/32/21)

Fig 3. Migrant women were less inclined or encouraged to learn English than male migrants who more readily required language skills for employment purposes. Efforts, however, were made by Federal authorities to encourage migrant women to attend English classes. Migrant women and their children attend an

Fig 4. Prime Minister Menzies was more 'British' than his Labor counterparts and had close ties with British leaders including Prime Minister Harold Macmillan with whom he personally discussed the issue of who should be appointed Australian Governor-General. These two leaders together in a bookshop during Macmillan's visit to Australia as part of a Commonwealth tour in January 1958. (Source: A.W. Martin, Robert Menzies: a life, Volume 2, 1944-1978, Carlton South, Vic, Melbourne University Press, 1999, p. 371)

Fig 5. A milestone in post-war immigration, and one widely promoted by national leaders, was the arrival in November 1955 of the millionth migrant, Mrs Barbara Porritt, 21, of Yorkshire England, with her husband, on the liner, Dronsay. (Source: DIMA, Immigration in Focus, Cat. No. 55/4/1)
English class conducted by the Chief Instructor of Adult Education, H.O. Forbes, at the Woodside Migrant Centre, SA, 1952. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 52/24/1)
**Fig 4.** Migrant family and typical camp accommodation which resembled army barracks, 1951. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 51/22/30)

**Fig 5.** During adult English language classes, migrants were also taught about the 'Australian' way of life, evident from the blackboard display, 1951. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 51/22/34)

**Fig 6.** English instruction was provided at camp schools to help migrant students learn English before attending normal schools, 1951. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 51/22/27)
Fig 7. In 1947, the first Commonwealth reception and training centre for non-British migrants was opened at Bonegilla. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 49/22/1)

Fig 8. Italians taking initial English test to evaluate their level of language skills, 1956. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 56/22/51)

Fig 9. Adult migrant English instruction class, 1956. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 56/22/6)
Fig 10. Child migrant students attending the camp school, 1955. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 55/22/1)

Fig 11. Typical camp accommodation for migrants, 1955. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat No. 55/22/2)

Fig 12. The migrant centres could be considered small villages, providing a variety of services including a hospital for migrant children, 1955. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat No. 55/22/80)
Fig 13. While attending school with native-born Australians, migrant students were expected to assimilate into the 'Australian' way of life. In a 1950 Sydney newspaper feature, Darlinghurst Central School, Sydney was considered a melting pot for children from more than 20 nations. (Source: *The Sun Herald* (Sydney), 1 October 1950, p. 2)

**DARLINGHURST CENTRAL SCHOOL (SYDNEY, NSW)**

*One Sydney school is the melting pot for children from more than 20 nations*

*They come from the ends of the earth, and their names are hard to pronounce; but they are all good Australians now.*
From Schnitzel to Hot Pies

**Fig 14.** Sport was promoted as one of the quickest ways of assimilating young migrants into the 'Australian' way of life. (Source: *Pix*, 18 March 1950 p. 5)

**Fig 15.** In a survey in Melbourne (1955), it was suggested that migrant children were quick to adopt 'Australian' customs, language and eating habits. Rainer Breitcross on his first day at school in Berlin leather pants looks very German. A few years later, Rainer Breit, was considered a thoroughly 'Australian' pupil of Brighton Road State School Melbourne who spoke excellent English. (Source: *Pix*, 28 May 1955, p. 7)
Fig 1. Sir Richard Boyer, ABC Chairman and national elite member, fulfilled a key role in the citizenship education campaign. (Source: DOI, *Digest*, 1956, p. 31)

Fig 2. Through ABC Talk Programmes, the Federal Government's immigration programme was promoted, evident from this *ABC Weekly* advertisement. (Source: *ABC Weekly*, 19 July 1947, p. 10)

Fig 3. ABC radio set the cultural tone for new Australians with its education radio programmes including 'Making Friends' for new Australian women and 'The New Australian Programme', to help both male and female migrants learn English and adopt the 'Australian' way of life. (Source: *ABC Weekly*, 17 June 1959, p. 39)

Fig 4. In the late 1950s, there was a shift to popular culture entertainment in migrant programmes evident in the new serial 'Separate Worlds' which was the first of its kind presented during 'The New Australian Programme'. In this serial a precocious 16 year daughter of new settlers defends her 'modern' taste of music before her bewildered migrant parents. (Source: *ABC Weekly*, 16 July 1958, p. 45)
Fig 1. ACC delegates were invariably from conservative, Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, evident in this picture of 1953 ACC delegates. (Source: DOI, Digest, 1953, p. 1)

Fig 2. Sir Robert Garran, who represented the All Nations Club and Miss C.M. Piddington of the Australian Federation of University, enjoy a cup of tea during an adjournment period in Convention proceedings. (Source: DOI, Digest, 1953 p.23)

Fig 3. Prime Minister Menzies and Sir Richard Boyer chat at a reception celebrating the opening of the 1958 ACC. (Source: DOI, Digest 1958, p. 6)

Fig 4. At the earlier ACCs, citizenship ceremonies were a feature of proceedings. At the 1954 Convention, Immigration Minister Holt invited Sir Robert Garran to preside at the new-style citizenship ceremony. Seated behind Mr R. Boyer (to the right of the Minister) are the 15 naturalisation candidates. Links with Britain are most evident from the array of flags. (Source: DOI, Digest, 1954, p. 23)

Fig 5. At the 1958 ACC, Prime Minister Menzies presented the first Gertrude Kumm Award for Citizenship to Odilia Van Der Kruys, whose father gave his life to save a drowning child. The Award was presented annually to a new settler for an outstanding act of citizenship and promoted Australian

Fig 6. The ABC programme 'Happy to Know You', was a feature of entertainment during the 1953 ACC, illustrating a link between the ABC and ACCs in working towards the assimilation of new settlers. Mr Keith Smith, originator and producer of 'Happy to Know You', makes friends with migrant children from the Cowra (NSW) migrant centre. (Source: DOI, Digest, 1953, p. 12)

Fig 7. A group of migrants at Bradfield Park Sydney study English with the help of the radio and ABC booklet. (Source: ABC Weekly, 6 May 1950, p. 12)

Fig 8. In a scene from 'Separate Worlds', 'Michael Bauer' is portrayed as a confused European boy who desperately wanted to be a 'real' Australian and who confides in his Australian friend 'John Miller'. (Source: ABC Weekly, 30 July 1958, p. 7)
citizenship among migrants. (Source: DOI, Digest, 1958, p. 13)
Fig 6. An exhibition of school work by new Australian children was held at the 1952 ACC to highlight their rapid assimilation. (Source: DOI, *Digest*, 1952, p. 6)

Fig 7. There was a display at the 1955 ACC to promote the arrival of the millionth post-war migrant, Mrs Barbara Porritt. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 55/11/35)

Fig 8. At the 1953 ACC, migrant children sang the then national anthem 'God Save the Queen'. A golden symbol of the Crown and a portrait of the Queen provided the centrepiece at the assembly hall, publicising ties with Britain. (Source: DOI, *Digest*, 1953, p. 3).
Fig 1. Margaret Watts, dedicated Executive Secretary, GNC (NSW), was instrumental in co-ordinating Council activities and also helping migrant women to assimilate. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 58/19/4)

Fig 2. There was an apparent link between ACC and GNM activities. J.T. Massey was appointed as the first co-ordinator of both the GNM and ACCs. He fulfilled an important role in endeavouring to ensure resolutions passed at ACCs were carried out in the community by GNM representatives. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 50/19/1)

Fig 3. Following the ACC format, at GNM conferences and functions, loyalty to Britain was consistently promoted. This was evident at the 1956 GNC (NSW) Annual Conference. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 56/19/12)
Fig 4. The GNM was constantly promoting Australian citizenship for migrants as seen in the picture appearing in *The Adelaide Advertiser* (16 April 1953) of migrants examining their naturalisation papers at a reception given by the Good Neighbour Council (SA). The hand-written note ‘Good publicity’ reinforces the constant aim to publicise the importance of Australian citizenship to migrants. (Source: Australian Citizenship Convention 1953, NAA (CANB) A445/1, 146/9/7)

Fig 5. The first NSL (NSW) Migrant Conference (1954) was fundamentally ‘orchestrated’ by NSL Executives including Richard Boyer, Conference Chairman. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 53/19/20)

Fig 6. At the 1960 GNC (NSW) State Conference, the contribution of post-war migrants to national development was supported by GNC Executives. (Source: DIMA, *Immigration in Focus*, Cat. No. 60/19/4)