

Rediscovering *Nation Review*:

**An independent media voice
in Australian political and cultural affairs,
from 1970 to 1980.**

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Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

David Clive Olds

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David Clive Olds

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Abstract

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An examination of the *Nation Review* newspaper, an independent media voice in Australian political and cultural affairs, from 1970 to 1980.

The thesis is divided into three main components:

- 1. A history of the newspaper from its inception in 1970 to its demise in 1981.**

This is a detailed timeline of key events in the life of the paper, but is not exhaustive. It is seen as providing a reliable and accurate framework for development through future additions, as and when research can be undertaken by interested academics. For the purposes of the thesis, the history provides details, on an issue-by-issue basis, of operational structure, publishing and ownership changes, and of developments in style, content and emphasis.

- 2. A qualitative evaluation of *Nation Review*'s effectiveness as a newspaper.**

This section of the thesis makes direct comparisons between *Nation Review* and other contemporaneous newspapers, framed by the question: What qualities did *Nation Review* offer its readers, and how effectively?

Comparisons are based on one significant domestic event (the 1976 NSW state election), and one international event (Salvatore Allende's overthrow in Chile in 1973). The comparisons consider how effectively *Nation Review*

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functioned in its primary news reporting role, whether it offered other dimensions to its primary role, what journalistic styles were used, and what political stance was demonstrated. Contribution and overall relevance to popular debate are considered.

3. *Nation Review* and New Nationalism.

This section addresses the phenomenon of New Nationalism that emerged in Australia in almost exact synchronicity with the appearance and ultimate demise of *Nation Review* (and its immediate predecessor, the *Sunday Observer*).

New Nationalism is explained as a function of external pressures and internal cultural developments, and is contrasted to the earlier form of nationalism that arose in the 1890s. The thesis hypothesizes that *Nation Review* was tightly bound up with the New Nationalism project, in its political stance, its use of an Australian version of New Journalism, its promotion of nationalist causes and its perspective on international relations. Furthermore, contributors to *Nation Review* were themselves, for the most part, enthusiastic supporters of the broader New Nationalism movement. The thesis speculates that one element contributing to the closure of *Nation Review* was the defeat of New Nationalism, thus depriving the newspaper of a definable and distinctive mission, and rendering it irrelevant to a nation now set on a course towards globalism and neo-liberalism.

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After all, the history of *Nation Review* — The *real* history— was written on thousands of abandoned bar coasters, serviettes, lunch bills, table cloths, Chinese menus and pizza boxes.

John Hindle, 'Bacchanalian Feasts and Ferrets', *Nation Review*, (October, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 10, pp. 35-37.

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A Note on Referencing

During its lifetime, the newspaper under consideration in this thesis underwent several changes in ownership, title, publication and location.

For purposes of precision and clarity, the newspaper is referred to by the name current at the time of the matter under discussion, where a specific instance is involved.

Prior to settling on the title *The Review*, the paper was named at various times *The Sunday Review*, *Sunday Review* and *Sunday the Review*. Here it is referred to as *Sunday Review*, for all ‘Sunday’ titles.

In cases involving more generalized discussion, or where a specific statement is applicable to all iterations of the newspaper, the title *Nation Review* is used as a generic term to encompass all other titles.

For similar reasons, and to avoid ambiguities, all references to the newspaper are given in full, including place of publication.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

For many who lived through the 1970s in Australia, and who took an interest in current affairs and the arts, *Nation Review* holds a special place in their memories. Some will recall a specific issue, or a particular article or cartoon, and will perhaps claim to have read avidly the entire contents as soon as the newspaper reached the news-stands. The paper is often recalled fondly, reminding people of their aspirations and the hope for a bright future that the time seemed to promise. For them, recollection of *Nation Review* triggers nostalgia for a more innocent, more promising past. Leunig's famous ferret character, symbol of the newspaper and source of the definitive caption 'Lean and nose like a ferret', has come to stand, in the minds of some, for all that is best about a newspaper and a nation.¹

Nation Review, and its immediate predecessors, spanned the most tempestuous decade of Australia's recent history. The nation that bought the first edition of the *Sunday Review* (October 11, 1970), was almost foreign to the Australia of December 18, 1981, when the final issue of *Nation Review* went on sale. *Nation Review* too had undergone many convulsive episodes in its own rocky lifetime. Australians were making the almost traumatic transition from the paternalistic, steady and unremarkable days of Robert Menzies, through the wild events of the Gough Whitlam years, to the new, free-market, small-government nation emerging under Malcolm Fraser.

In such turbulent times, access to trusted information becomes vital. People feel the need to know what is being done in their names, and why it is being done. They look for understanding and explanation for the massive impacts on their lives. Newspapers had been the preferred source of information for the general public up to

¹ Michael Leunig was the 'founding' cartoonist for *Nation Review* and its predecessors. His involvement continued (albeit sporadically) to the paper's demise.

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this time. Radio, dominated by commercial stations, had settled into a minor supportive role in terms of broadcasting news and opinion. Television, in its infancy in Australia at the beginning of this period, was making rapid inroads, but was still in the process of developing the incisiveness, power and influence that it would wield at the end of the 1970s, when such programmes as *Four Corners* demonstrated the potential of the medium.² The Australian Broadcasting Commission offered a comprehensive news service, for both Australian and overseas audiences, but, by its nature, and by its charter, the ABC maintained a conservative approach to investigative journalism. Newspapers, however, under the benign gaze of Menzies and the Liberal state governments, were, by and large, in the hands of powerful media dynasties. These newspapers were subject to political affiliations, or at least inclinations. The only broadsheet national paper, the *Australian*, had undergone phases of change and development at the hands of a succession of editors, and had yet to establish a firm identity and authority. For a changing society, and particularly for the young who were spearheading pressures for change, traditional newspapers were perhaps failing to satisfy the need for more profound interpretations of social, political and cultural convulsions. *Nation Review* endeavoured to offer an alternative perspective, informed by the unique philosophical stance of its proprietor, Gordon Barton, and by the ‘larrikin’ origins of its main editor, Richard Walsh, and contributors such as Mungo MacCallum, Bob Ellis and Phillip Adams.

2 A 1966 J.S. Western and C.A. Hughes survey found, in answer to the question ‘Does the radio, television or the newspapers present news most intelligently?’ that television and newspapers were even at 38%, while radio scored 11% (13% Don’t Know). A 1973 ABCB survey found that best news sources were rated thus: newspapers, 48%, television 23% and radio 22%. By 1976, a Morgan poll, canvassing general preferences, found that 43% preferred television, against 32% for newspapers, and 16% for radio. However, a 1977 ANOP poll about media influence found that newspapers were considered the most influential, at 53%, television was 44%, and radio 6%. These surveys cannot be directly compared.

Henry Mayer, Pauline Garde and Sandra Gibbons, *The Media: Questions and answers (Australian Surveys 1942-1980)*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 150-151, p. 182.

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On commencement of this thesis, my intention was to explore the role of *Nation Review* as a dissenting voice in those turbulent times, as a means of forming an understanding of how dissenting media operates, how effective it is, and, by contrast, what happens to the quality of media sources in the absence of dissenting voices. This was not to be.

Based on the perception that *Nation Review* was an influential, unusual and prominent newspaper, and in the knowledge that, at times, readership was claimed to be a substantial 111,000, it seems not unreasonable to expect that the paper would have been the target of significant scholarship.³ This is particularly so given the charismatic, complex, wealthy intellectual who owned and financed the paper, and whose business activities were deeply significant to the Australian economy. Souter, Cryle and Griffen-Foley among others⁴ have written substantial accounts of the histories of significant Australian print media, and supplementary material has been included in other more general histories, and across other media forms.

In the case of *Nation Review* though, there is a resounding silence. Almost no scholarly, peer-reviewed writing has addressed any aspect of *Nation Review*, except in passing references in other contexts. Donald Horne makes six brief allusions to the paper in *Time of Hope*; however, it is surprising that Horne did not examine *Nation Review* more deeply.⁵ Glyn Davis, reviewing Horne's impressive life, said

3 Unattributed announcement, 'The Roy Morgan Research Centre has released the following readership figure for the Review during the period April 1971 to March 1972: 111,000 Australian readers.', *The Review*, (May 6, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 29, p. 799.

4 See, for instance, Gavin Souter, *Company of Heralds*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1981), and *Heralds and Angels: The House of Fairfax 1841-1990*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1991). Denis Cryle, and Christina Hunt, *Murdoch's Flagship: 25 Years of The Australian newspaper*, (Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 2008), Bridget Griffen-Foley, *The House of Packer: The Making of a Media Empire*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999, *Nation: the life of an independent journal of opinion, 1958-1972*, ed. and intr. by Kenneth Stanley Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, (Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1989).

5 Donald Horne, *Time of Hope*, (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1980), pp. 37, 65, 66, 90, 160, 165.

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Through these final years in journalism, Horne continued a long-established habit of long lunches and dinners with a shifting cast – his way to keep in touch with numerous worlds and associates. He enjoyed the company of fellow editors: Adrian Deamer of *The Australian*, Graham Perkin of *The Age*, John Pringle of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Vic Carroll of the *Australian Financial Review*, Bob Raymond of *Four Corners* and Richard Walsh of *Nation Review*...

Books from his UNSW years, such as *Time of Hope*, published in 1980, describe social change in Australia through the popular media ...

Whether discussing political parties or the mass media, he proved less interested in institutions than in the technology and operation of hegemony.⁶

Horne, whose writing is often eerily prescient, and always sharply observant, nonetheless appears to have overlooked the significance of *Nation Review* in the very sphere of his greatest interest.

In 2007 Derek Barry wrote a competent but condensed short essay about *Nation Review* for his *Woolly Days* blog, but this work does not advance knowledge of the paper, and the essay has not been subjected to review.⁷ In May, 2005 Mungo MacCallum included *Nation Review* in a more general account of his involvement with several failed magazines, in an essay written for the *Monthly* magazine.⁸ On Barton's death, in 2005, several of the brief obituaries that emerged mentioned his involvement with *Nation Review*. Mungo MacCallum, one of the most significant contributors to *Nation Review*, nonetheless has been largely silent on his relationship to the paper. His 2001 book *Mungo: the man who laughs* describes in some detail his move from the *Australian* to the new *Sunday Review* in 1970, as Rupert Murdoch began to intervene in Adrian Deamer's

6 Glyn Davis, 'The Endless Seminar', *Griffith Review* Website, (Nathan, Griffith University, 2010), Edition 28, <<https://griffithreview.com/artides/the-endless-seminar/>> [accessed December 28, 2014].

7 Derek Barry, '*Nation Review*: a study of an Australian alternative newspaper (1972-1981)', *Woolly Days* Website, August 23, 2007, <<http://nebuchadnezzarwoollyd.blogspot.com.au/2007/08/nation-review-study-of-australian.html>>, [accessed December 28, 2014].

8 Mungo MacCallum, 'From Nation to Now', *The Monthly* Website, (May 2005), <<http://www.themonthly.com.au/nation-now-mungo-macallum-25>> [accessed December 29, 2014].

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editorial stance.⁹ In *Mungo's Canberra* (1977), MacCallum incorporates articles he wrote for *Nation Review*, but does not expound on his association with the paper, as is also the case for *Mungo on the Zoo Plane* (1979).¹⁰ There is only one brief mention of *Nation Review* in MacCallum's *The Whitlam Mob*.¹¹ Books equivalent to Denis Cryle's *Mudoch's Flagship* or Gavin Souter's *Company of Herald's* have failed to emerge. Ken Inglis, as a regular contributor to Tom Fitzgerald's *Nation*, must have watched the fortunes of *Nation Review* with special attention, although not necessarily any fondness, but, in a career of prolific writing about Australian media, he has been largely silent about the paper. There is a mysterious *Nation Review* website, consisting of a stub made up of a few images of *Nation Review* front pages, but this has been static for several years.¹² At every turn, the serious researcher is confronted by near total silence.

Richard Walsh, as *Nation Review*'s most significant editor, published *Ferretabilia* in 1993, but that is, by and large, a collection of interesting cuttings from the annals of the paper, with some added commentary. In any case, Walsh stops at a point quite early in the newspaper's history, when his involvement began to wane.¹³ Mungo MacCallum has alluded to the paper in some of his collected works, and passing references occur in articles.¹⁴ Sam Everingham has written an excellent, comprehensive biography of Gordon Barton, but, in a life filled with so many interests, Barton's connections to newspaper ownership are able to receive only passing comment (bearing in mind also

9 Mungo MacCallum, *Mungo: the man who laughs*, (Potts Point, Duffy & Snellgrove, 2001), pp. 199-205.

10 Mungo MacCallum, *Mungo's Canberra*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1977);
Mungo MacCallum, *Mungo on the Zoo Plane*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1979).

11 Mungo MacCallum, *The Whitlam Mob*, (Collingwood, Black Inc, 2014).

12 Unattributed, *Nation Review* Website, Seemingly 2003,, <<http://www.nationreview.com/index.html>>, [accessed December 28, 2014].

13 Richard Walsh, *Ferretabilia*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1993);

14 Mungo MacCallum provided, from the outset, a significant journalistic presence in Canberra for the paper, and continued to make material available throughout the life of *Nation Review*.

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that Barton appears to have deliberately maintained a healthy aloofness from his newspapers).¹⁵ Thus, scholarly material is inadequate as a basis for informed analysis of the role and significance of *Nation Review* in the consideration of dissenting media voices.

In the interests of the importance of understanding the mechanics of dissent writing, it may have been appropriate to have abandoned *Nation Review* as a vehicle for its study, but a significant problem would then remain: The history of *Nation Review* is very important, but, with every passing day, more of that history is lost or dissipated, as direct participants succumb to the passing of time, as potential reference material is discarded, and as the attention of possible chroniclers turns to newer subjects. It seemed, therefore, that an attempt to capture some of the history of *Nation Review*, and to examine the paper's function, operation and character, was as pressing and important as any other consideration.

This thesis, then, represents an early stage on the longer journey that is necessary if a comprehensive account of *Nation Review* is to be constructed. The thesis provides a detailed account of key events in the life of the newspaper, and sets those events into context. This account, while incomplete, offers a framework for subsequent enhancement, while permitting closer examination of some of the key events in Australian society, politics and culture at the time. Any attempt contemporaneously to record the detailed workings of a frantic newspaper office tends to be swept aside in the race to deadlines. Gavin Souter was fortunate to have access to a good archive of material as a source for his histories of the Fairfax organization, but this is the exception—the mentality of 'yesterday's news' runs deep in the psyches of those charged with assembling newspapers. In the case of *Nation Review*, a large cache of

15 Sam Everingham, *Gordon Barton: Australia's Maverick Entrepreneur*, (Crows Nest, Allen & Unwin, 2009).

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material, including a significant collection of unique press photographs, was thrown away some time in the mid-1980s, to clear some office space.¹⁶

I was fortunate to have unfettered access to a full set of original issues of *Nation Review*, taken from hiding in the Flinders University Research Repository, but surviving copies are rare—the State Library of South Australia has only an incomplete collection, stored off-site. Other state libraries rely on microfilmed copies, with the limitations inherent in that medium. Thanks to the generosity of Richard Walsh, Bob Ellis and Phillip Adams, I was able to conduct interviews to assist with piecing together some details, although, again, their accounts could only address the times and areas of connection related to their own experiences. In particular, the chaotic end period of the history of *Nation Review* remains largely unexplored and undocumented.

There is a need to understand and explain why *Nation Review* achieved critical and commercial success, at least during the first half of its life, and why it did not become a long-term phenomenon like *The Bulletin*. A fundamental question asked in this thesis, is ‘What did *Nation Review* offer to its readers that other papers perhaps did not?’ The question encompasses such aspects as the paper’s expressed and perceived values, its adequacy as a news source, its cultural role and its ultimate demise.

Each state had its own substantial daily newspaper, and with a weekly print cycle, *Nation Review* could not compete with the dailies in terms of speed of response. The dailies were able to field large teams of respected journalists, and had links to major international news services. The ‘rivers of gold’ flowing from classified advertisements ensured that the dailies could afford to undertake resource-hungry investigations, could maintain useful contacts in political and other spheres, and could fund expensive

¹⁶ Richard Walsh, Personal Interview with the Author, March 15, 2013.

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contributions from the best local and overseas correspondents. *Nation Review*, unable to generate sufficient volumes of advertising, struggled, despite Barton's generous support (for the duration of his tenure), to meet weekly expenses of the most meagre kind. And yet the paper's circulation figures, supported by anecdotal comments, indicate that many Australians sought something more than was being offered by the dailies, and that many of them were finding it in *Nation Review*.

In an attempt to explain what *Nation Review* had to offer, this thesis examines coverage of some specific events in a comparative study based on the major daily newspapers. It looks at such factors as adequacy of news coverage, partiality (bias), and difference. An international event, the overthrow of Allende in Chile, is used to evaluate the paper's performance in international news coverage, in the period when *Nation Review* was considered to be at its best.¹⁷ The 1976 NSW state election forms the subject of an analysis of local news coverage—at a time when many at *Nation Review* were still reeling from the dismissal of Gough Whitlam six months earlier. Analysis of this kind is approximate at best, and can be unkind when it occurs at a distance in time that may have led to the loss of finer nuances. Furthermore, *Nation Review* recognized its own limitations as a source of primary, hard-nosed investigative journalism, showing instead a preference for engagement with deeper analysis and discussion. Nonetheless, an examination of how well a newspaper addresses its fundamental purpose is appropriate and important.

Besides its news section, the newspaper carried a substantial review section, and this was where, in many respects, most of the work was done. In the review section, contributors were able to introduce and review controversial books about sensitive

¹⁷ Salvador Allende, democratically-elected socialist President of Chile, died during a right-wing military coup, September 11, 1973, that saw General Augusto Pinochet assume a 17-year dictatorship.

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issues. They were able to establish links and connections with current affairs, political events and a changing society. The review section enhanced the context for news, offering a dimension often lacking in the dailies. As a fore-runner of much of what came to be 'lifestyle' in the dailies and the special weekend editions that emerged in response to *Nation Review's* trailblazing, the paper at first had no peers when it came to the review section. The review section provided a vehicle for opposition to censorship, it allowed light to be shed on otherwise murky politics, and it provided a space for new Australian artistic talent to be aired.¹⁸

It is in the area of emerging changes to Australian society that *Nation Review* becomes most significant. In 1968 Donald Horne had borrowed the term 'New Nationalism' from its Canadian origin, where a similar journey into nationalism was being enacted, as a consequence of the attenuation of Britain's imperial power.¹⁹ Horne in this case linked notions of New Nationalism with the individualistic style and attitudes of John Gorton. With its origins in opposition to the other great imperial power, the US, *Nation Review* was a natural focal point for New Nationalism. The thesis examines the intricately-intertwined fortunes of *Nation Review* with the ascendancy and demise of New Nationalism, spanning, as they did, an almost exactly contemporaneous period. The American New Journalism phenomenon found a strong echo here, and *Nation Review* was particularly amenable to the development of a uniquely Australian strain of New Journalism. The paper had, from its inception (primarily as a cost-

18 As a random example of an early Review section, the *Sunday Review* of January 31, 1971 features reviews of books about nuclear war (*Men who play God*, Norman Moss), biological war (*The Ultimate Folly*, Richard D. McCarthy), revolution (*Guerilla Movements in Latin America*, Richard Gott Nelson) and ecology (*Man and Wildlife*, C. A. W. Guggisberg-Evans). An art review addresses Cuban revolutionary art (*The Art of Revolution: 96 Posters from Cuba*). The Australian play *Breakfast with Julia* was also reviewed, along with a collection of Australian Rob Hillier's photography, *A Place called Paddington*, that included nudity.

19 Donald Horne, 'The New Nationalism?', *The Bulletin*, (October 5, 1968), (Sydney, John Haynes and J.F. Archibald, 1968), Vol. 90, No. 4622, pp. 36-38.

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containment exercise), relied on contributions from correspondents on an ad-hoc basis. This gave writers considerable latitude in terms of style, freedom of expression and opinion, enabling good writing to blend with good journalism. Furthermore, the policy cleared the way for a broader selection of writers, going outside pure journalism, to contribute work that stemmed from more personal perspectives, and was coloured by the origins and backgrounds of the contributors. This policy led to a blurring of the distinction between journalistic and literary writing. From this sprang a character that was unique to the newspaper, and that was responsive to changes as contributors came and went.

New Nationalism was, in the early 1970s, a significant political phenomenon, featuring strongly in Whitlam's election campaign speeches, and then in government policy.²⁰ *Nation Review* was well-placed to understand, and be sympathetic to, New Nationalism, its origins and its significance, given the experiences of its proprietor, its editor and many of its contributors. Consequently, New Nationalism is reflected not only in hard news and political coverage, but also in book and film reviews, a nurturing of new Australian theatre, and an awareness of emerging Australian music and painting. Even its advertisements, by necessity rather than design, primarily promoted smaller, quirky local businesses, rather than bland international corporations.²¹

20 Whitlam said, in his famous 'Blacktown Speech' (November 13, 1972), 'And we are determined that the Australian people shall be restored to their rightful place in their own country, as participants and partners in government, as the owners and keepers of the national estate and the nation's resources, as fair and equal sharers in the wealth and opportunities that this nation should offer in abundance to all its people. We will put Australians back into the business of running Australia and owning Australia. We will revive in this nation the spirit of national cooperation and national self-respect, mutual respect between government and people.' Gough Whitlam, *Men and Women of Australia! Our Greatest Modern Speeches*, ed. by Michael Fullilove, (Melbourne, Penguin Group, 2014), pp. 98-101.

Early in his Prime Ministership, Whitlam initiated constitutional changes to alter the relationship with Britain. James Curran & Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2010), pp. 135-143.

21 The December 16, 1972 issue (first issue under Whitlam) contains 18 advertisements (mostly small) for local businesses, and 2 for international products (one small alcohol, and 1 large consumer electronics). This excludes advertisements for books and entertainment.

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New Nationalism ultimately failed as a national project, for a range of reasons that go beyond the scope of this thesis. Primarily, Malcolm Fraser's administration reverted to 'business as usual', meaning the end of national-centric defence strategies, the end of 'buying back the farm', and the end of concern with symbols of mature nationhood.²² Given *Nation Review's* strong identification with New Nationalism, it is tempting to look for fatal linkages that consigned the paper to the same fate, as an explanation for the decline, and ultimate demise of the paper. The thesis examines this relationship in an attempt to explain the changing fortunes of the paper over the decade of its life.

As a consequence of the minimal amount of scholarship dealing with this intriguing Australian newspaper, this thesis perhaps asks more questions than it is able to answer. There is a strong sense of urgency to accelerate research into the paper, as sources of information diminish on what seems an almost daily basis. Attention needs to be given, for instance, to the positive identification of contributors, many of whom were hidden, often as a matter of necessity, behind anonymous by-lines. Major gaps exist in the area of day-to-day operations—who, for instance, were the 'paste-up ladies'? What changes occurred in printing arrangements over the life of the paper?²³

Nation Review slipped into obscurity with surprising rapidity, as the nation moved on, as politics changed, and as Australian media was subjected to a variety of shocks and

22 As Mungo MacCallum saw it: 'The reason Malcolm Fraser has decided on *Waltzing Matilda* as Australia's national song is probably not only because it tells the story of a wealthy grazier who calls the cops to hound a hungry unemployed man to death... The reason is simply that the Whitlam government thought Australia's national anthem should be something else. Fraser has demonstrated an almost obsessive interest in undoing everything the Whitlam government did, even down to the most trivial items...' Mungo MacCallum, 'Waltzing grazier Matildas over the fair queen', *Nation Review*, (May 7, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 30, p. 724.

23 This is a reference to the Michael Leunig cartoon, 'Leunig's guide to staff style', that appeared in the *Sunday Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 52, p. 1479.

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changes. For some, Australian media has failed in its role as the ‘fourth estate’ on a number of significant occasions, such as the issues behind, and conduct of, Australian involvement in the war in Iraq, the perceived failure to hold politicians to account during several election campaigns, and the dominance of press managers pursuing the ten-second sound-bite, at the cost of informed, in-depth, independent journalism.²⁴ It is time to unearth *Nation Review*, to rediscover its history, to rediscover the effectiveness of its journalism, and to understand the mechanisms of dissent writing. As a matter of historical preservation, but, more importantly, as a contributor to the debate about modern media and how it responds to new paradigms, scholarship in this area offers potentially great rewards. This thesis offers a starting-point, by providing a reliable historical structural account, by examining in detail the effectiveness of *Nation Review* in its primary role as a newspaper, and by placing the paper in its social, political and cultural context.

24 Mary Macken-Horarik closely analyses the progress of the 2001-2002 ‘Children Overboard’ affair, in which pre-election claims by John Howard about deliberate throwing overboard of refugee children by their parents were proven to be false. She notes, ‘Although the article [confirming that the ‘incident’ did not occur, February 2002] is significant for its revelations about the government cover-up, it takes only a relatively small amount of space on this newspaper page which gave most space to a story about an Australian skater who won gold at the 2002 Winter Olympics.’ Mary Macken-Horarik, ‘Tackling multimodal news: Some implications of critical analytical research on the ‘children overboard’ affair’, *Melbourne Studies in Education*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (2005), pp. 45-66. For a detailed analysis of how the ‘fourth estate’ inter-relates with democracy, see Pippa Norris, *Driving Democracy: Do Power-sharing Institutions Work?*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapter 8.

Empires

Lyndon Baines Johnson was the first serving US president to visit Australia, arriving October 20, 1966. In the context of relations between Australia and the US, a visit at this particular moment would seem natural and unsurprising, given post-war shifts in global power and influence. The British Commonwealth of Nations had been proclaimed in the 1931 Statute of Westminster, a natural consequence of the coming of age of erstwhile British Empire colonies, and springing largely from the outcome of the Great War. Maturation of former colonies into 'dominions' had been accelerated by the significant roles they played in the Great War. Australia was not alone in forging a more prominent national character and presence, while Britain itself, and the mechanisms of Empire, had been severely weakened by the war effort. Meanwhile, the US, unscathed by the War, but enjoying the benefits of the economic activity involved in manufacturing and supplying arms, had increased its international standing and influence. The Second World War further exacerbated Britain's decline, while simultaneously accelerating the ascension of the US, where, again, relatively minor loss was more than offset by war profits.¹ Thus, by 1966, the ties of Empire or Commonwealth were weak, while trade and defence links with the US had been significantly strengthened, in a region where US influence was expanding. A State visit by a US president would seem, on the face of it, to be entirely appropriate and, if anything, flattering rather than controversial.

This perception of a natural order is challenged by the appearance, on October 22, 1966, of an open letter to President Johnson, written by successful business entrepreneur Gordon Barton, and appearing as a full-page advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Barton's letter, critical of Australian involvement in the Vietnam war,

¹ Richard Wevill gives an account of the changing relationships after the War in *Britain and America after World War II: Bilateral Relations and the Beginnings of the Cold War*, (London, I. B. Tauris, 2011).

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struck a chord with many Australians, and did so with a vehemence unexpected by Barton himself. This letter, and the public response to it, led directly to the formation of the federal Australia Party, and to the publication, by Barton, of two newspapers, the *Sunday Observer*, in Melbourne, and the national *Sunday Review*, which went on to become *Nation Review*. As with so much else in the 70s, it is the issues of Vietnam and its subordinate, conscription, that lie at the heart of the emergence of *Nation Review*. This chapter considers the circumstances surrounding the birth of the paper, and examines the early life and fortunes of an independent national weekly newspaper in the eventful, boisterous and exciting nation that was Australia in the 1970s.

To understand the culture, politics and society of 1970s Australia, it is necessary to consider the situation that the nation found itself in, on its emergence from the Second World War. As hostilities changed course to the extent that ultimate victory in Europe and against Japan became more certain, Australian politicians who were planning for a post-war Australia, understood that geopolitical balances had changed, and that perhaps three essential policy options existed: maintain traditional ties with Britain in a Commonwealth of equals; stand alone as a neutral nation; become a junior partner in the US sphere of power. Given these options, Australia's post-war direction was unsurprising, although not inevitable. Lowe offers a nuanced discussion of the transition to alliance with the US, noting, '[M]ost Australians recognized that while Britain in the 1950s was an imperial power in decline, especially after the prestige-shattering Suez affair in 1956, it was still a power with considerable international influence and assets.'² Lowe follows this observation with an account of the strategic transition to ANZUS and to operations in South East Asia, from Korea onwards.³

2 David Lowe, 'Security', *The Cambridge History of Australia (Vol 2)*, Ed, by Bashford, Alison and Macintyre, Stuart, (Port Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 505.

3 Lowe, pp. 506-509.

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Australia thus contributed forces to the UN operations in Korea in 1950, in line with the Domino Theory.⁴

Australian ‘Advisors’ had been deployed to Vietnam in 1962, but direct involvement began with the arrival there of the 1st Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, in May 1965. In accordance with the Domino Theory, New Guinea was seen as a natural and vital line of defence against incursion from any Asian quarter, and in the early 1960s it was Indonesia that offered the greatest consternation. There was considerable and somewhat justifiable concern in Menzies’ mind that, when it came to it, the US would not abide by its defence agreements, leaving Australia to stand alone; both the US and Britain had significant trade arrangements with Indonesia.⁵ Locked into a somewhat Machiavellian mindset, Menzies considered that he would be able to entice the US into more materially supporting Australia against Indonesia, if Australia were playing a significant supporting role in Vietnam. David Lee’s account of the episode notes that

During this time, almost alone of the allies of the United States, the Australian Government actively encouraged the escalation of the war in Vietnam. In early 1965, Hasluck instructed Keith Waller, the Ambassador in Washington, to offer Australia’s full public support if the United States implemented a strike against the DRV’s infiltration system against South Vietnam. Later, Waller launched a diplomatic campaign to encourage the United States to step up its operations from covert operations against North Vietnam into a progressively expanding bombing campaign of targets in North Vietnam and Laos.⁶

The drawback for Australia was that forces had already been committed to roles in Malaysia and Borneo. Menzies had won a significant majority in the 1963 election, fought largely on foreign policy. His scheme for protection of the Australian mainland was titled ‘Forward Defence’, and entailed sending Australian troops to fight

4 Geoffrey Bolton, ‘The Politics of Affluence’, *The Oxford History of Australia (Vol. 5)*, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 159.

5 Lowe, p. 506.

6 David Lee, ‘The Liberals and Vietnam’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol 51, No. 3, (2005), (St Lucia, University of Queensland and Blackwell Publishing Asia Pty Ltd), pp. 429-439.

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Communism in overseas countries, to pre-empt any form of conflict on Australian soil. Thus, by 1965, Australian soldiers were fighting in Sabah and Sarawak (Malaysia), as well as in Borneo, leaving only two battalions on the Australian mainland.⁷

Furthermore, Menzies had promoted the notion of the Domino Theory as a useful domestic political strategy. Bolton says ‘It was an unheroic policy which by its nature could not be openly admitted; but until the moment when something like a genuine crisis developed on Australia’s doorstep it worked.’⁸ It was therefore necessary to engage in some sabre-rattling against Communist China, despite the inherent and significant risk. In effect, Menzies had painted Australia into a corner where significant, though largely fabricated and inappropriate, bellicosity existed between Australia and other south-eastern nations. With increasing tensions, and prominence of defence as a domestic political issue, Menzies needed to boost the capacity of the Army, for the threefold purposes of upholding the notion of Forward Defence, commitment to the US alliance, and pursuance of domestic political strategy. His solution: conscription.

Henry Albinski noted that ‘Most elections under Menzies lacked the bite of incisive debate over external issues. When the debate did arise, it was obfuscated by ancillary issues, usually referring to Communism in general or to the trustworthiness and responsibility of the Labor Party and of its leadership.’ Albinski records (on the basis of public surveys) that ‘[P]rior to the entry of conscription and Vietnam into political controversy, the public was not much interested in or affected by electoral

7 Dennis & Grey note ‘By April 1964 there was a greater willingness on the part of the Australian Government to reconsider the issue of increased military assistance to Malaysia. The response would remain graduated, both because dramatic gestures were still not called for and because the state of the Australian forces was such that, taking into account SEATO commitments and the problem of the undefended border in New Guinea, a dramatic commitment to Malaysia was largely beyond Australia’s means.’ Peter Dennis & Jeffrey Grey, *Emergency and Confrontation: Australian military operations in Malaya and Borneo 1950-66*, (St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1996), p. 203.

Dennis & Grey also point out that ‘Given Australia’s habit of spending as little on defence in peacetime as possible, it was both inevitable that Australia’s role should be a lesser one and fortunate that Britain was prepared to continue to shoulder the burden of regional defence for as long as it did.’ (p. xv).

8 Bolton, p. 155.

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presentations of foreign policy.⁹ Furthermore, the Liberal Party had trounced Labor in the 1963 election, gaining an additional ten seats in a contest that had emphasized defence policy. Menzies' interpretation of foreign policy had been aired more extensively than had previously been usual, and there were, for once, clear pragmatic and ideological distinctions between the major parties' stances. It can be deduced from the nature of this contest that Menzies felt empowered to introduce conscription, on the basis that public support was implied in the election result, and that any opposition from Labor would be ineffectual. Menzies introduced conscription in November 1964, without provision for overseas service. This element was then introduced in May 1965, and conscripts were first sent to Vietnam in March 1966.¹⁰

Conscription was successful in supplying the numbers required for Menzies' military commitments. At the height of Australian involvement in Vietnam (1968) 44% of men serving in Vietnam were conscripts.¹¹ According to the Australian War Memorial Corporation, 'From 1965 to 1972, 15,381 national servicemen served in the Vietnam War, with 200 killed and 1,279 wounded.'¹² What the government, and perhaps Australian society at large, did not expect, was the degree to which opposition to conscription would combine with opposition to the involvement of Australian forces specifically in Vietnam, thereby generating unprecedented civil unrest.

Labor's perspective on foreign policy, under Calwell, was rather more nuanced than the Liberals'; they were less constrained by the Forward Defence strategy and the

9 Henry S. Albinski, *Politics and Foreign Policy in Australia: The impact of Vietnam and conscription*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 1970), pp. 27-29.

10 Simon Ville and Peter Siminski, 'A Fair and Equitable Method of Recruitment?: Conscription by Ballot into the Australian Army During the Vietnam War', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol 51, No. 3, (2005), (Blackwell Publishing Asia Pty Ltd), pp. 277-296. See also interview with Liberal MP Jim Forbes by Kevin Naughton, 'We had to bring it in': defending conscription, 50 years on, (April 4, 2014), Crikey Website, < http://www.crikey.com.au/2014/01/08/we-had-to-bring-it-in-defending-conscription-50-years-on/?wpmp_switcher=mobile > [accessed 4 April, 2014].

11 Albinski, (1970), p. 32.

12 *Conscription*, (Undated), Australian War Memorial Website, < <http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/conscription/> > [accessed 12 March 2014].

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Domino Theory, and were less inclined towards military solutions in general. There was a greater preparedness to enter into diplomatic dialogue with the Chinese. Labor saw better options in the form of trade and economic levers, and was ideologically more in tune with the global organisations, like the United Nations, that had been put in place as a direct response to nationalistic ambitions after the Second World War. Furthermore, the respective origins of Liberal and Labor tenets placed Liberal supporters closer to the notion of allegiance to, first Britain, and later the US, whereas a sense of Australian nationhood was inherent in some of the union movement's struggles for justice for workers. This translated to a readiness to consider Asian trade and diplomatic relationships that were unfettered by the strategic machinations of either Britain or the US. All of this complexity was difficult to enunciate.¹³

Conscription

When it came to the issue of conscription, the situation was again more complicated for Labor. While the Liberal Party and its antecedents had a consistent position in favour of conscription, Labor had to contend with one of the most shocking events in its history: the split led by Prime Minister William Hughes following the referendum of 1916, in which the introduction of conscription was narrowly defeated. Nick Dyrenfurth suggests that one key element of the split was the ideological conundrum of whether Labor's class struggle should be set aside in the context of the

13 An examination of Robert Menzies' and Arthur Calwell's 1963 election policy speeches reveals interesting contrasts. Menzies places defence and foreign policy at the top of his list specific policy statements. Menzies reiterates the threat of Communism in general terms, and points to the ANZUS and SEATO treaties as proof of superior strategy. Calwell places defence and foreign policy well down the list of topics. His policy commitments are expressed in concrete terms (numbers of Army recruits, Australian-built rather than U.S. communications centres {e.g. Pine Gap}, a more open selection process for new aircraft) In all Labor's policy is richer in detail than the Liberal 'motherhood' statement, but is more complex. See:

Robert Menzies, *Federal Election 1963 Policy Speech*, (November 12, 1963), PM Transcripts, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Website, <<http://pmtranscripts.dpmc.gov.au/browse.php?did=853>> [accessed March 21, 2014]; Arthur Calwell, *Election Speeches 1963*, (November 6, 1963), Election Speeches, Museum of Australian Democracy Website, <<http://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/speeches/1963-arthur-calwell>> [accessed March 21, 2014];

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more immediate national threat. This issue became stark in the light of conscription.

Dyrenfurth suggests that ‘[T]he wartime labour movement was not in theory opposed to conscription. Rather the movement objected to a form of conscription which applied to human life but excluded the nation’s wealth.’¹⁴

When the November 1966 federal election was held, the conscription issue had emerged as divisive, not only within the Labor party-room, but also in the greater community. By that date, Australian soldiers had died in Vietnam (including the ‘winner’ of a posthumous Victoria Cross). Demonstrations had been held in Sydney against the war, and in Melbourne specifically against conscription. Harold Holt had succeeded Menzies, and had sent a larger military force, including the first conscripts, to Vietnam in March 1966. Errol Noack became the first conscripted soldier to die in Vietnam in May 1966. The Battle of Long Tan had left 18 Australians (and 245 Viet Cong) dead in August 1966. President Lyndon Johnson had conducted a State Visit from October 20-23 1966, intended to bolster Holt’s election chances. There had been a mixed reception, with large crowds of supporters, but also significant demonstrations against Vietnam. Gordon Barton had published his full-page open letter in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on October 22, addressed to Johnson and critical of the purposes and conduct of the Vietnam war. A survey on the eve of the election found 63% of voters in favour of conscription, but only 37% in favour of sending them to Vietnam.¹⁵ ‘Holt secured a 4.3% swing to the coalition. It won a landslide victory with 56.9% of the two-party-preferred

14 Nick Dyrenfurth, “Conscription is not Abhorrent to Laborites and Socialists”: Revisiting the Australian Labour Movement’s Attitude towards Military Conscription during World War I, *Labour History*, (November 2012), (Australian Society for the Study of Labour History), No. 103, pp. 145-164

15 ‘19 November 1966 - Morgan Gallup Poll finds that 63% are in favour of conscription, but only 37% approve of sending National Servicemen to Vietnam.’, *Vietnam Veterans of Australia Association Website*, <http://www.vvaa.org.au/calendar.htm>, [Accessed June 9, 2014].

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vote and 82 seats in the House of Representatives to the ALP's 41.¹⁶ Australia's stance on Vietnam and conscription appeared to be set for the ensuing three years.

Conscientious objection to conscription has always formed part of the national service legislation in Australia, for both pragmatic and moral principles. Catholic Archbishop Mannix had been a vocal opponent of conscription leading up to the 1915 referendum, famously referring to the war as 'a sordid, ordinary trade war', and averring that 'conscription is a hateful thing, and it is almost certain to bring evil in its train. The present war could never have assumed such disastrous proportions, it could never had been stained with such horrors, if conscription had not prevailed in Europe.'¹⁷ As Ann-Mari Jordens indicates, over and above the moral question inherent in the state compelling its citizens to kill, is the complex matter of how the state deals with objectors.¹⁸ The National Service Act 1964 allowed for objection only on grounds of religious or moral beliefs, held by the objector regardless of specific circumstances. Since many who objected to conscription in the case of Vietnam were opposed, not on universal grounds, but to specific involvement in this particular war, the state had, in effect, failed to provide the kind of legitimate safety valve described by Jordens.¹⁹

16 *Detailed results: House of Representatives 1966–1987*, viewed on Parliament of Australia Website, <http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1112/12rp06/Copy_of_12rp06d>, [accessed June 9, 2014]; See Also *The Malcolm Mackerras Six And The Question Of How To Define A Landslide*, (6 January, 2014), Australian Politics Website, <<http://australianpolitics.com/category/elections-aus/1966-federal-election>>, [Accessed 25 March 2014].

17 Archbishop Mannix, *Clifton Hill Speech*, (September 16, 1916), Quoted by Val Noone in 'Class Factors in the Radicalization of Archbishop Daniel Mannix', *Labour History*, No. 106, (May 2014), (Australian Society for the Study of Labour History), pp. 189-204.

18 Ann-Mari Jordens, *Working Paper No. 73: Conscientious Objection and the Vietnam War*, (Canberra, Australian National University, 1989), p. 1.

19 Hugh Smith quotes Justice Windeyer, the Judge who dealt with a High Court appeal by conscientious objector William White: 'Windeyer also pointed out that while other countries such as the United Kingdom during World War II had in practice accepted 'conscientious objection to participation only in a war then in progress', the words of the current [National Service] Act required an objection to war which was 'absolute and unlimited in time'.', Hugh Smith, 'Conscientious Objection to Particular Wars: Australia's Experience during the Vietnam War, 1965-1972', *War and Society*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (May 1990), (Sydney, University of New South Wales), p. 122.

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Civil Responses

The 63% who favoured conscription, and the 56.9% two-party-preferred vote for Holt, did not fall evenly across the Australian social landscape. Many, especially younger people, were opposed to engagement in Vietnam, seeing it as an imperialist war, and to conscription, which they saw as an immoral tool of capitalist ambition. Furthermore, there were echoes of the 1915 *Labor Call* position: whereas *Labor Call* drew attention to the disparity inherent in predominantly working-class men being called upon to give up their lives, while wealthy capitalists avoided any calls upon their wealth, young Australians now highlighted the fact that the older generation was expecting the younger one to make sacrifices on its behalf, despite those of call-up age being ‘too young to vote’. For them, the confined nature of ‘official’ conscientious objection to conscription, and the lack of a political means of objection to the Vietnam war (faced with at least three years of pro-war Liberal government and a demoralized Labor Party) was bitterly frustrating. What emerged was the phenomenon of civil unrest and opposition.²⁰

Opposition to Vietnam, in the form of public demonstrations, began early, with a march in Sydney coinciding with the Hiroshima Day anniversary march on August 9, 1964, and a protest outside the US Consulate in Melbourne. Protest against conscription got under way with a joint meeting of the Sydney University Liberal and ALP clubs on November 11, 1964. Groups began to form spontaneously, including the Youth Campaign Against Conscription, the Vietnam Action Committee, and Save Our Sons, a group formed by mothers of conscripted youths.²¹ Even so, on the eve of the 1966 election, there appeared little hope that the voices of opposition would be attended to,

20 Ashley Lavelle cites Picot: ‘However devastating was that election result, as Picot argues by ‘eliminating the electoral option [it] created a space for more radical politics’. Thus, 1968 saw the formation of the militant Draft Resistance Movement (DRM).’ Ashley Lavelle ‘Labor and Vietnam: A Reappraisal’, *Labour History*, No. 90, (May 2006), (Australian Society for the Study of Labour History), pp. 119-136.

21 Lavelle, (2006), pp. 119-136.

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either politically through parliamentary processes, or through public protest, and the arrival of LBJ to bolster Holt's election aspirations was provocative.

Objections to the war in Vietnam arose from diverse sources. Organisation of opposition was fragmentary and ad-hoc. The Press was strongly pro-government and in favour of the Vietnam adventure, but, according to Lavelle,

Labor's attitude to Vietnam, however, changed dramatically over this period. Whereas in the early 1960s it was sympathetic to United States (US) intervention, by the time of the 1972 federal election it stood for complete withdrawal, for repeal of the National Service Act, and for a weaker commitment to the Australian, New Zealand and United States security treaty (ANZUS). The shift was reflected not just in policy terms, but also in the passion with which Labor Members of Parliament (MPs) debated the war in parliament, the support given to draft resisters and the principle of direct action, and the election of Labor MPs onto anti-war campaign committees.²²

In effect, there existed within the broader community a considerable degree of difference over Australian involvement in the war in Vietnam. However, the established political and media systems offered no meaningful outlet for this often intensely-felt disquiet. Enter Gordon Barton.

Gordon Barton

'Crikey is amazed that the death last Monday of one of the most significant Australian business, political and media figures – Gordon Barton – has apparently gone unreported and ignored by "papers of record" like the *Financial Review*, *The Australian*, *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*.' This was how Colin Chapman, writing for the Crikey website, reported the death of Gordon Barton, which occurred on April 4, 2005.²³ In his article, Chapman went on to write: 'Of course, now they've been alerted, newspapers like the *Financial Review* and *Sydney Morning Herald* will report his death, and run extensive obituaries.' Chapman was right; on April 11, 2005 Valerie Lawson wrote

22 Lavelle, (2006), pp. 119-136.

23 Colin Chapman, *Gordon Barton dead: not important enough for Aust press*, (7 April, 2005), Crikey Website, < http://www.crikey.com.au/2005/04/07/gordon-barton-dead-not-important-enough-for-aust-press/?wpmp_switcher=mobile >, [accessed 22 March 2014].

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the obituary notice for the *Sydney Morning Herald*.²⁴ The bulk of Lawson's Barton obituary appears to have been sourced from an interview with Geoffrey, Gordon's son, and is comprehensive at 1350 words. Chapman was also right in pointing out the lack of attention given to both the life and death of Barton. ABC Radio National made a brief announcement on April 7. Lawson's obituary appears to have been the common source for any other commentary on Barton's passing. Overall, and considering Barton's influential and eventful life, very little public acknowledgement eventuated.

Nine months after Barton's death, Sam Everingham undertook what has become the definitive biography of Barton: *Gordon Barton: Australia's Maverick Entrepreneur*.²⁵ The term 'maverick entrepreneur' appears to have been coined by Lawson in her Barton obituary, and it is an apt one. No other extensive examination of Barton's life has been undertaken. Apart from brief allusions in a variety of tangential contexts, the sole source of reliable information about Barton is Everingham's work.²⁶

By the time of his open letter to President Johnson, Gordon Barton had already over-achieved. 'In 1953, he created Sydney University history by graduating with three degrees simultaneously, in law, arts and economics.'²⁷ Barton had partly funded his education by driving a friend's truck, laden with onions, across state borders in contravention of quarantine laws. This enterprise developed into a modest trucking business, while Barton simultaneously practised law, managed the trucking business

24 Valerie Lawson, GORDON BARTON *Businessman and publisher (1929-2005) "A style all of his own"* Obituary, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (11 April, 2005), viewed on Milesago Website, <<http://www.milesago.com/Obits/barton-gordon.htm>>, [accessed 22 March 2014].

25 Everingham, (2009).

26 Everingham was granted access to a large collection of material, and had the full cooperation of Barton's family. Everingham is scrupulous in detailing sources and differentiates substantiated accounts from hearsay material. Barton is otherwise mentioned: Richard Walsh, *Ferretabilia*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1993); MacCallum, Mungo, 'From Nation to Now', [accessed 16 March 2014]; Un-named Interviewer, 'Gordon Barton in review', *The Review*, (November 5, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 93. Everingham's book was reviewed widely and with enthusiasm.

27 Lawson, (2005), [accessed 22 March 2014].

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(sometimes also driving gruelling stints), and undertook a metaphysics course under John Anderson at Sydney University. Anderson was undoubtedly a significant influence in Barton's life and philosophy. Anderson's influence in particular drove much of the 'Sydney Push's' philosophy, and Barton moved peripherally amongst this fluctuating crowd of free-thinkers, libertarians and anti-establishment activists that was centred around Sydney University. Everingham quotes Judy Wallace, Push member and subsequent girlfriend of Barton, who suggests that Barton, as an aspiring capitalist, was not a good fit with the Push crowd, and not popular because of his Liberal Club connection. Barton was initially attracted to the Push for its intellectual stimulation rather than any philosophy it might have espoused.²⁸ He was an inveterate polymath, however, and inevitably he was influenced by some of Anderson's and other Push members' arguments.

Barton found that self-employment was the most fulfilling option for him, and he focussed his energy on building up the transport business that became IPEC, the second-largest transport company in Australia. By 1964, IPEC was ready, both financially and in terms of market power, to expand into transporting cargo by air. Throughout 1965 and into 1966 Barton fought the government, in court, in the Press, and in Parliament, seeking permission to import aircraft and use them for freight-carrying purposes, in the face of the two-airline policy. Ultimately losing to the government, Barton nonetheless learned a great deal about prosecuting a cause through all channels available to him as a wealthy and successful businessman.

At the end of 1965 Barton's wife Vonnie was diagnosed with a severe brain tumour and given little time to live. Barton resigned as IPEC's managing-director and devoted his time to Vonnie. When she responded positively to treatment, the family (Barton by now had a daughter) spent two months holidaying in eastern Asia. During

²⁸ Everingham, (2009), p. 31.

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their travels, Barton began to hear about the Vietnam conflict, and, for once with time on his hands, he was able to examine the situation in detail. Having lost a brother in the Second World War, Barton was unconvinced that war was an effective or moral means of resolving conflict, and Menzies' rationale for involving Australia in this particular conflict seemed deeply flawed. Already, in 1950, Barton, then a member of the NSW State Council for the Liberal Party, had caused consternation by eloquently and emotionally opposing Menzies' Communist Party Dissolution Bill, on the grounds, not of sympathy for Communists, but because he saw the Bill as unconstitutional and totalitarian, claiming it would presage 'a new Australian era of thought police, purge trials and political concentration camps'.²⁹ In Barton then, a number of disparate threads had coalesced into an individual with the conviction that Australian involvement in Vietnam was wrong, who was scathing of those whose policy it was, and who possessed many of the means by which he could express his disagreement.

The Letter

While Barton was in Asia with Vonnie, a solitary Tasmanian Senator, Reginald "Spot" Turnbull, had risen in the Senate to accuse the Australian government of trading the lives of Australian conscripts for preferred treatment by the US. Vonnie, despite her own precarious health, had become passionately concerned for victims of the war, in particular the children. With the announcement of Johnson's visit to Australia, both Gordon and Vonnie were frustrated by the notion that Johnson would remain unaware, because of the stance of the media and both major political parties, that not all Australians were comfortable with the notion of 'going all the way'. With his usual rational thinking, Barton decided that the best way to ensure that Johnson would hear about dissent, would be through a personal letter, arguing also that, to ensure that the letter would reach Johnson, it should be published as an open letter in the Press. After

²⁹ Everingham, (2009), pp. 33-36.

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some hesitation by the Chief-of-staff at the *Sydney Morning Herald*, overcome by Barton's hinting at powerful connections, the letter was accepted for publication, paid for by Barton at very high advertising rates.

Barton's letter is polite and respectful in its tone. He opens with:

It is unfortunate that your welcome in Australia has been clouded by the deep disagreement in this country as to our part in the Vietnamese War. I am concerned that the thought, comment and actions of our Government have reflected very little of this disagreement, nor indeed much awareness of what is involved.³⁰

The letter has four main themes: Support for the war is not unanimous in Australia (despite government claims that it is); the purported reason for the war—stopping the spread of communism—is illogical, given that it is creating exactly the conditions that engender communism; that war is futile and destructive, offering no solutions and many problems; Australians do not like the war for humanitarian reasons. Barton's arguments are clear and calmly-expressed, and rely primarily on logical argument to make the case. The letter is a plea for common sense, and it resonated beyond Barton's expectations.³¹ Barton had voiced the sentiments that were held by many people, and now he became the instant focal point for expression of their quiet anger over Vietnam and conscription. For the next few weeks, letters and phone-calls flooded into Barton's home and office, offering support and seeking advice about how to have their own voices heard. Barton felt obliged to maintain the sudden momentum his action had precipitated. The upcoming election offered an opportunity to give voice to anti-war arguments, but the chances of effecting any real change were remote, given that many Liberal voters, despite fundamentally disagreeing with the Liberal war policy, would never vote for a

30 Gordon Barton, 'An Open Letter to the President of the United States of America', Published as advertisement, *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 21, 1966.

31 A reproduction of Barton's letter in large poster form was offered by *Nation Review* at the price of \$2 in February 1973. The offer notes: 'Over six years have passed since President Johnson came to Sydney, but the war in Vietnam has continued, and Gordon Barton's words mean as much today as they did in 1966.', *Nation Review*, (February 2, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 16, p. 480.

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Labor candidate, and, in any case, the Labor position on the war was muddled. Judith Brett alludes to Donald Horne's *The Lucky Country*:

In *The Lucky Country* Horne described the educated middle generation's despair at the possibility of change. However, he ended the book on an optimistic note: 'all the same something is going to happen', a reformer with broad views of change was needed who would forget the present occupants of power and look to the future. There is no suggestion that Horne thought such a reformer would be found in the ranks of Labor; more likely he would be a dissident Liberal, someone like the Sydney business man Gordon Barton.³²

Liberal Reform Movement

Francis James, with whom Barton had clashed within the Sydney University Liberal Branch over the Menzies anti-communism Bill, had been running an anti-war campaign through the newspaper that he ran (*The Anglican*). James now contacted Barton to suggest running candidates for the election on an anti-war platform. The idea gained momentum, and Barton began the necessary prerequisite organizational tasks.

Within two weeks of Barton's letter, the Liberal Reform Group came into existence, complete with policy documents and the first six candidates. By the time of the election, LRG was able to field 19 candidates for the House of Representatives, and one for the Senate. No seats were won, but Barton's primary aim: that of publicising opposition to the war and to conscription, had been highly successful.

The momentum for an anti-war and anti-conscription movement had by now become unstoppable. Barton elected to continue the Liberal Reform Group, which had become too large to be described as a 'group', and had thus become simply 'Liberal Reform'. Furthermore, there were moves afoot to rename the Party in order to remove any reference to 'Liberal'. The name Australian Reform Movement was adopted in

32 Judith Brett, *Australian Liberals and the Moral Middle Class*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 143-144.

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October 1967.³³ Barton remained active within the group, although he stressed that the group was not hierarchical, and he did not see himself as its leader. Two significant elements emerge in this phase of Barton's thinking: the need for higher-quality political representatives, and the development of a defence capability independent of US support or dominance. Everingham quotes Barton, writing in the Liberal Reform policy booklet: 'We need better politicians... a well-qualified person who is concerned with meeting national problems with imagination and common sense and with regard to the priority of moral principles over selfish interest.' On the subject of Australian self-assertion, Everingham quotes from a *Bulletin* magazine interview with Barton: 'Our Vietnam policy must be to dis-identify ourselves from the Americans in the most convincing and obvious way. We believe Australia should stand on its own two feet. We want to restrict foreign investment in this country and get rid of the political and financial influence of America.'³⁴

Barton was able to attract many prominent supporters, allowing the ARM to develop a capability to contest state and federal elections. New policy stances were added to the primary anti-Vietnam war foundation, and the party, renamed the Australia Party in July 1969, enjoyed moderate success in the early 1970s. The party was notable for its internally democratic organization, and for publishing a journal, *Reform*, that set out policy positions and provided a medium for information and debate.³⁵ Barton took the view that the party's main purpose was to engender informed debate and to offer alternative perspectives to those of the major parties, in a context of progressive policy innovation.

33 James C. Docherty, *The A to Z of Australia*, (Plymouth, Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2007), p. 45.

34 Everingham, (2009), p. 123.

35 Australia Party, *Reform*, (Langwarrin, Australia Party, 1968-1982).

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Newspaper Proprietor – the *Sunday Observer*

Richard Walsh recalls a lengthy discussion with Barton in 1966, during which he (Walsh) asserted that political parties were severely limited in their ability to reach and influence people, and that, in any case, even the most progressive parties merely responded to material published in newspapers—‘[P]olitical parties, I remember saying, harvested the ideas that newspapers sowed.’³⁶ Walsh insisted that Barton would have a stronger, more influential voice through publishing a newspaper.

The contradictory elements of Barton’s make-up are particularly evident during this period of his life. Barton, in partnership with Greg Farrell, had moved on from managing IPEC, to the formation of Tjuringa Securities.³⁷ The specific purpose of Tjuringa was to acquire undervalued companies, and then on-sell them. In 1969 Barton directed some of the proceeds of his corporate raids towards the launch of a newspaper—the *Sunday Observer*.

The *Sunday Observer* was designed to exploit a gap identified by Barton. The Victorian Government had issued amendments to the Summary Offences Act (Number 7786, 1 April, 1969), thus allowing publication of newspapers on Sundays.³⁸ Barton, exhibiting the acute awareness of the implications of legislation that would underpin his subsequent corporate exploits, moved quickly. In the Melbourne market, no Sunday newspaper was yet being published, whereas Sydney had three, each with substantial circulations. According to Everingham, Barton also deplored the fact that, at the time ‘[T]hree or four old families should control 85% of Australia’s print and television

36 Walsh, 1993, p. 10.

37 Tjuringa (Churinga) are profoundly sacred totem objects originating with Central Australian aborigines. As well as depicting personal elements of Dreaming stories, they were used to enhance hunting skills. Their sacredness assigns them a secretive character. See Mitchell Rolls & Murray Johnson, *Historical Dictionary of Australian Aborigines*, (Lanham, Scarecrow Press, 2011), p. 49.

38 Office of the Chief Parliamentary Counsel, *Summary Offences (Sunday Newspapers) Act 1969*, (Undated), viewed on Australasian Legal Information Institute Website, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/vic/hist_act/sona1969393/, [accessed 24 March 2014].

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media'.³⁹ Despite the vehemence of his political activism, Barton used considerable restraint in his proprietorial approach to the character, format and stance of the *Sunday Observer*, stipulating only that the paper 'must have comics and a good sports section'.⁴⁰

Not one to do things by halves, Barton began by renting premises at Fishermen's Bend in Melbourne.⁴¹ Initially relying on rental of press capacity from local suburban newspapers, he nonetheless immediately set in motion the purchase and importation of a very large, modern (and expensive) Goss printing press, a commitment that deeply worried John Konstas, IPEC's financial controller.⁴² Barton engaged John Crew to perform some initial feasibility research, and then to handle the setting-up and organization of the newspaper. Michael Cannon, respected historian and journalist, was taken on in the role of editor, and charged with the responsibility of finding and recruiting a substantial staff of writers and journalists. Cannon had been a contributor to Tom Fitzgerald's *Nation* journal, and, along with Cyril Pearl, another *Nation* and *Review* contributor, had briefly joint-edited Murdoch's then-new *Sunday Mirror*, until Murdoch sacked them both. Michael Leunig was Barton's personal choice as resident cartoonist.

Ash Long writes

The first *Sunday Observer* editions were black-and-white, with spot colour added. As Barton's Goss Urbanite press became increasingly used, a pre-print with a full-colour comics section was added. Imprints advising of Barton's ownership, and the print locations, usually appeared at the bottom of each of the front-page and back-page of each edition. As I remember, the cover price of the newspaper was 12 cents. There was no back-office support, and no records for [paper rounds] round were sought.⁴³

39 Everingham, (2009), p. 161.

40 Everingham, (2009), p. 162.

41 At 822 Lorimer Street, as noted by Ash Long, who began early in the life of the *Sunday Observer* as a paperboy, and is now proprietor/publisher of the *Melbourne Observer*. Ash Long, correspondence with author, 25 April, 2014.

42 Ash Long writes 'The printing of Melbourne's new Sunday newspaper was split between a number of suburban newspaper owners, including Waverley Offset Printers, Peter Isaacson (Pahran), Progress Press (Glen Iris), and Regal Press (South Yarra/Richmond). Make-up of the newspaper took place at the *Sunday Observer* offices at 822 Lorimer St, Fisherman's Bend, in the Port Melbourne area of Melbourne.' Long, (2014).

43 Long, (2014).

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While the *Sunday Observer* was intended to attract a broad cross-section of readers, and thus was open to a small element of sensationalism, Gordon Barton had nonetheless seen a noble cause for the paper. In an introductory piece for the inaugural (14 September 1969) issue, Barton had written

[T]his country desperately needed better men and better ideas so we may cease to behave like frightened Americans abroad... So that it becomes clearly understood that the purpose of government is to serve the people and not vice versa. So that commonsense and humanity displace political dogmas and slogans in our national debate. So that we may again be proud to be Australians.⁴⁴



Incitement of this character could hardly be expected to go unheeded by government and its surrounding bureaucracy. According to Everingham, the Goss press was seen by ASIO as the source of ‘some of the worst subversive and trouble-making literature for the anti-Vietnam and anti-apartheid and radical student movements.’⁴⁵ Barton had also supported, both financially and personally, several liberal causes, including assistance for journalist Wilfred Burchett, who had become stranded when the Australian government refused to replace his lost passport, in retaliation for Burchett’s scathing articles on the government’s foreign policy. Ash Long offers some insight into the climate confronting Barton during the life of the *Sunday Observer*:

44 As quoted in Everingham, 2009, p. 164.

45 Everingham, (2009), p. 165.

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The Herald & Weekly Times Ltd and the Liberal State Government were keen to see the *Sunday Observer* fail, especially considering that Barton was taking a Left-leaning political approach in his editorial columns. The Herald & Weekly Times Ltd had much influence over the newsagents of Victoria at the time, and a close relationship with the Victorian State Government of the day, led by Liberal Premier Sir Henry Bolte, supported by Chief Secretary Sir Arthur Rylah.

The habit of Sunday observance was deeply etched into social custom and activity in Victoria, where newsagents were closed on Sundays. This provided Barton with an immediate practical difficulty – he needed to find retail outlets that were able to open and operate on Sundays.

The Victorian Association for Newsagents presented Barton's first hurdle. VANA controlled every aspect of Victorian newspaper distribution, through the administration of newsagents' operations, making it a powerful gate-keeper. VANA was, in turn, manipulated by the publishers of the major Melbourne dailies, in a bid to lock out competition. No Sunday newspaper was offered by any of the major publishers in Melbourne. The potential emergence of a Sunday paper was perceived as a threat to the circulation figures for the established Saturday offerings from these publishers. As an indirect gag on Sunday publication, VANA member-newsagents were forbidden to open on Sundays. Richard Walsh describes it as 'a comfortable conspiracy between the Victorian newsagents (who did not want to get out of bed on a Sunday morning) and the proprietors of the Melbourne *Herald* and *Age*, who couldn't see a buck in [Sunday papers]'.⁴⁶

Denied access to newsagents, Barton, in typically lateral form, devised a scheme whereby milkmen would be paid to deliver the *Sunday Observer* along with milk deliveries. Smaller milk bars, not members of VANA, were also persuaded to sell the newspaper. Additionally, Barton organised distribution, through IPEC, to an army of delivery boys.

46 Walsh, (1993), p. 10.

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Again in typical fashion, Barton was thorough and inventive. He wrote personally to the parents of newsboys to assure them of the wisdom of involvement in the newspaper, and offered substantial incentives to encourage paperboys to increase sales.

One of these delivery boys was nearly-13-year-old Ash Long. Ash was one of the earliest recruits, starting on 28 September, 1969, in response to an advert placed by Barton in the *Sun News-Pictorial*. Barton had organised 'area agents' who acted as distributors to newsboys (and some girls) who were in turn assigned to specific 'beats'. Bundles of newspapers were delivered from the press via IPEC trucks to area agents, who in turn distributed quantities to individual newsboys. In fact, the delivery mechanism was fragile, subject to printing delays, unreliable agents and sheer complexity, all occurring within the hostile context of VANA and the mainstream publishers. Ash became one of the more successful newsboys (winning a watch for his efforts), and went on to involve his family in acquiring distribution agreements for the *Sunday Observer* and *Nation Review*.

Everingham recounts the ending days of the *Sunday Observer*. Not only was the paper losing around \$25,000 a week, but key operators within IPEC, Farrell and Konstas, were absorbing greater responsibility for managing IPEC, while Barton was dealing with the loss of Vonnie, and with the challenges presented by the *Sunday Observer* and the Australia Reform Movement. To these men, everything about the *Sunday Observer*

was anathema, and they pressured Barton continuously to close the paper. As a final



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straw, Barton lost an injunction to force VANA to allow distribution of the newspaper, and the last issue was published March 7, 1971. The 78 issues published had lost Barton around \$2 million, a considerable fortune at the time.⁴⁷

The Sunday Review

Meanwhile, distribution of the *Sunday Review* had been under way since October 11, 1970. On the closure of the *Sunday Observer*, token representation was perpetuated by the inclusion, starting March 28, 1971, of the words ‘Incorporating the *Sunday Observer*’ in the masthead of the *Sunday Review*. The March 28 issue carries an article, that reveals machinations by Max Newton (named in the abovementioned 1980 Inquiry, and, incidentally, the first editor—albeit briefly [July 1964–February 1965]—of Murdoch’s *Australian*) in the week following the demise of the *Sunday Observer*.⁴⁸ According to Norgard, Newton had successfully recruited half of the ex-staff from the *Sunday Observer*, to produce a new Sunday paper called, with perhaps deliberate confusion, the *Melbourne Observer*. His article claims that these people were told by Newton that the new paper would continue in the spirit of the old one, but that, in fact, Newton’s right-wing agenda was immediately initiated, to the consternation of the new recruits. The article points out that Newton had the blessings of VANA, the NSW government, and Packer’s Consolidated Press, and free access to contributions intended for the *Sunday Observer*. Gordon Barton (via IPEC) issued a writ to prevent Newton from using *Observer* in the title of his newspaper. The *Sydney Morning Herald* briefly reports this event; Barton subsequently lost the case.⁴⁹ The Melbourne Sunday newspaper market had proven to

47 Ash Long quotes Stuart Golding from *Jobsons Investment Digest*: ‘Barton’s erstwhile partner (Greg Farrell) is known to be out of sympathy with the paper and its leftish political line.’ Ipec was said to have lost up to \$24,000 weekly on the paper, with sales said to be down as low as 61,000 copies: ‘It had moved from a 64-pager to a 48-pager, and it had three editors in a little over a year.’ Ash Long, *Long Shots*, (Melbourne, Ash Long Media, 2001), pp. 32-33.

48 Rhett Norgard, ‘Changing the color of the new *Observer*’, *Sunday Review*, (March 28, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 25, p. 710.

49 Unattributed, ‘IPEC takes out writ over Sunday newspaper’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (March 30, 1971), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 19.

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be barred to any but the most powerful media owners, whose preferred strategy in any case was to promote their Saturday offerings and suppress the emergence of any Sunday papers.

As a consequence of the accumulation of difficulties experienced by the *Sunday Observer*, it had become clear, by the middle of 1970, that the newspaper was already falling short of aspirations. Despite the heavy financial burden of propping up the paper, and consequent opposition from financial management within IPEC, Barton remained committed to publishing. Everingham points out that Barton had found his influence increased, through being a media proprietor, quoting John Konstas saying ‘He enjoyed the power it gave him... It opened a lot of doors to people who he had not been able to access previously.’⁵⁰ So, when John Crew pointed out to Barton that the excess Goss capacity could be used to print a ‘national’ Sunday newspaper, that could be distributed through the eastern states and A.C.T., using the regular IPEC transport facilities, Barton was easily persuaded.

From the outset, using lessons learned from the *Sunday Observer* experience, the new publication was conceived to be a high-quality, sophisticated journal, whose appeal would be directed towards an elite, influential sector of society. To Mungo MacCallum, ‘Its model appeared to be the London *Spectator*; it was heavily weighted towards the arts and its social commentary was of the of the generalised, academic kind.’⁵¹ The structure of the organization was based on the notion of soliciting articles from freelance writers, rather than from a staff of journalists. This was to serve both as a cost-containment strategy, and as a means of attracting a broad range of quality material from diverse sources. As opposed to the somewhat mass-market positioning of the *Sunday Observer*,

50 Everingham, (2009), p. 170.

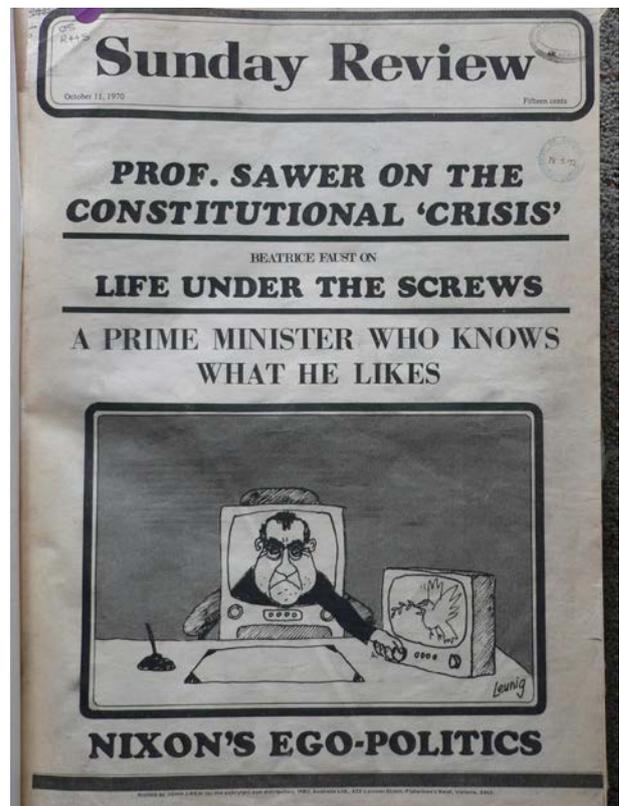
51 MacCallum, (2001), p. 202.

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the new paper would cater to its more discerning readership through concentration on international news and informed domestic political coverage, backed by essays, special features and authoritative arts reviews.

Michael Cannon, who had left the *Sunday Observer* after only four months (unhappy with its rather populist stance), was persuaded to take up the duties of Editor-in-chief. He oversaw arrangements to recruit a staff and some regular contributors, while engaging respected journalists and writers to provide the bulk of the newspaper's content. Behind the scenes, the complex distribution system was extended into the eastern seaboard states, and then on into South and Western Australia, and Tasmania.

Thus was born the *Sunday Review*, with the first issue emerging 11 October, 1970. To modern eyes, the cover appears rather fussy, consisting of a large, but plain banner, surmounting four headlines. The banner contains the *Sunday Review* title, above the date, issue number (1) and the price (fifteen cents). Each headline is approximately the same size, but utilizes a different typeface.



The top headline, 'PROF. SAWER ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL 'CRISIS'' is not suggestive of drama, while 'LIFE UNDER THE SCREWS' and 'A PRIME MINISTER WHO KNOWS WHAT HE LIKES', while somewhat obscure, do at least entice the potential reader. The lower half of the cover is occupied by a Leunig cartoon, captioned, in the same size of typeface as the other items, 'NIXON'S EGO-POLITICS', suggesting an interest in foreign affairs. Publisher's information appears at the foot of

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the cover: 'Printed by JOHN CREW for the publishers and distributors, IPEC Australia Ltd., 822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria 3207'. With no allusion on the cover to the debut of the newspaper, there is a sense of the issue springing fully-formed into being.

Michael Cannon, for reasons that remain unclear, but pertain to some element of discomfort with his role, resigned after the fifth issue had been published. Bill Green, Assistant Editor of the *Sunday Review* in 1970, was moved to respond in September 1979 to an article in *Nation Review* wherein John Hepworth had claimed rather too much credit, in Green's opinion, for the formation of the *Sunday Review*. Green asserts that Cannon 'was the founding editor of both Gordon Barton's *Sunday Observer* and *Sunday Review*. Under his brilliant editing, the *Observer* reached a circulation of 150,000 and *The Review* reached 40,000.' Green goes on to claim that Cannon resigned from the *Observer* 'in disgust at what he claimed were the group's amateurish methods'. Green then states that Cannon agreed to joining the *Sunday Review* on condition that his own book-publishing company would be absorbed by Angus & Robertson. When it became clear that the purchase would not proceed as agreed, Cannon resigned from the *Sunday Review*.⁵² Walsh's 1993 *Ferretabilia* account of the episode does not acknowledge this version of events, suggesting only that '[Gordon] Barton was pretty non-specific about the reason for [Cannon's exit]. Cannon, when I met him for the first time some months later, simply claimed the job had not been to his liking.'⁵³

Mungo MacCallum was cementing his reputation as a good journalist at the *Australian*, where he had started as a junior reporter in 1969. He regarded Adrian

52 Bill Green, 'In the beginning wasn't the ferret', *Nation Review*, (September 20, 1979), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1979), Vol. 9, No. 48, p. 837.

Sue Sleeman and Julie Copeland, 'In the beginning was the ferret', Transcript of ABC Radio Public Affairs broadcast, printed in *Nation Review*, (September 6, 1979), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1979), Vol. 9, No. 46, pp. 798-800.

53 Walsh, (1993), p. 12.

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Deamer as ‘the best editor of his generation, and possibly the best ever’.⁵⁴ By 1970, however, MacCallum sensed that he was becoming ‘too much of a maverick for the *Australian* in any capacity. Murdoch was moving decisively to the right.’⁵⁵ Deamer himself was in a tenuous position, with escalating disagreements threatening his relationship with Murdoch. He suggested to MacCallum that he should start looking for alternative employment, ironically just prior to needing his own alternative. Fortuitously for MacCallum, Michael Cannon was looking for a Canberra correspondent for the *Sunday Review*, and offered him the job. MacCallum discussed the offer with Deamer, who advised him to accept. Mungo took that advice, only to find that Michael Cannon had left, and Richard Walsh was being recruited to replace him. MacCallum, a committed believer in the Labor Party’s ‘Light on the Hill’, sensed that Walsh was essentially pragmatic, politically conventional and lacking in passion.⁵⁶ At the same time, he wondered if Walsh’s influence would alter the tone of the *Sunday Review*, producing a variant of the irreverent, but somewhat juvenile, satirical voice of *Oz* magazine. His concerns were unfounded, as Walsh ‘let me have my head, and concentrated on rejigging the paper into the larrikin gadfly it became.’⁵⁷

Richard Walsh had started his publishing life early, seizing co-editorship of the University of Sydney student magazine *Honi Soit*.⁵⁸ Switching from Law to Arts and then to Medicine, Walsh was clearly struggling to establish a vocational niche, until his

54 MacCallum, (2001), p. 136.

55 MacCallum, (2001), pp. 199-200..

56 The phrase was used by Ben Chifley during a speech to the NSW Labor Party Conference June 12, 1949, in a powerful summation of the values of the Labor Party. Chifley said ‘When you see any sign of dishonesty, stamp on it with both feet. The Australian Labor Party, in defeat or in victory, must fight for what it believes to be right. Whether that brings electoral success or not, it must fight for the humanitarian principles which are fundamental to the Labor Movement. If you believe a thing is right, fight for it no matter what the odds are against you. Truth and justice will always finally triumph.’ Ben Chifley, *The Light on the Hill*, (Paddington, H. V. Leslie, 1951), p. 30.

57 MacCallum, 2001, pp. 199-205.

58 For a colourful account of Honi Soit and campus life, see Bob Ellis, *Sydney University in the Sixties*, (February 2006), Bob Ellis Website, <http://homepages.ihug.com.au/~senagal/sydneyuniversityinthesixties_0206.htm>, [accessed 2 April 2014].

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involvement in *Honi Soit* showed the way forward. In April 1963 Walsh, in partnership with Richard Neville, Martin Sharpe and Peter Grose, launched *Oz* magazine. Initially *Oz* was an unsurprising collection of undergraduate irreverence and satire, but talented contributors were able regularly to ruffle the feathers of the Establishment and to bring some refinement to the methods used to discomfit selected targets, sufficiently to culminate in notoriety and legal action.⁵⁹ Part of the effectiveness of *Oz* was the steadying hand provided by Walsh, who was able to steer the magazine close to the wind, while retaining professional-looking layouts, a credible editorial stance, and reliable publication, thereby lifting *Oz* above the amateurish efforts of some other underground and alternative offerings.

From *Oz*, Walsh went on to the relatively mainstream role of nurturing and editing *POL* magazine, a new, upmarket women's magazine, that was intended to, and succeeded in, riding the wave of empowerment that had materialized for young, emancipated, professional women, who were looking for something outside the Kinder, Küche, Kirche mentality of traditional magazines like *Women's Weekly* and *Woman's Day*. Having established *POL*, Walsh turned his attention to advertising, working with Ken Done at the JWT Agency in 1969. Walsh had planted the notion of starting a newspaper in Barton's mind, at a chance meeting (at a party), in 1966. Walsh's view was that a newspaper would be a more effective tool than politics, in Barton's quest to detach Australia from the Vietnam commitment. Consequently, when Cannon resigned from the new *Sunday Review*, Walsh was an obvious successor, so Barton lost no time in

59 For an account of Australian *Oz*, see, for example, the Milesago entry: Unattributed, *Oz: Satirical underground magazine*, Milesago Website, < <http://www.milesago.com/press/oz.htm> >, [accessed 28 March 2014]. This article offers a useful overview of the *Oz* phenomenon, with references to additional sources.

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contacting him and persuading him to take on the role of Editor, despite considerable personal inconvenience and a net reduction in pay for Walsh.⁶⁰

From the outset, the notion of soliciting contributions from independent writers and journalists proved effective, both as a means of minimising costs, and as a source of high-quality and outspoken material. The first issue demonstrates the effectiveness of this strategy, counting Beatrice Faust, Rohan Rivett, Sol Encel, Richard Beckett, Geoffrey Sawyer, Cyril Pearl, Max Teichmann and many others, among the list of contributors, as well as pieces by unattributed writers. Topics were diverse, covering local state and federal politics, South-east Asian, US and European affairs, technology, environment and medicine, as well as almost the full gamut of arts in the review section occupying the back half of the newspaper.⁶¹

The absence of film reviews in these early editions is noteworthy. Whereas other art forms, including new music recordings, were given their own columns, the first film review did not appear until December 20, 1970, when John Hinde reviewed Ken Russell's rendition of *Women in Love*.⁶² Film reviews appeared sporadically for the next few issues, written by Hinde (except for December 27, 1970, when Don Egan wrote a review). Bob Ellis made his *Sunday Review* debut February 7, 1971, when he reviewed David Lean's *Ryan's Daughter*.⁶³

Richard Walsh stamped his own identity on the newspaper immediately upon taking up the editor's role. The front page for January 10, 1971 has lost its former

60 Up to, and including issue No. 4, Michael Cannon is named as Editor-in-chief, with Bill Green as Assistant Editor. In the period between Cannon's exit and Walsh's arrival, issues 5-11 show Bill Green only, as Assistant Editor. Issues 12 and 13 do not name an editor. Walsh makes his appearance, as Editor, in issue 14, January 10, 1971.

61 A full description of first-issue contributions can be found in Walsh, 1993, p. 8.

62 John Hinde, 'Films: Women in love', *Sunday Review*, (December 20, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), No. 11, p. 325.

63 Bob Ellis, 'Films: Lean night out', *Sunday Review*, (February 7, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), No. 18, p. 527.

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similarity to the London *Spectator*, with that paper's dominant image, usually a political caricature or cartoon. The list of tantalising headlines and contributors' names has gone. In their place is a very busy front page, harking back to more conventional newspaper layouts, similar in some respects to the *New York Times*, although in this case only one detailed article (about the upcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held in Singapore) occupies most of the page. Walsh has added the bottom-page banner 'The independent quality Sunday newspaper'. By March 21, 1971, the cover had reverted to a neater version of the original approach, and for the October 8, 1971 issue (the first anniversary) the whole front page is absorbed by a large headline and dominant photograph (of Robert Kennedy's 1968 assassination). The ever-changing lower banner had by then become 'The magazine that lurks within a tabloid'.

The *Sunday Review* shared the office space with the *Sunday Observer*, and remained there after that paper's demise. Walsh describes it as 'a pale cream, partly fibro factory that squatted under a tin roof and baked all January in the summer heat. It was totally without windows or charm.'⁶⁴ Michael Leunig painted a trompe-l'oeil rural scene as a substitute for a window.

⁶⁴ Walsh, 1993, p. 14.



As part of the newspaper's first anniversary celebration, Leunig made a cartoon of the Fishermen's Bend office.⁶⁵ In the light of a dearth of contemporary records, this cartoon has perhaps become the most informative, and certainly the most evocative,

65 Michael Leunig, 'Leunig's guide to staff style', *Sunday Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 52, p. 1479. Also reproduced, without accompanying legend, in Walsh, 1993, p. 6.

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record of the weekly production process and the people behind the creation of the *Sunday Review*. The cartoon's value (and humour) is enhanced by Leunig's inclusion of a legend identifying the characters he has drawn. The cartoon reflects the chosen operational model, built around a core production and writing staff, with an outer ring of independent contributors. The image captures perfectly the mix of frantic flurry to meet deadlines, and the externally indolent pauses while creative people devise their material. Richard Walsh rushes headlong to deal with a writ, about to land on a banana skin, and trailed by Barry Watts, his business manager. Michael Costigan, literary editor, contemplates a picture of a nude woman, while a ferocious-looking Assistant Editor Richard Beckett dominates the foreground. A bemused Leunig is in the centre, watching a dapper Assistant chief-of-staff John Hepworth holding forth with the aid of a bottle of Napoleon brandy. Ian Baker, Melbourne correspondent, the only on-site journalist, looks the part in his trench coat and sunglasses. Michael Morris is the stereotypical bearded student and part-time librarian. Finally, Leunig has included 'paste-up lady Heather' and 'miscellaneous laboresses'.⁶⁶ Mungo MacCallum is depicted in his distant Canberra setting, drinking (Victoria Bitter?) and dictating his copy by phone. A shady character, representing those members of the Ferret public who were encouraged to provide scurrilous insider information, sidles into the office.⁶⁷ There is the typical disarray of a frenetic newspaper office, where speed supersedes all other considerations, and the multiplicity of functions that go into creation and production of a pre-computerization newspaper. Ash Long notes that "The nature of a newspaper based on

66 Ash Long thinks 'Heather' may in fact have been Helen McNamara. However, the October 14, 1972 issue (the 'Shrew issue') lists Heather Seymour as a paste-up worker. Long, 2014.

67 *Nation Review* ran advertisements soliciting information from readers. See, for example, 'Know something we don't? News tips, photos and political cartoons always welcome.' Accompanied by a Leunig drawing of the Ferret spying through a keyhole. *Nation Review*, (October 19, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 6.

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correspondents means that many never visited the office. This was pre-fax and pre-email, so many items came by mail.’⁶⁸

Barton’s business manager at the time was Barry Watts. Watts had the responsibility of liaising with the distribution structure, which he did mainly through circulated letters, but also through formally-convened meetings. Ash Long has retained the letters from Watts. These letters generally make for rather grim reading, with a salesman’s bonhomie sometimes failing to overshadow a certain sense of desperation, in his urgings to increase circulation, to maximise exposure of the newspaper to customers, and to ensure that returns are handled correctly. He writes, for instance ‘It is essential that we do our utmost to increase our sales in the pre-Christmas period as experience shows we can anticipate a decline in January and February.’⁶⁹ From discussion in the memos, it appears that a considerable quantity of copies usually went unsold, leading to a heavy emphasis on the return of unsold papers, either for redistribution, or to avoid copies being distributed later with no remuneration reaching the publishers.

The perennial problem of distribution difficulties was not restricted to Victoria. The first issue of the *Sunday Review* includes an article describing impediments to distribution in South Australia, citing intervention by Murdoch’s incumbent *Sunday Mail*.⁷⁰ The article reprints in full a lengthy letter from the *Sunday Mail*’s circulation manager, C. J. Emery. Emery very clearly reminds newsagents of the value to them of *Sunday Mail* business. Suggesting with little ambiguity that a drop in *Sunday Mail*

68 Long, 2014. Long also writes ‘Many people worked at more than one place. Gene Swinstead, a former Leader Newspapers boss, tells me that quite a few people on *The Herald* afternoon newspaper, worked ‘casual’ at the *Sunday Observer* offices in Prahran on a Saturday, when it was operated by Peter Isaacson Publications. A Herald & Weekly Times senior executive (board member?) popped in to visit Peter, and was shell-shocked to see most of his own staff at the desks.’

69 Barry Watts, *Memo to all Review distributors in Melbourne*, December, 1971.

70 Unattributed, ‘Blackballed already’, *Sunday Review*, (October 11, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), Vol. 1 No. 1, p. 19. Richard Walsh reprints parts of this article in *Ferretabilia*, under the title ‘Blocked Outlets’; Walsh, 1993, p. 10. Adelaide’s *Advertiser*, at the time published by Herald & Weekly Times, relied on a bulky Saturday issue to tide its readers over for the weekend.

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circulation would harm newsagents, Emery quotes from legal documents that imply that newsagents would be liable to legal action if they agreed to sell the *Sunday Review* alongside the *Sunday Mail*. This less than subtle standover tactic proved effective; many newsagents chose not to stock the *Sunday Review*. For similar reasons, advertisements announcing the launch of the *Sunday Review* were refused by major newspapers.

Distribution problems notwithstanding, Gordon Barton's preparedness to accept financial responsibility for his newspapers allowed the *Sunday Review* to persist. Barton's title was 'Chairman of Directors', reflecting his intentionally arms-length association with the newspaper, and particularly its editorial stance. John Crew, as 'Managing Director', handled the business elements of running the newspaper, although the financial underpinnings were dealt with by the IPEC financial operation, notably John Konstas. Michael Cannon took editorial responsibility, including hands-on design and editing. Bill Green's title was 'Assistant Editor', a role that included liaison with contributors, editorial assembly of each issue, and provision of his own contributions to the content. Richard Beckett, in addition to providing articles, designed the title banner. The publisher was listed as IPEC Australia Limited, and the publisher's address was 822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, the location of the office facilities, as well as the Goss press used for both the *Sunday Observer* and the *Sunday Review*. Initially, the title banner was either black or coloured, forming a large box at the head of the front page. A main headline appeared in larger print, while other articles, and contributors' names, appeared in smaller print, usually in a column or at the base of the page. As a unique identifier, a large image, in several cases a Michael Leunig cartoon, dominated the front page.

Michael Cannon left after issue number 4 (October 11, 1970), and his position was not immediately filled. By issue number 12 (December 27, 1970), Bill Green had also left.

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Richard Walsh's first issue, as Publishing Editor, was that of January 10, 1971 (Number 14). Prior to his arrival, John Hepworth was responsible for a regular column, 'Notes of the Week' (fore-runner to Walsh's own 'Continuity' column). As the final item for the December 27, 1970 column, Hepworth noted 'Mr Richard Walsh has been appointed Editor of the *Sunday Review*.' There followed a very brief factual resumé, with no expressions of welcome.⁷¹



Walsh revised the cover design, using most of the space for a full article, supported by a modest-sized headline. An unrelated, small image appeared, with three contents announcements. Walsh instigated what was to become a standard aspect of the front page (except for certain periods)—a baseline slogan. The first was 'The independent quality Sunday newspaper' (echoed in the publishing details imprint panel from issue 15), a pithy encapsulation of the key elements of what the newspaper intended to stand for. Walsh also instigated some internal changes, notably placing John Hepworth's regular column on the back page (January 10, 1971, renamed as 'Outsight'), and bringing correspondence pages to the front of the newspaper. In Walsh's view, 'I had always believed that a healthy publication should be the recipient of stunningly clever letters but to ferment this process the *Letters* page needed prominence.'⁷² In fact, engagement with its readers (and its own internal narrative) perhaps led to a distorted

71 John Hepworth (unattributed), 'Notes of the Week: New Editor for *Review*', *Sunday Review*, (December 27, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), No. 12, p. 338.

72 Walsh, 1993, p. 13.

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tendency in *Nation Review* towards introspection and self-criticism, that sometimes created a confused sense of purpose, as will emerge in discussions of the changes that occurred over time.

Walsh used the first few of his issues to refine his sense of how the *Sunday Review* should look. His initial preference was for a busy, text-heavy front page, ‘in the belief that the previous efforts had been a little too tasteful and “bookish”, and that we needed to create a sense of newsmanship and urgency’.⁷³ In the earliest issues, the imprint panel included Winston Churchill’s words regarding the freedom of the Press as the ‘Fourth Estate’. Issue 20 (21 February 1971) replaced this with a quotation from Maxwell Newton, defining ‘true journalism’. This was somewhat ironic given that a few weeks later Gordon Barton would be fighting Newton in court over the use of the name (*Melbourne Observer*) of Newton’s own Sunday newspaper.⁷⁴ In a double irony, or a subtle challenge, Newton’s words were replaced in issue 23 (14 March, 1971) by a quote taken from *Jobson’s Investment Digest*, a journal published by Newton. Newton had predicted the failure of Barton’s newspapers in a lengthy *Jobson’s* article, and *Jobson’s* had followed up with comments on March 3, 1971, suggesting that the *Sunday Review* was so elitist that it had alienated or confused almost everyone.⁷⁵ Walsh saw this as a badge of honour. Newton’s self-interested commentary was replaced the following week by a kinder quote from Sandra Dawson (*Australian Book Review*), and the following few issues used a variety of inspiring or tongue-in-cheek quotations.

73 Walsh, 1993, p. 13.

74 Unattributed, ‘IPEC takes out writ over Sunday newspaper’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (March 30, 1971), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 19.

75 Stuart Golding, ‘Gordon Barton’s Press crumbles’, *Jobson’s Investment Digest*, (January 20, 1971), (Manuka, Maxwell Newton, 1971), Reproduced on Melbourne Observer Website, <<http://www.melbourneobserver.com.au/history1971.htm>>, [accessed 20 May 2014].

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Exit Sunday Observer

The *Sunday Observer* was facing hostility from many quarters. The Victorian government disliked its tendency to reveal awkward aspects of conflicts of interest, while the established Press resented threats to their own circulations. Ash Long says ‘Nigel Dick, a former General Manager of GTV-9 Melbourne, will be able to tell you of how Newton was able to get cash advances from the Packer family’s Australian Consolidated Press, which took over distribution of the [*Melbourne*] *Observer* under Newton’.⁷⁶ Given the significant losses being incurred by Barton, it is not surprising that the *Sunday Observer* should collapse in the face of relentless opposition from powerful quarters. The *Sunday Observer* met its demise March 7, 1971. As a token gesture, its memory was kept alive for two issues of the *Sunday Review* (no’s 25 and 26, March 28, April 4, 1971) through a subtitle below the page 1 banner, ‘Incorporating the *Sunday Observer*’.

Some reorganization of the *Sunday Review* became inevitable. The expensive Goss press continued to be used for a short period, but it was under-utilized for production runs of 40,000 per week, and was auctioned off. Subsequently, printing was farmed out to a succession of printers, usually otherwise engaged in the production of suburban weeklies.⁷⁷ In something of a coup, Maxwell Newton recruited half of the *Sunday Observer* staff and writers for his own *Melbourne Observer* (as discussed earlier). Some *Observer* staff, and some features, migrated to the *Sunday Review*. The distribution network remained intact and was pressed into service as the main core of *Sunday Review* distribution.

⁷⁶ Long, 2014.

⁷⁷ ‘Much of the publishing (at the printing presses) was sub-contracted to the printers of the time (which included S & G Rotary Printery, Waverley Offset, Progress Press, Stockland Press). So it was their staff who handled negative and plate making, printing and bundling.’ Long, 2014.

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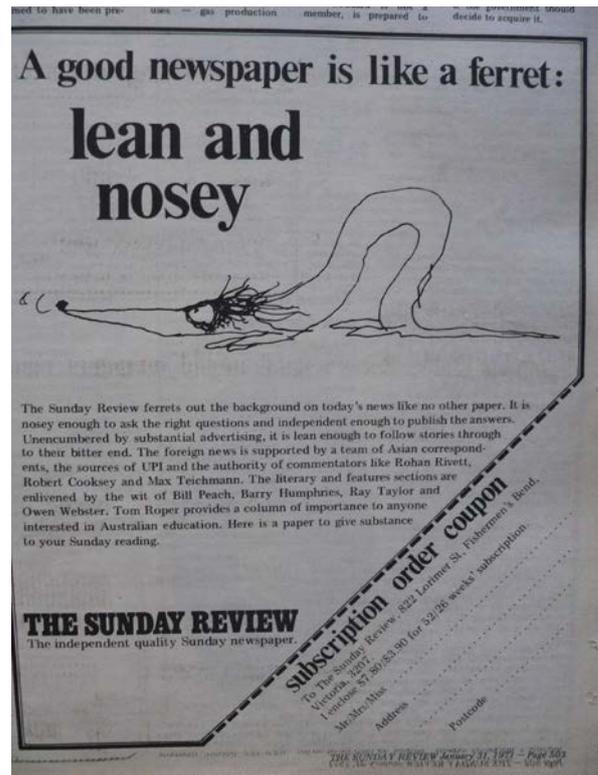
Of greatest significance, John Crewe left the organization, and his position (Managing Director) was taken by Richard Walsh, under the new title, Managing Editor. A new position, Assistant Editor, was created, and filled by Richard Beckett. Beckett's background was primarily as a freelance journalist; at the *Sunday Review* his duties tended to cross boundaries, sharing the editing and layout tasks with Walsh, although, according to Walsh, Beckett's strengths were in the areas of layout and design rather than copy-editing. He tended to look after the arts review section while Walsh dealt with the news section at the front.

Beckett was a gregarious, larger-than-life *bon viveur*, familiar with many of Melbourne's restaurants, and with an authoritative knowledge of cuisine. Walsh recognized an opportunity, and encouraged Beckett to take on a permanent column as a restaurant reviewer. To circumvent the possibility of preferential treatment, Beckett decided to write under a *nom de plume*. Thus was born one of *Nation Review*'s enduring characters, Sam Orr. Over time, Sam Orr developed his own identity and character, as a misogynistic, foul-tempered, rude individual lacking any of the social graces normally associated with fine dining. The reviews could be savage, but they were based on a discerning palate and good judgment, and there were kudos to be gained from a Sam Orr visit, even if the review was unkind.

Sam Orr's approach to restaurant reviews is typified by his March 9, 1973 review of Sydney restaurant *La Bonne Boeuf*. Orr had selected this restaurant on the basis of an advertisement placed by the restaurant in the paper's classified advertisement section. The first column of the article is spent in describing a failed attempt to visit a different restaurant. The second column consists mostly of a complaint about standardisation of menus, to 'international' cuisine, and the preponderance of French provincial styles in Sydney: 'Now menus at these so-called French provincial places—which are growing like wild fennel all over Sydney—are becoming almost as standardised as that old enemy

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of mine, the international menu.’ Orr continues: ‘The Scarlet Lady [Orr’s regular dining companion], who has a passion for onion soup, chose that, and it’s not a bad test of these dumps.’ Following a critical assessment of the food and service, occupying three columns, Orr writes ‘Perhaps this criticism is a little over-harsh. I don’t think so. And anyway, the mugs had the temerity to advertise in this paper,



so they must expect full judgement.’ The final column of the article concerns reports that imposters have been making bookings in Beckett’s (real) name, hoping for preferential treatment. He writes ‘I have asked the said restaurant owner to let me know when these people attend his establishment. I have also asked him, if I am present, to point myself out to me, so I may speak to me, and so that I might be able to tear off my arms, overturn my table and spit in my face.’⁷⁸

The Review

Over time, the text-heavy front page gave way to larger images, more free space and attention-catching headlines, as Walsh experimented with ways to understand and express the newspaper’s image and identity.⁷⁹

A very important element of that identity had made a quiet debut in the January 31 issue (no 17, 1971), on page 503. A large coupon for ordering subscriptions was

78 Richard Beckett (as Sam Orr), ‘Teaming up with M. Gordon Blue’, *Nation Review*, March 9, 1973, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 21, p. 639.

79 If only for their laboured double-entendres or obscure references. ‘Punch Lines (*Sunday Review* Workout)’, March 7, 1971, Vol. 1, no. 22; a Winnie-the-Pooh theme for McMahon’s displacement of Gorton, April 4, 1971, no. 26, ‘They’re changing the guard at Buckingham Palace.’

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printed, with the heading ‘A good newspaper is like a ferret: *lean and nose*’. The line was accompanied by Leunig’s first attempt at drawing the ferret, a somewhat bedraggled and manic-looking creature. The ferret made sporadic promotional appearances thereafter, before finally becoming ‘official’ when the ferret and the ‘lean and nose’ line were adopted as the permanent header for the imprint page.⁸⁰

As discussed in Chapter 3, Richard Walsh had devised the notion of raising revenue through running classified advertisements. He cleverly linked this initiative with a raised finger to Establishment bureaucracy by naming them ‘D-notices’, in reference to the use (and, in the mind of *Sunday Review*, abuse,) by the Australian government of ‘Defence Advisory Notices’ as a means of gagging news stories deemed to be not in the interests of the nation’s security. *Sunday Review* D-notices became the first official duty of the ferret. A short-lived notion—Ferret Corner—was used to invite the first classified advertisements, in issue 36, June 13, 1971. By the following week, however, it had become ‘ferret’s D-notices’, with the ferret in a heading banner above the advertisements.

By June 1971 various long-distance distribution matters had been resolved, and the newspaper began to feel itself to be truly a national newspaper. Logistics required however that print runs be concluded by the Friday evening of each week, allowing some distribution to be done on Saturday, while more distant locations may not receive their copies before Monday. With newsagents stocking issues for the full week, the specifically *Sunday* element was becoming less relevant. The issue of May 1, 1971, (No. 34), replaced the motto ‘The independent quality Sunday Newspaper’ with ‘The independent national quality weekly’. The same substitution was applied to the front

80 Richard Walsh, ‘Beating our own drum’, *Sunday Review*, (February 28, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1 No. 21, p. 615, as an example, shows the drum-beating ferret above a daim that, despite distribution difficulties, the *Sunday Review* is a high-quality offering whose circulation is rapidly increasing.
Imprint panel, *The Review*, (June 27, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 38, p. 1067.

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page baseline on June 13, 1971 (No, 36). An eerie disappearing act of the word *Sunday* began to occur. The six issues from June 6, 1971 used a banner containing *The Review* in large print, with a very small *Sunday* hovering above it. For the issue July 9, 1971, No. 39, the publishing date was changed to reflect the Friday of each week. The word *Sunday* came and went over the next few issues, reduced sometimes to an almost invisible light grey, both on the front page and in the imprint panel. *Sunday* finally disappeared from the imprint panel for issue 37 (June 20), and from the front page for issue 40 (July 16).⁸¹ The *Sunday Review* had quietly become simply *The Review*, a telling indication of its acceptance as a familiar part of life.

To complete the development of the newspaper's character, clarification was provided in issue 29 (April 25, 1971), of a house style as applied to capitalisation. 'In essence, capitalisation will be kept to a minimum. Most titles will not be capped.'⁸² This quirky style makes for some slightly confusing reading, and, of course, in cases where upper-case characters are used for headlines and titles, implied use of capitals cannot be determined. This brief period from May to August, 1971, may be considered as the 'definitive' version of the newspaper that established *The Review* as a viable, authoritative alternative voice in Australian media.

Early in August Barry Watts was appointed, being acknowledged as Business Manager in the imprint panel for August 6, 1971 (no. 43). Presumably Watts had some significant input into *The Review's* business model, for the cover price doubled (to 30 cents) on August 27 (no. 46). In the language of Sir Humphrey, this move was 'courageous'. The price of the *Sunday Observer* had been increased, six months before its demise, from 12cents to 15 cents, and sales had dropped catastrophically. Something

81 For some unaccountable reason, the word *Sunday* reappeared briefly in February/March 1972, on the front page and in the imprint panel.

82 Editor's comment, *Sunday Review*, (April 25, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 29, p. 814.

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quite drastic needed to be done to arrest the haemorrhaging of money out of IPEC, and it irked IPEC management that this money was being used to support what they saw as not only a rather perverse side-interest by Barton, but also a directly damaging one. The stance often taken by *The Review* (and its predecessors) was at odds with the political affiliations of most of IPEC's customers, and threatened to damage business relationships.⁸³ It is conceivable that John Konstas pressured Watts into advocating for a price increase. From the perspective of Konstas, there was nothing to lose; either the newspaper would fail, in which case a thorny problem would have been removed, or it would begin to turn a profit, thus at least ameliorating the damage it caused. In any case, such a dramatic price hike signalled significant changes. Walsh took two lines of defence: he published a 'One for the price of two' editorial comment, emphasising the scale of production cost increases thus far absorbed within the cover price, and pointing out that advertising revenues continued to be low. He also attempted to sow the seed that, rather than being a newspaper, *The Review* was in fact a magazine, and ought therefore to be priced as a comparable magazine would be.⁸⁴ To emphasize this point, Walsh changed the front-page baseline to read 'The magazine that lurks within a tabloid'. The front page was adjusted to simulate a magazine appearance, with large, full-page images, overlaid with large headlines and a list of major contents in some varying form.

Furthermore, the 'One for the price of two' line was a shrewd engagement with the bold, nose-thumbing attitude engendered by *The Review*, and helped take the sting out of the price increase. Certainly Walsh had a point; the quality of *The Review*'s content was as good as could be had anywhere, and addressed a wider range of topics than many alternatives. The equivalent *Bulletin* for August 28, 1971, for instance, consisted of 72 pages, but many of these were used for advertising (around 27 pages). *The Review*'s

83 This stand-off had begun in the days of the *Sunday Observer*. Everingham, 2009, pp. 169-170.

84 Editor's comment, *Review*, (August 27, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 27, p. 1292.

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tabloid-sized pages held perhaps twice the content of *The Bulletin*'s quarto-sized pages. There were 7 feature articles, and 5 sections containing regular columns, addressing news and arts reviews. The business section is more comprehensive than that of *The Review*, whereas the review section is slimmer. *The Review*'s price increase to 30 cents brought it into line with *The Bulletin*'s cover charge. Overall, Walsh's claim is valid.⁸⁵ It cannot be ascertained, of course, whether the price rise had long-term deleterious effects, but it is likely to have inhibited any growth in circulation figures for some time.⁸⁶ The overall effect of the price increase on financial performance is also indeterminate.

Barry Watts issued a circular to the distribution network, explaining the background for the price increase. Watts too pointed out that *The Review* was comparable in price, content and quality to the major news magazines. Bluntly, Watts writes 'We expect to lose sales as a result of this move, of course.' He goes on to say 'I trust that you fully realise the significance of the increase to *The Review*'s future and, indeed, to your own association with us as a part-time member of our team. Do whatever you can to keep the loss of sales to a minimum.'⁸⁷ The tone of Watts' circular suggests that he was not comfortable with the price increase, and fully anticipated damage to the paper's circulation figures. Although it is likely that it was the IPEC finance team that persuaded Watts of the inevitability of the price increase, it seems to have gone against his instincts as the front-line circulation manager. Bob Ellis is clear about the effect of the price increase: 'For want of 8 cents a week, we lost an entire civilisation.'⁸⁸

85 *The Bulletin*, (August 28, 1971), (Sydney, Bulletin Newspaper Company, 1971), Vol 93 No 4770.

86 Walsh wrote in October 1971 that circulation had settled to around 30,000 issues per week, and the covers for January 1972 show circulation at 32,616, a drop of six or seven thousand from earlier peaks. In November 1971, using some extrapolated Morgan polling data, Walsh reported in the *Review* that *readership* was averaging approximately 104,000.

87 Barry Watts, *Circular to Distributors*, (Copy held by Ash Long), August 20, 1971.

88 Bob Ellis, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

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Farewell to the Yellow Submarine

In terms of ‘tradition’, another momentous event took place at this time. The ‘yellow submarine’, at 822 Lorimer Street was abandoned in favour of a new location at 113 Roslyn Street, West Melbourne, ‘a two-storey anonymous building in a pretty anonymous part of town’.⁸⁹ This was to remain the Ferret’s Melbourne address until 1975. Watts, in his August 20 circular, advises distributors of the impending auction of all of the printing equipment. Attempting a positive interpretation, Watts adds ‘We will be in our own building – an indication of our confidence of *The Review*’s future.’⁹⁰

This upheaval heralded the first anniversary of *The Review*. The event was acknowledged in the October 8, 1971 issue (Vol. 1, No. 52) in three ways. Richard Walsh reiterated the purpose of *The Review*, in ‘Four founding principles’. John Hepworth penned the ‘retrospective memoir’ ‘Not quite roses, roses all the way’.⁹¹ Michael Leunig drew the office cartoon already alluded to.⁹² Walsh’s four principles were: ‘To provide as free a forum of ideas as has yet been produced in Australia; To produce a unique publication rather than a faint echo of some half-remembered alien exemplar; To explore the possibilities of being Australian; To develop a more intimate form of journalism.’⁹³

Hepworth’s memoir is evocative of the adrenaline-charged terror ride necessary each week to meet the print deadline, and the seemingly unlikely survival of the newspaper for an entire year. Hepworth writes at the head of the article ‘There is a fey and dreamlike quality about the thought that not only have we reached the arrogant

89 Walsh, 1993, p. 43.

90 Barry Watts, 1971.

91 John Hepworth, ‘Not quite roses, roses all the way’, *The Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 1480.

92 Michael Leunig, ‘Leunig’s guide to staff style’, *The Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 1479.

93 Richard Walsh, ‘Continuity: Four founding principles’, *The Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 1474.

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maturity of our first anniversary, but that—by all the irreverent gods we hold dear—we may well live forever.’ These commemorative reflections indicate the high degrees of optimism and commitment engendered by what was seen perhaps more as a mission than a commercial venture. Richard Walsh says of this moment:

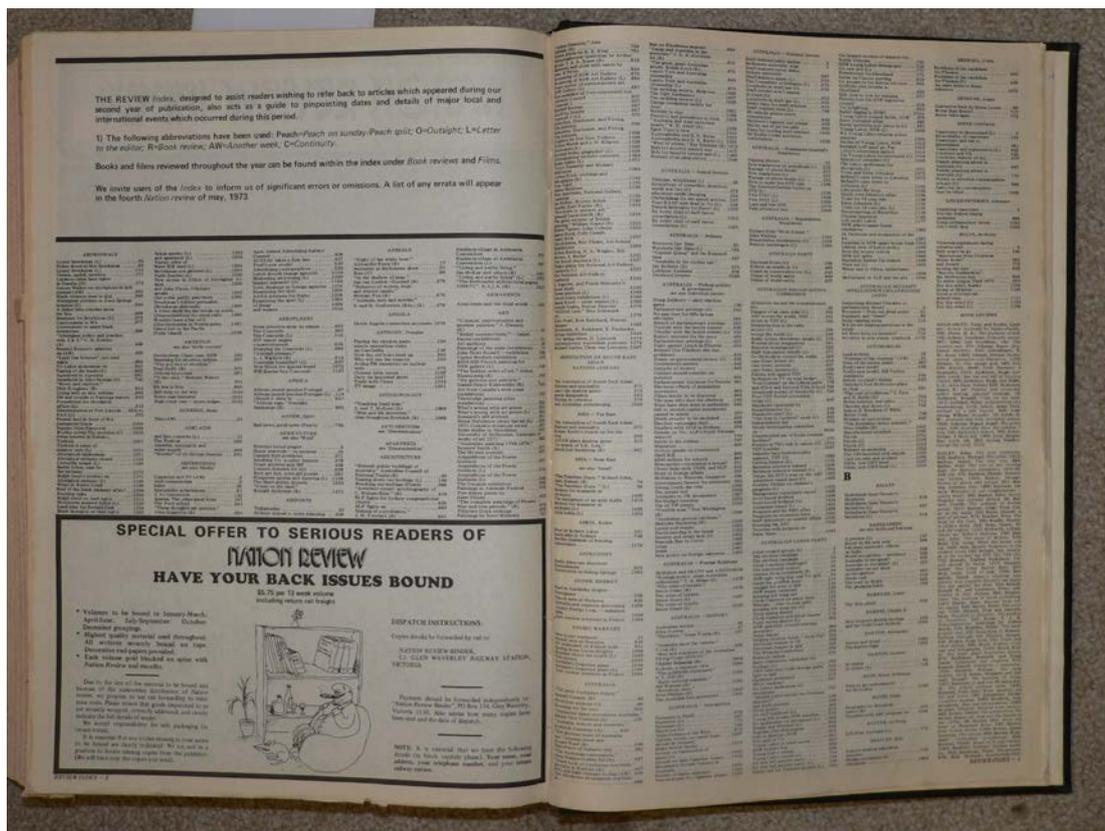
Our circulation and readership were more than satisfactory, particularly given our limited capacity to promote ourselves and our perennial difficulties in achieving efficient distribution. We had made the bold jump to 30c in August and the combination of this improved revenue stream plus the success of the D-Notices seemed to provide us with a measure of financial security, particularly given the lower overheads at our new Rosslyn Street quarters.

We had been ‘thrashed with a feather’ [allusion to Walsh’s appearance before the Senate following the leaking of a senate select committee report on drugs] and were the talk of what passes for the intelligentsia in Australia.⁹⁴

Walsh at this stage was not only editing *The Review*; he was also managing Gordon Barton’s recently-purchased Angus & Robertson book publishers, from an office in the same building as *The Review*. This necessitated a punishing schedule of commuting between his Sydney home and the Melbourne office. Barton had been somewhat elusive for much of this period, but emerged in November 1971 to give an extended interview (to an un-named interviewer), that was published in *The Review* as ‘Gordon Barton in review’.⁹⁵ Barton is introduced as ‘chairman of Ipec [sic], Tjuringa, Angus & Robertson *et al*, publisher of *The Review* and national convenor of the Australia Party’.

94 Walsh, 1993, p. 51.

95 Un-named Interviewer, ‘Gordon Barton in review’, *The Review*, (November 5, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 93.



At the end of the first year, *The Review Index* was published. This much-awaited innovation provided serious *Review* readers with a comprehensive index of all articles, letters and features published to date. Items were indexed under topic titles, such as Conservation, Bolivia, and Nader, Ralph. Unfortunately, authors' names are not listed. For the most part, the folio page-numbering system allowed page-number references to be sufficient, but the initial issues required issue numbers as well, not having folio numbering. Approximately 7000 entries were listed in the index. Specifically excluded from the index were entries for books that had been reviewed, apparently for reasons of cost rather than policy or legal constraints. This information was, however, readily available by writing to *The Review* librarian (Michael Morris), as suggested in the introduction to the Index.

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The November 27, 1971 issue of *The Review* included a questionnaire insertion, intended to inform *The Review* about its readership, to invite criticism, and to solicit suggestions for improvements. It appears that, just prior to this, the newspaper began to engage the services of Roy Morgan, on a regular basis. Morgan conducted a series of polls to quantify the level and nature of support for *The Review*. For a few issues, starting February 5, 1972, small panels appeared, headed ‘Reviewlations’. Each panel announced some aspect of *Review* sales and the readership profile. For instance, the first in the series reported ‘45% of *Review* purchasers are aged between 25-39 years; 32% of *Review* purchasers are married, and 43% have university degrees.’⁹⁶ The February 12, 1972 issue noted: ‘*The Review* has more readers in Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania than either the *Financial Review* or the *National Times*.’, and that: ‘50% of *Review* purchasers do not watch commercial television during their average day; 58% of *Review* purchasers spend between 1 and 2 hours a day reading newspapers or magazines.’⁹⁷

These statistics were most likely published in the hope of attracting better levels of advertising, by drawing potential advertisers’ attention to the demographics of the readership. Beyond that though, a phenomenon was beginning to make itself known—the emergence of the ‘*Review* type’. This aspect of *Nation Review*’s culture appears to have sprung spontaneously from allusions that began to surface in the correspondence pages, and it attempted to categorize the type of reader likely to engage with *Nation Review* and its predecessors. Readers began to identify with the newspaper, and to feel good about their association with the sorts of opinions and stances being aired in *The Review*. Phillip Adams says:

But then, almost all of us who were writing, certainly the journalists who were columnists, but all the pundits were of the Left. I said ‘This is a problem

96 Editor, ‘Reviewlations’, *The Review*, (February 5, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 16, p. 433.

97 Editor, ‘Reviewlations’, *The Review*, (February 12, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 17, pp. 460-461.

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Graham [Perkin, of *The Age*], we've got to get a couple of right-wing columnists in.' And Graham said, well, 'Find me one that's got a sense of humour,' and we couldn't – we really tried. Of course now, the opposite is true – all the punditry, almost without exception, are Right, Hard Right, Ultra-Right, pseudo-right, - they either fake it or they believe it, so the opposite is true. So at the time *Nation Review* was the only place (*Nation* of course had vanished, and had never had the same sort of energy). So here's the Oz era, and all these extraordinary people putting their hands up for *Nation Review*. And for the first time – I mean people always feel as if they 'own' a piece of media – they identify with it, and they feel proprietorial about it, and that's one of the reasons – well I really push that on Late Night Live, you know, as a notion by inventing the Gladdies and 'the listener – beloved listener' So, what happened was, *Nation Review* has suddenly got a raft of people of progressive views, old and young, and that was the other thing- there was a couple of generations of them.⁹⁸

From February 19, 1972, to March 18, 1972, Richard Beckett is no longer credited as Assistant Editor, in the imprint panel. For the next five issues no Assistant Editor is credited. There seems to be no specific explanation for this period without an Assistant Editor. Beckett continued in this interval to provide occasional book reviews, and restaurant reviews in the guise of Sam Orr.

Leunig began to build on Orr's persona during this period, in a series of cartoons amplifying Orr's sociopathic, sinister and unpleasant character. Reflecting social values of the time, (or politically incorrect perspective,) Leunig's offering for March 18, 1972, showing a lecherous, bearded and dark-glassed Orr, is captioned: 'Mr Sam Orr, gourmet of twelve year old girls, lunches in Martin Place.'⁹⁹ The origin of the Sam Orr alias is unknown. There may be a reflection of the notoriety surrounding University of Tasmania Professor Sydney Sparkes Orr, accused in 1955 of having an illicit liaison with a student. The accusation occurred in the midst of a particularly turbulent episode of university politics that had led to a Royal Commission. Richard Davis, investigating the episode, says 'W.H.C. Eddy, in his monumental book on the case, argues strongly for an anti-Orr conspiracy. There is no doubt that Orr's enemies

98 Phillip Adams, personal interview, Int. by David Olds, (Sydney, March 1, 2013).

99 Michael Leunig, Sam Orr cartoon, *The Review*, (March 18, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 22, p. 622.

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were determined to crush him if they could find evidence against him; whether any of that evidence was fraudulently concocted has not been proved.’¹⁰⁰ Whether this episode lingered in the mind of either Beckett or Leunig is not known, but the characterization presented by Leunig seems apt, and would reflect an underlying intellectual playfulness compatible with *Nation Review*.

The March 4, 1972 issue contained an innovation—Ferretwatch—a regular column devoted to criticism of the Australian Press.¹⁰¹ This was an important step. Besides its primary role of invigilation, there was an implied role of self-criticism, as well as a considerable risk of retaliation from other media. Initially Ferretwatch restricted its criticism to the political bias being expressed by the main dailies, but would go on to highlight inconsistencies, inaccuracies and general silliness. Given its idiosyncratic house style, its vocal partiality and its self-conscious larrikinism, *The Review* would have made an easy target, but other media outlets seemed keen to avoid acknowledgement of its presence. In the February 19, 1972 issue, *The Review* printed a Leunig cartoon with the title ‘The Sceptic’s Think Tank.’¹⁰² A paragraph summarised the aspirations of *The Review* at the time: ‘*The Review* is conceived as a potpourri of dissenting fact and opinion. It provides the kind of facts you won’t read anywhere else and a forum for critical political and social comment. It is aimed at the analytical minority who want straight facts and uncompromised opinions.’ Another ‘Reviewlation’ noted ‘Only 2% of *Review* purchasers do not see a need for change in the world around them.’ This was the lofty height from which Ferretwatch judged. From May 13 1972, ‘The Sceptic’s Think Tank’ supplanted ‘The magazine that lurks within a tabloid’ in the front-page baseline, remaining until the

100 Richard Davis ‘The Royal Commission and the Orr Case: The University of Tasmania in the 1950s and 1960s: Problems of a University Historian’, *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, Vol. 35, No. 4, (December 1988), pp. 146-170.

101 Editor, ‘Ferretwatch’, *The Review*, (March 4, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 20, p. 549.

102 Michael Leunig, Sceptics Think Tank cartoon, *The Review*, (February 19, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 18, p. 493.

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formation of *Nation Review*. Another touch of tongue-in-cheek bravado arrived on the cover for June 17, 1972, with the addition of the slogan ‘Est. 1970 Still going strong’, maintained until July 8, 1972.

Nation

From March 25 to June 24, 1972, John Hepworth was appointed Assistant Editor. Most likely, Hepworth took over responsibility for the Arts/Review section of the paper, while Walsh continued to edit the news section and contribute a column (‘Continuity’), as had been the case with Beckett. This situation was the precursor to perhaps the most significant moment in the history of the newspaper—the purchase of Tom Fitzgerald’s *Nation* journal, and its amalgamation with *The Review* to form *Nation Review*.

Ken Inglis, one of *Nation*’s longest-serving contributors, has edited a representative collection of articles from the journal, and provided some background history.¹⁰³ In brief, Barry Humphries introduced Tom Fitzgerald to George Munster in 1958, and the pair conceived the notion of publishing an independent journal that would add a level of quality, depth and reasoned opinion to existing news coverage, thus encouraging more useful and informed political debate. Fitzgerald had already established a reputation as the most respected Australian finance and economics journalist, in his role as financial editor for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Such was his value to Rupert Henderson, Fairfax’s Managing Director, that Henderson persuaded the company to allow Fitzgerald to continue in his role at the *Herald*, while simultaneously starting up *Nation*. Munster, in the meantime, simply impressed all who met him as ‘genius’.¹⁰⁴ Prior to his involvement with *Nation*, Munster had taught himself several languages, co-edited a magazine, and tried to write a novel, while producing incisive

103 Ken Inglis, (1989).

104 Introduced by Humphries as such, according to Walsh in *Ferretabilia* (p. 133).

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book reviews.¹⁰⁵ Munster had never wanted to put himself under the control of an employer, so the degree of independence offered by Fitzgerald was perhaps attractive to him.

The first issue of *Nation* was published September 26, 1958. It was fourteen years later that the merger with *The Review* took place, an impressive run for a journal that was always under-funded and that refused to pander to sensationalism, shallow analysis or populism. From the outset, *Nation* offered a fresh outlook for Australians who were dissatisfied with the torpor induced by the Menzies era, with its adherence to US-directed policy, its tired approach to national aspiration, and its parochial perspective. As was the case for *The Review* in later years, *Nation* was able to attract contributions from writers who wanted to air new ideas, to explore alternative world views, and to address matters that conventional newspapers chose to suppress.

Nation was printed by Francis James, himself a colourful and enigmatic character. James had been injured during his wartime role as a Spitfire pilot. His sense of adventure had taken him into a multitude of activities, culminating somewhat bizarrely in the creation and production of *The Anglican* weekly newspaper (his father was an Anglican clergyman). James was enthusiastic about *Nation*, and was prepared to hold off printing other material if there was an urgent need for *Nation* to be printed.¹⁰⁶ James, along with Professor John Anderson, holder of the Challis chair of philosophy in the University of Sydney from 1927 to 1958.¹⁰⁷ was a recurring *eminence grise* behind the scenes, influencing the philosophical stance, and the sense of iconoclasm shared by contributors to both *Nation* and *Nation Review*.

105 Murray Goot, 'Munster, George John (1925–1984)', Australian Dictionary of Biography Website, <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/munster-george-john-15786>>, [accessed 20 June 2014].

106 Ken Inglis, (1989), p. 20.

107 W. M. O'Neil, 'Anderson, John (1893–1962)', Australian Dictionary of Biography Website, <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/anderson-john-5017>>, [accessed 20 June 2014].

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Nation, although considered by some to be ‘Sydney-centric’ (the column addressing events in Melbourne was called ‘The Melbourne Spy’, implying an outsider’s perspective on that city), was able to assemble every fortnight an impressive array of international material and comment, as well as contributions from across the nation. Inglis points out that, despite its fortnightly publishing cycle, *Nation* was often very prompt with its coverage of developing stories, an indication of the robust network of contributors who enthusiastically posted their copy to *Nation*’s post-office box for Munster to collect.¹⁰⁸ The problems with distribution endured by *The Review* echoed earlier trials encountered by *Nation*. In addition to the normal postal delays for interstate readers, some postal interference in Sydney resulted from Catholic agitation against criticism of the Catholic Church. About 25% of sales were via subscription, suggesting that the value of a subscription list, included in the eventual sale of *Nation* to Barton, was less than substantial, assuming that not everyone would choose to renew subscriptions to the new entity.¹⁰⁹

By August 1962 *Nation* had survived, and thrived, to publish its 100th issue. By then it had become well-established as a journal, not only of ideas and opinion, but also of culture, through its arts reviews, and the quality of the writing it featured. At this time there was a small surge in interest in culture and the arts, with a parallel focus on political life. Robert Menzies had narrowly survived a 1961 election, won despite an absolute majority vote for the Labor Party. Internationally, Cuba was in the spotlight, following Fidel Castro’s ascent to power and the advent of communism. The virulent US response had culminated in the chaotic Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961, and the dire threat of nuclear war was about to materialise (with the missile crisis in October 1962). With the notion of the Domino Theory of creeping communism driving

¹⁰⁸ Ken Inglis, (1989), pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁹ Ken Inglis, (1989), pp. 19-27.

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US paranoia, the CIA was stepping up operations in South America and south-east Asia, largely through funding for right-wing politicians, corporations and publishers of anti-communist and anti-socialist newspapers and magazines.

In Australia, one such venture was the establishment of *Quadrant*, a quarterly magazine, funded, in part, and in secret, by the CIA through its Australian Association for Cultural Freedom (a suitably Orwellian name). Richard Krygier, acting for Michael Josselson, head of CIA's Berlin office, had been criticised for supporting rabid anti-communists, rather than courting left-leaning intellectuals and artists. Krygier sought advice from Irving Krystol, editor of the British *Encounter* magazine, another CIA-supported organ. Krystol proposed the introduction in Australia of a magazine similar to *Encounter*, funded in the same way. *Quadrant* was the result, with James McAuley as editor, on the recommendation of arch-anti-communist Bob Santamaria. As a convert to Catholicism, and an intransigent cold-war warrior, McAuley was an unsurprising choice, given his reputation as a poet.¹¹⁰

The main target of *Quadrant* was *Meanjin* magazine, established in 1940 by Clem Christesen, as a literary journal, but seen by Krygier as pro-communist. *Meanjin*, its owners and contributors, were in turn targetted by ASIO, acting under instruction from the CIA.¹¹¹ CIA agents John Hunt and Robbie Macauley were responsible for

110 Although Pybus says 'He was not an obvious choice for editor of a literary journal, since he was viewed by many in the literary world as a mediocre poet and a Catholic fanatic.' Cassandra Pybus, 'CIA as Culture Vultures', (First appearing in *Australian Book Review*, No. 223), (July 2000), *Jacket Magazine* Website, < <http://jacketmagazine.com/12/pybus-quad.html>>, Editor, 'About *Meanjin*', *Meanjin* Website, < https://www.mup.com.au/page/about_meanjin>, [accessed 20 June 2014].

111 ASIO has so far released two files on *Meanjin*, six files on Clem Christesen, and three files on Nina Christesen (other files may exist that have not been subject to applications for access). *National Archives of Australia* Website < <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs69.aspx>>, [accessed 20 June 2014].

Pybus also asserts that 'Krygier, it seems, had already established mutually-supportive connections with ASIO, and thought that the agency should be used to vet potential members for the Australian committee [of the Congress of Cultural Freedom].', Cassandra Pybus, *The Devil and James McAuley*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1999), p. 145.

John McLaren writes 'Richard Krygier, seeking support for an anti-communist journal to combat its influence, reported to his employers in the Congress of Cultural Freedom that "*Meanjin*" is published by the Melbourne Uni., which does not mean that it is not a rabidly pro-communist magazine. ASIO

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coordinating editorial and strategic policy for the group of CIA funded magazines, including *Quadrant*. In 1962 Donald Horne suggested to Hunt and Macauley the notion of a seminar for the editors of CIA publications, to be held in Sydney and hosted by *Quadrant*.¹¹² This proposal was accepted, and the seminar happened to coincide with *Nation's* 100th issue.

Inglis records that Fitzgerald omitted any mention of the seminar in the 100th issue, and was 'cool' (in the older sense) to the notion. Fitzgerald had been assiduously wooed by Peter Hastings (editor of *The Bulletin* after Donald Horne) and John Kerr (ex-spy and eventual Governor-General), since the underwriters of the seminar were keen to 'legitimize' their venture by including what they saw as left-wing voices in the organizing group. Fitzgerald rather cheekily suggested that *Meanjin* ought to be included in the organizing group, a suggestion not surprisingly ignored by the AACF. Fitzgerald, clearly understanding the purpose of *Quadrant*, rejected any part in proceedings, and the editors of other left-leaning magazines boycotted the seminar, on the grounds that involvement would add unmerited prestige to *Quadrant*.¹¹³

It is evident from this episode that Fitzgerald had a canny sense about political intrigue, and explains to some extent the firmly independent stance of *Nation* throughout its life. Sensitivity to, and interest in, the machinations of ASIO and the CIA in Australia, would persist into the *Nation Review* period, although, under the *Nation Review* banner, this attention became more concerned with the apparent imbalance in ASIO's interest in left-leaning individuals and organizations.¹¹⁴

classified Christesen as a "Communist sympathiser"...' John McLaren, *Writing in Hope and Fear: Literature as Politics in Postwar Australia*, (Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1996), p. 28.

112 Cassandra Pybus, (July 2000), Editor, 'About *Meanjin*', *Meanjin* Website, <
https://www.mup.com.au/page/about_meanjin>, [accessed 20 June 2014].

113 Ken Inglis, (1989), pp. 79-80.

114 Coverage of ASIO intensified following the ill-advised raid on ASIO by Attorney-General Lionel Murphy on March 16, 1973, and began with a Mungo MacCallum article immediately following the

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Circulation of *Nation* rose to around 11,000 in the mid-1960s. Fitzgerald declined two generous offers for funding, the first from Peter Abeles (Barton's opposite number with his Alltrans trucking company, eventually to become TNT), and then from Rupert Henderson, of Fairfax. Wary of the loss of complete independence, Fitzgerald preferred to struggle on in the face of insufficient funds and a precarious existence. In 1964 Fitzgerald faced another effort to buy him out, the offer coming again from Rupert Henderson. This time Henderson wanted to buy out *Nation* and close it down, while appointing Fitzgerald as editor of the *Financial Review*. This would have resulted in a superb financial newspaper, and would have allowed for better use of Fitzgerald's talents within the Fairfax empire. An added attraction was the potential removal of an irritating voice often critical of Fairfax papers. Again, Fitzgerald refused. In his account of this incident, Inglis makes no mention of the proposed fate of Munster in this scenario. If Munster were not properly looked after by Fairfax, Fitzgerald would most likely have refused, regardless of his own advantage.¹¹⁵

Nation had spawned a number of writers, journalists and editors by the mid-1960s. Several of them were enticed by the glamour of Murdoch into joining the staff of Murdoch's new national daily, the *Australian*. Notably, Maxwell Newton, whose complex path would cross that of Barton's *Sunday Observer* and *Sunday Review*, and who had developed his skills at *Nation*, became the first editor of the *Australian*, but was unable to settle to role and the constraints of the position, leaving after eight months. Indeed, Inglis notes that a major criticism by Murdoch against the early *Australian* was that it resembled a daily *Nation*.¹¹⁶

event. Mungo MacCallum, 'Will ASIO just grow fatter?', *Nation Review*, (March 30, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol.32, No. 24, p. 718.

115 Ken Inglis, (1989), p. 125.

116 Ken Inglis, (1989), p. 125.

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Towards the end of the 1960's Tom Fitzgerald was tiring. *Nation* had been in circulation for ten years, having built up respectable circulation figures, and a fine reputation for achieving its stated goal of publishing ideas and informed opinion. On the face of it, *Nation* might be seen as a safe institution, an inherent element of Australian intellectual, financial and political thought, as well as an astute evaluator of national arts and culture. A closer examination though would have revealed some cracks. Fitzgerald had kept the cover price at 20c, despite steep rises in production costs, lest he lose subscribers. The difference was made up partly through Fitzgerald's own mortgage, but more disturbingly, by not always paying contributors. Inglis notes that academics in particular, slow to deliver promised articles at the best of times, tended to put writing for *Nation* low on their priority lists, and fell lower on the payment schedule.¹¹⁷ For a variety of reasons, some of the longer-standing correspondents were dropping away, and competition for upcoming talent was lively, given the number of new magazines and journals being floated by the major newspaper publishers, and by smaller special-interest communities. Ironically, some of this competition was the consequence of other publications taking *Nation* as inspiration to improve the quality of their own offerings, giving readers more options in the search for informed opinion.

Both Fitzgerald and Munster had taken on the challenge of tertiary studies, over and above their respective commitments, to *Nation*, and to the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The earlier scintillating sessions in restaurants gave way to study, and even to some rest. Most likely, a certain *esprit de corps* had been lost on the ten-year journey.

Nation was suffering from the same phenomenon that *The Review* would have to face: television advertising was making a significant incursion into advertising budgets for many companies, with equivalent reductions in funding for print-borne advertising.

117 Ken Inglis, (1989), p. 170.

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These factors combined to make for a rather tired journal, lacking in the earlier sparkle, although perusal suggests that the quality of most contributions continued to be high.

Despite these pressures on his life, Fitzgerald was courageous enough in 1970 to make a significant career-change. He was uneasy about Warwick Fairfax's increasing meddling, as the 'Committee of One'.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, Murdoch had renewed his perennial offer of an editorial role within News Ltd, this time as editorial director. Inglis notes that, despite the ever-extending list of editors broken on the wheel of Murdoch's editorial dictatorship, and despite Munster's warnings, Fitzgerald accepted the offer when it was sweetened by Murdoch allowing Fitzgerald to continue publishing *Nation* independently, and when Adrian Deamer added his encouragement. Murdoch showed his colours even before Fitzgerald got his feet under the editorial desk; news of Deamer's sacking reached him indirectly. Fitzgerald had burned his boats; he needed Murdoch's salary payments to cover *Nation's* debts.¹¹⁹

Fitzgerald gave serious consideration to contacting Gordon Barton for some unformed notion of assistance, following an offer already made by Barton, but the elusive entrepreneur was not easy to find, and Fitzgerald struggled miserably on under the Murdoch thumb. Ironically, Barton's new *Sunday Review* now formed a major competitive threat to *Nation*, sharing as it did a sense of the importance of ideas, and a not insignificant overlap of contributors. The *Sunday Review* had the benefit of a patron with very deep pockets, a strong sense of connection with new attitudes emerging in Australian society, and access to some of the best contributors on offer, including connections with international news sources. Visually, *Nation* looked rather drab and old-fashioned in the light of *The Review's* large photographs, Leunig's cartoons and a bolder approach to design and layout. The pressures of shrinking finances, strong

118 As were Fairfax's fellow directors. See Gavin Souter, (1981), pp. 66-72.

119 Ken Inglis, (1989), pp. 207-212.

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competition for a limited number of readers, Fitzgerald's inability to bolster the enterprise because of personal commitments, tiredness, and perhaps a spirit rather broken by his subservience to Murdoch, were bound to prove terminal. The final issue of *Nation* went to press July 22, 1972, and re-emerged, if only in spectral guise, with the new *Nation Review* of the following week. In the last issue of *Nation*, Fitzgerald penned a farewell editorial that restated the journal's mission, and the urgent necessity of that mission in the face of 'reactionary tendencies' shown by the Menzies government. He wrote 'Sir Robert Menzies had shrewdly reared a banner with the name "Liberalism" to characterise his forces. Sir Robert has always been a man of parts, but his fatal reactionary tendencies had been shown in the Suez affair and in his Government's attitudes on China and Indonesia.'¹²⁰ He identified something of a changing of the Guard, as the generation that 'was conscious of the margin by which it had escaped Hitler and Hirohito' gave way to 'others who had no political affiliations of any kind [who would] do what was possible to resist excesses and the enduringly obtuse, though influential, strain among the conservatives'. Fitzgerald's incisive ability to identify the ideas and real issues underlying political skirmishing is clear in his farewell, many of them applying with equal urgency today. Also clear is his spirit of generosity, as he thanks those who contributed to *Nation*, and wishes well for the new *Nation Review*, with the message "The combination of "*The Review*" and "*Nation*" holds out the prospect of a new dimension in resources, energy and organisation for independent journalism in a setting where the qualities are desperately needed.'¹²¹

Nation Review

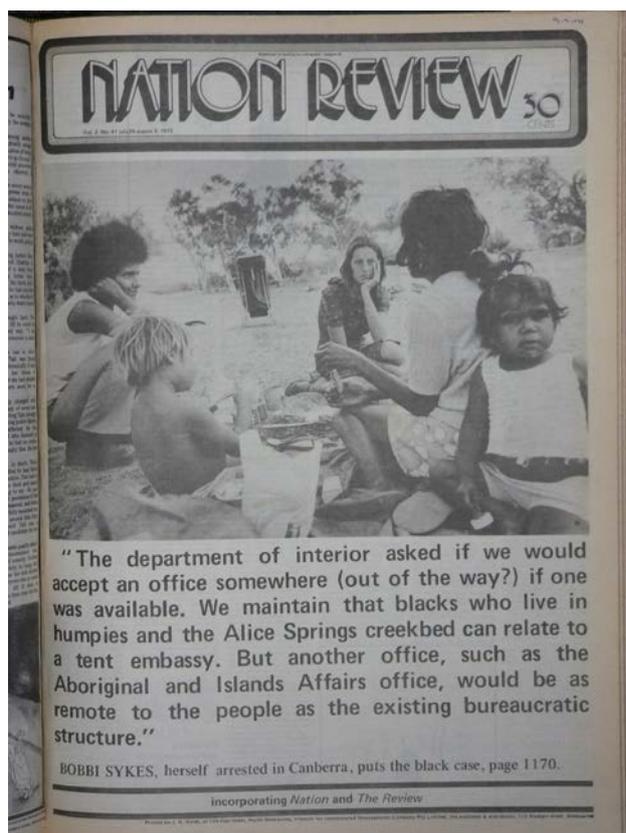
Barton's purchase of *Nation* appears primarily to be an act of charity, given that the journal was already well into a terminal spiral. The subscription list was small and of

120 Tom Fitzgerald, 'Flourish *Nation Review*', Editorial, *Nation*, July 22, 1972, (Sydney, NATION REVIEW CO., 1972), No. 345, pp. 3-4.

121 Tom Fitzgerald, (1972), reproduced in Ken Inglis, (1989), pp. 251-252.

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no great value, and there were few assets, other than the goodwill associated with the name, which would become submerged in any case. Fitzgerald, to Richard Walsh's recollection, was most concerned to ensure that a role would exist for George Munster within the new entity. Munster might be considered *Nation's* most valuable asset, so it would have been surprising if no avenue for the



exercise of his talent could have been found. Walsh echoes Ken Inglis's account when he suggests that the merging of *Nation* with *The Review* was a 'long-term Gordon Barton project, which finally came to fruition in July 1972.'¹²² Everingham on the other hand suggests that the purchase occurred as a consequence of Fitzgerald approaching Barton.¹²³

Confirmation of rumours that had begun to appear in the Press, about the merger, was provided when *Review* readers encountered a preview of the new *Nation Review* banner, revealed in the July 8, 1972 issue.¹²⁴ Anticipation was further fed on July 15 1972 by the addition to *The Review* banner of the caption '*Nation Review* is coming'.¹²⁵ July 29, 1972 marked the publication of the first issue of *Nation Review*. The cover for

¹²² Walsh, 1993, p. 133.

¹²³ Everingham, 2009, p. 175.

¹²⁴ Richard Walsh, 'Continuity', *The Review*, (July 8, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 38, p. 1080.

¹²⁵ Cover, *The Review*, (July 16, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 39, p. 1101.

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the new organ was not significantly different, compared to immediately-preceding issues of *The Review*. No headline was used; instead, a large image dominated the top half of the page, while a large-type paragraph below it provided some explanation of the significance of the image (Developments in the ongoing Aboriginal Embassy episode). The new *Nation Review* banner had essentially the same appearance as *The Review*'s banner, except that a new typeface was used, resembling a stylised version of typefaces made popular during the 1930s Art Deco period.¹²⁶ Perhaps ingesting some of *Nation*'s dignity, the new issue replaces the baseline 'The sceptic's think tank' by the acknowledgment 'incorporating *Nation* and *The Review*'. This reverted to the 'lean and nose' line from August 19. Internally, no discernible differences appeared, with the usual *Review* columns in the same locations, and the same set of contributors. Whereas Hepworth's *Outsight* column appeared as usual, no signed contribution from Munster was evident. No comment was made about the changed publishing structure or any possible changes to the newspaper itself. The imprint panel showed the new banner, and the new editorial arrangement, with the new Sydney address added. Robin Howells, previously the nominated contact for advertising for Melbourne clients, now became nationwide Advertising Manager. Michael Leunig has offered his insightful view in a last-page cartoon, captioned 'This is the OFFICIAL *Nation Review* wedding photo', and depicting a slightly earnest, though bemused, duffel-coated *Nation* correspondent, holding the rather devious, sly ferret in his arms.

126 Perhaps most closely resembling the 'Plaza' typeface. An example can be found at the Identifont Website, < <http://www.identifont.com/similar?3GS>>, [accessed 20 June 2014].

Settling in Together

The reasons presented by *The Review* for the merger between *Nation* and *The Review* emphasise the close fit of purpose and outlook between the two publications, toning down any crises of finance or career alternatives. Walsh writes: ‘The merger is a natural outcome of our own desire to open a Sydney office and of *Nation*’s determination to obtain a weekly audience.’¹ Walsh goes on to admit that readers of *Nation* will mourn its passing as an independent journal. As a stark illustration of the harsh realities facing independent publications, he reprints, at length, a letter to subscribers of the US *Ramparts* magazine, itself undergoing financial pressures resulting from changing market conditions. This letter points out the difficulties of securing advertising revenue for a generalist publication in the face of new television advertising opportunities. At the same time, the letter points out the potential for conflicts of interest that may arise in a publication that, while relying on the capitalist hegemony, may wish to criticise aspects of it.

In 1990 John McLaren echoed this view in a book review in which he explored the emerging neoliberal ideology as espoused by David Kemp, and contrasted it with *Nation*, the ‘fortnightly journal of opinion and reportage, [that] was held together by no ideology apart from a common commitment to the importance of ideas’. McLaren asserted that

This conversation of so many voices was based on the assumption that freedom depended on rationality, and procured the practical effects, which no journal dependent on the market place rather than on the commitment of its owner and contributors could do, of changing the intellectual climate of Australia. *Nation*’s competitor, the *Observer*, and its successor, *The Bulletin*, brought together a similar array of voices, but they were, and are, subject to the whims of a proprietor with strong views and wide business interests, and so

1 Richard Walsh, ‘Continuity’, *The Review*, (July 8, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 38, p. 1080.

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can never provide the free and dispassionate analysis that *Nation* brought for an all-too-short fourteen years.²

Regardless of unstated, underlying pragmatic reasons for the merger, the idealistic pursuit of knowledge and ideas as described above would seem to indicate a very good fit between the publications. Tom Fitzgerald and George Munster had established *Nation* as a credible, authoritative source of ideas and comment, although circulation tended to be limited to a contained audience of professionals, experts and intellectuals. For its part, *The Review* had a respectable circulation, and had penetrated to a larger, more broadly disparate audience, and, although something of a larrikin presence, it had nonetheless earned a reputation for incisive journalism, as well as a strong reach into the arts. Certain elements of *Nation* were envisaged as continuing, and Fitzgerald had been anxious to ensure a position of respect and influence for Munster. *Nation's* list of prestigious contributors would be free to contribute to the new paper, on a more frequent basis. The move would appear to offer good reason for optimism, both commercial and idealistic.

Nation had operated from a small, somewhat decrepit office at 777B George Street, Sydney, and this address was retained as the Sydney presence for *Nation Review*. Structural adjustments were necessitated by the new entity. George Munster was appointed Editor (Sydney), while John Hepworth became Editor (Melbourne). These joint Editors were overseen by Richard Walsh, whose title became 'Editor-in-Chief', although this seems more often to have been over-ridden by the title 'Publishing Editor'. Walsh comments 'The merger happened at a time of great political and journalistic optimism; it was immediately to result in the strongest issues we were ever to produce.'³

2 John McLaren, 'Liberalism, Liberals and Conservatism', Book Review: *Nation: the life of an independent journal of opinion, 1958-1972*, ed. and intr. by Kenneth Stanley Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, (Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1989); D. A. Kemp, *Foundations for Australian political analysis: politics and authority*, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press Australia, 1988); Viewed on Victoria University Website, < <http://vuir.vu.edu.au/17062/1/MCLAREN-BOXB1-DOC25compressed.pdf>>, [accessed 10 June 2014].

3 Walsh, 1993, 133.

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The next few issues settled into a consistent format, now featuring a column from George Munster (either unsigned or under the D. Jenkyn pseudonym) that appeared fortnightly, alternating on a weekly basis with Walsh's "Continuity" column. This in effect allowed the *Fourteen Days* column to be carried over from its origin in *Nation*. Other ex-*Nation* contributors tried their hand with pieces for *Nation Review*, thereby enriching an already impressive line-up of correspondents and writers. Each issue now sported a longer, two-page feature article, as a standard component.⁴ These articles were written by a variety of contributors, and addressed diverse issues, often entailing considerable research and investigation. As well as a means of bringing attention to a broad selection of otherwise neglected aspects of news, these articles often provided invaluable insights. Equally, features concerned with the arts offered sometimes controversial opinions and often deeper reflection about their subjects than could be found in the popular Press.

The final issue of *The Review* (July 22, 1972) carried a small notice on page 1137: 'You could be editor of *The Review* for a day'. The notice led readers to an entry form on page 1161. The form was primarily a survey of readers' responses to current content, and other aspects of the paper, including access and delivery. It required entrants to nominate (in fewer than 100 words) what changes they would initiate if they were selected as editor-for-a-day. The whole exercise went quiet for some time, perhaps partly as events involving the merger overtook it. Richard Walsh revived interest in the exercise in the August 19 issue (page 1272), suggesting that it would take considerable time to process entries and make a selection. Meanwhile, Walsh summarized some of

4 See, for example, Alexander MacDonald's feature about Roy Rene, 'Memories of Mo', *Nation Review*, (October 28, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 54-55, Judith Wright's 'I, the writer', *Nation Review*, (November 18, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 154-155, and the serialised, condensed version of Warren Denning's 1937 book *Caucus Crisis*, a survey of the Scullin Labor government, given new relevance by Whitlam's election. The feature ran for two weeks, beginning in *Nation Review*, (December 9, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 8, pp. 256-258.

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the findings to date, concluding overall that ‘Despite the surfeit of suggestions, it appears that we are basically enjoying the goodwill of most readers (unless they all saw pandering to the judge as their simplest way of winning the comp—the cunning, sycophantic swine).’ Five entries received small prizes, and their suggestions were presented. One suggestion that was implemented was the ‘Back Index’, an index appearing at the bottom of the first ‘Features’ page, listing the regular columns and contributors to the review section, and page numbers. The Back Index was discontinued after the June 15, 1973 issue.

The ‘editor-for-a-day’ idea, as a specific exercise, appears to have gone quietly away, but the notion remained. It is possible that an indirect product of the idea was the ‘shrewview’ issue of October 14, 1972 (Vol. 2 No. 52), the last issue of the second year of publication. On page 1497 of the October 7, 1972 issue of *Nation Review*, readers were presented with an enigmatic announcement. In a 3-column-wide black-bordered space, the caption ‘Women take over *Nation Review* October 14’ appeared below a Roy Lichtenstein-inspired drawing of a woman, with ‘Gosh what a scoop’ in a speech-bubble. Although this was the first and only visual hint of something unusual afoot at *Nation Review*, there had been a small undercurrent of sensitivity to feminist causes from the beginning.

Nation Review and its predecessors had come under fire from some correspondents on a regular basis, accusing it of double-standards, and even misogyny. This had come about, in part because of an imbalance in staff gender numbers, and also because of the sexist nature of some of the advertising that was run on a regular basis. Through new eyes there is considerable justification for that criticism. The newspaper was a product of its time, a time when misogyny and sexism were entrenched in Australian culture. The effects of this tendency could be seen in many forms throughout commercial and artistic milieux. In the context of its contemporary media offerings,

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however, *Nation Review* can at least be credited with restraint in its use of sexist tropes, and with publishing more articles sympathetic to, and informative about, feminism than most other papers. Germaine Greer's writing, for instance, received early recognition in *Nation Review*. The paper had followed, with some enthusiasm, Suzanne Baker's candidature and eventual good showing in the annual election for the NSW District Committee of the Australian Journalists' Association, noting Baker's 'very creditable third' placing.⁵ Feminism had yet to become a powerful movement in Australia in 1972.

Nation Review (and its predecessor *The Review*) undertook, almost from its inception, the scholarly journal (folio) convention of continuous pagination, with the intention of publishing annual indexes encompassing all issues for the year. The index issued at the end of 1972 contains no entries for 'feminism' or any of its derivations. Instead there are 38 entries under the heading 'Women's Liberation Movements' (up from 22 in 1971). This is a useful reminder of the fledgling state of the women's movement at the time.

Not everyone was satisfied with *Nation Review's* performance. In a letter to the editor in the October 22, 1971 edition of *The Review*, K Pye took issue with Michael Leunig's cartoon 'The Review: First Anniversary' (*The Review*, October 8, 1971, p. 1479) depicting *The Review's* production staff (who carried over into *Nation Review*). Pye noted that females formed a very small minority, and they were referred to in Leunig's cartoon in derogatory, sexist terms ('Paste-up lady Heather', 'Miscellaneous laboresses (sic)'). Pye went on to suggest that in order to address the insidiousness of 'nauseatingly male-biased (articles)' *Nation Review* needed to address issues of gender-balance by itself employing equal numbers of males and females, at equal rates of payment and performing equal tasks. Phillip Telford's letter of November 13, 1971 (*The Review*, p 146)

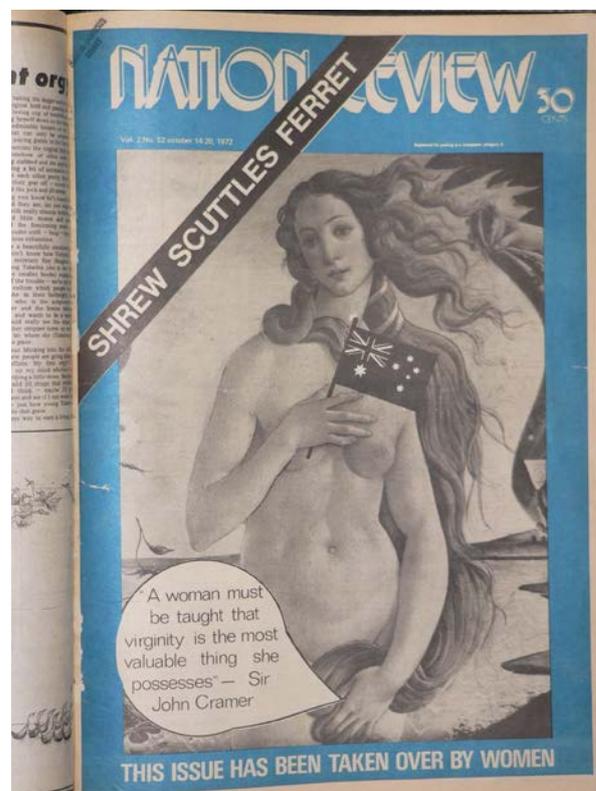
5 Mervyn Rutherford, 'Media', *Nation Review*, (September 2, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 46, p. 1351.

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took an opposing view, suggesting that the women's movement was too preoccupied with the matter of how women were being represented in the pages of *The Review*, to the exclusion of dealing with women's issues as they applied in the broader community. In her letter of December 11, 1971 (p. 263) Diana Heath, while suggesting that much of the criticism of *The Review*'s treatment of women's issues was unjustified, identified conditions that she regarded as symptomatic of male domination of the newspaper's agenda.

Shrewview

Moving on to October 14 1972, around 40,000 people bought their issue of the *Nation Review* newspaper, to find the cover dominated by Botticelli's *Venus*, now sporting an Australian flag. The enigmatic banner 'Shrew scuttles Ferret', and a quotation from Sir John Cramer were overlaid on the picture, while the caption 'This issue has been taken over by women' completed the cover.



It is possible that the selection of Venus for the cover of 'Shrewview' was inspired by Germaine Greer, who wrote, for the May 1970 issue of *Oz* magazine 'In order that the pork sword might be seen to rule the world unchallenged, women

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obligingly hid their sex, at first with a hand and a glance of simulated alarm as the goddess of love rose glistening from the waves'.⁶

The 'Shrewview' retained what was essentially an identical layout, structure and appearance to ordinary issues of *Nation Review*, with equivalent sections, features and columns. A consistent note of mockery is carried throughout the issue. Specific reference to the special nature of this issue does not occur until page 1536 (16 pages in) where Julie Rigg takes on the equivalent role of Richard Walsh, whose 'Continuity' column alternated with Munster's 'Fourteen Days'. In 'Discontinuity', Rigg provided the rationale behind the 'Shrewview' initiative: 'We think the disservice *Nation Review* has done its readers is its promotion of the idea that the real interests of men and women are in real conflict.'⁷ As a key member of the Media Women's Action Group, Rigg went on to describe the group's concern about 'the way women's issues are treated by the media', and by several forms of gender inequality within journalism. In Rigg's words, 'Members of MWAG decided to take over an issue of *Nation Review* to show that feminist ideas make good copy, and need not be presented as a battle between the sexes, and to show that, given editorial control, we could produce a good paper.'⁸ *Nation Review* publication information includes a list of those women who participated in the production of the newspaper.⁹

According to an article in *The Review* of January 29, 1972, a meeting of women involved in Australian media resolved, through a suggestion made by attendee Germaine Greer, to form a Women's Association, with an as yet unspecified agenda, that may

6 Germaine Greer, *The Madwoman's Underclothes: Essays and Occasional Writings*, New York, The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986, Reprinted from 'The Politics of Female Sexuality', *Oz Magazine*, May 1970.

7 Julie Rigg, 'Discontinuity', *Nation Review*, October 14, 1972, (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 52, p. 1536.

8 Julie Rigg, 'Discontinuity', *Nation Review*, October 14, 1972, (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 52, p. 1536.

9 Imprint Panel, *Nation Review*, October 14, 1972, (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 52, p. 1536.

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have included the notion of forming a women's faction within the Australian Journalists' Association.¹⁰ A letter in *The Review* for the following week accused the paper of wilfully denigrating the notion of an association for women in media, and of failing to report factual material accurately.¹¹ This letter referred to a 'Media Women's Association'. Another letter referring to a 'Media Women's Association', and angry about the tenor of this article, appeared the week after that.¹² In the ensuing months the association had coalesced into the Media Women's Action Group, largely as the result of efforts by Suzanne Baker. By around October 1973 membership of the Media Women's Action Group stood at around 127 members, drawn from all major Australian media organisations.¹³

Judged from today's perspective, there is nothing particularly radical about the Shrewview issue. The content is mostly well-written, dispassionate and interesting, and the fact that it was penned by women is no longer remarkable, since female journalists have become a part of the natural order throughout media organizations.

What then, was the response to 'Shrewview'? The first flurry of reaction appears in the letters pages of *Nation Review* of October 21, 1972. Five letters take the Shrews to task because of factual or production errors, seemingly somewhat trivial.¹⁴ Four letters engage with the material contained in articles, either commenting on facts about the

10 A Sydney Correspondent, 'We don't know why we're here yet – so go away', *The Review*, January 29, 1972, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 15, p. 421.

11 Sandra Forbes & Elisabeth Wynhausen, *The Bulletin*, 'Snide and sloppy', Reprinted in *The Review*, February 5, 1972, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 16, p. 430.

12 Sally Baker, 'Major inaccuracies', *The Review*, February 12, 1972, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 17, p. 458.

13 The Group, *Bulletin – Media Women's Action Group*, Un-numbered and undated. (No other issues of this MWAG publication appear to have survived).

14 Else Anderson, Maggie May, Marcus Plumes, Ian Mackay & D. J. Munro, 'Letters to the Publisher', *Nation Review*, October 21, 1972, (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 2-3.

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articles or expressing opinions about the subjects that were addressed.¹⁵ These letters do not challenge the professionalism of the women journalists, but either extend an argument or disagree with the writers' opinions, and do not touch on the feminist aspects of the situation. One letter, from Senator Douglas McClelland, who went on to become Minister for the Media in Whitlam's Second Cabinet Ministry, expresses his anger at what he claims was misrepresentation of his conversation with 'Elizabeth Nathans'.¹⁶ It emerges in the letter, and in Richard Walsh's response, that 'Nathans' is a pseudonym for 'a well-known journalist, from a national magazine'. Whether the Shrewview can be considered a milestone in the feminist cause is debatable, but, regardless of its ultimate effect, the notion of handing over real and complete control of a weekly newspaper was bold for its time, but utterly inconceivable now. John Hepworth, in his *Outsight* column for the following week, wittily encapsulates the complexity and delicacy of negotiating the new social and cultural space opened up by the notion of gender-equality.¹⁷

Richard Walsh suggests that the Shrewview episode came about largely because MWAG had been successful in collecting an impressive group of potential contributors, some of whom, for varying reasons, were not otherwise accessible to *Nation Review*. He felt, therefore, that an all-female issue could be strong in content and quality, as well as being a commercial success. Somewhat tongue-in-cheek, he adds that the situation was seen as a useful opportunity to withdraw regular staff so that they could help with the

15 A. E. Rex Knox, Edmund Campion, B. E. Jones & Jack Lloyd, 'Letters to the Publisher', *Nation Review*, October 21, 1972, (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 2-3.

16 Douglas McClelland, 'Letters to the Publisher', *Nation Review*, (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 3. Subsequently Minister for the Media in Whitlam's Cabinet. Also Richard Walsh's response as Publishing Editor.

17 John Hepworth, 'Outsight', *Nation Review*, October 21, 1972, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 36..

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organisation of ‘The Ferret Affair’, a celebratory function commemorating the second birthday of *The Review/Nation Review*.¹⁸

The Ferret Affair

The Ferret Affair was conceived as a celebration to be shared by *Nation Review* staff, contributors and readers; the announcement was published September



30, 1972, (p. 1463) and was repeated on subsequent weeks until the event took place (October 28, 1972). Leunig provided an atmospheric cartoon for the October 14 notice (Shrewview issue, p. 1532), featuring toucans and the inevitable ducks (guests could check their ducks in with a ‘duck-check girl’, and what must be called pigeon-holes were provided for the ducks). The Affair was an elaborate occasion (billed as ‘the social extravaganza of the year’). Attendance was by application and payment of \$5.00 for a double ticket. Alcohol was B.Y.O., and a broad range of food was available from stalls. There was to be live entertainment, notably by the Captain Matchbox Whoopee Band (for whom Leunig had drawn a double-sized cartoon adorning their second L.P.: *Wangaratta Wahine*).

18 Walsh, 1993, p. 145.

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John Hepworth's *Outsight* column for November 4, 1972 provided some inkling of what must have been a tremendous occasion. Hepworth tells of loud music, impressive acrobatics, enraptured fans of the *Nation Review* contributors, curious vignettes of social interchanges, and a mass gate-crashing effort by 'one hundred and fifty nine young Mss'. Hepworth ponders the makeup of the 'Review Ferret Type'—a personification of attributes considered typical in *Nation Review* readers.¹⁹

Year Three - Bookferrets

Leunig penned the cover for the first issue of Volume 3 (October 21, 1972), with the caption 'Boring Birthday Issue'. Otherwise a standard issue, only a two-page tribute to the Ferret celebrated the second birthday. John Hepworth described the origins and history of the Ferret, while Owen Webster reflected on his time with the paper. Leunig of course provided a representative collection of Ferret drawings. Amidst the celebration and self-congratulation, there was a genuine sense of surprise that the newspaper had survived to its second anniversary, and a tenuous emergence of some hope that *Nation Review* may in fact have become sufficiently established to ensure a continuation into the future. Owen Webster wrote,

It really looks as if the little blighter's here to stay [the ferret]. His greatest strength, as with us all, is the extent of his readiness to change—down to the tiniest, but no less crucial details, such as capital letters. His greatest dangers are in getting too fat to poke his nose into the dirtiest places, and in producing an odour which could become so familiar as to be pleasant.²⁰

Meanwhile, *The Review* for April 8, 1972 contained a full-page announcement, and an application form for membership of *The Review* Book Club.²¹ In 1971 the Restrictive

19 John Hepworth, 'Outsight', *Nation Review*, November 4, 1972, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 104.

20 Owen Webster, 'Whetstone', *Nation Review*, October 21, 1972, (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 19.

21 *Review* Book Club, *The Review*, (April 8, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 25, p. 707.

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Trade Practices Bill was enacted, making the practice of price-fixing illegal.²² Prior to that, book publishers regarded Australia as an extension of the British market, and applied price-fixing to their publications, meaning that a particular book would be priced by the publisher and sold in all outlets for that price, thus removing any ability to compete based on price. This was seen by the publishers as necessary to preserve profitability in a relatively small marketplace, and they were concerned that, by removing this protection, the Act would threaten their viability. In 1972 an appeal was lodged by Australian book publisher A. H. & A. W. Reed, for exemption from the Act. Michael Costigan reported on this hearing in *The Review*, April 8, 1972.²³ The appeal failed, thus removing any possibility of protections based on price.²⁴ Richard Walsh, in his role as General Manager of Angus & Robertson, would have been much occupied by the implications of this development. One method of avoiding pricing issues was to use a book club, where membership conditions would override any trade practices considerations. Walsh may also have been influenced, and even encouraged, by queries from readers. Many of the books reviewed in *The Review* were somewhat esoteric, and readers often found difficulties with trying to obtain copies from any but the biggest book shops, often having to endure a lengthy wait for delivery. A *Review* Book Club could coordinate orders for reviewed books, thereby making a profit on improved margins, while helping readers to more easily obtain books.

22 Restrictive Trade Practices Bill, viewed on Parliament of Australia Website, <<http://www.aprh.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/explanmem/docs/1971restrictivetradepracticesbill1971em.pdf>>, [accessed 19 June 2014].

23 Michael Costigan, 'RPM decision is awaited', *The Review*, (April 8, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 25, p. 704.

24 Commission of the European Communities, 'Book Prices in Australia and the United States of America', (Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1985), Viewed on Europa EU Books Website, <http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/search/?webform-id=WFSimpleSearch&DefaultButton=findSimple&WFSimpleSearch_NameOrID=Book+Prices+in+Australia+and+the+United+States+of+America&SearchConditions=&SearchType=1&SortingAttribute=LatestYear-desc&findSimple.x=12&findSimple.y=10> [accessed 19 June 2014].

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In any case, *The Review* Book Club was announced, and Michael Costigan, in his role as literary editor, was assigned the task of setting up the club, and producing a magazine, or catalogue, to be called *The Bookferret*. The full-page announcement that appeared in *The Review* for April 8, 1972 (p. 707), stated the aims of the book club thus: ‘The one common characteristic of *Review* purchasers—confirmed by the recent study by Probe Pty Ltd—is that they see reading as their favourite pastime. The aim of *The Review* Book Club is to stimulate interest in, and purchase of, specialised (particularly Australian) books and ultimately to offer a range of facilities to book lovers which are not readily available elsewhere.’²⁵ *The Review* Book Club continued to be promoted in each issue, but by May 6, 1972, the name had changed irrevocably to *Bookferrets Club*.²⁶

Bookferrets settled into a process of offering ‘monthly specials’—usually four books per month, offered at a special price, and selected with *Review* readers’ tastes in mind. As an example of the quality of offerings, and the excellent value offered, the specials for June, 1972 consisted of *The White Thorn Tree* by Frank Dalby Davison, at \$4.50 for the two-volume set (reduced from \$13.90), *Prophets and losses in the Priesthood* by Michael Parer and Tony Peterson, at \$2.30 (reduced from \$6.90) and *The Last Whole Earth Catalogue*, from the Portola Institute, at \$4.60 (reduced from \$6.75).²⁷

25 *Review* Book Club, *The Review*, (April 8, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 25, p. 707.

26 *Bookferrets* Club, *The Review*, (April 8, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 29, p. 801.

27 *Bookferrets* Club, *The Review*, (June 3, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 33, p. 939.

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It transpired that Walsh had decided on a three-month trial of *Bookferrets*, before committing fully to the notion (since that would involve adding staff resources, office



space, administration systems and the like). Sales and interest were sufficient to ensure its continuation, with the added bonus that a new, full-page, major announcement could be made in the July 8 issue (p. 1077). The announcement confirmed that *Bookferrets* was to be properly established and organized, with particular attention being paid to more rapid delivery. A new list of monthly special titles was announced, at significantly reduced prices. *Bookferrets* was promoted each week, with advertisements of varying sizes, usually appearing near the start of the review section, and ranging from quarter-page to full-page layouts, used when a new set of offers was made. Club book prices continued to be well below normal retail prices.

The December 1, 1972 issue (incidentally coinciding with the Whitlam election) contained a full-page *Bookferrets* application form (p. 224), at the front of a Christmas Special *Bookferrets* supplement, that ran to eight pages (numbered 1-8, outside the folio system). For some reason, the supplement was headed Vol 1, No. 5, despite numbers 1-4 seemingly never to have existed, and its appearing in Vol. 3 No. 7. The supplement consisted of extended book reviews, news about the publishing industry, and extensive lists of brief reviews of new books.

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The Restrictive Trade Practices Act notwithstanding, many book suppliers were resisting the loss of control over prices. One consequence of this was a claimed reluctance on the part of suppliers to deal with *Bookferrets*. This situation was blamed for difficulties and delays in satisfying members' orders. Barry Watts tried to bring matters to a head in February, 1973, by openly issuing a challenge to suppliers to meet an order, or explain why they wouldn't, with outcomes to be published in *Nation Review*. The letter was printed as a Special Announcement in the March 2, 1973 issue (p. 593). Responses to Watts' letter were published in the March 30 issue (p. 722). Respondents generally denied any intentional delays, and some pointed out that no previous formal orders had been received. Where delays had occurred, explanations revolved around shortage of shipments to suppliers. Watts' letter had been phrased aggressively, and overall this exercise may have been less than constructive in its longer-term consequences. No further developments appear to have emerged. It is possible that, to readers and club members, the semblance of a confrontation between *Nation Review* and the larger publishing corporations provided some satisfaction, which may have eased discontent caused through lengthy waiting times.

Walsh had to some extent entertained the idea that *Bookferrets* could be set up in a similar way to the Left Book Club, devised in 1936 by British publisher Victor Gollancz. Gollancz was fearful of the increasing power of fascism as it spread through a Europe torn by economic crises and industrial unrest, following the Great Depression and its consequent impact on Europe. In particular, Germany, under the Weimar Republic, had been convulsed by discontent, fomented largely by fascist movements opposed to a republican state. Hitler was on the verge of negotiating with President Hindenburg to form a new government. In Italy, fascist dictator Mussolini was at the height of his powers.

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Gollancz, observing how the left had functioned in France and Spain, ‘where socialists and communists had sunk their differences in a Popular Front,’ felt that left-wing literature needed to be given broader exposure to a wider-reading public, and that some popular form of distribution was needed, for this to occur.²⁸ He sought to reach a large audience of less well-educated readers, to give them access to books about economics, social and political theory, and historical interpretation of world events. He enlisted John Strachey and Harold Laski to form the club and select titles. Subscribers to the club were sent lists of suitable titles, selected by Gollancz. The club failed when the realities of Stalinism became undeniable in 1946, thereby undermining the intellectual authority of the Left Book Club. There were financial difficulties and a loss of membership. Notions of a joint venture with the British Labour Party came to nothing, as Gollancz distrusted the Atlee Labour government. The Left Book Club was terminated in October 1948.²⁹

Walsh felt that, although *Review* readers were most likely not committed to some defined ideology, they nonetheless shared a common sense of what he termed ‘a liberal humanist tradition’.³⁰ He was interested in the notion of enabling contact between like-minded readers, to form interest groups that could pursue their own specific concerns through the *Bookferrets* mechanism. He argued that the proposed structure would be unlikely to fail, in the way that the Left Book Club had, because of the more diverse set of ideas underpinning *Bookferrets*. For a brief period, a monthly competition was run, in which readers could enter their own review of any book appearing on the *Bookferrets* list, with the chance to win a Parker pen (Parker remained a faithful advertiser during the early period of *Nation Review*’s life). Despite such measures, the notion of active

28 Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Victor Gollancz: A Biography*, (London, Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1987), p. 228.

29 Ruth Dudley Edwards, (1987), p. 502.

30 Richard Walsh, ‘Continuity’, *The Review*, (May 13, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 30, p. 834.

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participation of readers in the Club's activities, and the formation of readers' groups, appear never to have gained sufficient traction, although some informal contact between readers may have come about. One practical outcome was the provision, through the pages of *Nation Review*, of a free exchange service, where readers could list books available for sale or exchange directly to other readers.

Access to *Bookferrets* was broadened in August 1973. From the August 3 issue, a *Bookferrets* Supplement began to appear at monthly intervals. Club membership fees were abandoned, and the supplement listed all books available through the club, at prices available to all *Nation Review* readers. Monthly specials continued to be offered, and were advertised in the usual way.³¹ The August 3 issue was larger than usual, and carried the addition to the front-page banner: 'Giant size BIG issue (thermo-nuclear family size) 1 ¼ for the price of one!' (an echo of the famous 'one for the price of two' offer).

Bookferrets died on November 2, 1973. The issue for that date included a *Bookferrets* supplement, but with the title 'Final Issue'. On the first page of the supplement a black-bordered paragraph announced the closure of *Bookferrets* Club (except for a skeletal operation to meet current orders), and attributed the cause to rising costs that put the project beyond economic viability. The line 'Our sins may have been scarlet, but our books were read.' concluded the statement.³² The statement expresses a strong sense of regret that *Bookferrets* could not be sustained.

One book that was red, but was not on *The Review* Book Club's list was *The Little Red School Book*. Written in 1969 by Danish educators Soren Hansen and Jesper Jensen, the book was translated into English by Berit Thornberry, and was taken up for printing in Australia in 1972 by Alister Taylor in association with Brolga Books Pty Ltd, Adelaide.

31 *Nation Review's* new style *Bookferrets*, *Nation Review*, (August 3, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 42, p. 1321.

32 *Bookferrets* Supplement, *Nation Review*, (November 3, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 1.

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Taylor is remembered as 'developing a reputation as a publishing radical at the time'.³³ The book is described by the University of Melbourne as 'a subversive reference text for teenagers.'³⁴ Controversy surrounded the book from its first publication in Danish in 1969. It was critical of institutional politics and religion and used explicit language to discuss sexuality and drug use. Wendy Bacon was active in trying to get the book disseminated as broadly as possible. The book was the subject of intensive lobbying, directed at Don Chipp, then Liberal Minister for Customs and Excise, by a range of conservative organizations, but also, by the ALP spokesman on education, Kim Beasley.³⁵ At one point, the situation threatened to become a significant election issue for the 1972 federal election. Chipp saw no point in trying to ban the book, in part because legal advice had suggested that it was not obscene or subversive under law, and partly because the book had already been imported and prepared for Australian distribution by 'radical publishers and student organizations'. One such 'radical publisher' was Richard Walsh. The April 22, 1972 issue of *The Review* displayed an advertisement for the book, saying that *The Review* had received 'several hundred copies', in response to overwhelming demand. The book continued to be promoted over a period of some weeks. Wary of the Law, *The Review* stated that copies would be sent only to addresses listed in current telephone directories.³⁶

33 Powerhouse Museum, 'Australian edition of "The Little Red School Book"', *Powerhouse Museum Website*, < <http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=354431>>, [accessed 21 June 2014].

34 Banned Books in Australia, '*The Little Red School Book* (banned in Queensland and Victoria, 1972)', *University of Melbourne Website*, < <http://www.lib.unimelb.edu.au/collections/special/exhibitions/bannedbooks/exhibition/schoolbook.html>>, [accessed 21 June 2014].

35 Nicole Moore, *The Censor's Library: Uncovering the lost history of Australia's banned books*, (St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 2012), pp. 283-286.

36 Special Review Offer, *The Review*, (April 22, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 27, p. 757.

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Whitlam Arrives

There is perhaps some irony to the timing of the emergence of *Nation Review*. Fitzgerald's 'forces of reaction' were about to receive a blow in the form of Gough Whitlam's ascent to government. The December 1, 1972 issue was wrapped in an extra four pages (including a cover), devoted to the upcoming federal election. *Nation Review* had been unremittingly scathing of William McMahon from the day of his succession (after Gorton), and this treatment continued throughout his brief Prime Ministership. The election special pages are unattributed, but they include vicious, although perceptive and mildly amusing, satirical treatment of McMahon. To be fair, there is an equally insightful, amusing and witty send-up of Gordon Barton's Australia Party, likening it to a wife-swapping party amongst wealthy, trendy North Shore types, where nobody is quite sure of the etiquette required, but tries nonetheless to appear experienced and worldly, despite never having done it (discussed politics) before. Whitlam too does not escape unscathed, being painted as vain and distant.

The election special represents not only a beginning, but the end of an era for *Nation Review*. Up to this point, the newspaper had been able to target the Liberal government in a legitimate fourth-estate role, that of holding the government to account. The fact that most *Nation Review* contributors and readers owned up to holding more-or-less left-wing views allowed a degree of comfort and moral superiority to exist, in the alignment of duty with pleasure. With the arrival of Whitlam, the newspaper would be forced either to abandon its purported impartial duty by continuing to attack the Right, or it would need to switch to a role of monitoring a left-wing government with the same zeal and joy with which it had held the Right to account. This of course was a situation not unique to *Nation Review*. Conservative governments had dominated Australian political life since the end of the Second World War (South Australia's Dunstan government being a significant exception). There was a style of government that had

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been born of a sense of privilege, of conservative values, and that was based on a network of powerful individuals and organisations. Both government and opposition parties are open to undue influence from powerful lobby groups, but only through an incumbent government can that influence find its way into the framing of legislation (although it can, of course, also affect the nature of opposition to proposed legislation). It follows that, given an even-handed assessment, greater fault is likely to be found with governments than with oppositions, more emphatically in the context of governments of long duration. On that basis, it would not be surprising to find that a greater proportion of attention would be paid in *Nation Review* to the shortcomings of the incumbent Right than the oppositional Left.

In the case of South Australia, the relationship between Don Dunstan and the media provides some complexities. Ruth Starke describes Dunstan's well-orchestrated, savvy approach to media management, in which types of media and media outlets are played off against each other.³⁷ Dunstan faced antagonism from the Murdoch Press, particularly at the hands of Max Harris (*News* and *Sunday Mail*); 'The *Sunday Mail*'s popular columnist Max Harris, who had a habit of referring to the premier as 'Don Baby (Glitter, glitter)', was a frequent target of the premier's wrath, and he would shoot off aggrieved letters to the editor. 'One becomes weary of constantly correcting the mis-statements and misrepresentations of Mr Harris,' one twelve-paragraph letter began.³⁸ Dunstan fared better in the pages of *Nation Review*. Already in office for some months prior to the emergence of the *Sunday Review*, Dunstan's initial efforts were directed at prosaic administrative and political practicalities. These events were covered sporadically in the *Sunday Review* by Gareth Perkins, without arousing any particular excitement.

37 Ruth Starke, 'Media Don: a political enigma in pink shorts', *Australian Book Review* website, (March, 2013), < <https://www.australianbookreview.com.au/abr-online/current-issue/86-march-2013-no-349/1362-media-don> > [accessed May 20, 2015].

38 Ruth Starke, 2013.

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In the June 6, 1971 issue, the convention began of not naming state correspondents (possibly to protect sources), and articles relating to South Australia were written by ‘Our Adelaide Correspondent’. Thus it is not clear when Bruce Muirden began to fill that role. By late 1971 Dunstan’s more progressive reforms were beginning to emerge, offering the Adelaide correspondent material that was more interesting to a national audience. As an example, an article discussing extended trading hours appeared in the October 29, 1971 issue.³⁹ It seems reasonably certain (based on writing style) that Muirden was in command by January 8, 1972, when a longer article (still by ‘Our Adelaide correspondent’) dealt with an item that had caused a flurry of excitement—the reported sighting of the ‘Nullarbor Nymph’. This lighter topic gave the writer some freedom to indulge in a more flamboyant style, influenced, no doubt, by the styles of Ellis, Hepworth and MacCallum.⁴⁰ Muirden seems in general to have supported Dunstan, and his vision for South Australia. He took to calling LCL opposition leader Steele Hall ‘Steele baby’, in response to Max Harris, and regularly brought attention to the antics of the opposition. For example, he described the problems experienced by right-wing politicians facing a progressive government, in an April 29, 1972 article.⁴¹ He writes, ‘Hall is in an even greater fix. The pressures on him are stronger to show a “progressive” line on social issues. He cannot afford to be labelled as a wowser, or anything like it... he has to simulate a mildly permissive air, as befitting a man with such prominent sideburns’.

Muirden’s by-line became ‘by BRUCE MUIRDEN in Adelaide’ from the January 26, 1973 issue, although, for a brief period, February 16 – April 19, 1973,

39 Adelaide Correspondent, ‘SA’s night politics’, *The Review* (October 29, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 62.

40 Adelaide Correspondent, ‘Nymphs, nuts and kangas come away’, *The Sunday Review* (January 28 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 12, p. 325.

41 Adelaide Correspondent, ‘Peering into SA’s moral mist’, *The Review* (April 29 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 28, p. 774.

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Michael Jacobs took over the role. Muirden's views on journalism receive some airing in an article he wrote prior to the 1972 federal election, regarding the domination in Adelaide of the Murdoch Press.⁴² Muirden notes that Murdoch, while introducing the *Sunday Telegraph* into Adelaide, was keen to protect his other Sunday paper, the *Sunday Mail*, by arranging with newsagents that they withhold the *Telegraph* until the afternoon, reflecting the absurdity of a monopoly situation. He reports that Dunstan felt unable to change that situation, and goes on to illustrate the problems of media monopoly, by describing the Murdoch Press's reluctance to report excessive carbon monoxide levels in the city's main shopping street, because of sensitivity about links to commercial interests based there.

It can be seen from this incident that there is a strong urge amongst *Nation Review* correspondents to redress imbalances in the wider Press, and that the issue goes beyond the power of governments themselves. Furthermore, there is a pointer to a broad philosophical consideration, whose parallel has more or less constantly been played out with the ABC. As a public broadcaster, the ABC is regularly criticised by conservatives, who claim that the ABC persistently displays a left-wing bias.⁴³ The ABC's response has been to try to be scrupulous in presenting exactly equivalent coverage of left- and right-wing views.⁴⁴ Presented with this 'internal-balance' type of

42 Our Adelaide Correspondent, 'A bit each way on the Sundays', *Nation Review*, (November 18, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 5, p. 151.

43 For instance, Liberal Party Senator James McGrath used his maiden speech to the Senate (July 16, 2014) to assert left-wing bias in the ABC, and to call for its privatisation (accusations of bias invariably presage calls for privatisation). Senator James McGrath, First Speech, (July 16, 2014) *Parliament of Australia* website, <<http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22chamber%2Fhansards%2F232fa1a8-d7e8-4b22-9018-1a99b5a96812%2F0173%22>>, [accessed 23 May 2015].

44 The claim of left-wing bias is generally refuted by various surveys and reviews. The Report of the Chairman to the ABC Election Coverage Review Committee, for example, found that, during the 2013 election, the ABC allocated 39.4% of total time to the Coalition, and 40% to the Labor Party. Australian Broadcasting Corporation, '2013 Federal Election, Report of the Chairman, Election Coverage Review Committee', ABC website, <<http://about.abc.net.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/ABC2013FedElectionReportChairECRC.pdf>>, [accessed 23 May 2015]. Using a complex algorithm, Gans and Leigh found a bias towards the right, in the ABC News TV

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response, Muirden and other *Nation Review* correspondents might well have expressed the opinion that this approach ignores the greater context of overall media coverage, and the preponderance of right-wing influence in the mainstream media. It could be argued that, as a counter, a left-leaning voice needs to be present, in an attempt to balance the overall orientation of news. At the time of these events though, Murdoch was overtly supporting Whitlam in the *Australian* at least, so matters of imbalance for Muirden were restricted mostly to local South Australian contexts. In any case, *Nation Review* was about to embark onto uncharted waters with the advent of the Whitlam government, while looming in the future would be the question of how the paper would respond to Whitlam's dismissal.

The *Nation Review* print cycle, centred on Friday evening print runs, precluded any specific response immediately upon Whitlam's victory; almost a week had passed before the paper's first Whitlam-era issue.⁴⁵ In part to create the impression of relevance, and to avoid catch-up reporting, Walsh assembled some longer articles addressing Australian political history and general observations. Warren Denning's 1937 book *Caucus Crisis* offered interesting insights into the history and operation of the Labor Caucus, so it was an appropriate choice for serialisation as a feature article. It appeared in condensed form and was introduced by a long excerpt, followed by commentary by Walsh.⁴⁶ Chris Hector and Rory Barnes used a book review of *Who Runs Australia*, edited by John Wilkes, to examine what they saw as the decline of parliamentary

programme: Joshua S. Gans & Andrew Leigh, 'How Partisan is the Press? Multiple Measures of Media Slant.', *The Economic Record*, (March, 2012), Vol. 88, No. 280, pp. 127-147.

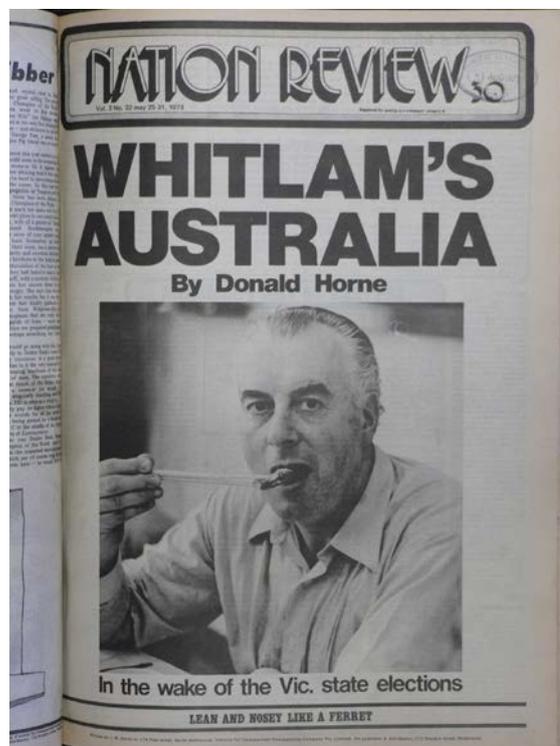
45 By March 1973, the print run had switched to Thursday, although reversion to Friday printing was mooted from time to time. The August 24, 1973 issue includes a map of Melbourne, showing locations where *Nation Review* could be bought before 8:00 am Friday mornings; *Nation Review*, (August 24, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 45, p. 1431.

46 Warren Denning & Richard Walsh, 'The rise and fall of a Labor government', *Nation Review*, (December 9, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 8, pp. 256-258.

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democracy.⁴⁷ Rohan Rivett contributed ‘Whitlam and our world image’, an evaluation of likely changes to Australia’s foreign policy and its execution, under a leader more forthright and engaged with the region than previous Liberal incumbents.⁴⁸

No noticeable changes to *Nation Review* resulted immediately from life with Gough. In particular, state politics continued to be well-represented, while observations about Canberra were limited to speculations about portfolios and changes in various policy areas. There may have been an air of holiday mood, or perhaps the tiredness that follows the end of a project, as a noticeably thin issue emerged for the



1972 Christmas week. When service returned to normal, the paper entered into an unusually long period of stability, with the management structure and dual editorship holding firm. Regular contributors were keeping up a steady flow of high-quality articles, the structure of the paper was remaining constant, and now contained a healthy level of advertising from a diverse range of clients. This relatively stable management and organizational period continued until October 1973, marred slightly by the loss of Owen Webster in September. Webster had been there from the first issue of the *Sunday Review*, and his writing had begun to appear under a regular column title (Whetstone) on September 2, 1972. Webster set himself (and the newspaper) very high standards, and

47 Chris Hector & Rory Barnes, ‘The decline of parliamentary democracy’, *Nation Review*, (December 9, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 8, p. 263.

48 Rohan Rivett, ‘Whitlam and our world image’, *Nation Review*, (December 9, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 8, p. 267.

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had held very high hopes that *Nation Review* would presage a deeper, more sensible understanding of, and engagement in, the democratic process. By September 28, 1973, Webster had become dejected and jaded. A 12-month literary award allowed Webster sufficient independence to leave *Nation Review*. His final Whetstone column (p. 1593) expresses his disappointment, and hints at editorial disagreement. He writes ‘As one illustration of what has defeated me, consider *Nation Review*, the most intelligent, forward-looking and experimental periodical in the country, which last weekend devoted four of its so-called “news” pages, more than one seventh of its editorial content, to party-political argy-bargy no less ephemeral or insignificant than the stuff that occupied columns and columns of the *Surrey Times*, where I received my first tarring of journalism 30 years ago.’⁴⁹

Counterculture and Living Daylights

Tom Fitzgerald had hinted at generational change in his farewell editorial written for the last issue of *Nation*. A similar sense of change was permeating the *Nation Review* office in 1973, although now perhaps a generation on (at least in terms of ideas, which had changed from those identified by Fitzgerald). The Whitlam government was not the only sign of a rapid and dramatic change of social values in Australia. A film industry was stirring, Australian pop music bands were beginning to develop their own original sound, rather than aping British and American rock bands, and the grinding close of the Vietnam conflict seemed imminent with the cessation of conscription by Whitlam. A new word was coined: counterculture.

Whereas previously a handful of rebels had declared their radical views at any given time, muffled in the midst of a stable, conservative society, a larger group of young people was expressing interest in alternative lifestyle options, creating a

49 Owen Webster, ‘Vale to an alternative government’, *Nation Review*, (September 28, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 50, p. 1593.

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noticeable groundswell in anti-imperialist, anti-establishment, anti-capitalist and anti-war sentiment. No longer restricted to insignificant numbers of adherents, the new social values were achieving sufficient momentum to be recognizable as a genuine alternative to the hegemony. Central to this counterculture was the notion and lifestyle associated with mind-altering drugs like LSD, and less intensively-affecting substances such as marijuana.

The counterculture tended to scorn capitalism and consumerism, but capitalism is an implacable force. When girls protesting about war in the 1960s began threading flowers into the gun-barrels of National Guard soldiers, thus creating ‘Flower Power’, it was only a few heartbeats later that flower-themed fabrics, stickers, music and fashion swept into being. Quoting Negri and Hardt, Glenn Hill characterises this phenomenon as a capitalist inevitability: ‘The reason, [Negri and Hardt] suggest, is that the counterculture movement’s refusal to be contained by the old disciplinary regimes or engage in the old modes of mass production and mass consumption, forced the development of new modes of production, new sites for consumption, and new, more flexible forms of control to ensure all cultural activities were ensnared by the market.’⁵⁰

In Australia, this market irresistibility engendered a new stream of publications, catering to the tastes of the burgeoning counterculture. Unlike earlier dissenting journals, magazines, papers and pamphlets, such as *Outlook* and *Dissent*, and the ‘little’ literary magazines like *Meanjin* and *Overland* these new publications did not spring from an ideological or idealized base, at least in terms of the rationalized intellectualism described by McLaren; rather, they espoused popularised notions of ‘lifestyle’, alternate

50 Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, *Empire* (Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 2000). Glen Hill, ‘Discipline Dodgers: Freedom and Control in the Intentional Communities of Australia’s Counterculture’, *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, edited by Alexandra Brown and Andrew Leach (Gold Coast, Qld: SAHANZ, 2013), vol. 2, p 574, Griffith University Website, <
http://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/536241/R03_02_Hill_Discipline-Dodgers.pdf>, [accessed 23 June 2014].

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values, entertainment, and, hypocritically, a general rejection of the market-driven hegemony.⁵¹

Underground comics, such as *Zap* and *Zig Zag* had become popular, largely through the works of Robert Crumb. These graphic forms allowed their creators to explore psychedelic themes, while addressing social issues in confronting ways, often meshing with the upsurge in satire that had sprung from late-sixties U.K. television. An advertisement for *Zig Zag* magazine appears in *Nation Review* (March 30, p. 736), and neatly encapsulates the dichotomy between promoting the counterculture, and making a profit. It says, in part, ‘Buying *Zig Zag* from time to time, sort of exceptionally, isn’t it displaying a rather impulsive, ready witted attitude? To joint [*sic*] together so as to buy *Zig Zag* is a more sympathetic gesture. But if you want God to save *Zig Zag* you better buy it, for yourself alone.’⁵²

Nation Review itself was influential in the move towards alternative lifestyles. An early adopter of environmental concerns, it had published articles about pollution, chemical contamination, population growth and land misuse. It had supported protest movements in their struggles to save Tasmanian forests and wilderness, and it had to some extent understood the closeness of connection between indigenous Australians and their land. Environmental issues began to be collected under the new column title ‘Spaceship Earth’, appearing sporadically from December 22, 1972 onwards.

Among the select group of regularly-appearing advertisements, ‘alternative’ items had always been featured, ranging from suggestive novelty candles, through drug paraphernalia, psychedelia and homosexual magazines, to alternative lifestyle guides. The music and lifestyle newspaper *Digger* was regularly advertised in *Nation Review*, books

51 John McLaren, (1996).

52 *Zap* Comics Advertisement, *Nation Review*, (March 30, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 24, p. 736.

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relating to alternative topics were frequently reviewed and advertised, and other papers, such as the *Mother Earth News* were advertised.⁵³ *Digger* in particular had proven a success. Intended as a guide to rock music, live music venues, performer profiles and so forth, it was inevitable that *Digger* would absorb a political flavour. Contemporary music was dominated by political protest themes, from Bob Dylan, Joni Mitchell, Crosby, Stills & Nash, Bob Marley and many others. Music reviews inevitably needed to take account of political themes, and there were also strong links between the music scene and drugs. Bruce Hanford, one of *Digger's* founders, was an American journalist who had come to Australia to dodge the US military draft. His professional attitude to news and his personal collision with politics influenced the character of the paper. Hence *Digger* came to be seen as more than a music paper, and helped to form a coherent narrative for alternative society in Australia.

Notwithstanding the internal incongruity of profiting from a consumer group that has rejected consumerism, it is understandable that *Nation Review*, conscious of, and receptive to, the mercurial tastes of its readers and followers, might have begun to identify a potential market that was not being addressed by the paper as it stood. Equally, there had arisen a kind of vigilante force of readers who saw it as their duty to monitor the newspaper and ensure that its high moral and ethical standards, as well as its journalistic and literary qualities, were not threatened by commercial or political pressures. A solution emerged that would allow *Nation Review* to continue unscathed, and that would offer access to a new demographic group, while happily promising a new revenue stream—*Son of Ferret*.

The provisionally-named *Son of Ferret* was announced in the March 23, 1973 issue of *Nation Review*. The announcement suggests that the idea had been mooted and

53 'Mother Earth News helps give back the skills our education took from us' Advertisement, *Nation Review*, (March 23, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 23, p. 704.

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discussed internally over a period of six weeks, but that no consultation with outside agents had occurred. It concludes with a solicitation for an editor and production editor for the new publication. Perhaps coincidentally, a long article appeared in the April 6, 1973 issue, penned by Richard Neville, and illustrated with segments of comic strips drawn by Robert Crumb.⁵⁴ Then, the April 26, 1973 cover consisted of a coloured image of a marijuana plant (*Marijuana: the new lobby*). On p. 780 of that issue, a ‘*Nation Review* investigation’ looked at a developing campaign to legalize marijuana, while on the opposite page (p. 781), a guide-book for growing marijuana was offered for sale (The advertisement was repeated over the next few issues). The cover for May 18, 1973 consisted of photographs taken at the Nimbin festival, under the heading ‘Anatomy of the tribal cult’, with an associated article (p. 951), and another article (p. 943) about drug-related arrests at the festival. Richard Neville then supplied an article in the June 1, 1973 issue (‘A bisocialite’s Nimbin Story’, p. 1015), after which a two-page spread of photographs taken at Nimbin was presented.

Finally, in the issue of June 8, 1973, it was announced that Richard Neville had been appointed Publisher/Editor of *Son of Ferret* (p. 1040). Production Editor was named as Terry Maher, and Michael Morris was appointed Assistant Editor. The opportunity to bring Richard Neville into the *Nation Review* fold must have seemed ideal. Neville’s credentials were impeccable for the role he was expected to occupy. In parallel to Walsh’s editorship of *Honi Soit* at The University of Sydney, Neville had edited *Tharunka* at the University of New South Wales. Neville and Walsh had joined forces to create the original Australian *Oz* magazine, and Neville had then gone on to found the British version of *Oz*, having moved to the U.K. in 1966. After a publication run of more than five years, in 1973 *Oz* was beginning to tire (it lasted until November 1973).

54 Richard Neville, ‘Just 12 men’, *Nation Review*, (April 6, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 25, pp. 760-761.

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The timing was right for Neville to accept a new challenge. An astute observer of the counterculture, Neville was uniquely placed to understand, interpret and criticise the counterculture movement.

In his ‘Continuity’ column for May 18, 1973, (p. 950) Walsh had noted that *Nation Review*’s circulation for the previous six months had exceeded 54,000 per week, and was growing considerably. With healthier advertising revenues continuing to flow, the launch of a complementary magazine would seem both feasible financially, and desirable in terms of leverage from a position of success. The two papers were seen to be catering to different audiences, and were not expected to adversely affect sales of either. There would be a naturally-occurring cross-use of resources, including production capacity, as well as contributors.

The gestation period for the new paper was proving to be lengthy. Richard Neville, having returned to Australia, was at a loose end while details were finalised. To fill the gap, he agreed to take on a guest-editorship of the August 1973 issue of *POL* magazine, the new-style women’s magazine established by Walsh. A large advertisement was printed in the August 3 issue of *Nation Review* (p. 1299), announcing the special edition of *POL*, and listing its contents, including the ‘Schoolkids’ *POL*, a direct reference to the infamous Number 28, May 1970 issue of *Oz*, that had generated considerable outrage in the U.K. In August 1971 *Oz* editors Richard Neville, Felix Dennis, and Jim Anderson had been tried on obscenity charges relating to the Schoolkids’ *Oz* in the longest-running obscenity trial in British judicial history. They received heavy prison sentences from the obviously biased judge (Justice Argyle) but were freed on appeal, the judge having committed 78 misdirections of the jury.⁵⁵ The

55 A brief account of the trial can be found at the *Daily Mail* website: Roger Lewis, ‘Never Mind Lady Chatterley - the censorship trial that changed Britain was a courtroom farce 40 years ago all about sex, drugs and Rupert Bear’, November 12, 2011, *Daily Mail* Website, <
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/artide-2060612/Never-Mind-Lady-Chatterley--censorship-trial->

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trial was seen as a victory for a new, less repressive social morality. In addition to the Schoolkids' POL element, the advertisement in *Nation Review* listed several other contentious topics, likely to foreshadow a taste of things to come in the new paper.

Bolstering the sense of impending counterculture influence, *Nation Review* published an article about *Digger* magazine on August 17, 1973.⁵⁶ Ironically, given *The Living Daylight's* trajectory, the article states: 'However, by the sixth issue, a change could be detected: the magazine was moving away [from] hardnosed news and gravitating towards the issues of the "alternate lifestyle"', before going on to catalogue a series of contingent woes that almost closed the paper. The following week, in a follow-up article, C. M. Evans reported that *Digger* was again in trouble, and was reverting to monthly sales. *Digger* looked likely to lose its main source of funds, and was at risk of collapse.⁵⁷

As the new magazine ground its way into existence, C. M. Evans gave a progress report in the September 14, 1973 issue.⁵⁸ At that stage, the paper was to be named *Flash*, and would incorporate a broad range of counterculture topics, all to be provided by external contributors. Significantly, the Dalliance D-notices were to be relocated from *Nation Review* to *Flash*. Finally, in the September 28 issue, a 'formal' announcement is made, revealing that the paper would, in fact, be titled *The Living Daylights*, (*Flash* transpiring to be already copyrighted), with the first issue appearing October 16, at a

changed-Britain-courtroom-farce-40-years-ago-s-ex-drugs-Rupert-Bear.html>, [accessed 23 June 2014]. John Mortimer, the barrister who acted for the defence, discussed the trial in an article for the *Index on Censorship* journal: John Mortimer, 'Return to OZ', interview, *Index on Censorship*, Vol. 37, No. 3, (2008), pp. 32-41.

56 Jean Buckley & Michael Morris, 'Hanging out, with a little help', *Nation Review*, (August 17, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 44, p. 1374.

57 C. M. Evans, 'Newsday spawns a son', *Nation Review*, (August 24, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 45, p. 1408. On the same page, Chris Beck notes that the *Bulletin*, under the control of Trevor Kennedy (following the removal of Donald Home), has veered significantly to the right, as a result of the direct interference of Frank Packer. This perhaps denotes a widening of the left/right divide.

58 C. M. Evans, 'Jack jumps into the 1880s', *Nation Review*, (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 48, p. 1509.

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price of 30 cents.⁵⁹ A larger (half-page), coloured advertisement appeared in the October 5 issue (p. 1611), and a reminder to advertisers (p. 1627) noted that Dalliance D-notices would no longer be published in *Nation Review* (all other notices were to continue unchanged). Another advertisement appeared in the October 12 issue (p. 1641). Coincidentally, this was the third birthday edition of *Nation Review*. John Hepworth reviews the Ferret's fortunes in his *Outsight* column (p. 1660), noting that there were accusations among some readers of a tendency for *Nation Review* to adopt a soft, small-liberal stance, and to be showing its age in the form of less rampant attacks, and even a move towards the right. Hepworth acknowledges the arrival of *The Living Daylights* as a rash young offspring, and bemoans the loss of Dalliance. Inferring a degree of challenge from the new paper, Hepworth concludes: 'Let those who will, be young and abrasive—we will be old and abrasive and objectionable as ever. And that is our birthday message to one and all.'

Volume 4 Number 1 of *Nation Review* contains an insightful letter to the publisher, from a Ms V. King.⁶⁰ King writes from a feminist perspective, criticising 'the ultimate in benevolent condescension, the women's sections' that were beginning to appear in magazines and papers other than *Nation Review*, which was 'honest and cynical, and everything it covers is treated in the same fearless and irreverent way.' King perceptively claims that 'The counter culture is a conservative plot.', and suggests that 'Like all missionary peoples, a great many counter culturalists consider that theirs is the only true way. They are as intolerant as their RSL daddies and their mothers' club mummies.' King finally predicts the demise of *Digger* as a consequence of the new paper,

59 Announcement, 'The Living Daylights: A weekly flash of wisdom, wit and song (not to mention ennui', *Nation Review*, (September 28, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 50, p. 1974.

60 V. King, 'Knocking The Living Daylights', Letters to the publisher, *Nation Review*, (October 19, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 3.

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and hopes that, at least, some of *Digger's* contributors may find a voice in *The Living Daylights*.

King has observed the same paradoxical aspect of counterculture that Glen Hill described in his 2013 paper. Hill identifies the role counterculture played in modifications made by capitalist forces confronted by changing social values: 'In economic terms it places the counterculture at a pivot point in the transformation from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of production and consumption. In social terms it places the counterculture at a pivot point in the transformation from Foucault's "disciplinary societies" to Deleuze's "societies of control."' ⁶¹ Arguing from a postmodern, neoliberal perspective, that 'counterculture is a myth', Heath and Potter say,

With the hippies, nothing symbolized their rejection of the "consumerism" of American society more than love beads, Birkenstocks and the VW Beetle. Yet during the 80s, the same generation that had "tuned-in, turned on and dropped out" presided over the most significant resurgence of conspicuous consumption in American history. The hippies became yuppies. And nothing symbolized the yuppie worldview more than the SUV—the vehicle that one commentator aptly described as "a gated community on wheels". ⁶²

This view can be challenged in a number of ways—for instance, the switch from hippiedom to yuppiedom is largely a generational change with all that that implies, and the popularity of the SUV probably has as much to do with the insecurity generated by 9/11 as with conspicuous consumerism. Nonetheless, the counterculture, if it is not a myth, was unable to prevent yuppiedom.

61 Glen Hill, 'Discipline Dodgers: Freedom and Control in the Intentional Communities of Australia's Counterculture', *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, edited by Alexandra Brown and Andrew Leach (Gold Coast, Qld: SAHANZ, 2013), vol. 2, p 574, Griffith University Website, <
http://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/536241/R03_02_Hill_Discipline-Dodgers.pdf>, [accessed 23 June 2014].

62 Joseph Heath and Andrew Potter, *Nation of rebels : why counterculture became consumer culture* (New York Harper Collins, 2004), p. 3.

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Reorganization and amalgamation of Living Daylights

Early in October 1973, amidst the hectic launch of *The Living Daylights*, a reorganization of the *Nation Review* management structure took place. Barton's title was simplified to 'Chairman'. Barry Watts took the new title of 'Assistant to Publisher', while Robin Howells moved from his advertising role to replace Watts as 'Business Manager'. Then, from October 26, 1973 (Vol. 4, No. 2), the price was lifted from 30 cents to 40 cents. Richard Walsh attempted to justify the price rise, quoting production cost rises, a long period without price change, and a new, more ambitious features line-up. Again Walsh invoked comparisons to magazines, as opposed to newspapers.⁶³ A probable intensifier on production prices was a world shortage of newsprint and other paper, caused in part by industrial unrest in Canada, and exacerbated by new environmental controls, and long lead-times in setting up new plant and equipment. Paper was rationed in some parts of the world, and its price increased dramatically, in the context of a growth in demand led by a business boom. At the same time, the complex, unreliable distribution processes within Victoria were straightened out with a new arrangement. David Syme & Co (publishers of Melbourne's *The Age*) would now handle distribution, through 'normal' VANA-member newsagents, thereby, hopefully, removing an ongoing irritation.

Richard Walsh notes that, around this time, something of a breakdown in *esprit de corps* was occurring in the offices of *Nation Review*.⁶⁴ The separation of activities between Hepworth in Melbourne and Munster in Sydney had been working well, but, increasingly, Hepworth took it upon himself to assert command, as Walsh dropped into the background due to commitments at Angus & Robertson. This left Munster out of the loop, managerially, and reduced his editorial influence, as well as adversely affecting

63 Richard Walsh, 'Amazing birthday announcement', *Nation Review*, (October 26, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 34.

64 Walsh, 1993, p. 203.

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his journalistic input. Walsh suggests also that a general tiredness was creeping in, as readers' expectations changed, and social and political conditions changed.

Walsh was removing himself from his long-running 'Continuity' column. He claims in *Ferretabilia* 'This ['Continuity' for May 3, 1974] turned out to be the second-last 'Continuity' I contributed to the paper and at the end of May I handed the column over to Jeremy Salt permanently.'⁶⁵ *Nation Review*, however, shows the 'Continuity' column running under Walsh's name through to August 9, 1974 (p. 1386), with Salt taking up the post in the August 23, 1974 issue (p. 1460). Walsh and Munster had been alternating weekly between 'Continuity' and Munster's 'Fourteen Days', so Munster appears in the August 16 issue as usual. By March 22, 1974, Barry Watts had left the organization, perhaps because, as assistant to the publisher (Walsh), his duties had diminished as Walsh was drawn elsewhere. Watts may have been able to bridge the divide between Hepworth and Munster, had his authority been sufficient, but it would have required a courageous and dedicated stalwart to confront the combined troubles beginning to beset *Nation Review*.

Nation Review carried advertisements for *The Living Daylights* regularly during this period, but some problems were emerging. The relocation of Dalliance was proving highly unpopular, and the apparent splitting-up of material between the papers caused concern.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, the flurry of counterculture articles that prefaced the arrival of *The Living Daylights* had petered out, leading to a sense of retreat within the pages of *Nation Review*. While the quality of articles remained high, the sense of pushing at boundaries had diminished. The absence of Dalliance also removed some of the colour and prurience from the back pages. Harry Martin made an impassioned plea for a return of Dalliance to *Nation Review* (December 14, 1973, p. 272): 'Without Dalliance *The Review*

⁶⁵ Walsh, 1993, p. 215.

⁶⁶ See various readers' letters, *Nation Review*, (November 2, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 72.

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is ham without the mustard, champagne without the bubbles or a crap without the toilet paper... Give us back the bloody Dalliance column.' This drew forth the terse response from John Hepworth: 'OK. OK. You win.' The Dalliance column returned from that issue forward. Having dwindled in any case within *The Living Daylights*, Dalliance, on its return, regained its vitality and rapidly expanded to pre-*Daylights* levels.

A concise representation of the irreverent, somewhat self-consciously clever and, to modern eyes, politically dubious wit, is provided by the cover page of the March 1, 1974 issue (Vol. 4 No. 20). It depicts a group of militant Arab Front gunmen, under the headline 'Gay Liberation backs Arab Front.' This is something of a mind-bender in its own right, but it is capped off by the subtext 'Does this make a Bedouin camp?' Very few groups were left un-offended by this compact effort.

Meanwhile, *The Living Daylights* had completely lost its momentum. The final advertisement for the paper appeared in *Nation Review* April 19, 1974 (Vol. 4 No. 27, p. 854). The advertisement consists solely of a graphic image, with no information about contents, although this had been the usual practice. While the demise of *The Living Daylights* had become undeniable, illusory continuation was attempted, with announcements in *Nation Review* (April 26, 1974). The front-page banner was overwritten by the line 'The Ferret Freak Fraternity Fenomenon' (an out-of-character use of capitalization). Inside (p. 866), under the heading 'Ferret beds Freak!' the best possible interpretation was put on the situation, with claims that the amalgamated paper would be bigger and brighter (including colour printing), and would incorporate all the best features of both papers, the whole described as 'This happy hybrid'.

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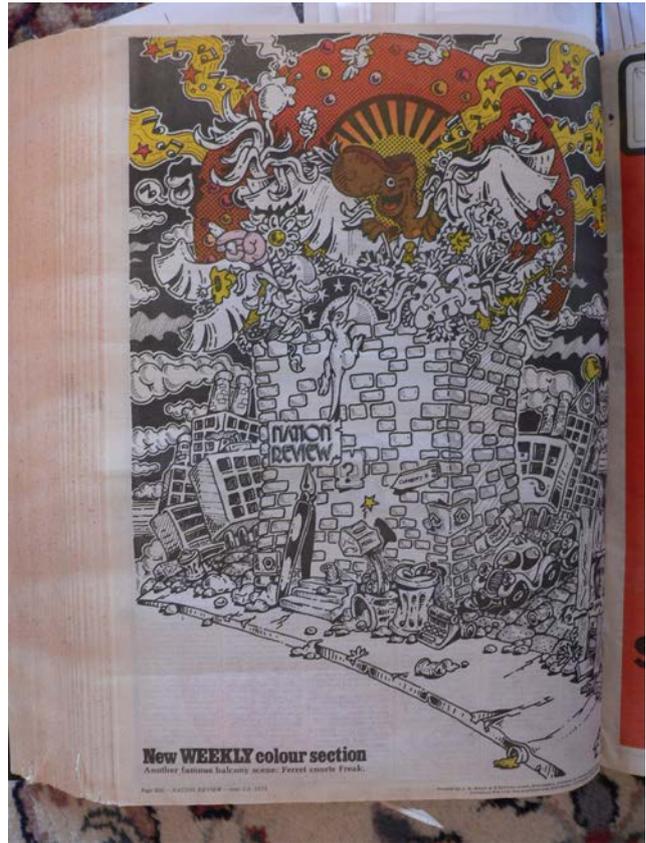
The cover of the May 3, 1974 issue was devoted almost entirely to the advent of the incorporated paper (despite a stark headline ‘Labor loss looms’). The old ‘One for the price of two’ catchphrase was reprised as ‘Two papers for price of one’, as the ‘Biggest bumper issue ever!’. The black *Nation Review* banner now sported an equal-sized *Living Daylights* banner, hanging beneath it in red. Richard Walsh makes a



heartfelt statement about the incorporation (‘Continuity’, p. 910), making the point that *The Living Daylight’s* following, though loyal, was not sufficient to support large salaries and other production costs. He asserts that he regards it as essential that *Nation Review* should continue to move forward, with new ideas and experiments, lest it falter and stagnate. A new imprint panel appears on the same page, featuring the incorporated banner. The front half of the issue looks like a standard *Nation Review*, while a rather sudden change of pace heralds the features and elements from the defunct paper. This split personality is not surprising; it must have been cobbled together at short notice following the collapse of *The Living Daylights*, using material intended for that paper. A smoother, more integrated style and layout was doubtless envisaged for the longer term, although distinct characteristics continued to be apparent, while sometimes a clearly separate section was used, and at others, *Daylights*-style material was scattered throughout the issue. One consequence of the incorporation was that Readers’ letters found their way to the back pages, in contradiction to Walsh’s earlier efforts to engage with readers by according strong significance to correspondence.

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The back page (p. 936) features a large Robert Crumb-style graphic image (drawn by Neil McLean), titled 'Ferret courts Freak', depicting a somewhat spaced-out ferret climbing a tower, out of the detritus of consumerism, (wrecked cars, ugly buildings, rubbish oozing from bins), and old-style journalism, represented by a fountain pen and typewriter, up towards the *Daylights* 'Gumboot'



character at the top, who is surrounded by psychedelic, colourful flora, fauna and music, in front of a glorious sunrise. The imagery is not in the least ambiguous, and must have worried 'traditional' *Nation Review* readers.⁶⁷ For a brief period following the incorporation, *Nation Review* advertised sale of the complete set of *The Living Daylights*, bound into a soft cover, and costing \$11.00.⁶⁸

Such was the divergence of response to the amalgamation of *Nation Review* and *The Living Daylights*, that confusion beset the editorial staff. In an attempt to understand a way forward, a readers' survey began to be published from May 24, 1974 (p. 1021). Rather than directly asking about the incorporation, the survey sought responses about which specific contributors were favoured, how the quality of the material was viewed and so forth. No results from the survey were published, but, presumably, the surveys

67 For instance, see letters from readers Barbara MacFarlane and Dieter Jansen. However, some letters supported the incorporation., *Nation Review*, (May 10, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 30, p. 974.

68 As per *Nation Review*, (May 10, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 30, p. 942.

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were used to guide the changes that were made in the ensuing period. Visual evidence consisted of such trivial changes as the diminution of the *Living Daylights* sub-banner on covers from May 31, 1974, and a generally more staid layout, including noticeably fewer psychedelic Crumb-style illustrations. While the *Living Daylights* sub-banner was retained, references to the old paper were removed over this period from the imprint panel, which itself was rearranged and moved sporadically to different locations. Names were removed from the imprints panel, breaking the practice of acknowledging staff titles.

One interesting innovation was the ‘Swotlights’ column, a round-up of news from tertiary campuses across the nation. This move reflects the influential, outspoken position universities had developed in social and political terms, rising from the Vietnam protest era, and being reinforced in the wake of Whitlam’s introduction of free tertiary education. This had led to a diversity of new voices arising within campuses, as the influx began of students, from more diverse backgrounds, who had at last gained access to better education. With secure tenure, many academic staff members also felt able to assert vocal opposition to some political directions. Given that many calls for policy change were now being launched from university campuses, Swotlights proved to be an excellent vehicle for airing newly-emerging issues, although it proved sometimes to be rather introspective.

Whitlam’s Second Term

Coinciding with this time of convulsion, Australia had gone to the polls in a double-dissolution election, which also incorporated some referendum questions. Following the repeated blocking of supply in the Senate by Liberal senators, Whitlam sought the election for May 18, 1974. Whitlam won the election with a reduced majority, but failed to gain a clear majority in the senate. This situation led directly to the 1975 constitutional crisis, when conservative premiers subsequently broke with convention to

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replace departing ALP senators with conservative-leaning independents, thus gaining an effective majority.

Nation Review greeted the Whitlam victory with considerable fanfare, but muted enthusiasm. Non-partisanship remained largely intact at this stage, and the paper had been vocal in criticising Whitlam and his party as it saw fit, while at the same time voicing concern about the ideology and tactics of the Liberal Party. The exuberant joy of 1972 had been replaced by a sense of hard slog, and the buoyancy of optimism had dissipated. Whitlam's grand reforms of 1972 had largely fallen by the wayside, through incompetence, or destructive opposition from the Liberals, or external political and economic threats. As the satirical bubble in the UK had largely burst by now, so too had the larrikin spirit in Australia, as both succumbed to a dissipation of energy, and to the normative pressures of economic reality. There is a sense in the pages of *Nation Review* of the recognition that, rather than a quick, dazzling victory for progressive policy, there was to be a long, slow, hard grind, with only a slight chance of overcoming establishment values.

At the end of July 1974 John Hepworth was persuaded to go overseas, in part to present his 'Outsight' pieces from abroad, but mainly because Walsh had perceived a degree of weariness in Hepworth's output, an aspect not entirely hidden from readers. An added advantage would be that the deteriorating relationship between Hepworth and Munster could be repaired, and Munster and the Sydney element could be brought more fully into play. The demise of *The Living Daylights* allowed some internal changes to be effected, thereby covering for Hepworth's absence. Michael Morris, formerly Assistant Editor for *Daylights*, had returned to *Nation Review*, and took over Hepworth's editorial duties.

From August 2, 1974, the price rose from 40 cents to 50 cents. Contrary to usual practice, an announcement had been made the previous week (July 26, 1974, p.

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1324), rather than post hoc, and cited the price increases of other newspapers and magazines, as well as general inflation. The paper had reported in the same issue that Australia's inflation rate was running at 30%, so a price increase below the inflation rate seems reasonable.⁶⁹ In any case, there were no howls of injustice from readers, so perhaps the strategy had proven effective. During this period readers were encouraged to subscribe, in order to avoid the disappointment of failing to find issues available for sale at newsagents, citing the ongoing paper shortage, and implying smaller print runs. Archived copies of *Nation Review* for this period show considerable deterioration, indicating that poorer-quality paper was being sourced.⁷⁰ In reality, it is unlikely that print runs were being reduced through shortages of stock, given that a procedure for handling unsold returns was still in operation at this time.⁷¹

Along with the weeding-out of *Daylights* influences in the latter half of 1974, the staid layout was reflected in the sober, serious tenor of most articles. While Leunig continued to supply small, whimsical cartoons, a heavier, angrier tone crept into political cartoons drawn by Nicholson, Mikko, Moir and Bateup. Criticism of Whitlam had intensified, reflected for instance, in the cover for September 20 (Vol. 4 No. 49), on which the headline 'Requiem for Labor' led a long article cataloguing Labor's shortcomings. This article was penned by Frank Knopfelmacher, long seen as *Nation Review's* 'token right-winger'. There was a sense here that Knopfelmacher's world view was in the ascendant, and that *Nation Review* editorially was acquiescing to that view, in the content of the news section. The Liberals were not unscathed in the review section. The same issue contained a very lengthy set of excerpts (three full pages) from Ray

69 James Halfpenny, 'Whitlam gets it all wrong?', *Nation Review*, (July 26, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 41, p. 1317.

70 Original, bound copies of *Nation Review* for this period, held in the Flinders University's Research Repository South Australia, reveal a stratum of yellowed paper with fainter, rather blurred newsprint.

71 Long, 2014.

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Aitchison's book *Looking at the Liberals*, and took the opportunity to air extensive criticism of Liberal policy and behaviour.⁷²

In stark contrast to the Ferret Affair of 1972, *Nation Review*'s only acknowledgement of its fourth birthday was a small triangular note in the bottom right-hand corner of the October 18, 1974 issue (Vol. 5 No. 1), proclaiming 'Mundane 4th birthday issue'. This curious marking of a significant milestone seems to be a telling one. Gone is the exuberance of previous years, and gone too seems to be any sense of achievement or pride. From a self-promotion perspective, it seems an even more curious line to adopt, since it suggests that readers will not receive a worthwhile newspaper. With Richard Walsh somewhat removed from the office, John Hepworth overseas, Leunig contributing rather less than previously, and George Munster isolated in Sydney, it is possible that *Nation Review* had become a rudderless ship during this period. Furthermore, some readers had been heavily critical of the newspaper for a sustained period, over the *Daylights* fiasco, price rises and other niggling issues, so an understandable sense of disengagement from the previously loyal family of *ferret types* may have crept in amongst staff who perhaps felt that their efforts were going unappreciated. Surmounting all these factors, the financial health of IPEC must have been cause for concern. Everingham quotes from a letter written by Barton to then Deputy Prime Minister Jim Cairns: 'I have never experienced such a fierce drought of money, such a withering of confidence, or such a rapid slowdown of activity...'.⁷³ IPEC was being restructured, and unprofitable components were being sold off. The subsidies flowing to *Nation Review* had been arriving via IPEC, but now became the personal responsibility of Barton, to the satisfaction of Greg Farrell.⁷⁴

72 Ray Aitchison, 'How the Libs lost...and why they'll keep on losing', *Nation Review*, (September 20, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 49, pp. 1561-1563.

73 Everingham, 2009, p. 241.

74 Everingham, 2009, p. 241.

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Either coincidentally or as a consequence of it, John Hepworth's return from overseas in late November 1974, saw *Nation Review* picking up its pace, admittedly in a retrospective fashion. The *Daylights* influence had disappeared, other than an almost imperceptible front-page sub-banner, and an acknowledgement in the imprint panel. The 'Magazine that lurks within a tabloid' base line was reprised, and the covers took on a more lively and tantalising tone and appearance. Internally, layouts returned to the 1972/3 style, and large centre-pages features dominated a strong line-up. Advertising represented a broad range of prestigious businesses, as well as the traditional quirky novelty lines. Readers' correspondence engaged with issues raised in the newspaper's pages, rather than carping about perceived shortcomings of the paper itself. A steady criticism of the Whitlam government was evident, as would be hoped for and expected in a properly investigative journal.

Maturity and Stability

Nation Review settled into a period of stable management and organization, in what may be seen in retrospect as its heyday. Close analysis of content would be required to make an assertive statement, but the casual reader of this era would see balanced reporting favouring neither Labor nor Liberal, in the federal arena. In the states, Joh Bjelke-Petersen came in for regular vitriolic attacks, although mostly based on factual material showing dubious practices being institutionalized by Bjelke-Petersen. Other state Premiers of either persuasion were equally likely to be examined. International news continued to be reported, sourced from a range of services and special correspondents. The review section was bolstered by the upsurge in Australian arts activity, fostered by significant government subsidy and preferential treatment. Leunig was contributing his peculiar brand of cheer.⁷⁵

75 For instance, Leunig's cartoon for December 27, 1974, shows a young boy unwrapping his Christmas present as his loving parents look on. It is a kite. The caption reads 'Christmas morning in

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Sadly, Owen Webster had ended his life in March 1975, severing an important link to the founding principles of *Nation Review*. Webster had sought desperately to write brilliant prose, and, while satisfying most readers, had consistently failed to meet his own stringent standards. Whatever his private motives, Webster's suicide unavoidably cast a shadow over the newspaper. Unease was exacerbated by Hepworth's response to Webster's death. In an article that was intended to be a personal response to the man and his passing, rather than an obituary, Hepworth made personal comments that were interpreted by many readers as deeply unkind to Webster's memory. This triggered some angry letters.

The cover of April 11, 1975 (Vol. 5 No. 26) encapsulates the consummate skills being deployed during this period. Malcolm Fraser had recently claimed leadership of the Liberal Party. At this time, a fad had emerged from Hollywood for disaster films (*The Towering Inferno* {1974}, *The Poseidon Adventure* {1972}, *Earthquake* {1974}, *Juggernaut*, {1974}, and others). *Nation Review*'s cover depicts a Leunig interpretation of a disaster film, titled *The Towering Infernos*, showing giant-sized Whitlam and Fraser slugging it out amid a crowd of panicked citizens. The caption reads: 'Scoring Fraser vs Whitlam', while a sub-caption announces: 'Bob Ellis examines the fad for disaster films'. This bringing together of the front (news) section and the back (review) section shows a strong sense of the newspaper as social artefact, reflecting confidence, intellectual mastery and a strong resonance with current social values.

In July 1975, Gordon Barton made a rare appearance in *Nation Review*. It was the height of the 'Loans Affair', in which Rex Connor, Whitlam's minerals and energy minister, sought a 4 billion dollar loan from obscure Arab petrodollar sources to fund large infrastructure projects. Barton was at the time engaged in large-scale

Darwin...1974'. Unlikely to be published today. Michael Leunig, Cartoon, *Nation Review*, (December 27, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 5, No. 11, p. 294.

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entrepreneurial projects, and had himself begun dealings with Arab financiers, through IPEC General Manager Nick Aboud's Lebanese contacts. In an interview, (July 11, p. 1013), he was asked for his opinion of the probity of such deals. This was one of the key situations leading directly to the dismissal, so Barton's views, as someone who understood the situation perhaps better than anybody, were highly significant. Barton was sympathetic to the efforts of Connor, himself favouring the retention of Australian resources in Australian hands, which was Connor's underlying motive. Barton pointed out that dealing through traditional US or British channels was expensive and involved considerable loss of control. At the same time he warned that negotiations with Arab sources required great skill, and management of significant risk. Barton's qualified support was not enough to alter most people's perception that something underhand was going on. Given the naivety implied in Connor's trust of Khemlani, the shadowy figure at the centre of the affair, and given Whitlam's implicit trust in Connor's judgement, it is unsurprising that Barton's voice was not persuasive. The following week an unattributed article considered in depth what was known to be factual, and what rhetoric was being used by both sides of politics, in public discussions and in the Press.⁷⁶ The article bears the hallmarks of George Munster's painstaking research, and criticises both government and opposition stances.

Fraying Round the Edges

The second half of 1975 was a time of fragmentation and disintegration, for Gordon Barton's financial empire, for *Nation Review*, and for the nation as a whole. Everingham reports a loss of focus within Barton's Tjuringa group. There was dissent about Barton's ever more creative financing schemes that, in the opinions of some members of the group, went beyond legality. Some failed entrepreneurial schemes had

⁷⁶ Unattributed, 'Everything you ever wanted to ask about OLA but were afraid...', *Nation Review*, (July 18, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 5, No. 40, pp. 1036-1037.

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led to significant losses, not all of which could be masked by deft financial manoeuvrings. This in turn reduced rewards for members of the group who had worked extremely hard for no great personal benefit.⁷⁷ Meanwhile the loans affair, and other political nightmares were causing difficulties for the Whitlam government, now subject to a Liberal opposition, led by Malcolm Fraser, that was prepared to use any tactic to bring down the government. *Nation Review*'s front page for September 5, 1975, showed images of Fraser and Bjelke-Petersen, under the headline 'Men of Principle'. A fine-print caption reads '(the principle is: Let's screw the Whitlam government and not give a bugger how we do it.)', presaging the unprincipled self-interest of current political behaviour. Indeed, an article in the September 19, 1975 issue, headlined 'Working out what to break first', inspects Fraser's pre-election promises from the perspective of which promises will not be honoured, a notion that modern readers are completely familiar with.

There is a sense of tiredness with the dramas of the Whitlam ministry, expressed in the pages of *Nation Review* as well as other media outlets. Meanwhile the newspaper was enduring internal malaise and directional uncertainty, in part because of the lack of cohesiveness inherent in the physical splitting of the production team, between Sydney and Melbourne. Walsh elected to relocate the Melbourne group to available space within the Angus & Robertson offices in Sydney, the new arrangement coming into play for the August 22, 1975 issue. This move released Hepworth from editorial responsibilities, brought Munster from the cramped ex-*Nation* office, and allowed Walsh himself to return to greater involvement. This restructuring on the eve of Whitlam's removal ought to have positioned the newspaper suitably to enable it to concentrate on matters of the greatest import.

⁷⁷ Everingham, 2009, pp. 238-248.

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On the eve of critical developments, *Nation Review* perceived some rising hope for Whitlam, as the realities represented by Fraser began to take hold in the public's imaginations. The paper's fifth birthday went almost uncelebrated, as had the previous anniversary. 'Fifth birthday issue' appeared as the baseline for October 17, 1975, and was the only acknowledgement of a significant achievement. With the intensifying political crisis, neither *Nation Review* nor the nation was in any mood for celebration, although the paper tried to put a brave face on the situation in the October 24 issue. The front page hailed a resurgence of Whitlam's standing, as Fraser's performance came under greater scrutiny. Mungo MacCallum, who had been predicting a major loss for Whitlam, nonetheless contributed a long article analysing a perceived turning of fortunes for Whitlam. Angus Downie, reporting from Hobart, provided a large round-up of how the political crisis was being viewed around the nation. Knopfelmacher, providing a right-wing perspective, was perceptive in identifying a shift away from the big socialist ideals of the Whitlam regime towards more conservative traditional economics-driven government. Malcolm Turnbull directed his attention towards any constitutional implications to be found in the political crisis. Bernard Boles commented on Whitlam's effect on the Arts in Australia.⁷⁸

Subsequent issues maintained the pressure on Fraser, while easing scrutiny and criticism of Whitlam. This may be interpreted as belated realisation that, regardless of Whitlam's mistakes, a return to the claustrophobic Liberal values of Menzies, and now Fraser, would be intolerable for a liberal-minded nation. It may have resulted from genuine disgust with the methods being used by Fraser to undermine democratic processes. It may have flowed from close analysis of Liberal policy. It may have been

78 Mungo MacCallum, 'Fraser stumbles as Labor begins to rise', pp. 31, 33; Angus Downie, 'How they took the news of the graet crisis out there in the real world...', pp. 34-35; Frank Knopfelmacher, 'The end of Whitlam's package', p. 37; Malcolm Turnbull, 'The constitution: a democratic failure', p. 38; Bernard Boles, 'And what's Gough done for the Arts?', pp. 43-44, *Nation Review*, (October 24, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 2.

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considered as an antidote to the overtly partisan reporting in Murdoch's dailies. In any case, it was too late for Whitlam. A lengthy investigation by Robin Howells and George Munster into Fraser's personal wealth, and how it was accrued, appeared in the October 31, 1975 issue (pp. 64-65), was the final anti-Fraser shot fired before the removal of Whitlam. The November 7, 1975 issue is strangely silent on the crisis, concentrating instead on a range of State politics and other matters. The print cycle was militating against the newspaper's ability to appear relevant and connected. The drama played out as a complex series of developments, with events moving too fast for a weekly paper to follow coherently. Correspondents were unable to provide a news-breaking service, and struggled even to offer adequate post-event commentary.

Nation Review was drawn immediately and terminally into outrage following the dismissal. Overnight, the paper had become a focal point for public objection to the dismissal, and the processes used to achieve it. The mainstream Press, by now solidly against the Whitlam government, tended to play down any constitutional elements of the dismissal, instead presenting the situation as a reasonable, measured response to the excessive blundering of the government.⁷⁹ *Nation Review*, on the other hand, continued to focus on the events of the dismissal, although efforts were made to address policy issues associated with the federal election held December 13, and, in particular, agreement from both left and right that the budget established by Whitlam was responsible and effective. The paper did not lose sight of the great unlikelihood of a Labor victory, instead warning of the difficulties that would beset the nation under a Liberal government. Following the expected Labor loss, readers began a flood of letters to the editor, expressing their disgust with the turn of events.

⁷⁹ David McKnight suggests this transformation in Murdoch's allegiance began early in the life of the Whitlam government, as Labor policy became more evident. He adds 'Rupert Murdoch's single-minded campaign to destroy Australia's Labor government, combined with his disillusion[ment] with both British Labour and Conservative parties, marked a deep political transformation in his values and beliefs whose causes are little understood but have been central to his political ideology ever since.' David McKnight, *Rupert Murdoch: An Investigation of Political Power*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2012), p. 67.

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While running significant amounts of material related in some way to the events in Canberra, the newspaper did maintain, not its rage, but a continuing interest in state politics, international events and the Arts. Although increasingly blatant in its partisan stance on politics, the paper was still an excellent source of alternative information to that published by the mainstream dailies. In that sense, its focus on the detail of Fraser and his politics was legitimate, and well-executed, and the quality of journalism in the paper remained high. Having identified Rupert Murdoch as occupying a significant role in the demise of Whitlam (both as a propagandist and in rather more direct ways), the paper began to take a keener interest in his activities (having always kept a watch on him). An unofficial biography by Simon Regan formed the basis for a long, two-part article in the April 2 and April 9, 1976 issues (pp. 612-613, 643).⁸⁰ The conspiratorial nature of Fraser's and Kerr's activities leading up to the dismissal offered plenty of scope for conspiracy theories, real or imagined, and *Nation Review's* spotlight on the Intelligence agencies (CIA, ASIO, ASIS), intensified through this period.

The cover for May 7, 1976 (Vol. 6 No. 30) featured the stark headline 'This is the Gravest Risk to the Nation's Security Ever', over a paragraph quoting Sir Arthur Tange, Secretary for the Department of Defence, and linking the dismissal with CIA activities. The whole page was coloured bright yellow, and the unusual use of capitals in the headline accentuated the import of the words.



Whether these were real or paranoid imaginings, the shadow of conspiracy seems to

⁸⁰ Simon Regan, *Rupert Murdoch: a business biography*, (London, Angus & Robertson, 1976).

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have occluded the judgement and tenor of the newspaper as a whole for some time following the dismissal events.

Internally, the structure of the production group was stable during this time, and the overall format, layout and approach of the paper remained consistent through the period until March 1976, when Peter Manning was appointed editor, as Walsh receded into other activities. On June 4, 1976, the issue price was raised from 50 cents to 55 cents, but this time no attempt was made to justify what was in any case a modest increase.

Sixth Birthday

The issue for October 15, 1976 is unusual. The precise ‘birthday’ for *Nation Review* is October 11. This date, in 1976, occurred midway through the October 8 issue, which was Volume 6 Number 52. No announcement of the birthday appeared in that issue, whereas the October 15 issue displayed, in a diagonal band on the cover, the incomprehensible ‘Zippidy Doo Dah Plus an extra bonus: Our great Birthday Writing Change Hands.[sic]’ To add to confusion, this issue was numbered Volume 6 Number 53, the only Number 53 ever issued. A full page is devoted to the birthday (p. 1285), but this is no celebration. A note, signed by The Ferret, says:

We are six and we feel a little weary. We don’t have much money... competitors steal our talent... writs and abuse roll in... Malcolm Fraser is in Canberra...

After this issue goes to press we are all going home. We will light a fire and make a cup of cocoa.

Our birthday message is thank you...

Yours sincerely.

Below this dispirited note, Leunig has drawn the Ferret, Vasco Pyjama and other regular characters, grouped around a fireplace. The Ferret says ‘And apart from that you can all get stuffed.’ Both the layout and the content for this issue reflect the pervading sense of defeat. Headlines had changed to small, serified capitals, large blocks of text went

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unrelieved by blank space or images. Articles were lacklustre, both in writing style and subject matter (except for MacCallum, still valiantly reporting from Canberra). Large, corporate advertising is noticeably absent (except for Akai, p. 1284).

Some last throws of the Dice

Outside of *Nation Review*, Gordon Barton was entering a difficult period in his multitude of enterprises. Financial irregularities were threatening to catch up with him, and two very expensive ventures by IPEC into air freight and shipping were thwarted by a combination of politics, protected interests, inability to attract investment and high project costs. He continued stubbornly to support the significant losses being accrued by *Nation Review*, but there must have been a sense of tenuousness about the newspaper's fragile existence.

Volume 7 of *Nation Review* was a staid, conforming newspaper, compared to the larrikinism of the early issues, and the counterculture extravagances of 1973. Scrutiny and criticism of government remained uppermost, but lacked satirical sharpness, brash cleverness or, increasingly, journalistic fervour. The anniversary of Whitlam's overthrow was marked by several articles about Fraser's character and effectiveness, but the most interesting offering was Donald Home's 'The cult of November 11', a thoughtful attempt to place Whitlam's dismissal in the larger canvas of Australian political and constitutional history.⁸¹ The article served as a break-point for the newspaper to halt ineffective complaint (whingeing), and to embark on a new investigation into deeper causes and meaningful lessons that would contribute to a better democracy in Australia. Meanwhile, right-wing influence seemed to be increasing, with Knopfelmacher becoming more prominent, and with the arrival of John Singleton as a regular contributor. Singleton, ostensibly invited to shed light on the advertising industry,

81 Donald Home, 'The Cult of November 11', *Nation Review*, (November 5, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagents Company Pty Ltd, 1976), Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 59-60.

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tended to stray into topics of relevance to his Workers' Party, a right-wing, small-government, libertarian group.

Regardless of any loss of heart, *Nation Review* continued, by any analysis, to offer very high quality. It seemed that fewer articles came from enthusiastic occasional contributors, the space instead going to regular contributors who nonetheless managed to cover a broad spectrum. The review section perhaps began to encroach into the news section, as less material arrived from overseas contributors (although T. D. Allman continued to be a stalwart feature-writer during this period), and local politics attracted less scrutiny. What today would be termed 'Lifestyle' articles began to appear more frequently.

A curious remodelling was tried for the December 2, 1976 issue (Vol. 7 No. 7). What would normally be considered the cover was printed upside-down as the last page, while the front (first page) looked like a normal inside page, except for a small version of the *Nation Review* banner at the top. The inside pages looked a little brighter, with new 'computer' script used for more specific section headings. The upside-down *Nation Review* banner on the back page was now set in a curved rainbow arc, using a new, heavily-serifed typeface. This arrangement was carried over until the January 6 issue (no. 12), although such was the confusion that the baseline for December 9 carried the text 'For those who don't understand, this is page 1'. This in fact did little to allay the confusion, given that the page number for this page was 169 in the folio system. The January 6, 1977 issue used the same setup, except that the back page was now printed right-side-up. Finally the January 27 (No. 15) issue reverted to a normal arrangement, but retained the curved banner, now on the cover. The final trace of the largely unlamented *Living Daylights* had also disappeared from the cover with the arrival of the curved banner, although the name inexplicably returned briefly in the imprint panel, before finally disappearing by August 4, 1977 (Vol. 7 No. 42).

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The March 31, 1977 issue announced, with some fanfare, ‘a new series of journalistic triumphs—*Ferret Features*’. This proved to be a seven-page feature written by several contributors, loosely concerned with the ‘pop and rock industry’. The theme continued into subsequent issues, ironically producing a flavour of the defunct *Daylights* era. The theme for April 21 (No. 27) was ‘Locked in: To do with events that entrap us’.

The cover for May 26, 1977 (Vol 7, No. 32) consisted of a very faint sepia image in connection with the Australian film industry, while the banner occupied a tiny panel at the top. Most significantly, from this issue forward, the folio page-numbering system was abandoned, all issues now starting at Page 1 for the cover.

The June 2, 1977 issue (No. 33) is notable for an article by Bruce McFarlane, prompted by a visit to Australia by Milton Friedman, to promote his neoliberal economic theories to politicians and economists.⁸² McFarlane points out that, just as Friedman’s economic theory comes under critical attack elsewhere in the world, Australian politicians have become entranced by it. McFarlane attempts to explain in detail why Friedman is wrong, but his effort apparently went unheard, since the move towards neoliberalism in Australia can arguably be dated from Friedman’s visit.

The next hopeful revamp of *Nation Review* occurred for July 21, 1977 (Vol. 7 No. 40). The curved banner was replaced by an old-style straight banner, although using a new, more conservative, typeface. The whole of page 2 was devoted to announcing the changes, under the bold headline ‘*Nation Review* LIVES’, and promised ‘its little ferrets’—‘It’s go-go-go hardcore journalism from now on’. John Hurst had been appointed editor in Melbourne, while Peter Manning’s title became Managing Editor, somewhat echoing Walsh’s role. Graphic artist Alan Craft joined the permanent staff, charged with updating the look of *Nation Review*, while Rosemarie Graffagnini joined the

82 Bruce McFarlane, ‘What money is making of us’, *Nation Review*, (June 2, 1977), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1977), Vol. 7, No. 33, p. 8.

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Sydney office. A new Queensland office was opened ('Yes Joh, there is a Ferret!'), staffed by Denis Reinhardt. A new foreign news feed was arranged through Agence-France Presse, and a new focus on obtaining advertising of all types was undertaken.

The quality of the newspaper did indeed make a resurgence in this period, but success was elusive. Everingham notes that circulation figures had dropped to a catastrophic 15,000 by mid-1977, and circumstances were not auspicious for increased sales.⁸³ The paper had itself been the catalyst for the launch of a range of new magazines over the years, many of them backed by the might of the media moguls, with access to lucrative corporate advertising, powerful promotional organizations and substantial funds to attract contributors. The economy was cause for disquiet, with high inflation coinciding with high unemployment and low consumer confidence.

It would be unfair to oversimplify or characterize the contents of *Nation Review* for the period, although Malcolm Fraser, Joh Bjelke-Petersen and ASIO featured regularly in national news sections. Leading up to the December 10, 1977 federal election, Mungo MacCallum contributed articles strongly critical of Fraser, but tinged with a desperate hope that opinion polls suggesting the faint chance of a Labour victory might prove to have substance. The newspaper's colours were clear to all who saw the final edition prior to the election (December 1), whose cover featured Fraser depicted as a clown, with the headline 'Laugh Clown, Laugh: Win or lose, your blood's on the sawdust'. MacCallum's vitriolic article about the election campaign ('Fraser's Clowning Glory', pp. 8-9) attacked Fraser's disingenuousness and his campaigning methods and made the erroneous prediction that Fraser could not continue as leader of his party for long, regardless of who won the election.

83 Sam Everingham, (2009), p. 285.

Dispirited

The Liberal Party duly won the election, and this appears to have triggered a final crisis of despair for the paper. The cover for December 8, 1977 (Vol. 8 No. 8) depicts a roller blind (presumably shutting out the light) on which the words ‘Something happened: Fraser’s won. Whitlam’s gone. Chipp’s up. Kerr’s out. What bastards we are.’ appear in script. This is existential despair at its most intense. MacCallum’s contempt for the Australian public is laid bare in his article ‘Down the drain for \$3’ (pp. 6-7), in which he accuses the public of voting for a pittance as opposed to trying to reduce unemployment and other social ills. He goes so far as to make the accusation that ‘Even Whitlam himself has started to pander to the politics of greed’. (Presumably written prior to Whitlam announcing his resignation.) *Nation Review* attempts to make the media largely responsible for Fraser’s success, blaming David Coombe for running a poor media campaign, and reminding people of Murdoch’s machinations and power. The following week (December 15) MacCallum is still very angry, writing ‘The government has the country it deserves (p. 3).’ *Nation Review* ends the year by examining the future of the left in Australia, given unequivocal evidence, via the election, that the nation was swinging sharply to the right.⁸⁴ In ‘What chance for the Left?’ ten people, politically active in a variety of ways and on different sides of politics, were invited to sum up their responses to the Labor loss, and their predictions for future directions for the party. The paper’s own Knopfelmacher concludes his views with the unequivocal ‘Without external intervention by a socialist power the prospects of the left in Australia to gain anything approximating state power are virtually nil.’ By January 19, 1978, MacCallum is still in pain: ‘Mungo MacCallum says its time to go to bed, turn off the lights, and

84 Unattributed, ‘What Chance for the Left?’, *Nation Review*, (December 22, 1977), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1977), Vol. 8, No. 10, pp. 11-14.

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pretend you're dead.'⁸⁵ In its numbing hopelessness, the 1977 election appears to have been a more telling blow than the removal of Whitlam, for those seeking to continue the great social adventure set in place with such joy and enthusiasm in December 1972. The 'What chance for the Left' debate was continued in ensuing issues, through to March 2.

Despair following the election finally gave way to resignation. By the end of March 1978, politics receded into the background, as a subject for key articles, replaced by a range of social matters, such as environment, euthanasia, freedom of the Press, corporate aggression and uranium mining protests. The review section continued as usual, although now only one or two films were reviewed each week. With funding for Australian productions drying up, and fewer films being reviewed, a preponderance of American film reviews is notable, while Australian books continue to receive generous attention.

By this time, Gordon Barton was in dire straits. Ever the rational thinker and realist, he no doubt had seen the end of any likelihood that his Australia Party would ever achieve significant political influence. He had terminated his financial support for the party early in 1975, although party campaign advertisements had featured in the pages of *Nation Review* prior to the 1977 election. Having been badly bruised in several Australian entrepreneurial ventures, Barton was not in favour with influential Australians, and the influence that had accrued from proprietorship of a significant newspaper had dwindled with its circulation and reputation. It was no longer sensible for Barton to personally fund the ailing newspaper, but he was loath to see it fold, preferring instead to find a sympathetic buyer.

85 Mungo MacCallum, 'Let's hibernate and hope', *Nation Review*, (January 19, 1978), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 14, p. 3.

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Meanwhile, the newspaper had entered another phase. From April 1978 hard news about politics and international events began to recede, to be replaced by ‘alternative’ material. A commercialized version of the counterculture, the new alternatives presented in *Nation Review* centred on the rise of punk music as a new form of social protest, and on environmental issues, with a consumerist twist. Libby Barratt spent ‘A Night with Sydney Punk’.⁸⁶ Roger Allebone looked at the failure of drug prohibition.⁸⁷ In the May 4, 1978 issue, Richard Beckett championed Permaculture⁸⁸, while P. D. Jack bemoaned a dope drought.⁸⁹ Beckett’s alter-ego Sam Orr reeled from the realities of chemical food at the International Catering Fair.⁹⁰ Subsequent issues addressed nuclear weapons and energy, noting likely targets in Australia, and the banning of nuclear energy in California. The final issue published under Barton’s ownership (June 15, 1978) featured the arrival of Joan Armatrading as a new rock music superstar.

86 Libby Barratt, ‘A Night with Sydney Punk’, *Nation Review*, (April 27, 1978), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 28, p. 9.

87 Roger Allebone, ‘Doe debate as paranoia rises’, *Nation Review*, (April 27, 1978), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 28, pp. 10-11.

88 Richard Beckett, ‘Permaculture: Beyond country drollery’, *Nation Review*, (May 4, 1978), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 29, pp. 10-11.

89 P. D. Jack, ‘Why you can’t get dope now’, *Nation Review*, (May 4, 1978), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 29, p. 12.

90 Sam Orr, ‘Fast food? Fresh food?’, *Nation Review*, (May 11, 1978), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 30, pp. 10-11.

Geoffrey Gold – New Proprietor

A major difficulty that is invariably encountered when researching the Australian Press of the sixties and seventies is a paucity of sources of reliable information. The inherently ephemeral, throw-away nature of newspapers, combined with aggressive press schedules, rapidly-evolving stories and, particularly in the case of *Nation Review*, a high turnover of contributors and production staff, result in, at best, a fragmentary record of events. Unfortunately, Richard Walsh, in assembling *Ferretabilia*, limited his attention to the years of his own involvement, so that source of information ceases after 1975. Similarly, Sam Everingham, whose focus is Gordon Barton, and for whom the publishing component of Barton's life is of relatively minor interest, departs with the sale of *Nation Review* to Geoffrey Gold. All that remains is snippets of information that emerge as by-products of other interests, and the newspaper itself. While this situation inevitably results in a fragmentary and incomplete account, it does nonetheless provide a foundation that will enable new material to be added through future scholarship. It is therefore of major importance that the framework of events should be accurate, reliable and as complete as circumstances permit. Thus attention focuses, for this part of the account, on detailed changes and their timing, as Geoffrey Gold enters the fray.

Seeing Phillip Adams as a suitably sympathetic supporter of *Nation Review* and its ideals, (and reasonably well-heeled as a consequence of success in several fields) Barton had approached him as a potential purchaser, but Adams, initially attracted, withdrew on discovering that the sale included 'a thick file of 50 or 60 writs'.¹ Bob Ellis, another sympathiser, was perhaps interested, but less well-placed to assemble a viable financial structure. Instead, Barton eventually established contact with young publisher Geoffrey Gold, and an agreement to purchase *Nation Review* was struck. The change of hands was

1 Everingham, 2009, p. 285.

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facilitated by arranging, through Tjuringa, sufficient financial resources to allow Gold to make the purchase, and to cover initial operational costs. The sale brought to a quiet end Barton's near-nine-year involvement with the Press, and the comfortable protection of a benevolent, arms-length, proprietor.

Geoffrey Gold had made a dubious investment. *Nation Review* had, in its lifetime of editorial adjustments of style, emphasis and market-sector tailoring won a great deal of respect for the quality of its offerings, its deliberately provocative stand against establishment control, and for its championing of Australian causes, including Arts, industry and political independence. It had, at the same time, maintained a culture of scrupulous self-criticism, while holding itself receptive and responsive to criticism by its readers. It had failed to secure lucrative corporate advertising revenue, thanks largely to its willingness to investigate and criticize big business. It had, from its inception, made enemies of powerful people who were quick to take legal routes for revenge or to silence opposition or criticism. Despite close connection with its readership, it was not always easy to interpret or anticipate what the readership sought or preferred. By the same token, attempts to lead the readership into particular social or political stances could easily backfire, as evidenced by the failure of *The Living Daylights* experiment. With changing social and political circumstances, as emphatic consumerism and a move to right-wing politics took hold in Australia, *Nation Review* had clung to being a voice in the wilderness, pleading for the values best represented by the Whitlam government, long after the country had moved on, to self-interested corporate capitalism.

Unsurprisingly, it was Donald Horne who coined a new term: economic rationalism: 'Donald Horne appears to have been the first to use the term when he referred to those 'economic rationalists', among them Whitlam, 'who wanted to restore certain market conditions that they thought would lead to a more rational allocation of

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resources' (Donald Horne, *Money made us*, (Ringwood: Penguin, 1976), p. 164).² John Quiggin notes that the term, initially complimentary, became pejorative: 'During the period of the Fraser and Hawke governments, both the intellectual character and the theoretical and policy content of economic rationalism changed. The critical and sceptical thinking that characterised the first phase of economic rationalism was gradually replaced by a dogmatic, indeed, quasi-religious, faith in market forces and the private sector.... Despite these [listed] rhetorical manoeuvres, 'economic rationalism' became a primarily pejorative term in the 1990s.'³ Tim Battin noted that, 'Economic rationalism has attempted to transcend the moral or ethical issues that are an inherent part of the social sciences and humanities. Economic rationalism is not just about economics; its precepts, whilst relying on the supposed neutrality of economics, go far beyond the economic into the realm of the social, the political, and the philosophical.'⁴ Quiggin noted the ascendancy of the Chicago School (free marketeers) in the 1970s, until it faltered 'in the 1980s, as it became clear that simple free market models were not consistent with reality.'⁵ Sharon Beder notes that, 'The new right promoted a fundamentalist view of markets that came to be referred to as economic rationalism in Australia and, more widely, as neoliberalism.'⁶

Any hiatus in delivery of a newspaper would have been fatal at this vulnerable moment. The first issue of *Nation Review* published by the new owner, followed smoothly on (at least in terms of public perception) from the final Barton edition. Persisting with existing volume and number identification, the first Gold-published issue

2 Geoffrey Stokes, 'The Rise and Fall of Economic Rationalism', *Studies in Australian Political Rhetoric*, Ed. by John Uhr and Ryan Walter, (Canberra, ANU Press, 2014), p. 197.

3 John Quiggin, 'Rationalism and rationality in economics', *Queensland Economic Review*, (Brisbane, The Office of Economic and Statistical Research, 1999), Vol. 3, p. 4.

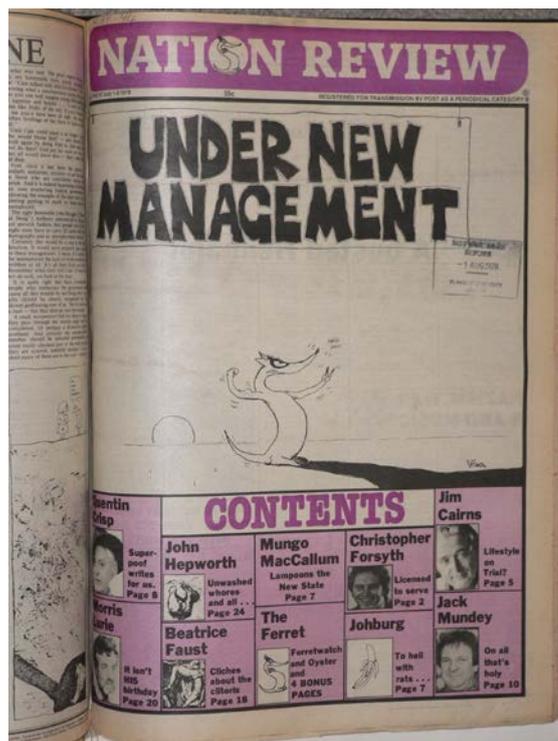
4 Tim Battin, 'What is this Thing called Economic Rationalism?', *The Australian Journal of Social Issues*, (Sydney, Australian Council of Social Service, Dec 1, 1991), Vol. 26, No. 4, p. 294.

5 Quiggin, (1999), p. 4.

6 Sharon Beder, 'Neoliberalism and the Global Financial Crisis', *Social Alternatives*, (Brisbane, Social Alternatives, 2009), Vol. 28, No. 1, pp 17-21.

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was Volume 8, Number 36, June 22, 1978. No 'official' imprint panel appeared in this issue. Instead, page 2 bore a change-of-ownership announcement, stating that '*Nation Review* has been purchased by Australian book publisher Geoffrey Gold whose company Widescope/Visa will be publishing the paper as from the next edition. Christopher Forsythe has been appointed editor and will take up his



position immediately.⁷⁷ The announcement made it clear that no significant changes were to be made. This issue was printed by J. R. Walsh, but at 2 Keys Street Moorabbin, rather than the Marrickville address that had been used since May 12, 1977. The page-size of the new paper was noticeably different, being around 25mm shorter.

The June 22 issue indeed showed no significant alteration. The same general layout was used, and articles came from largely the same pool of contributors, most likely as work already submitted prior to the sale. The 55 cent price was retained. Whereas the paper had been, for some time, printed on Thursdays, it now reverted to a Friday evening print-run.

Under New Management

The next issue skipped a few days, being dated July 1. The cover was devoted to a more thorough announcement of the new ownership, with some sense of continuity

77 Announcement, 'Change of ownership', *Nation Review*, (June 22, 1978), (Melbourne, Monobloc Proprietary Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 36, p. 2.

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provided by a large cartoon of the Ferret, albeit now drawn by Viska rather than Leunig. The headline, 'Under New Management' was boldly unambiguous. A panel of contents emphasised a continuation of articles from respected contributors on a broad range of topics. Inside, the most obvious change was the use of heavy borders to separate articles and columns. Heavier use was made also of specific titled sections. Deferring to new trends, there was a new 'Lifestyle' section. Very little advertising is in evidence. For this issue, there was no Letters page, nor was there an imprint panel. The printer now was G. M. Gold, at the Moorabbin address. Imprint panels began to appear with the July 7 issue, and named Monobloc Pty. Ltd. as the publisher, at 7 Cato Street, Hawthorne, Melbourne. A letters page began with the July 14 issue, and carried over from before the change.

As the paper got into stride, the quality was maintained at an impressively high level. Several significant writers, including MacCallum, Hepworth, and Jim Cairns (ex Whitlam minister) continued to offer material. The August 11 issue (Vol. 8 No. 43) featured a 9-page coverage of the Soviet Union.⁸ Sadly, the early momentum could not be sustained. Appearing for the first time in the August 25 issue, an appeal was published under the heading 'Ferret needs ferrets...'.⁹ Contributions of first-rate articles were falling away, as *Nation Review* could not afford fees at professional levels. Instead, it began to seek contributions from readers, under the semblance of an ideological stance. The soliciting of articles from readers was portrayed as rejecting 'the notion that anyone has a monopoly on wisdom, ideas, suggestions, criticism or creativity'. Instead, the paper 'can only be a success as a passionate alternative weekly... if people enthusiastically contribute articles...'. Thus necessity began to drive the content of the newspaper into

8 Various Contributors, 'Soviet Focus', *Nation Review*, (August 11, 1978), (Melbourne, Monobloc Proprietary Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 43, pp. 4-13.

9 The Editor, 'Ferret needs ferrets...', *Nation Review*, (August 25, 1978), (Melbourne, Monobloc Proprietary Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 45, p. 17.

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the hands of younger, less professional contributors, and, indirectly, removed some editorial control over the paper's direction. The Lifestyle section in particular veered back towards counterculture topics, or at least, those elements of the counterculture dealing with daily living, rather than political aspects. The September 1 issue's Lifestyle column included information about a new generation (so to speak) of wind-driven electricity generators, while Jim Cairns looked at practical measures to escape the capitalist/consumerist economy (pp. 14-15). A new feature was introduced—a National Community Noticeboard, to be used to advertise (at no cost) events, campaigns, pamphlets, meetings and such. Where mainstream politics was concerned, most articles warned of the dangers and injustices inherent in the advancing privatisation programme being driven by the increasingly powerful hard-right within the Liberal Party (spearheaded by Treasurer John Howard).

The theme continued, becoming more formally accepted when, in the September 15 issue (Vol 8. No. 48, p. 4) a note from the publisher, titled 'Born-again Ferret', offered a report-card of progress to date, suggesting that 'our efforts have achieved some success'—hardly an unequivocal claim of victory. The call emphasised the fact that alternative voices in Australian media were almost non-existent, and thus the need to keep *Nation Review* operative was urgent. 'If the *Nation Review* is to survive independently it must move still closer to its alternative radio coevals [in terms of community support] and build upon the interest, support and involvement of its readers.' In effect, the paper is making a radical change to its internal operational model, moving away from a proprietary commercial enterprise, to a community-shared resource, created and funded by the community of readers. To this end, the note announced the formation of *The Ferret Club*, a club of like-minded readers, although no details were offered of how it would work or what its aims were to be.

The People's Paper

From September 22, 1978, the front-page banner included the subtext 'Australia's National Alternative Weekly'. In that issue, an important report from the Publisher appeared on page 3. The report formalised 'some form of public ownership and control by the paper's readers'. The report claims 'The Ferret became an "innocent bystander". The paper became cynical, introspective and boring.' The report states that circulation had plummeted from 55,000 to 20,000, but that the fall had been arrested. This number is somewhat contested—Everingham suggests the number fell below 15,000 (p. 285), while Gold himself, in correspondence with Ash Long wrote

When I bought it in mid-1977 I discovered its circulation was down to around 15,000/week - which (financially) surprised me as Richard always referred to its 25,000/week circulation-base. Display advertising was always minimal with the only regular, non-circulation-income being generated by the risqué "D-Notices" classified section. Many believe that advertisers were put off by the paper's rabble-rousing reputation (although, looking back, Richard's editions appear as tame as today's *Saturday Review*.¹⁰

After setting out in reasonable detail how it envisaged that the paper would work, the report states a definitive goal: circulation will need to increase to 26,000 by Christmas 1978, and then to a stable 30,000 for 1979. The dire financial situation is reiterated, with an admission that only donations from friends, and courageous offerings of funds raised through house mortgages, have kept the paper afloat. A reader survey was intended to solicit thoughts and ideas from readers about how to achieve success. The report ends with a call-to-arms: 'We intend to become a non-profit, reader-owned paper, taking stands, fighting the good fight, giving information and dispelling gloom'. A Ferret cartoon in the October 27 issue (p. 3) implies a readership of 40,000, while an accompanying note suggests that *Nation Review* is 'reaching a national audience of 50,000 informed and articulate readers'.

¹⁰ Long, 2014.

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As the operational detail of the people's paper was worked out, it was felt to be necessary to publish guidelines for contributors. Page 3 of the November 3 issue reports guidelines intended to abolish sexism in articles, although this was not intended to prevent reporting if there were some valid reason for any sexism in an article—a fine editorial line, perhaps at odds with removal of gate-keeping owners. An idea of the quagmire opening up before them, is the report in the November 17 issue (p. 7) of a reader survey seeking to determine whether advertising of 'commercial pornography' should be allowed to continue in the paper. The survey was indecisive, so the adverts were allowed to continue. This clash between ideology, freedom of speech and commercial realities is a contra-indication of fearless 'warts and all' investigative journalism. During the course of this introspection (November 10), the publishing address changed to Owen Buildings, Hawthorn.

The issue for December 22, 1978 was designed to take the paper into 1979. In effect, two issues were integrated, making for a 40-page paper, although, given that the issue was dated December 22 – January 12, the issue was required to address three weeks. Instead of a back page, another 'front' page was placed upside-down, reminiscent of the strange experiment of late 1976, although in this case there is some logical justification. The price for this issue was raised to \$1.00.

Rebuilding Programme

A curious change occurred after the double issue. The banner returned to an older style, reminiscent of 1973, while the sub-banner (Australia's National Alternative Weekly) was dropped. The price reverted to 50 cents (rather than 55 cents), and no Volume/Number detail was printed (This would have been Volume 9, Number 11 if sequence were the criterion, or Number 13 if based on date). Previously issues were dated for the Friday of the week, but the date for this issue (January 18) was a Thursday, and nearly a week was missing between this and the previous double issue. The cover

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consisted of a near-full-page article, again harking back to earlier practice. There were only 16 pages (down from 24). Most curious, despite the lack of volume information, the folio numbering system had re-emerged, starting bewilderingly at page 258. Gone is any reference to the 'people's paper'. Although no announcement was made in this issue, it appeared that the concept had collapsed. While the appearance was back to older times, noticeably absent were the past names. MacCallum, for instance, is missing, the Canberra report coming instead from 'our correspondent'.

All was explained in an untitled note in the January 25 issue (Vol. 9 No. 14, p. 274). In what was described as a 'rebuilding programme', changes had been made to print and graphic quality, and the layout simplified. From the February 8, 1979 issue, the printer was Peter Isaacson Publications, of Prahran. The attempt to establish a public company had been abandoned due to lack of resources, while the ideals behind it were still active. The old 'Lean and nose like a ferret' was reinvoked in a brave gesture.

Despite the loss of some significant writers, *Nation Review* regained a good deal of its old authority in this period. Overseas content was conspicuously thorough, while local state-based politics and federal politics both received close attention. Advertising though, remained minimal, with only one or two major advertisers showing in any given week, and even the small, quirky advertisements from the earlier days had withered away. The review section was perhaps the weakest, lacking the verve of Ellis, or the sheer onslaught of Sam Orr. In general, a small number of films and books came under consideration, and tended to be within the mainstream of interest.

Trouble seems to have been around the corner. The issue for July 5, 1979 (Vol. 9 No. 37) was produced using a slightly larger page size, although no mention was made of any changes to circumstances. There followed, however, a two-week hiatus in which no issues reached the newsagents. When the paper resumed for July 26, it had returned to the larger size last seen June 15, 1978, while still owned by Barton. Issue numbers

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reflected the passing of the weeks, with this issue being numbered 40. Whereas the publishing address remains the same, at Owen Buildings, the paper was now published (under licence) by Care Publications Pty. Ltd, rather than Monobloc. This issue featured an extensive interview with Phillip Adams (pp. 712-715). The paper had been reduced to sixteen pages, with very little by way of illustration, advertising or cartoons. No announcement or explanation for the break in production was given, and research has found no definitive reason. It is most likely a reflection of the extreme fragility of the organization at the time, caused through an almost completely dried-up revenue stream.

Hanging by a Thread

An unattributed note in the August 23, 1979 issue (p. 756) acknowledged that the paper had fallen on very lean times, and that production entailed a weekly life-and-death struggle. A hope was expressed that four more pages would be added, and supporters were thanked for their forbearance. The note concluded: '(Very) lean and nose-ye like a Ferret.' The following issue did indeed boast twenty pages. An advertisement appeared on page 772, announcing a public meeting in Sydney, to be attended by 'Everyone interested in alternative media and doing something about unemployment, or wishing to write for *Nation Review*.'

For September 6, 1979, *Nation Review*'s cover featured caricatures of John Hepworth, Professor Colin Howard (of Melbourne University), Phillip Adams and Geoffrey Gold, over the headline 'In praise of older ferrets: Hepworth, Howard, Adams and Gold examine the fortunes of *Nation Review*'. The cover referred to a feature that consisted of a transcript from an ABC Radio Public Affairs broadcast, in which Sue Sleeman and Julie Copeland interviewed the four.¹¹ Hepworth summed up the Ferret of his era thus:

11 ABC Radio Public Affairs Transcript, 'In the beginning was the Ferret', reproduced in *Nation Review*, (September 6, 1979), (Melbourne, Care Publications, 1979), Vol. 9, No. 46, pp. 798-800.

The Review itself has changed its nature—it is no longer the same paper as we were publishing then, it has different attitudes. God knows what our attitudes were actually, because we had no editorial policy as such, except to be a forum of opinion, to present opinions. The standards that we worked on were that it should be entertaining, it should be well-written, entertaining, preferably scurrilous, libellous without being actionable, bawdy, if that could be managed, and generally to “goose” everyone, to send them up, send them along, make them think and outrage them if possible; to outrage formal attitudes and the establishment in any way we could, because we thought this was good, generally it’s good for the community.

Both Hepworth and Adams concluded that the Whitlam victory in 1972 deprived *Nation Review* of some specific targets for satire, and reduced the relevance of criticizing conservative politics, given their opposition role. Hepworth bemoaned the terminal level of apathy in the Australian public in 1979. Copeland asked Adams ‘So in one sense the conservatives provided the ideal material for satirists to work on?’ Adams replied ‘Yes, as Colin Howard was saying before we taped, he was quoting Bertrand Russell to the effect that, you know, you really do need pain to produce art, and you certainly need political pain to produce satire.’ In the discussion, Adams expanded on the occasion when Barton had spoken to him about purchasing *Nation Review*. He said that, although he himself could not afford to buy the paper, he wanted to see it survive. He thus contacted *The Age* newspaper, with a view to brokering a sale to Fairfax. The Fairfax response was that it was not feasible, because the relative wealth of the Fairfax organisation would encourage more insistent legal action against *Nation Review*, reducing the influence of the paper, and rendering the operational costs too high. Adams also suggested that Leunig’s somewhat spiritual approach to cartoons was a significant aspect of the paper’s character, that helped create a sense of higher purpose than mere political satire, as it encouraged a more cosmic consideration of life.

Asked why he had saddled himself with an ailing newspaper, Gold said that his motivation was to try to keep the paper going, regardless of profit. He pointed out that, given the black, depressing time Australia was then enduring, it was difficult to write with humour and optimism, and that the generation that had provided the lighter touch

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to earlier incarnations of the paper had grown tired and had lost any enthusiasm or hope for change.

Importantly, Gold identified the new capitalist aspirations driving younger people, suggesting that their involvement in ‘making it’ materially, caused them to have no interests outside their own conditions, and that, therefore, the social, idealistic stance of *Nation Review* no longer resonated with them. This situation was occupying Gold, as he grappled with the extent to which the paper ought to cater to these new values. Asked about falling sales in university campuses, Gold again made a very important observation:

The question is usually presented “are the campuses more radical than the 60s or are they more conservative?” which I feel is a wrong dichotomy. The question is really “Are students as individualistic as they were, and independent and creative thinkers, or are they more conformist?” Now the question is, if they’re not as radical but still independent, then it’s our marketing problems, we haven’t been reaching across to them. But if students are less radical and they are now conformist, then it’s not only our problem, it’s a national problem, because Australia, going into the 80s, doesn’t need a conformist population. We need a very active, intelligent and independent community that’s able to make dramatic decisions that will affect our destiny until the end of the century.

Emphasizing the perilous state of health of the paper, Sleeman concludes ‘And I understand that the champagne flows each week at the *Nation Review* office just to celebrate the appearance of the paper for that week.’

An infuriated Bill Green wrote a lengthy response to the transcript article, for publication in the September 20, 1979 issue (p. 837). Green’s initial point was to contest Hepworth’s telling of the early years, and to make a strong case for the paper’s origins in the *Sunday Observer*, and the development of talent under the auspices of Michael Cannon. He gave a detailed recapitulation of events leading to the formation of *Nation Review*. The main cause of his genuine anger is the negativity expressed by both Hepworth and Adams, asking ‘Did they feel it was their exclusive domain, and that now they no longer wrote for it, it should disappear without trace?’ Green asserts that, were

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the paper to fail, not only would an important independent voice be lost, but the repercussions would include a weaker *Age* and *National Times*, in the absence of independent stimulation.

The weekly *Nation Review* finally succumbed with the ‘Miracle Edition’ of October 4, 1979 (Vol. 9 No. 50). Geoffrey Gold inserted a panel on page 860 (viz. page 2), accompanied by a praying Ferret. Gold wrote:

This edition was obviously meant to be.

At the beginning of the week we all thought that our much-publicised financing problems had finally caught up with us. But we did get to publish and we have yet another week to get the paper’s act together.

I would like to sincerely thank all members of staff and contributors for their extraordinary patience and loyalty.

Thanks also to our printers, transporters and distributors for making the present problems a little easier.

Despite the problems, circulation is rising.

Another week proved insufficient. It is clear from the above that Gold fully intended to keep the paper going, even at that late stage. The final edition retained high quality and integrity. Ironically, the radio transcript and Bill Green’s response had triggered some letters of support for *Nation Review*, including corrections (and protestations of support) from Phillip Adams, and more history from David Robie, second editor (after Cannon) of the *Sunday Observer*. It all proved too little, too late.

Out of the Ashes

Nothing more was seen of *Nation Review* for the remains of the decade of the 70s. Commentators consigned it to its place as a 70s phenomenon, relevant only to the 70s, and without purpose in the new decade. The eighties was the time of the ‘Me Generation’, marching to the tune of ‘What About Me?’.¹ American writer Tom Wolfe had already observed the beginning of the phenomenon, writing about the ‘Me Decade’, and coining the term ‘Me Generation’ in a 1976 essay for the *New York* magazine (shortly before Rupert Murdoch’s hostile take-over of the magazine).² Wolfe wrote, ‘The new alchemical dream is: changing one’s personality—remaking, remodeling, elevating, and polishing one’s very self. . . and observing, studying, and doting on it. (Me!).’³ Christopher Lasch identified and documented the phenomenon of narcissism in his 1979 book.⁴

This new narcissism coincided with the beginning of neoliberalism, with its free-market ideology and emphasis on the individual. Richard Wolin identified Steve Jobs as the epitome of this conjunction.⁵ New Nationalism had crashed to earth on the dismissal of Whitlam, with Fraser accepting a reversion to the old stance of subservient ally to the current ‘great and powerful friend’, although he did use his early experience in dealings with the U.S. in Vietnam, as Minister for the Army, to strengthen Australia’s

1 Garry Frost and Frances Swan, *What About Me?*, Song recorded by Moving Pictures, 1982).

2 Tom Wolfe, ‘The “Me” Decade and the Third Great Awakening’, (August 23, 1976), *New York* magazine, (New York, New York Media LLC, 1976), p. 33.

In *Generation Me*, Jean Twenge proposes that the characteristics identified by Wolfe have become normalized within more recent generations, and links this development with the rise of social media. Jean M. Twenge, *Generation Me: Why Today’s Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled—and More Miserable Than Ever Before*, (New York, Free Press, 2006).

3 Wolfe (1976), p. 33.

4 Christopher Lasch, *The culture of narcissism: American life in an age of diminishing expectations*, (New York, Norton, 1979).

5 Richard Wolin, ‘Steve Jobs and the “Me Generation”’, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, (December 4, 2015), Vol. 62, No. 4, p. B20.

Chapter 5 *Nation Review* goes Monthly

strategic voice.⁶ Bolton notes that Fraser did not necessarily set out deliberately to reverse Whitlam's New Nationalist policy outlook; nevertheless, he reports that Fraser, wanting to woo foreign investment back to Australia, considerably softened the attitude to foreign ownership: 'Where the Whitlam government had insisted that new uranium projects must be 100 per cent Australian-owned, and that foreign participation must not exceed 50 per cent in other mining projects, Fraser in 1978 softened the rule to a 25 per cent Australian equity but with a majority of Australian citizens on the board of management.'⁷ Counterculture was confined to a handful of diehard hippies living on the fringes, while a strengthened capitalist model based on growth and conspicuous consumption became firmly entrenched as the way forward for the nation. Bolton writes, '[T]he media in the late 1970s and early 1980s depicted a society in which politicians, trade unions, business and law were all tainted with a corruption bred of a perverted competitiveness, personal gain and the urge to win driving out any remnant of the "fair go" tradition.'⁸

The tenacity of Geoffrey Gold was phenomenal. His belief in the need for a 'very active, intelligent and independent community' remained unshaken, despite the evidence of disengagement, self-interest and mindless consumerism coming into vogue. Having himself shown extraordinary capacity to think broadly and to have the courage to experiment, as with his attempt to establish a 'people's paper' in 1978, Gold had turned his attention towards a rebirth of *Nation Review*. This time, he seems to have reached back to Tom Fitzgerald's *Nation* journal for a model of how to position an 'independent journal of opinion', as he now conceived the new iteration. There is

6 Peter Edwards, 'Reassessing Malcolm Fraser', Strategic Insights, *Australian Strategic Policy Institute* website, May 12, 2015, < https://www.aspi.org.au/publications/reassessing-malcolm-fraser/SI89_Malcolm_Fraser.pdf>, [Accessed January 10, 2016].

7 Bolton, p. 249.

8 Geoffrey Bolton, 'On the Make', *The Oxford History of Australia (Vol. 5)*, (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 266-267.

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considerable sense in this approach; the 80s were fast becoming a period of conservatism similar to the late 50s in which *Nation* was conceived. A sober, largely economics- and politics-based journal could continue to present the big, important ideas that were being ignored by the new generation of lifestyle magazines, whose existence owed itself to the obsession with consumption. *Nation* was a fortnightly journal, which had, nonetheless, a happy knack of appearing to be very quick to feature issues of moment. Run on a shoestring by a fiercely independent proprietor, *Nation* had outperformed several more lavish, better funded and resourced opponents, by invoking an earlier version of the ferret's lean-and-nosey mantra. Given the abject failure of *The Living Daylights* and the 'people's paper', and the withering of counterculture forces, a return to conservatively-presented, thorough, well-informed journalism would seem to have held the best promise for the continuation of an independent media voice. Ultimately Gold's philosophy hinged, not on alternative lifestyle, but on alternative ideas. Notionally, alternative ideas could thrive in even the most deliberately mind-numbed consumption-based society, if they could find a voice.

Whitlam's dismissal in 1975, as represented by *Nation Review*, has a curious, ghostly atmosphere to it. Accidents of the weekly publishing cycle led to the paper's provision of thorough reporting and analysis of events leading up to the dismissal, while its aftermath occupied the paper for months after the event. However, the event itself was sudden, brief, and dramatic, and was heavily reported by all media forms capable of rapid response. There was no need for *Nation Review* to add to the noise by reiterating what had so intensively been reported, but its ability, through the talents and connections of its professional contributors, to analyse the event and to air the implications for democracy in the future, was a strength that was lacking in many other news organizations. Articles appearing in *Nation* also, in the main, had this characteristic—they addressed matters of long-term policy significance, or else they

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raised hitherto overlooked aspects of some situation, aspects that, properly considered, would perhaps lead to a changed understanding of the situation.

The difficulties of long print cycles, significant enough in a weekly publication, are of course exacerbated in a fortnightly journal, and become highly problematic in a monthly. By their nature, human affairs, as expressed in political and economic terms, are ephemeral, and only a select group of issues have managed to engage our attention for as long as a month. The new monthly version of *Nation Review* would be restricted, by definition, to a very small subset of news and opinion, if it were to avoid any sense of being stale, out-of-date or irrelevant. A significant refuge for such a magazine would perhaps be a review section, in which relatively static entities are under consideration. The plot of a book remains locked in its pages; the standard of acting in a film is fixed in perpetuity and visible to all.

The weekly *Nation Review*, during its apogee, was notable for its ability to add topical relevance to book and film reviews. In any case, the arts directly engage with cultural, social and political topics, so reviews can legitimately link news with arts. As a random example, a review by Bob Ellis of the film *Millhouse* appeared in July 1973. The film was made in 1971, and consists of actual film footage of Richard Nixon, tracking his career to the White House, interconnected by interviews, as a form of pseudo-documentary satire. The accumulated stupidities conjoin to make an overpowering portrait of a bumbling loser who inexplicably ascended when he should have fallen. The film was released in Australia in 1973 to exploit the new interest in Nixon resulting from the Watergate saga, a time when disdain for Nixon was at its height. Ellis, however, makes the following assertion:

Most of our instinctive hatred of Nixon, I think, is a class hatred. Because we are snobs we think of him not as he is—the best American president since Franklin Roosevelt, the man who ended the Cold War, got out of Vietnam, abolished the draft, froze prices and wages, and somehow conned the Silent Majority, of all people, into looking on the Yellow Peril as quaint country

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cousins—but as the vulgar and clumsy bowser attendant he also is, the ill-mannered orange-growing peasant who worked his way up to the planet's throne by ruthlessness and guile, and we contrast him cruelly with John F. Kennedy, who with style, wit, self-knowledge and ten million dollars as a present for his 21st birthday, charismatically took the world to the edge of nuclear annihilation and sent the troops into Vietnam.⁹

Admittedly, Ellis reveals some of his own snobbery and prejudice in this quip, but the piece clearly invites intellectual engagement, and adds a significant dimension to a mere film review. It runs contrary to the received wisdom of a left-wing intelligentsia, and proposes a potentially fruitful line of analysis. This topic, what is more, represents the type of material that could be addressed with effect and success in a monthly journal.

Gold's strategic decision to revert to a *Nation*-style of journal is logical and understandable. His options were, however, severely limited by the perennial scarcity of funds, and it is this, rather than any strategic or market-based preferences that dictated a monthly publishing cycle. Having tried and failed with a new public-funded and –owned publishing model, his only choice was to make the best use of a traditional advertising-funded enterprise. The monthly model combined the lowest production and distribution costs with the best and most attractive national exposure for advertising. Gold wrote 'In 1980 my solution was to cut costs by turning from a weekly tabloid to a monthly A4 magazine and widening the readership by supplementing the best of local independent writers with top quality articles from a variety of international sources including *The New York Times*, *Harpers*, *New Statesman*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Despite the grumbles of many the move was successful and we doubled our readership.'¹⁰ Gold would have been aware though, that this somewhat corporate model would tend to reduce the ability of the new magazine to retain a truly independent stance, and its ability to address local issues would be hampered by a lack of access to local expert opinion.

9 Bob Ellis, 'Nixon, the eternal salesman', *Nation Review*, (July 13, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 39, p. 1211.

10 Long, 2014.

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The monthly magazine

Externally, the new magazine bore a superficial similarity to *The Bulletin* of the time. A plain cover bearing a red version of one of the more conservative mastheads, featured a graphic image and two specific contents headings, with a general comment about contents. While the cover was glossy, the internal pages were inexpensive matte paper, although the typeface was clear and attractive. The publisher continued to be Care Publications Pty. Ltd., while printing was carried out by the Waverley Offset Publishing Group. The cover bore the date of issue (month and year), but the Letter from the Editor panel (usually p. 3 or p. 5) contained a volume and issue number. Reflecting continuity, the first issue was labelled as Volume 10, Number 1, but the folio page-numbering convention was abandoned for the second time. Size ranged from 58 pages (Nos. 1, 11 and 12) to 83 pages (No. 8). Gold elected to use a subtle allusion to the earliest origins of the magazine, citing both *Nation* and *The Review* in the imprint panel. Items were collected in sections, labelled with a futuristic pseudo-computer typeface. Some sections, such as Insight, and Tucker, were carry-overs from the old newspaper, but most sections were new. Notably, the review section was now broken up into its constituent elements under separate headings. The first issue was dominated by a timely, long and detailed feature on Bob Hawke, then beginning his journey to the Prime Ministership. Some popular writers who had contributed to earlier incarnations of the magazine reappeared to enhance the legitimacy of the new version. John Hepworth, Richard Beckett, Bob Ellis and Phillip Adams were joined by a younger group of new contributors to make a well-rounded collection. There was a classified advertisement section, and a readers' letters section. A broader outlook was represented by new sports and medicine sections. Overall, there were few illustrations to lighten the pages, but there is a generous amount of pithy material to occupy a month's reading. There was

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little evidence of advertising in the first issue, although the new sections lent themselves to niche marketing of appropriate products.

The magazine appeared to have got into its stride by the second issue, with a large selection of Letters to the Editor, many of them congratulating Gold on the resurrection of *Nation Review*. The main article, about China's thawing in the face of consumerism, was an early observation of this phenomenon, and reintroduced T. D. Allman, a regular overseas contributor for many years. A new section has been created for *Tabloid Story*, normally a self-contained supplement, but in this issue incorporated fully. This approach, possibly a response to accommodating a tabloid-sized supplement into a magazine format, was not repeated. Had it become permanent, it would have facilitated the old convention of the inclusion of short stories. Robyn Friend and Helen Garner provided the stories used here.¹¹ John Hepworth's 1972 tale of the genesis of the ferret mascot was reprinted, strengthening the link to earlier times, and perhaps attempting to resurrect the old *ferret-type* loyalty. While continuing to be printed in monochrome on cheap paper, the magazine now included significantly more graphical material, including photographs and cartoons. Among others, John Dickson contributed drawings to illustrate articles, in his somewhat nightmarish style.

By April 1980 the magazine showed confidence and optimism. The old conservative enemy came under attack, in an article listing 40 promises made by Fraser and broken. In May, Kim Mukerjee and Peter Olszewsky began regular columns addressing Australian advertising and media. A continuing theme was new technology, and its likely effects, as the computer age dawned and began to infiltrate many areas of society.

¹¹ This was equivalent to issue 32 of *Tabloid Story*.

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In June 1980 the *Bookferrets* idea was resumed, via the Ferret Book Offer. Operating on a smaller scale, the new arrangement offered a smaller selection of books, favouring Australian writing. For July Christopher Forsythe (who had borne the brunt of editing and writing for *Nation Review* in the dying days of the weekly paper) wrote a long article about Murdoch's maneuverings in the US. The review section was becoming stronger, with long reviews of a large number of books, films and other arts.

The August 1980 Letter from the Editor addressed the apparent demise, after 130 years, of *Harper's* magazine in the US, a victim of increasing production costs and reduced advertising revenue.¹² Gold concludes: 'As the pressures at work against quality magazines in Australia are not dissimilar to those in the United States (perhaps even greater when it comes to postage costs and size of population) I look forward to your continuing interest in *Nation Review* magazine.'¹³ The note of anxiety is exacerbated by a full-page advertisement (p. 31) seeking additional readers and subscribers for *Nation Review*. After explaining the background to *Harper's* magazine's failure in an article accompanying the editorial, Olszewsky quotes *Harper's* editor Lewis H. Lapham, who says '*Harper's* was a success with its (325,000) readers, but not with advertisers.'¹⁴ Given *Nation Review's* paltry 12,000 or so circulation, this cannot have been comfortable news for Gold.

In the August issue a large feature section was presented: the 1980/81 Australian and international travel planner.¹⁵ This section offered surprisingly detailed information

12 *Harper's* in fact survived, being rescued by the hasty formation of the *Harper's* Magazine Foundation and the provision of sufficient funds to maintain publication.

13 The Editor, 'A Letter from the Editor', *Nation Review*, (August, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 8, p. 3.

14 Peter Olszewsky, 'A Farewell to *Harper's*', *Nation Review*, (August, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 8, p. 79.

15 Unattributed, '*Nation Review* 1980/81 Australian and International Travel Planner', *Nation Review*, (August, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 8, pp. 35-50.

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about events in Australia and overseas for the coming year, arranged by date within location.

The demise of *Harper's* was revisited in the September 1980 Letter from the Editor, in part because of the unexpected survival of Harper's, but mainly in connection with the fortunes of *Nation Review*. Gold quoted at length from a *World Press Review* editorial, where the point was made that:

Providing serious journalism for a general audience is an arduous challenge... society is contentious and fragmented. TV and the leisure interests of affluence have siphoned away both readers and advertising resources. Advertisers—upon whom any independent quality magazine must depend in part—too easily overlook or underrate serious magazines. Inflation continually forces up the costs of staffing, printing, mailing and all other aspects of publication, at the same time inhibiting subscribers—buffeted by the same pressures—from accepting price increases... Stewardship of magazines like *Harper's* is a public trust... If they are to flourish in a hostile economic environment, then their owners must treat them as national treasures and leaders in business, education, philanthropy, the mass media, and citizen groups must do more than they have done to create a climate in which their survival is possible.¹⁶

The second link to the fortunes of *Nation Review* was the looming tenth birthday (taken from the inception of the *Sunday Review* in October 1970). With the arrival of so significant a milestone, and no doubt knowing how precarious the existence of the magazine was in September, events at *Harper's*, and the chilling warning from World Press Review, must have weighed heavily on Gold's shoulders. His own role at *Nation Review* accorded strongly with the type of owner called for by WPR, and his record demonstrated clearly his preparedness to accept the responsibility, but he must have bewailed the absence of the levels of support from the community at large that was deemed essential by WPR. Despite these agonies, the September issue was particularly strong, featuring analyses of state and federal politics, several significant international perspectives, and a diverse range of reviews. A particularly interesting (and, once again, topical) article inspected Australia's military aviation options, with a comparison of the

16 The Editor, 'A Letter from the Editor', *Nation Review*, (September, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 9, p. 5.

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F16 and the FA/18 aircraft.¹⁷ The issue was impressively rounded off with a 16-page supplement about wine, written by Robin Bradley. Rather than a collection of reviews and promotions, as most modern wine supplements tend to be, this feature considered long-term implications of a variety of circumstances affecting the Australian wine industry, such as the changing tastes of consumers, alternative packaging (cask versus flagon versus bottle), international wine competition, and an assessment of the 1980 vintage across Australia.¹⁸

10 Years Old

Nation Review reached its 10th birthday with the October 1980 issue, celebrated on the cover by an illustration of a birthday cake topped by candles moulded as caricatures of some of the key targets of the paper's scrutiny: Mao and Nixon representing international coverage, with McMahon and Fraser for the Australian federal right-wing, and, most significantly, Whitlam and Kerr. The side of the cake was decorated with the names of many of the most significant contributors to have written for the paper. In a somewhat grandiose gesture, the contents page of this issue was headed by a ferret cartoon, captioned '*Nation Review* First Decade', a daringly ambitious provocation. The contents page listed contributions by no fewer than 23 significant writers and cartoonists. Gold's Letter from the Editor (p. 31) took the opportunity of the anniversary to reflect on the past and future of the magazine. Gold wrote

Outside of the mainstream media life of the four private and one public media conglomerates, *Nation Review* has acted and continues to act as an independent social and political critic—sometimes maverick, often provocative and invariably innovative... There never has been any one, archtypal [sic] *Nation Review*, and, if it is to reach out into the 1980s and beyond, perhaps one of its most important features will continue to be its flexibility.

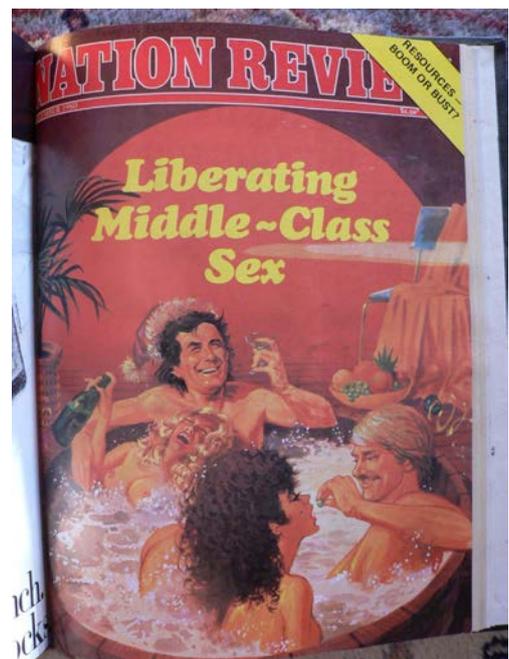
17 P. Lewis Young, 'Mega Dollar Birds in Flight', *Nation Review*, (September, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 9, pp. 56-62.

18 Robin Bradley, '*Nation Review* Wine Nineteen Eighty', *Nation Review*, (September, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 9, pp. 37-52.

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Fifteen pages following the Letter were assigned to reminiscences by Richard Beckett, John Hindle, Bill Peach, Bruce Muirden, Michael Costigan, Barry Jones, Bill Green, Max Harris, and John Hepworth, while Michael Cannon preferred to look ahead in an endeavour to define a relevant role for *Nation Review*. His concluding sentence was ominous: ‘Take a deep breath, Geoffrey Gold, and prepare to become a prophet without honour in your own country.’¹⁹ Beckett’s article meanwhile, was supported by a John Dickson cartoon which might be seen as an update of the Leunig ‘First anniversary’ cartoon of October 1971, showing a similarly chaotic production office scene, except that the protagonists tend to look somewhat more serious and harassed in Dickson’s version. Viska, who had taken over Leunig’s role, and style, provided a cartoon (p. 42) in which a younger Leunig sits at his drawing board, working on a drawing. The drawing shows a giraffe (but with a ferret-like head), while the caption reads ‘*Nation Review*: Lean ‘n sticks its neck out like a giraffe.’ Two bearded onlookers (Beckett and Hepworth?) discuss the effort, one of them saying ‘Not bad... It’s close, but not quite what we’re looking for.’

The November 1980 issue was devoid of any comment from the Editor. This issue was the first following another Fraser electoral victory, and featured an article about the implications for the nation.²⁰ Robbie Lloyd interviewed Bruce Petty for an article in this issue, producing a thoughtful portrait of a man whose ‘overriding trait is thoughtfulness. He’s been condemned to “worry” about



19 Michael Cannon, ‘The Tumult and the Shouting’, *Nation Review*, (October, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 10, p. 43.

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mankind.²¹

The final issue of *Nation Review*, under Gold's stewardship, was the December 1980 issue (Vol. 10 No. 12). Again, there was no Letter from the Editor. There were only 52 pages in this last attempt, which lacks any 'feature' section. A brief note at the foot of page 5 announced 'The next issue of *Nation Review* will be published February, 1981.' Whether this predicted hiatus was due to seasonal relaxation or financial crisis is not known, but there were signs in the final issue of intensifying pressure. No coverage of federal or state politics was offered (except for an analysis of the political implications of a resources boom, written by Helen Ester (pp. 36-40)), a situation suggesting an absence of correspondents to provide material. Articles lacked immediacy, consisting of opinion about relatively static situations, and may have been on hand as standbys from earlier times.

Whereas a weekly newspaper might be able to afford a one-issue break in response to seasonal disruptions, it is unlikely that a monthly magazine would voluntarily remove itself from newsagents' shelves for a total of eight weeks. With a break that long, the risk of loss of both advertisers and readers would be too great. It is more likely that the financial situation had become so clearly untenable that no alternative was available. If such a break was planned, one might expect the December issue to have been strengthened by additional content, and for it to have included some enticements in the form of announcements about future content and features. Probably the most optimistic outlook at this stage was that some financial recovery might be achieved during the break, such that production could resume in February 1981. Under Geoffrey Gold, this was not to be.

20 Dennis Altman, 'Election Reflection, *Nation Review*, (November, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 11, pp. 10-13.

21 Robbie Lloyd, 'Interview: Bruce Petty', *Nation Review*, (November, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 11, pp. 23-28.

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Last Gasps

The exact moment of the demise of *Nation Review* proves to be elusive. At the end of Terry Pratchett's *Maskerade*, a story about opera, the dastardly director of the opera, Salzella, dies in a duel with the unlikely hero. True to the conventions of opera, he rises four times to add some dying lines to his farewell performance. "You know what *really* gets me down," said Salzella, rising to his knees, "is the way that in opera everyone takes such a long!!!!...time!!!!...to...argh...argh...argh...". He keeled over.²² *Nation Review*'s end was similarly farcical. In correspondence with Ash Long (2000), Geoffrey Gold wrote 'A pathetic mish-mash of pirated and inferior editorial was published in 1981 under a variety of names (including *NR* and *The Ferret*) by a so-called financial consultant we had the misfortune to come across during our last, desperate hours of need.' Long replied 'You are right about PETER ISAACSON'S attempts to resurrect *The Review* in 1981. 'Foundation Editors' were listed as BOB ELLIS, JOHN HEPWORTH and JOHN HINDLE; MUNGO MacCALLUM reintroduced 'Ferretwatch' media columns; FRANCIS JAMES wrote on 'Ethics'; and SAM ORR (RICHARD BECKETT) re-introduced a 'Tucker' column.'²³ Long is referring to the weekly editions published between October 15 and December 18, 1981. In fact, three issues of a monthly version of *Nation Review* had emerged prior to that.

Peter Isaacson

In a sense, Gold's assurance in the December 1980 edition, that the next *Nation Review* would be issued in February 1981 proved to be valid; however, what emerged was a monthly paper that had reverted to newsprint in tabloid form. It was published by Peter Isaacson Publications, the company responsible for printing *Nation Review* since September 1979, and claimed, as 'Foundation Editors', Bob Ellis, John Hepworth and

22 Terry Pratchett, *Maskerade*, (London, Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1995), pp. 357-358.

23 Long, 2014.

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John Hindle. Hepworth's 'Birth of the Ferret' was reprised yet again (having already been invoked at the start of Gold's involvement), essentially as a link and authentication of authority. Hepworth's Oversight column also reappeared, along with T. D. Allman, and a Nicholson cartoon. An article by Alan Austin, listing 40 election promises broken by the Fraser Government, was reprinted in this issue, having first been used in April, 1980.²⁴ Around fifteen other named contributors made up the bulk of correspondents, drawn mainly from a new generation of writers and journalists. A respectably broad range of topics was addressed, the quality and authority appeared to have been carried successfully over from the Gold publication, and a sense of relevance to the social and political environment is clear.

The standard was not maintained for the March and April 1981 issues. It is possible that these three issues relied on material already contributed for the Gold-owned period, a supply that began to run low after the February edition. The old regular contributors fell away, to be replaced by previously unknown writers, while the March issue contains many unattributed articles, perhaps disguising a common writer for many of them, or writers of less-established renown. The April issue is notable for its editorial being written by Mary Montagu. This was 'Mary, Lady Montagu, a girl from the Victorian coastal town of Barwon Heads who married a British lord, bred the heir to the title and when her aristocratic marriage failed, returned home to Australia and fell into journalism.'²⁵ Montagu's journalistic reputation was not highly regarded. She wrote, under the by-line Lady M, for the infamous *Toorak Times*, owned by Jack Pacholli, who was usually described as 'colourful'. Pacholli's paper built a reputation for printing lies about prominent people, who were unable to sue Pacholli since he had failed to register

24 Alan Austin, 'Promises, promises...?', *Nation Review*, (April, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 4, pp.20-23.

25 Damien Murphy, '*A Midas Touch for Failure*: Obituary, Jack Pacholli', Sydney Morning Herald Website, < <http://www.smh.com.au/news/Obituaries/A-Midas-touch-for-failure/2004/12/10/1102625533551.html>>, [accessed 21 July 2014].

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any of his business interests, and who claimed in any case to be broke. Lady M provided social gossip, in line with the paper's operational style. She is an unlikely inheritor of the *Nation Review* editorial mantle.

This time, it's over

Following the April 1981 issue, it appeared that *Nation Review* was finally and irrevocably defunct. The silence lasted until the arrival, on October 15, 1981, of the afore-mentioned weekly issues, bearing the title *The Review*. These are the issues described above by Long. These issues were printed and published by Michael Worner, of Upper Heidelberg, for Peter Isaacson Publications. Reflecting the incestuous complexity of the world of independent newspapers in the 1970s and '80s, Worner had been Sports Editor at Max Newton's *Melbourne Observer*, and had been involved with Newton at the Perth *Sunday Independent*. Ash Long writes 'Mike Worner joined Isaacsons, I think taking over from Finlayson. That would have been late 1981, I guess. [Must have been prior to October 1981] I think the pressure was on him to make the *Sunday Observer* work, and *The Review* would have been very low on his priorities. It was probably printed at the end of the week, and was slapped together (literally) in its end days. Isaacson would have probably lost interest if it were not turning a dollar. (Worner later took over as boss of Syme Community Newspapers [Fairfax]). It can be understood from the looseness of the production structure, and the 'committee' nature of the editorship, that this iteration of *The Review* was a shoestring affair, lacking the sort of financial and material backing that Barton, or even Gold, had been able to provide. The newspaper reflected this operational state, being printed on poor-quality paper, and containing many typographical errors. While the editors were able to bring quality and reputation to the paper, it simply lacked the ability to attract high-quality contributions from established writers, and was unable to attract interest from advertisers. While continuing to fulfil the role of independent opinion-maker, the paper lacked true authority and

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depth. Ten weekly issues were produced before the paper disappeared, this time for good, with the final issue of December 18, 1981.

Bob Ellis says of this episode:

I couldn't believe it would ever cease – I thought in some form it would still be there.

In 1980 when it went I tried to revive it – Hepworth, Beckett and I drummed up something called *The Review*, which was the original name of it. In Melbourne, and we had 10 editions or perhaps 12 editions before the publisher pulled the plug. This was because David Williamson proposed to sue me over my review of *Gallipoli*. (Fuck him. Fuck him.) And everybody was there – the usual gang was there - everybody was there and was prepared to go on. And the publisher, whose name was Isaacson, said we were going to have a month's layoff over Christmas. But it had been a tax dodge, the whole thing.

It was going to have the same format – films, reviews, the whole lot. We had contributions by Manning Clark... fucking Williamson.

Litigation – while Barton was there, there was no problem – it got sorted. But once we didn't have a godfather person - but it was particularly Williamson.²⁶

While Ellis is vehemently clear in his view of the cause of the ultimate demise of *Nation Review*, there is likely to have been a much more complex aggregation of problems, although they all came back, in some form, to inadequate financial strength. The passion shared by the originators of *Nation Review* remains largely intact.

26 Bob Ellis, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

Positioning Nation Review

In considering *Nation Review* and its role in the Australian media and cultural landscape, an obvious and fundamental question presents itself: What led people to buy it? Circulation numbers fluctuated throughout the newspaper's existence, but early in its life (May 6, 1972, still named *The Review*) the paper reported figures from the Roy Morgan Research Centre, showing circulation in excess of 35,000, while *readership* was estimated at 111,000.¹ In the Australian historical context, these are substantial numbers.² As a means of evaluating the purpose of *Nation Review*, as well as its value and effectiveness as a source of information, as a newspaper, and as a potential alternative to mainstream Press offerings, this chapter makes direct comparisons between the major offerings and *Nation Review*, based on representative issues that were covered by each organ. There are important reservations to be made prior to embarking on such an approach.

It is important to consider whether a comparison exercise is logically valid. Superficially, it may be argued that *Nation Review* was a commercial offering that purported to expose otherwise unpublished facts, or to provide incisive analysis of aspects of particular news items not fully addressed by the establishment Press (*Lean and nose like a ferret*). As such, *Nation Review* ought to stand on journalistic merit, and be able to demonstrate high levels of capability when it is compared directly with other offerings. Several mitigating factors inevitably modify this simplistic view: the print cycle;

1 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 29 (May 6/May 12, 1972)–August/September 1981), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company, 1972), p. 799.

2 Weekly publications the *Bulletin* and the *National Times* were about the same, while the daily *Australian* was selling at slightly over 50,000, according to Souter (although *SMH* was selling around 270,000). Souter, (1981), pp. 616-617. It should be noted though that Goot puts circulation for *The Australian* at 136,000, and *SMH* at 274,000 (1972). Goot does not address weekly publications. Murray Goot, *Newspaper Circulation in Australia, 1932-1977*, (Bundoora, La Trobe University, 1979), p. 6.

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financial status; affiliations; authority. Furthermore, there may have been a different, more comfortable role—as a commentator on news, rather than as a gatherer of news. A comparison exercise helps to clarify the purpose of *Nation Review*. By understanding the paper's own view of its purpose, we can better evaluate its performance and its rise and fall.

Nation Review was a weekly newspaper, perhaps more readily considered as a journal. The production cycle consisted of assembly of articles early in the weekly cycle, bolstered by less time-critical features such as film and book reviews. Items could be specifically commissioned (by the publishing editor), or left to contributors to provide, based on the judgments of those individual contributors and correspondents. An editorial presence defined which particular newsworthy events ought to be covered, in response to key issues arising during the production 'window', but also through individual investigative initiatives. The print run began each Friday evening, with newspapers ready for distribution the following Saturday morning. Allowing for distribution time, in the worst case there could be a delay of eight or nine days in responding to events, as opposed to overnight reporting available to the daily Press. Thus, a *Nation Review* response to Whitlam's December 2 1972 election victory did not reach its readers until December 9, imbuing that significant event with a strange sense of ghostliness.

In the 1970s the main newspapers enjoyed almost exclusive control of classified advertisements. Borrowing from Plutarch, whose *Life of Cicero* claims that Cicero described Aristotle as 'a river of flowing gold', Rupert Murdoch more prosaically attached the term to the Classified Advertisement section of a newspaper³. Throughout

3 Attributed to Murdoch by Tiffen and others. See, for instance, Rodney Tiffen, 'Australian Journalism', *Journalism*, (Los Angeles, Sage Publications, 2009), Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 384-386, 'For much of its long history, classified advertisements afforded Fairfax a level of profitability that was envied by other media proprietors, such as the Packer family and Rupert Murdoch, who famously dubbed them the 'rivers of

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the history of newspapers, and lasting until the internet took over the role, (via sites such as ebay, Gumtree and Trading Post [itself initially a printed paper dedicated to classifieds]) it had been the revenue from classifieds that provided bedrock funding for the costs of newspaper composition and production, and, of course, for profits accruing to proprietors. Added to this, many businesses (particularly retail stores) invested heavily in regular full-page advertisements, or even multiple-page sections. W. Sprague Holden reported (in 1961) a ratio of 55% advertising to 45% editorial, in terms of column-inches.⁴ Estimates vary, but Peter Morris claimed in 1996 that around 50% of newspaper income was derived from advertisements.⁵ According to *The Economist*, ‘Typically, a local newspaper would expect to get some 80% of its revenue from advertising, of which around two-thirds would come from classifieds’.⁶ Souter states that, in the context of a general boom in newspaper advertising in the mid-70s, *SMH* performed particularly well: ‘At the peak of the 1973-74 advertising boom the *Herald* was carrying more classified advertising from Monday to Saturday than any other paper in the world, and had published the largest broadsheet paper in the world from a single press—144 pages...’⁷ The advertising boom was beneficial for most other newspapers, including small suburban ones.

All state-based newspapers derived significant incomes from classified advertisements, while the *Australian*, featuring fewer classifieds, made up for the shortfall in the form of advertising placed at premium prices by national and international corporations. Even the *Australian*, by the later 1970s, began to attract

gold?. Matthew Ricketson, Book Review, *Killing Fairfax: Packer, Murdoch & the Ultimate Revenge*, Pamela Williams, Sydney Review of Books, < <http://www.sydneyreviewofbooks.com/inexorably-winnowed/> > [accessed February 3, 2016].

4 W. Sprague Holden, *Australia Goes to Press*, (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1961), p. 200.

5 Peter Morris, ‘Newspapers and the New Information Media’, *Media International Australia*, No. 79, (1996), pp 10-21.

6 Unnamed Author, ‘Classified Calamity’, *The Economist (Online)*, (17 November 2005), < <http://www.economist.com/node/5176305> > [accessed 5 April 2013].

7 Gavin Souter, (1981), p. 477.

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extensive classified advertising, mainly through the introduction of the *Weekend Australian* format, in July 1977, a much-expanded newspaper containing additional ‘lifestyle’ articles and other features.⁸ By contrast, *Nation Review* was never able to attract significant advertising revenue, with large national companies being particularly shy of advertising in *Nation Review*, a situation attributed by Richard Walsh to a perception that it was ‘too subversive’.⁹ Ironically, most advertisements were for esoteric 70s ephemera, including beanbag chairs, ‘breast’ candles and gay magazines, seemingly an intentional adjunct to the provocative character of *Nation Review*, but, in reality, a matter of desperate necessity. The ‘D-Notices’ phenomenon highlights this desperation.

First appearing in the issue for 20 June 1971 (as *Sunday The Review*), D-Notices were introduced by Richard Walsh in an attempt to attract general revenue.¹⁰ A wry tilt at the government Defence Department’s D-Notices (a list of no-go topics that editors were expected to steer clear of), *Nation Review*’s D-Notices consisted of classified advertisements under such headings as Dwellings, Doings, Dalliances and Dialectics. Typically, D-Notices would occupy two pages (as compared with upwards of 30 pages in a Saturday *Sydney Morning Herald* of the time), and yet the revenue thus gained was considered vital to *Nation Review*’s viability. Typically, D-Notices comprised around 180 entries at about \$2 each, totalling about \$400. In 1972 the average weekly earnings for an adult male (other than managerial) were \$87.60, suggesting that, discounting production costs for D-Notices, they raised sufficient revenue to finance four or perhaps five operational staff.¹¹

8 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), pp. 262-263.

9 Richard Walsh, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, 28 February, 2013).

10 Walsh, 1993.

11 V. H. Arnold, *Victorian Year Book 1973*, (Melbourne, Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics – Victorian Office, 1973).

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All of this indicates a stark contrast in the financial health of *Nation Review* when compared to the dailies. Implications apply to all areas of newspaper operations, including the ability to perform first-hand investigative reporting, access to international news feeds and the ability to contest defamation writs and other legal actions.

One resource potentially available to Australian newspapers, for access to international news, was the news agency. Reuters had started this innovative form of news-gathering in 1851 to disseminate investment information over long distances as rapidly as possible to interested subscribers. Offices were soon opened worldwide and there was a natural progression towards the inclusion of other news, particularly as it affected stock prices. By 1870 Reuters had established a 'worldwide news ring'.¹²

In line with developments elsewhere in the news-gathering world, Australian print media companies began to see advantages in setting up a common specialist reporting facility. Australian Associated Press, established by Keith Murdoch in 1935, was the result of discussions amongst the major proprietors. The agency was jointly owned, controlled and managed by 14 contributing newspaper organisations. AAP established particular expertise in Pacific and Asian regions, and provided an alternative source to otherwise ubiquitous American services. In 1947 AAP and the New Zealand Press Association combined with Reuters, resulting in a globally dominant, powerfully effective news agency.

As members of AAP, both Fairfax and Murdoch newspapers had ready access to the most comprehensive and timely news reports from around the world. News could be taken from AAP and fed directly and rapidly into articles in the local daily Press, resulting in a sense of immediacy and presence not otherwise possible. Often

12 Unnamed Author, 'Company History', *Thomson Reuters – 1889-1799*, (Undated), <
http://thomsonreuters.com/about/company_history/#1890_1790> [accessed 5 April 2013].

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news could be reported locally as quickly and comprehensively as in the originating locations.

For its part, *Nation Review* did not have access to the major international news agencies. Instead, it was obliged to rely on limited formal arrangements with overseas media enterprises. This situation arose from financial necessity, rather than editorial focus. Arrangements varied over time, but some understanding of resources can be determined from the first-year anniversary issue, in which *The Review* includes a 'who's who' of staff and contributors at that time.¹³ *The Review* held syndication rights with the *New Statesman*, the *Spectator* and *US Nation*. Additionally, two Asia-based independent news services, Dispatch, and Intrasia, provided material from that region. The imprint panel for the first issue of the *Sunday Review* states that "The *Sunday Review* draws on the world news service of United Press International..."¹⁴ It is not clear how long this arrangement held, or how extensively the service was used. From July 21, 1977, *Nation Review* had formal access to news via Agence-France Presse.

News from other regions outside Australia only reached *Nation Review* in the form of commentary based on stories already published in the dailies, or as a result of informal associations, where a particular journalist based overseas might offer some specific article to *Nation Review*. T. D. Allman is a case in point. Famed for intrepid eye-witness accounts of pivotal events throughout the world, Allman was, in this period, the stereotypical foreign correspondent. Educated at Harvard and Oxford, Allman's 'byline has appeared on more than 1,000 articles of serious reportage, sent from more than 90 countries, on subjects ranging from the urban crisis in America to ethnic cleansing in Serbia, in such publications as *Harpers*, *Vanity Fair*, *Rolling Stone*, *The New Yorker*, *The New*

13 *The Review*, Vol. 1, No. 52 (October 11, 1970), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 2.

14 *The Sunday Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1971), p. 1482.

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York Times, the *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*, the *National Geographic* and *Le Monde*.¹⁵ His first article appeared in the March 16, 1973 issue of *Nation Review*, and addressed the progress of the ceasefire in Vietnam and Laos.¹⁶ From then on, T. D. Allman's articles and features appeared on a regular, if sporadic, basis.¹⁷ Occasionally an Australian journalist or writer would travel overseas, and post back 'dispatches', as an Australian interpretation of overseas events. Bob Ellis provided several articles on this basis, during a sojourn in London.¹⁸ Nonetheless, *Nation Review* was not well-positioned to provide effective, timely and comprehensive reporting of overseas events.

Australian print media historically has been organised within state borders; the isolation of early settlements separated by vast distances leads naturally to distinct constituencies, each interested in local events and issues, and serviced by separate localised economies and commerce. Consequently major newspapers emerged within each state and established their influence within their spheres of distribution, but not significantly threatening each others' markets. This allowed long-running dominance to be established by each main state newspaper—*The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age* (Melbourne), *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) and so on. Each of these newspapers came to be regarded as the authoritative voice within each state (the 'journal of record'). Because of relatively small populations, direct rivals within each state found it difficult to establish

15 T.D. Allman Biography, *University of North Florida Website*, <
<http://www.unf.edu/uploadedFiles/aa/coas/english/td%20allman%20bio.pdf>> [Accessed June 9, 2013].

16 T. D. Allman, 'A victory for compromise in Laos', (*Nation Review*, Vol. 3 No. 22, (March 16-22, 1973), p. 660.

17 For instance: T. D. Allman, 'Reliving the good old days: Snookie in a Peking palace...', a profile of Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, (*Nation Review*, Vol. 4 No. 1, (October 19-25, 1973), p. 15., and the notorious: T. D. Allman, 'Meditations on the Malaise Anglaise', a vitriolic assessment of the apparently decaying British nation, that triggered extensive angry responses from readers, (*Nation Review*, Vol. 4 No. 18, (February 15-21, 1974), pp. 560-561.

18 For instance: Bob Ellis, 'God damn you England, you will not die', ambiguously-titled article addressing the British General Election of 1974, written from London, (*Nation Review*, Vol. 4 No. 19, (February 22-28, 1974), pp. 594-595.

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sufficient readership and advertising revenue to mount any notable challenge to the authority of the main newspapers.

The principal state-based newspapers were able to insinuate themselves deeply into their societies. Connections were made to local politicians, public institutions, experts on local conditions in all spheres, and to strong local commercial interests. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the situation began to change. Larger populations meant that more market share was potentially available to alternative newspapers. Matters of distribution over large distances were being addressed by national infrastructure in the form of road, rail and air transport. Radio and television, strongly influenced by the ABC, was able to provide more extensive access to coverage of national issues. This changing climate allowed the introduction of new national newspapers, notably of course *The Australian*. It also allowed Gordon Barton to consider publishing and distributing his own national newspapers. Even so, the authority of the state newspapers was commanding.

Superficially, given the disparities described above, a direct comparison between *Nation Review* and the main newspapers would not be expected to shine a particularly revealing light on the merits or otherwise of *Nation Review*. Nonetheless the paper indisputably established itself as a significant artefact, despite its apparent and real disadvantages. *Nation Review* achieved respectable circulations, and, at least anecdotally, was able to exert considerable influence on readers' perceptions, views and perspectives. If a comparison exercise is to be conducted in the face of considerable disparities, the question 'Which was better?' will not be particularly rewarding. However, it is possible to reframe the question into the valuable and entirely legitimate form: 'What was it about *Nation Review* that made it as successful as it was, and how did it manage to connect with people in ways that could not apparently be offered by the state-based dailies?' More simply put: 'Why did people buy and read *Nation Review*?'

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The validity of directly comparing *Nation Review* against state and national dailies arises then from establishing what specific differences were apparent, and then considering why such differences were rewarded by comparative critical and commercial success. This process will throw light on the real role of *Nation Review* in the national life, and will inform assessments of the condition of Australian society, and the interests and concerns held by citizens at the time. Additionally, it will be possible to assess to what extent *Nation Review* offered an alternative or dissenting perspective of the events, attitudes and issues occupying Australians at a time of significant social, political and cultural upheaval. It may also be possible to discern some difference in moral stance that could indicate some fundamental shift in what, at that time, it meant to be Australian.

Which newspaper do you read?

In this and the ensuing chapters, two significant news events have been selected for close analysis: Salvador Allende's overthrow in Chile, September 11, 1973, and the New South Wales state election held May 1, 1976.

The intention behind these particular selections is that they will offer insights into particular and different facets of *Nation Review*, revealing the character of the newspaper when at the height of its intellectual and commercial power, and to compare that with the ethos that appears to have developed later in its life. Additionally, the selection of an international event, juxtaposed against a specifically local one will expose ideological and moral stances, as well as more mundane characteristics, including the gossipy, the parochial and the tendency towards introspective navel-gazing for which *Nation Review* was justly or unjustly criticised throughout its life. Comparison will also demonstrate any leanings the local dailies may have had towards similarly constricting outlooks.

The 1973 Chile coup

‘The drama took place in Chile, to the greater woe of the Chileans, but it will pass into history as something that has happened to us all, children of this age, and it will remain in our lives for ever.’¹⁹

In Chile on September 11, 1973 a tense political situation became an outright military coup, during which democratically-elected President Salvador Allende Gossens was either killed or committed suicide at the height of an attack on the Moneda Palace. This episode makes for a particularly intriguing example of how the Australian Press covered, to a greater or lesser extent, a significant overseas news event. Some fascinating parallels may be observed between the election of Allende in Chile and Gough Whitlam in Australia. Allende became President following the democratic election of his left-wing socialist government only to face intensive disruption, and subsequent undemocratic removal, by illegal right-wing forces, bolstered by foreign interventions.²⁰ Whitlam’s almost contemporary Prime Ministership resulted from the election of a broadly socialist government. That government met its demise as a result of controversial, and arguably unconstitutional, machinations by right-wing plotters, encouraged, and most likely guided, by external (US) influences. Of particular interest to this examination are the revelations, in contemporary as well as subsequent news articles and inquiries, that both Chile and Australia were beset by an element of foreign intervention in their sovereign affairs, during a period when each state may have been attempting to redefine the essence of its national character.

While this is not the appropriate place to offer a full account of the coup in Chile and the events leading to it, it will be necessary to describe the main characteristics

19 Gabriel García Márquez, ‘Why Allende had to die: Sedition in Santiago.’ (March, 1974), *The New Statesman* website, < <http://www.newstatesman.com/2013/03/why-allende-had-die>>, [accessed 21 August 2013].

20 Coincidentally, Allende was dedared President October 24, 1970, while the inaugural edition of *Sunday Review* was dated October 25, 1971.

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and unfolding progress of the episode as it is now understood to have happened. While being a necessarily selective and simplistic treatment of a deeply complex history, this synopsis reveals the themes that emerge consistently in the most detailed accounts.²¹

The perspective provided here will allow an informed assessment to be made of the contemporary news coverage by the mainstream Australian Press, and by *Nation Review*.

While new material has become available for research into this episode in Chile, research is impeded by some inherent difficulties. First, most source material emerges from Latin-American scholarship, and is restricted to writing in Spanish. For the purposes of this thesis, translation of non-English material cannot be justified. Other factors tend to create a distinctive break in the narrative, along the fault line of the coup. Considerable interest arose in the wake of the coup amongst scholars and writers in several English-speaking countries, seeking to understand the origins of the coup, but research efforts then were hampered by the junta's crackdown on access to media and other internal sources. The disappearance of many Chilean academics and journalists at the hands of Pinochet further complicated investigation. There seems to have been an acceptance amongst researchers that the coup was 'history', and that the Pinochet regime itself was a more rewarding subject for examination. Consequently, despite the emergence of some new material, no definitive recent assessment of the coup and its historical causes appears to have emerged, at least in English. It is fitting, in the case of this thesis, that contemporary sources be used to set the scene of the coup, as it would have been understood at the time. Assessment of the performance of newspapers at the time can be made based on that material, insofar as effective versus selective use was made of it. New information will serve to confirm the accuracy or otherwise of any speculative journalism produced at the time.

21 Jay Kinsbruner, *CHILE: A Historical Interpretation*, (New York, Harper and Row, 1973); Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, (Oxford University Press, 1988); Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile: An Inside View*, (New York, International Publishers, 1977) Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvadore Allende*, (London, I. B. Tauris, 1985).

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Two significant and seemingly antithetical threads define the history of Chile: on the one hand a massive imbalance of wealth between the rich and the poor, and on the other, an uncharacteristically (for South America) long period of democratic political stability (1932-1973). It will be helpful to explore the way in which the history of Chile led to this apparent dichotomy. It may be conjectured that the pressure of trying to address the social imbalance of wealth and power, while staying within the scope of democratic processes, proved too great for those processes to survive. Overarching the internal politics and economy of Chile is a significant degree of foreign ownership of Chilean resources, bringing with it a strong interventionist bent from foreign powers, both commercial and sovereign. The particularities of Chilean history play directly into unfolding events surrounding the coup, and some understanding of that history is helpful in assessing newspaper coverage of the coup itself, and associated issues.

Chile – the background

Following the initial incursion into what is now Chile in 1536, Spanish colonists established control over the area's Araucanian Indians in a long-running succession of battles, in what is known as the War of Arauco.

Ultimately defeated, the indigenous Araucanians were subjugated and forced to work within a system of *encomienda*, in which the colonial *Encomendero* (trustee) is granted a very large tract of land with access to tribute and labour, to be provided by the native population. Through lack of protection from exploitation, the population of native Araucanians declined rapidly, while miscegenation ensured that large numbers of *Mestizos* (mixed blood) arose to replace them as a pool of *encomienda* labour. This early pattern continued through structural variations, but always reinforced boundaries between rich and poor Chileans.²² In its later manifestation, there was a wealthy,

22 Loius C. Faron, 'Effects of Conquest on the Araucanian Picunche during the Spanish Colonization of Chile:1536-1635', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (1960), pp. 239-307.

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concentrated landowning class that was supported by a large base of peasant farmers and other labouring workers. Operating alongside the landed aristocracy, a rapidly-established urban bourgeoisie generated wealth from mercantilism. Mining, with its associated industrial character, began early in colonial history. Powerful families came to be deeply influential in Chilean affairs. By the mid-19th century, the wealth divide had become extreme, with no inherent path that might have allowed escape from poverty, for those who found themselves in that condition, and with structures in place that accentuated, rather than ameliorated, class separation.

As landowners and speculators moved into mining activities, they secured labour resources, either by moving peasants within their own holdings, or by attracting foreign workers, bolstered by 'non-owned' itinerants. In the northern mining areas men accumulated in camps, enduring extremely harsh conditions, and being paid subsistence wages. As with agriculture, owners saw no benefit in modernisation or mechanisation, since labour was cheap and expendable—no effort was made to make workplaces safe. The mining boom brought with it the need to expand infrastructure, in particular railways and shipping, so the labour shortage was exacerbated by a demand for workers on major projects. In spite of the labour shortage, wages fell ever further behind the rising costs of food and other necessities, as owners sought to maximize their profits.

Workers began to make collective complaints to their employers. Civil war broke out in 1851 and again in 1859, during which miners in the north demanded higher wages and payment in money rather than scrip, leading to outbreaks of strikes, violence and looting. The changing face of the Chilean economy brought with it a wage-based proletariat in the cities, alongside the land-based peasants.

The poor-workers' cause began to be taken up by writers, reformers and humanitarians. Intellectuals used fiction, plays and newspaper articles to raise general consciousness of the shameful treatment of the poor and powerless at the hands of

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wealthy landowners and bourgeois city dwellers.²³ By 1894, in response to the imbalance, organized political support for the poor had begun to form, although any form of labour organization remained illegal until beyond 1924, in contrast to highly-organized industry and agriculture owners' associations. Workers were subjected to unfettered free-market ideology, while proponents of free markets chose to protect their interests through tariff protection, tax avoidance and the creation of oligopolies and monopolies.

Despite relentless opposition, the Chilean labour movement achieved momentum, although organization was patchy and regional. A strong anarchist flavour emerged, fomented by complete distrust and rejection of political and parliamentary process. Anarchists identified government, the church and capital as implacable enemies and, rejecting all compromise with a capitalist state, influenced many emerging reform groups and strengthened organized labour forces. The first tentative step towards recognition of a right for workers to protect their interests was taken by the passing of the Labour Code in 1931.

The activities of Napoleon in Europe provided an opportunity for Chile to gain independence from its colonial master, on September 18, 1810. There followed a period of great instability, as Chileans struggled to define the nature of their independent state, and to set in motion its institutions. A succession of short-lived constitutions was promulgated, flavoured by a sense of democratic principle. For instance, the constitution of 1823 fully abolished slavery (at least in principle, but less so in practice).

A second factor in the fate of Chile was the high degree of foreign ownership and investment that was institutionalized during its colonial origins, but that continuously hampered the country's attempts to establish a mature national identity.

23 For example, *Casa Grande* by Luis Orrego Luca (1908), *Sinceridad: Chile Intimo in 1910* by Professor Alejandro Venegas Castilian under the pseudonym Julio Valdés Cange, and short story collections *Sub Terra* (1904) and *Sub Sole* (1907) by Baldomero Lillo.

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The dilemma common to emerging nations arose: the need to balance the benefits of investment against the inevitable weakening of economic control.

Mining emerged as a significant local factor both economically and politically with the development of nitrate mining in areas to the north of Chile, leading to the War in the Pacific, fought between Chile and an alliance of Peru and Bolivia, from 1879 to 1883. As a result of a resounding victory, Chile was able to absorb the disputed territories and gain control of the nitrate-mining industry. Significantly, dependence on mining meant that almost no taxes (including income tax) were raised by any other means than export and import duties.

For various reasons British control in the region was supplanted after the Great War by a major incursion of US business and political interests. Loveman points out that 'By the end of the Great War, American interests 'controlled over 87 percent by value of Chilean copper production.'²⁴

As a consequence of the War in the Pacific, a large Chilean army had been raised. Subsequently the military reorganized and professionalized itself, thus remaining a significant power bloc in Chilean affairs. The military became increasingly a tool for the defence of the status quo against emerging internal threats posed by the aspirations of the labouring class. The army itself began to be politicized.

In 1924 Lieutenant-Colonel Carlos Ibáñez became President following an essentially unopposed election process. His accession to power halted the development of a free Press, oppositional political parties and recognition of the right of protection for workers from exploitation. In a bleak period for the poor, the army was repeatedly used to suppress workers' 'revolts'. In June 1925 soldiers machine-gunned over 1200 workers and destroyed their living quarters, at the behest of Ibáñez. The Ibáñez era

²⁴ Loveman, (1988), p. 213.

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demonstrated two disturbing tendencies in Chilean politics—the readiness to invoke severe military responses to social unrest, rather than relying on civil agencies, and a willingness to invite interventions by foreign powers.

On the right, the old oligarchy was still intact, thanks to public ballots (before 1958) that allowed easy coercion of vulnerable voters. Landowners were able to deliver huge blocs of votes for their personally-preferred candidates. As long as this situation held, the left-right balance could be maintained, as landowners could block any push from the left for fairer conditions. Ironically, it was the existence of the *haciendas* that underpinned the extended period of democratic politics that lasted from the exile of Ibáñez in 1931 until the death of Allende in 1973.

Increased industrialization did not translate into greater economic independence. Foreign ownership of the major corporations meant the expropriation of profit, and American and European financial institutions controlled the availability of investment funds. In particular, the US government, through price-setting for copper, dictated the balance of payments, and offset efforts to increase export earnings through other channels.

Through their control of votes landowners had ensured that they paid no tax, and that their workers continued to receive subsistence payment for labour. With legislation in place to control the price of food, it was the rural workforce that in effect made the sacrifices that allowed landowners to continue to extract massive wealth from their *haciendas*, while food prices could be kept low enough to constrain inflation and avert unrest in the cities. The political stability of 1931-1973 was therefore built on the exploitation of the poorest and most powerless sector of society, and masks an increased political polarisation.

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Following the Second World War, legislation formalized the illegality of rural unions (in force until 1967), causing the Communist Party to abandon its support for the status quo, and begin to agitate for rights for rural workers, until it too was outlawed in 1948. The shadow of US influence was evident in this suppression, as post-war US investment, and hence influence, in Chile skyrocketed. The US Cold War narrative of the ‘Domino Theory’ was beginning to take hold, putting Chile at the focal point of US Cold War intrigue. US funds were directed towards right-wing parties, disseminating anti-left propaganda and offering loans to the government, conditional on the breaking up of left-wing organizations. The US suppressed development of Chilean national infrastructure in order to maintain monopolistic control by US private companies, and reduced the returns to Chile for copper, meaning that the national debt could only increase as Chile attempted to fund industrialization. It became evident, even to wealthy Chileans, that the relationship with the US was heavily one-sided, and that Chile’s interests were suffering as a result. The anti-US sentiment thus generated began to accumulate into the 1960s, as Chilean nationalistic ambition strengthened.

Ibáñez resurfaced when he was elected president in 1952, the first year women were allowed to vote. Ibáñez’ disdain for protocol allowed him to follow his own whims. He effectively broke the electoral power of the landowners in 1958 by introducing secret balloting for elections, and he revoked the laws that repressed the Communist party.²⁵

The direct impact of this Ibáñez period was the destruction of the *hacienda* system, since the power of landowners to maintain the system lay in their ability to control the votes of their peasants. This proved to be a deeply significant development,

25 Interestingly, Ibáñez established in Chile the Australian system of compulsory, secret voting, along with severe penalties for fraud and bribery.

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since it tipped the balance of power somewhat in favour of left-wing parties, and led directly and fatefully to the epoch of Salvador Allende.

Allende, standing in 1958 as the Socialist-communist candidate, narrowly lost to Alessandri, who therefore exerted only tenuous control of the government. In 1959 the Cuban Revolution triggered a new anxiety in US foreign policy. The US now backed rural workers, in the hope of improving stability.

The destabilizing effect of the secret ballot extended to the relationship between Chile and foreign interests. Alessandri, in order to protect the conservatives' traditional power base, argued that Chile needed to wrest control of mining from its foreign owners. This was the beginning of a collision between Chilean and foreign interests. Additionally, the legislation enacted under his leadership set the basis for future agrarian reform that would finally end the *haciendas*.

The election scheduled for 1964 was significant not only in its own right, but also in its foreshadowing of things to come. By then, the shape of modern post-*hacienda* Chile had become clear: The Christian Democrats represented a large middle-ground with a centre-right flavour; *Frente Democrático* supported the right-wing landowners and nationalists; *Frente de Acción Popular* (FRAP) consisted of a coalition of leftist groups, including Communists and Marxists. The other element that was to become entrenched was interference by the US, through direct political and diplomatic channels, through its massive corporate and financial influence, and through the subversion wrought by the CIA.

A by-election in 1964 saw massive support for Allende, thwarting the US plan to promote Durán (*Frente Democrático*). Instead, the US was obliged to switch its strategy and opt to put Frei into power. While Frei won the presidential election, there was still a need to woo the newly-unleashed rural voters for the 1965 Congressional election. Now

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both the centre-right and the left promoted the interests of rural workers against the landowners. In effect, the centre-right was veering towards the left, while the right, in the form of landowners, the military and the Church, was becoming more extreme in response to the threat to its long-term dominance. This intensification of polarization, leaving a central vacuum, threatened to destabilize the political landscape that had remained intact since 1932.

Frei made a genuine attempt to introduce significant reforms aimed at modernizing the Chilean nation and economy, but compromised his own aims by massively increasing the pursuit of foreign investment capital, predominantly from the US. Loveman summarizes: "Thus the financial feasibility of the Christian Democratic reforms depended not only on the hope for better copper prices, but also upon the good will of US policy-makers and the cooperation of the multinational enterprises... This strategy... entangled the Christian Democratic administration in the web of American foreign policy, including the war in Vietnam."²⁶ Inevitably, Frei lost support from both the left and the right.

Leading up to the 1970 elections Chile underwent a turbulent phase of rising civil disorder. Elements within the military staged a minor rebellion, and Frei was obliged to impose a state of emergency, which gave considerable powers to the armed services commanders. Meanwhile, the coalition of leftist parties, now amalgamated as UP (*Unidad Popular*), formalized its Marxist stance.

UP's vision was of a peaceful transition to a socialist state in which the bulk of economic activity was to be undertaken by the state, via nationalized industries, financial institutions and a large public service of administrators. Private ownership and operation of smaller enterprises would be continued, but the larger landholdings would be broken

²⁶ Loveman, (1988), p. 284.

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up. Foreign companies would be appropriated according to strategic importance, and subject to compensation. In the face of this agenda, the Christian Democrats also moved to the left under Tomic, while Alessandri represented rightist interests.

The 1970 vote was split three ways, with a slim advantage to Allende over Alessandri (reflecting the polarization of voters). Convention dictated that Congress could select either of the two most successful candidates, and Alessandri proposed a sleight-of-hand manoeuvre that would see him elected, with immediate resignation, thus clearing a path allowing Frei to become President. This idea was rejected by some constitutionalists, in favour of the imposition of a set of quite restrictive conditions on Allende if he were to be offered the presidency. Allende accepted and became the world's first democratically-elected Marxist president.

The general thrust of Allende's policies was to redistribute the nation's wealth towards the poor, and in so doing, to stimulate an internal economy that would be inherently robust enough to escape the vagaries of international commodity pricing and foreign policy interference. This resulted in shortages, establishment of black markets and divestment of Chilean currency, in turn exacerbating a spiral of inflation, and triggering civil unrest. Right-wing politicians engineered and encouraged further unrest. Faced with mounting tensions, the government began to rely more heavily on the military. Countering the right, left-wing workers' groups began to form 'alternative' militias.

In their concerted attack on the government, the opposition repeatedly moved to impeach ministers, leading Allende to appoint military leaders to his ministry. In particular, General Prats, perceived to be strongly loyal to the constitution (as opposed to any political alignment), occupied a key role. A massive strike in October 1972 was resolved by military intervention, imparting legitimacy to an unhealthy mixing of military and government power. By November 1972 a group of military officers had begun

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planning for a coup. Congressional elections were held in March 1973, but proved inconclusive, to the extent that, while right-wing coalitions won a slight majority, strong support for Allende continued to be evident.

As a result of this unsatisfactory outcome, there was an escalation of economic sabotage, and even terrorism, by counter-revolutionary groups, notably the *Gremialista* movement. Originating in the Catholic University, this movement sought to counter Marxist ideology. Davis records that ‘The leaders [of the *Gremialistas*] were the heads of the great business associations: Jorge Fontaine Aldunate, president of the Confederation of Production and Commerce, and his brother Arturo, sub-director of the newspaper *El Mercurio*.’²⁷

By July 1973, there had been crippling right-wing-inspired strikes, and an abortive military coup, while ongoing political negotiations were failing. With increased military power in the cabinet, armed intervention by all branches of the military became more pervasive, and more overtly anti-leftist. In a CIA-funded operation in October 1970, General Schneider had been killed, because his emphatic insistence on separation of powers was seen as an impediment to a successful coup.²⁸ Prats was viewed in a similar light, and finally, in September, amid increasing agitation from right-wing officers, he was forced to resign, leaving Allende at the mercy of General Pinochet. As Loveman puts it:

27 Nathaniel Davis, *The Last Two Years of Salvador Allende*, (London, I. B. Tauris, 1985), p. 151.

28 Known as the *Schneider Doctrine*—‘The armed forces are not a road to political power nor an alternative to that power. They exist to guarantee the regular work of the political system and the use of force for any other purpose than its defense constitutes high treason.’ (General Staff meeting, July 23 1970).

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On September 11, 1973, General Pinochet and his fellow service commanders led a well-coordinated, brutal, and highly successful military movement that ended the UP government and resulted in the death of President Salvador Allende.²⁹

The brutality and speed of the coup began with an aerial and artillery bombardment of the Moneda, where Allende had gone to make a stand with loyal forces. No ultimatum or truce was offered. Then followed attacks by tanks and infantry, with the coup de grace supplied by bombing from aircraft. The attack was completely successful, and in the course of it Allende died, most likely by suicide, although this has always been contested. An immediate crackdown began, with the closure of TV and unfriendly Press (*El Mercurio* was allowed to continue), and the organized rounding up of leftist politicians, journalists, judiciary, academics and union activists. Temma Kaplan summarizes, as best can be done, the numbers of killed and tortured: ‘The coup and its aftermath resulted in the deaths of 5,000 to 15,000 people, the disappearances of nearly 4,000, and the detention and torture of 50,000 to 150,000 others in a population of just over 10 million.’³⁰

Ricardo Fredes, whose family was active in left-wing politics in Chile (and who escaped and were accepted as refugees by Australia), recalls the unfolding drama:

September 11 we were just waiting for something to happen, because we knew that things were moving. We didn’t know how it was going to eventuate. I remember my dad getting up in the morning to go to work. He went to work, and about half an hour later he came back home. He couldn’t get in – the navy had taken over the refinery because of the fire – the Moneda fire. First there was no communication, and then we started listening to the radio, and we were on a curfew. There was a lot of movement around our house – lots of people coming in and out – people asking what to do.

Many people were coming through – members of the Communist Party, members of the Socialist Party, There were members of the Communist Party coming with friends of ours, family friends that brought us some documents to

29 Loveman, (1988), p. 306.

30 Temma Kaplan, ‘Acts of Testimony: Reversing the Shame and Gendering the Memory’, *Signs*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (2002), pp. 179-199. Precise numbers cannot be stated, since the perpetrators were also the officially-designated record-keepers.

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assess – very important documents that needed to be hidden. They didn't have complete trust in their own members because they came to us. In terms of organizations, we didn't get along very well, but because we were family, they knew they could trust us more than their own members. So we had the guards come to our place on the 13th September, was the day they arrived. They arrived in the evening. First they took my Dad. They had information that we had weapons in the house, so they did a search, all over the place. They didn't find anything. They took my Dad. Then a couple of hours later they came and took my older brother. My brother was beaten up, and then brought back. I still remember – the Captain saying to my Mum 'I bring your son so he can work for you because we have executed your husband.' And then they left. So that was, for quite a while it was, we didn't know anything about – for us, he was dead. We were under house arrest for quite a while, so there were a lot of people who risked their lives bringing us food and stuff. They used to come at night. But also the soldiers used to be outside the house or in the back yard, shooting at night, to make their presence felt, to keep the tension. We didn't know whether my Dad was... we went everywhere trying to find him. The first time we heard that he was alive was when we received – because everything was Law -, around late October/November, that he was alive [in Pisagua prison]. We received his letter, which I still have.³¹

The degree to which foreign and corporate interests influenced events in Allende's Chile is a contentious one. By the 1960s foreign influence had fallen almost entirely to the US, although British power and influence still carried some weight through significant family enterprises. US interest in controlling Chile stemmed from two sources: a desire to maintain corporate control and profits by US companies, and Cold War paranoia as espoused by the Domino Theory. In March 1972 *The New York Times* published an article by journalist Jack Anderson, revealing the existence of a collection of papers detailing correspondence between the IT&T telecommunications company, and US government agencies, including the CIA.³² It was apparent from this material that significant and wide-ranging activities had been undertaken with the stated aim, first of preventing Allende from acquiring power, and then of removing him from office. The article triggered an investigation by the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

31 Ricardo Fredes, personal interview, Int. by David Olds, (Macclesfield, 12 March, 2013).

32 Jack Anderson, 'Secret Papers Reveal ITT Role in Chilean Politics', *New York Times*, (March 21, 1972), (New York, New York Times Company, 1972).

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(The Church Report)³³, and a separate investigation by the Committee on Foreign Relations (Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations)³⁴.

In line with the Domino Theory, the CIA was funding right-wing Catholic organizations from early post-war years. The election of Frei in 1964 came as a consequence of secret funds being channelled to Frei's Christian Democrats, and to other organisations, including *El Mercurio*. 'The CIA spent a total of \$2.6 million directly underwriting the campaign. An additional \$3 million was spent on anti-Allende propaganda activities designed to scare voters away from Allende's FRAP coalition.'³⁵ Additionally, the US set up parallel 'Election Committees' in Washington and Santiago.³⁶

In January 1969 Richard Nixon replaced Johnson as US President, focussing from the outset on Vietnam. It appears that a resurgence of support for Allende leading up to the 1970 elections caught US diplomats and the CIA by surprise, triggering something of a panic response. A scenario emerges (in the Church investigations and subsequent revelations) in which Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State under Nixon, set the tone by saying 'I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist because of the irresponsibility of its own people.'³⁷ On September 15, Nixon issued orders to Richard Helms, CIA Director, to foster a coup in Chile, and to 'Make

33 U.S. Department of State, *Church Report*, 'Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973: Staff Report of the Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities', (December 18, 1975).

34 U.S. Department of State, 'Multinational corporations and United States foreign policy : hearings before the Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Ninety-third - [Ninety-fourth] Congress', (March, 1973-September, 1976).

35 George Washington University, 'CHILE 1964: CIA COVERT SUPPORT IN FREI ELECTION DETAILED; OPERATIONAL AND POLICY RECORDS RELEASED FOR FIRST TIME', (September 27, 2004), *The National Security Archive* website, < <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/20040925/>>, [accessed 16 August 2013].

36 For a detailed account of this period, with particular emphasis on the strategic value of women's votes, see Margaret Power, 'The Engendering of Anticommunism and Fear in Chile's 1964 Presidential Election', *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 32, No. 5, (November, 2008), pp. 931-953.

37 Henry Kissinger addressing the 40 Committee, 27 June, 1970. Kissinger was chairman of the 40 Committee, a semi-secret group overseeing US covert operations in Chile. At this meeting, Kissinger advocated a 2-phase attack on Allende's accession.

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the economy scream.³⁸ IT&T entered into direct dealings with the CIA, offering a million dollars and other assistance, with the aim of stopping Allende. Since IT&T had channelled significant funds into the Republican Party, Nixon felt impelled to pay attention. Similarly, Donald Kendall, chairman of PepsiCo, offered significant donations for Nixon's next presidential campaign, in exchange for backing a coup.

Throughout Allende's time in office, the CIA facilitated a range of schemes aimed at undermining the country's economy. Additionally, propaganda campaigns were devised to persuade the military to abandon constitutional allegiance and support the implementation of a coup. CIA-funded bodies infiltrated unions and used 'black' propaganda to trigger anti-Allende strikes and demonstrations. Large-scale funding and strategic support was given to *El Mercurio* to run continuous agitation campaigns.

It is clear that the CIA knew of the impending coup, and the US government had been contacted, both for calls for military support, and to establish 'diplomatic' channels with the coup leaders; in essence, the coup leaders sought, and received, the blessings of the US government.

There is a significant Australian postscript to this episode, which has reverberations that reach into the fate of the Whitlam government. In 1971 the CIA feared that the US embassy in Chile may be closed in response to antagonistic US activity. To address the possibility that CIA operations may become constrained, ASIS (Australian Secret Intelligence Service) was co-opted into assisting the CIA, by running agents on behalf of the CIA, even though Australia had no interests in Chile in its own right. Whitlam discovered this activity in February 1973 and ordered it to be stopped. It remains unclear whether the activity did indeed stop, and whether the Australian

38 Peter Kornbluh, George Washington University, 'Chile and the United States: Dedassified Documents Relating to the Military Coup, September 11, 1973', (Undated), *The National Security Archive* website, < <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/nsaebb8i.htm> >, [accessed 16 August 2013].

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government was informed of the imminent coup, by ASIS, who must have been aware for operational reasons. This episode began a rapid deterioration of the relationships between the Whitlam government and the Australian intelligence services, which appears to have had repercussions in the dismissal of Whitlam.³⁹ *Nation Review* printed the words of Sir Arthur Tange, Secretary of the Department of Defence, as a chilling headline for the May 7, 1976 issue: "This is the gravest risk to the Nation's security ever."⁴⁰ In May 1977 Whitlam told Parliament "It has been written—and I cannot deny it—that when my government took office, Australian intelligence personnel were working as proxies of the CIA in destabilising the government of Chile."⁴¹ ASIO staff, based in the Australian Embassy in Chile, were active well into Pinochet's era, despite their designated 'domestic' role, primarily to vet refugees fleeing to Australia. The Chilean community in Australia claims that ASIO also allowed Pinochet spies and torturers to enter Australia, in order to spy on the Chilean community here.⁴² Following the accession of Pinochet, the CIA provided him with lists of suspected left-wing sympathisers, many of whom were subsequently murdered. In Australia, ASIS and ASIO monitored very closely the small group of Chileans who sought refuge in

39 Sir Arthur Tange, secretary of the Department of External Affairs from 1954 to 1965 and the Department of Defence from 1970 to 1979, has left a memoir describing relations between Whitlam and the U.S., and the involvement of the CIA in Australian affairs during the Whitlam years: Sir Arthur Tange, Ed by Peter Edwards, *A Close-Up View, 1950-1980 - A Personal Memoir*, Australian National University Website, <http://press.anu.edu.au/sdsc/dpm/mobile_devices/index.html> [accessed 12 January 2014].

See also Jenny Hocking, *Gough Whitlam: His Time : the Biography, Volume II*, (Carlton, Miegunyah Press, 2012).

and William Blum, *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*, (London, Zed Books, 2003).

For an account of the activities of ASIO at the time, see Frank Cain, *The Australian Security Intelligence Organization: an Unofficial History*, (Abingdon, Frank Cass & Co., Ltd, 1994).

40 Headline, *Nation Review*, (May 7, 1976), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 30.

41 Sarah Gilbert, "The other 9/11", (September 11, 2013), *SBS website*, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/theother911/>>, [accessed 21 December 2013]. This article summarizes ASIS/ASIO involvement in Chile.

42 See Gilbert, above, as well as a follow-up investigation by Florendia Melgar, "Secrecy surrounds Australia's role in "the other 9/11"", (September 28, 2013), *Green Left Weekly website*, <<https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/55043/>>, [accessed 21 December 2013].

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Australia The agencies passed information on to the CIA, and, in all likelihood, directly to Pinochet's junta.⁴³

Chile – summing-up

In summary, it can be seen on close examination of Chile's history that it was always the wealthy who had held the strings of power, and that the 'democratic' period of Chile's more recent history was largely illusory, surviving only as long as it served the interests of the oligarchy. The wealth gap was fed and secured by the form that the democracy took, and, as soon as the democratic mechanism threatened the wealth gap, and thus the privileged lifestyle of the rich, democracy was summarily dispensed with. All resources were pressed into this service—the direct wealth and influence of the controlling class, the weapons of foreign ownership combined with malignant foreign ambitions, and a military that, despite direct historical evidence to the contrary, was assumed to be an upholder of constitutional legality, but proved in the end to be available to the highest bidder. The hard-won and minimal advances made by labour groups to increase their share of Chile's wealth dissolved in the face of this concerted oppression, while the coup led to the forced implementation of the harshest forms of neo-liberalism, in the hands of the Chicago Boys, enforced by a dictatorship prepared to use extreme measures to inflict its will on its people.

Nation Review

Chile and Allende receive a mention in the inaugural issue of the *Sunday Review* (October 25, 1970, pp. 6-7). A brief, unattributed article reports the assassination of General Schneider, linking the event to Allende's impending confirmation as President,

43 Max Smith, *The Australian*, 'Spymaster stirs spectre of covert foreign activities', (March 20, 2010), *The Australian* website, < <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/spymaster-stirs-spectre-of-covert-foreign-activities/story-e6frg6z6-1225842681065>>, [accessed 21 August 2013].

Also, for an account of ASIO and ASIS activity against Chilean immigrants (post-Allende), see Richard Hall, *The Secret State: Australia's Spy Industry*, (Stanmore, New South Wales, Cassell Australia Limited, 1978).

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and speculating that it is an attempt to prevent his accession. Page 7 is headed by the banner 'World news in review', and is made up of several brief, unattributed articles summarising events in several countries. The first article (*Latin America: Chilly comrades*) opens with the fatalistic 'If he is not assassinated at the last minute, Chile's Marxist candidate Salvador Allende will become the world's first freely-elected communist head-of-state this weekend.' The article goes on to describe some of Allende's agenda, suggesting 'The program will provide Chile with a good basis for reform and poverty and corruption could be eliminated under Allende.' In conclusion, the writer points out that 'Both developments [Allende and Soviet aid for Bolivia] indicate Latin America is moving further to the left, to the benefit of its own people who badly need reforms but to the fears of northern America whose policies could be influenced as a result.'⁴⁴ The article is sympathetic to Allende and his leftist agenda, while the tone of the article is suggestive of a journalist who is fully au fait with Latin American politics. Rohan Rivett was writing the 'Among neighbors [sic]' column from the outset, and is likely to have been responsible also for the 'World news in review' section, and the Chile article specifically. According to Ken Inglis, 'Rivett's interest in international affairs, aroused earlier in Melbourne by W. Macmahon Ball's lectures in political science, became intense, and remained so.'⁴⁵ This early awareness of Chile, along with the ambitious international section (which includes a site-map of the world with pointers to the locations of reported events) indicates a serious intent to report international news as well as domestic material, despite those disadvantages already discussed.

Chile receives no further mention in *Nation Review* until three months after the inception of the paper (Still titled *Sunday Review*, February 21, 1971, p. 576). Perhaps

44 *Sunday Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 25, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), pp. 6-7.

45 Ken Inglis, 'Biography: Rivett, Rohan Deakin (1917-1977)', (2002), Australian Dictionary of Biography website,

< <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rivett-rohan-deakin-11533>>, [accessed 21 January 2014].

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bizarrely, and certainly ironically, the first major treatment of Chile came from William F. Buckley, founder of US right-wing magazine *National Review*, and former CIA operative. One of Buckley's CIA tasks had been to undermine the Mexican government, and, as a multi-millionaire, he underwrote legal costs for his former CIA supervisor E. Howard Hunt, Watergate participant. Buckley's article occupies about two-thirds of a page, and is headed 'Chile: Allende struggles to stay on top'. An accompanying photograph of Allende is captioned 'President Allende... fighting hard against the dictator symbol'. The article links Allende to communism, describes a nation brought low by socialist doctrine, and pursues the line of reverse-logic already running in Chile in *El Mercurio*, that democratically-elected President Allende presents a threat to democracy that justifies his (undemocratic) overthrow.

Purported 'facts' in the article, such as the claim that poverty affects 'a very small percentage of a population which, by the way, is almost wholly literate' are perversely wrong and could have been proven to be wrong at the time (using material collated by the Frei government). In an effort to tie his findings to 'reality', Buckley centres his narrative on the Santiago hotel where he is staying (Buckley visited Chile in 1971 with his lifelong friend Alistair Horne, who was closely connected with Britain's MI6). He cites the experiences of people whose wealth has been threatened, such as 'a young Chilean businessman', who was finding it difficult to sell his beach house. It is clear that, in addition to a perspective formed by his own privileged status, Buckley's views have not been inconvenienced by any contact with poor workers, in making his assessment of conditions in Chile.

The article is a synopsis of a longer piece appearing in the March 9, 1971 issue of Buckley's own *National Review*.⁴⁶ It is interesting that the article in the *Sunday Review*

46 William F. Buckley Junior, 'On the Right: Closing the Curtain', *National Review*, Vol. 23, No. 9 (March 9, 1971), (Bristol, Connecticut, National Review Inc., 1971), pp. 276-278.

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predates the 'original' in *National Review*; this suggests that the article in its briefer form may have been syndicated through the Washington Star Syndicate, which is credited under the *National Review* article (although the timing may simply be due to the vagaries of print cycles).⁴⁷ The original article strongly defends *El Mercurio*, and in sneering tones dismisses intellectual supporters of the Chilean Way. The tone of the article borders on satire, in that it invokes stereotypical images of revolutionaries, liberal academics and dishonest (left-wing) politicians.⁴⁸

Buckley thus dismisses seemingly valid argument through a patrician superiority, discounting opposing views on the grounds that they do not conform to his own narrative. Buckley consistently calls Allende's democratic election to government a 'revolution', links Allende specifically to Hitler and Stalin, and ridicules the programme of nationalisation. He concludes the original article with a clear incitement to foreign intervention, not only in Chile, but via other Latin American states.

The *Sunday Review* provides no editorial comment or attribution linked to its version of Buckley's article. It is impossible to second-guess the editorial attitude to this piece; the article appears to have been taken at face value as a reliable account. If so, it is surprising that some form of verification or at least disclaimer had not been undertaken. Buckley was known at the time (and subsequently) as an apologist for US corporate wealth and power, and the political far right; those involved with the publication of the

47 *National Review* did not mention Allende's overthrow until the issue dated September 28, 1973, with a brief 'As we go to press' comment.

Unattributed, 'Allende out', *National Review*, Vol. 25, No. 39 (September 28, 1973), (Bristol, Connecticut, National Review Inc, 1973), pp. 1038-1040.

A fuller treatment, laying the blame for the coup on Allende, does not appear until the October 12 issue.

Guest Editorial, 'The End of Allende', *National Review*, Vol. 25, No. 41 (October 12, 1973), (Bristol, Connecticut, National Review Inc, 1973), pp. 1094-1095.

48 For instance: 'Another scholar is trying very hard to master the art of intrigue. He could write you a book tomorrow about some of the great intrigues in European history, but he never knew such a one as his department is engaged in. You see, the balance of power is in the hands of the cook. I kid you not.' William F. Buckley Junior, 'On the Right: Closing the Curtain', *National Review*, Vol. 23, No. 9 (March 9, 1971), (Bristol, Connecticut, National Review Inc, 1971), p. 276.

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Sunday Review must surely have read copies of *National Review*, which had been running since 1955 with a clear and unapologetic right-wing agenda.⁴⁹ In accordance with the principles of serious journalism, as symbolized by the *Ferret*, some spadework ought to have been done on behalf of *Sunday Review* readers, to ascertain and clarify any inherent agendas, let alone misleading statements and errors in fact that Buckley's article may have incorporated. The views expressed would seem to be greatly at odds with a newspaper that would be expected to acknowledge a legitimate government, perhaps especially a socialist one.

Lower on the same page, a related book review, written by Harry Moorst Van is titled 'Latin America's watershed'. The review assesses a 'booklet' written by Professor Jorge Witker, visiting Australia from Chile. The article does not clearly distinguish between material quoted from the booklet and external information, but it sets out the goals of Allende, alludes to conditions that directly contradict the Buckley piece, and speculates about possible future outcomes, including the possibility of a right-wing coup, supported by the US. Thus, on the same page, the *Sunday Review* has presented two stark alternative interpretations of the situation in Chile, albeit weighted to the right. If the juxtaposition of the two articles is intentional and serves the purpose of alerting readers to discrepancies in points of view arising from different ideologies, then it is an astonishingly subtle approach, suggestive of a great deal of respect for the perspicaciousness of the *Sunday Review* readership.

The following page (p. 577) is headed 'Review Books', and the lower half is occupied by a review, written by John Hepworth, of *Invisible Empires* by Louis Turner. Turner's book describes and analyses 'multinationals', a term new to Hepworth, describing what he calls 'a new international political animal'. The book uses, as a case

49 The following issue of *National Review* (March 23, 1971) contains another anti-Allende article: Nena Ossa, 'Anarchy in Chile: Chile's Che Guavara?', *National Review*, Vol. 23, No. 11 (March 23, 1971), (Bristol, Connecticut, National Review Inc, 1971), pp. 307-308.

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study, the overthrow of the government in Guatemala in 1954, a seedy entanglement between the powerful United Fruit Company, the CIA and the US government, complete with vested and conflicting interests, tight relationships between directors of the United Fruit Company and the CIA, and, in effect, all the ingredients present in Chile.

In hindsight it is possible to join the dots between these three items, to assemble what could be seen as a subtle critique of developments in Chile. It is impossible to determine whether this was an intentional juxtaposition arranged by a clever and well-informed editor, or mere unknowing accident of layout using whatever material had fallen to hand. Readers who did in fact join those dots may well have been accused of being outlandish conspiracy theorists, before events had played out in Chile, although an article appearing in the *Sunday Review* May 9, 1971 (p. 880), written by Len Ackland, describing the mounting terror and murder of political opponents in Guatemala, may have lent some weight to any sense of disquiet.⁵⁰ The following week though, Christopher Beck provided a calm, rational article (p. 909), looking at issues in Chile from a purely political slant.⁵¹ Chile's relative calm is put into perspective by reports from Bolivia ('Revolutionary despair in latin America: Hopelessness in Bolivia' by Stacy Waddy), and an update on the fortunes of exiled Argentinian ex-dictator Juan Péron ('Péron dreams of returning' by Richard O'Mara).⁵²

By the early 1970s the consequences of US imperialism were becoming ever clearer, as the power of American corporations was exerted more overtly, often in visible conjunction with official government resources. The combination of aggressive corporate acquisitions and control in third-world countries, the stifling of local cultures

50 *Sunday Review*, Vol. 1, No. 31 (May 9, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), p. 880.

51 *Sunday Review*, Vol. 1, No. 32 (May 16, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), p. 909.

52 *Sunday Review*, Vol. 1, No. 43 (August 6, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), pp. 1218-1219.

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under a barrage of American consumer goods, and, of course, open conflict in Vietnam, was creating a general anti-American sentiment across the globe, including in Australia. *Nation Review* (now known as *The Review*) was therefore not being particularly radical when it published an article in October 1971, by Penny Lernoux, and reprinted from *US Nation*, titled 'Getting rid of the yanqui dollar: Latin America fights back'. The article is focussed primarily on events in Columbia (Lernoux was based in Bogotá), where the one-way benefits accruing to America from dealings there were increasingly apparent, with consequent, often violent objection, in the form of destruction of US business premises. Lernoux catalogues the effects of US trade policy, and the efforts being undertaken in most South American countries (including Chile) to regain control of their respective nations' economies.⁵³ This anti-US theme was followed up, although in a sympathetic article written by an American, in the next issue. John Hammond Moore takes some umbrage over Australia's equivocal relationship with the US – the total reliance on the US for its defence, while resisting the invasive US consumer culture and the objectionably patronizing political relationship.⁵⁴

From the beginning of 1971 *The Review* had begun to settle on a fixed format for arrangement of content. Essentially, local (Australian) politics was addressed first, and in greatest detail. A section headed 'International' contained the major world events, and at the end of this section, Rohan Rivett dealt with regional news in a column titled 'Among Neighbours'. Rivett's focus was on Southeast Asian countries, extending east as far as India. In the international section of *The Review* for December 11, 1971 Alfred Hopkins reported from Lima on the Lima Declaration. This declaration arose from a conference held in Lima by the 'Group of 77'—a grouping of poorer nations organized under

53 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (October 22, 1971), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1971), p. 68.

54 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (November 5, 1971), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1971), pp. 98-99.

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UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development). The Lima Declaration asserted the right of poorer nations to retain control of their economic and political destinies in the face of unfair incursions by the wealthy nations. Hopkins's article is a straight reporting of the Declaration, but inevitably reinforces anti-US sentiment by pointing out some of the debilitating consequences of US activity in Latin America.⁵⁵ The anti-US theme is continued in 'Among Neighbours' for that issue, with Rivett's headline 'America plays a dishonest game' describing US activity in Pakistan, where the US was providing arms and promoting civil war in a contest between the American-backed Pakistani military dictatorship, and Islamic communities in the east of Pakistan. Again the spectre is raised of CIA machinations in support of a brutal right-wing military junta. Rivett connects some Australian responsibility for the carnage in Pakistan, because of our uncritical and evasive support for US efforts in that region. His concluding remarks directly encourage a diversion of interests between the US and an Australia that is positioned intimately amongst its Asian neighbours.⁵⁶ The quietly-stated anti-American theme is continued in the January 15 1972 issue, in which Alejandro Portes describes in brutal detail the repressive ongoing terror in Guatemala ('Right wing terror in Guatemala'), again linking US military, diplomatic and commercial interests to President Arana's military dictatorship, put in place with help from the CIA.⁵⁷

Alfred Hopkins returns in April 1972 with an article in the International section carrying the bald headline 'Chile and the CIA'. This article was triggered by Jack Anderson's revelations about dialogues between the CIA, IIT and other US companies. Hopkins reprises the 1970 efforts to remove Allende, and describes new measures being

55 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (December 11, 1971), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1971), p. 271.

56 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (December 11, 1971), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1971), p. 273.

57 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 13 (January 16, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 355.

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undertaken, including the funding of right-wing action groups, fomenting of strikes and other economic sabotage.⁵⁸ Interest in Chilean affairs is maintained in the following issue with a simple account of measures being taken by the Allende government, and the strategies being implemented in opposition.⁵⁹ This article was provided by Joan Queralt 'in Buenos Aires'. There seems to have been a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards Allende in Argentina, where traditional rivalry, even enmity, competes with a sense of Latin American solidarity.

The customary news sections at the front of *Nation Review* (and its predecessors), could be enhanced by the pages of arts coverage towards the back of each edition. This review section offered an opportunity for social, cultural and political commentary about news, and could be linked to specific articles. This is particularly valuable in the case of overseas news, because, in the absence of reporters and other news sources in foreign locations, *Nation Review* is able to offer opinion about world events through reviews of books that address these events. A case in point appears in the 'Review Books' section of *The Review* for May 13. Under the headline 'What's wrong with Latin America?' Raymond Carr reviews two books.⁶⁰ Carr answers his rhetorical question: 'The answer rings out loud and clear in the New Penguin Latin American Library. The monopoly capitalism of the United States, like some great, continental cancer, gnaws away economic progress and strangles political freedom.' Reviews of anti-establishment books, and indeed the censorship or availability of those books, lie at the heart of democracy. Statements like Carr's possess a great deal of persuasive power, backed as they seem to be by published and often peer-reviewed scholarship, and they can

58 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 25 (April 8, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 697.

59 *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 25 (April 15, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 724.

60 Thomas and Marjorie Melville, *Guatemala—Another Vietnam?* and Carlos Marighela, *For the Liberation of Brazil*, reviewed in *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 30 (May 13, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 842.

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insinuate themselves into people's thoughts through this indirect placement, whereas bald presentation within a news context may be more easily resisted or forgotten.

UNCTAD met again in 1972, this time in Santiago, Chile. A particular theme of this conference was the torture and murder being perpetrated on a massive scale in Brazil, under the direction of President Emilio Médici. The by now familiar theme had already played out in Brazil in 1964—military overthrow of a left-leaning government with direct assistance from the US, followed by years of torture, murder and political oppression, that had reached its apex in 1972. *The Review* published an article in the June 10 issue, filed by George A. Lawton in Santiago, cataloguing crimes including extreme torture and murder on a massive scale, and pointing out that the so-called economic miracle of neo-liberalism in Brazil was built on these crimes.⁶¹

The theme is spelled out unequivocally by Rohan Rivett in his 'Among Neighbours' column for September 30, (the newspaper is by now titled *Nation Review*) with a report on the machinations of Ferdinand Marcos to retain power in the Phillipines, with American assistance, including CIA involvement:

The plot is as familiar as one's old bedroom slippers. It hasn't changed an iota over a quarter of a century. Only the locale has varied:—

Massive American aid—arms, money, top technical advice—is given to the Washington-chosen leader. Very swiftly he alienates a huge section of the population who turn to the only alternative—the blandishments of the communists.

As desperation mounts, the pinup of "the world's greatest democracy" throws the bill of rights out of the window and sets up a dictatorship as ruthless, repressive, insensitive to public opinion as anything achieved by Adolf, Joe, Franco or any other totalitarians.⁶²

61 George A. Lawton, 'Boom brutality in gay Brazil', *The Review*, Vol. 2, No. 34 (June 10, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 957.

62 Rohan Rivett, 'Another yankee Asian disaster', *Nation Review*, Vol. 2, No. 50 (September 30, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 1480.

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The following page extends the theme, this time dealing with CIA efforts in Laos, where the CIA-trained and funded forces of Vang Pao are floundering despite massive US military support.⁶³

Events in Australia were dominated in 1972 by the approaching federal election, in which it began to appear that the Labor Party stood a chance of gaining office, under the leadership of Gough Whitlam. Perhaps understandably, for a newspaper of limited resource, attention moved away from international events. Chile, so distant and removed from the Australian sphere of interest, would perhaps have slipped further than those strife-torn countries closer to home.

An oblique, poorly-informed allusion to Allende's Chile appears in *Nation Review* for January 26, 1973, in a column of brief comments titled 'Ferretworld'. Under the heading 'Allende turns to his tin gods', the (unidentified) columnist claims facetiously that the economy in Chile is so bad that Allende has taken to worshipping 'tin gods'—computers—in the hope that they will save him.⁶⁴

The February 16, 1973 issue of *Nation Review* includes an article written by Bill Blum ('Chile's black mart').⁶⁵ William Blum abandoned his career with the US State Department in 1967, because of his opposition to US actions in Vietnam. He spent time

63 S.B. Palling, 'CIA forces flounder in Laos', *Nation Review*, Vol. 2, No. 50 (September 30, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 1481.

64 'Allende turns to his tin gods', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 15 (January 26, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 453. This article unfortunately makes light of a truly significant technological event. In November 1971 Allende met with British cybernetician Stafford Beer to initiate the development of a computer network that would link computers located at all production facilities to a central control site, where decisions could be made about regulation of output based on a complete picture of the whole of the economy, stock reserves, materials availability and demand. Called Project Cybersyn, this ambitious programme, if circumstances had allowed its continuation, would have pushed the capabilities of computers and, in particular, networks, to the limits of their development, and would have anticipated equivalent systems by decades. For a full account, see:

Eden Medina, 'Designing Freedom, Regulating a Nation: Socialist Cybernetics in Allende's Chile', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3, (2006), pp. 571-606.

65 Bill Blum, 'Chile's black mart', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 18 (February 16, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 538.

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in Chile during Allende's presidency, writing about the 'socialist experiment' and the US/CIA involvement in its destruction. His *Nation Review* article focuses on the shortages of essential consumer goods, supporting claims that much of the pressure, and exploitation via black markets, was sanctioned and organized by right-wing forces. Blum asserts that, despite hardships caused by the shortages, many ordinary people not only continued to support Unidad Popular, but were calling for more forceful measures to protect the socialist movement.

Nation Review's attention to the Chilean congressional elections held in March 1973 consists of a brief article speculating about the outcome of the elections, followed in the March 30 issue by an interview with Allende conducted by Joan Queralt.⁶⁶ Queralt, a well-respected journalist in the 1970s, is described by *Nation Review* as 'our Chile correspondent', although this interview is his only attributed contribution. Now an academic, he has interviewed many prominent figures, including Fidel Castro and Jorge Luis Borges. The article is probably an excerpt from a longer interview, and takes the form of a small number of questions put by Queralt, with full responses from Allende. It is apparent from this article, appearing as it did at a crucial moment in the life of Allende's government, that Allende was of the firm belief that democracy was sufficiently strong to ensure that any threats to his government would take the form of legitimate opposition. He asserts the strength and longevity of Chile's institutions, and directly states that the challenge is purely a political one—the need to explain the exigencies of the situation, in order to unify the forces for change. Allende says 'From a political viewpoint the essential aim is to create a national conscience of what is involved in making changes—economically and socially—within the framework of the

66 Special correspondents in Santiago, 'Salvador set?', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 20 (March 2, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 601.

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constitution and the law, and within the dispositions of a bourgeois democracy.’⁶⁷

Allende alludes to interference from external forces, mentioning the ITT campaign, US loan policy and manipulation of copper prices, but stops well short of outright accusation of political and economic disruption. He does, however, link these activities with the Chilean land and banking oligarchies. He clearly believes that he has sufficient support from the working class to safeguard his government against overt military action, manifested either as a coup or a civil war.

Nation Review itself does not expand on this interview, nor does it provide any supporting background information or commentary. In an ideal world, a sister article, penned by Mungo MacCallum and linking the challenges of Allende’s presidency and nation to the situation in Whitlam’s Australia, would shed an enormous amount of light on the state of Australia’s national development, Whitlam’s programme for reform, and the stance of opposition forces.⁶⁸ In that article’s absence, it is not clear how strongly this article may have impacted *Nation Review*’s readers; those with little interest in foreign affairs would not comprehend the issues being discussed, while those who were following Chile’s fortunes would perhaps have been left with a somewhat complacent sense that right, in the form of democratic process, would prevail.

Nation Review remains silent on the topic of Chile until the coup has been perpetrated, although that does not appear entirely to have been the intent. The first edition issued after the coup had taken place, carries a brief summary describing the tense situation that existed in the days leading up to the coup. Written prior to the coup, and penned by ‘our correspondent in Chile’ (but this time Bruce McK. Henry), the article is prefaced by a comment from the editor, as giving ‘something of the

67 Joan Queral, ‘Interview with Salvador Allende’, *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 24 (March 30, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 723.

68 See Douglas Wilkie make a derogatory link in his *Adelaide Advertiser* article later in this paper: Douglas Wilkie, ‘Allende never had a chance’, *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 13, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 4.

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atmosphere in the country on the eve of the coup'.⁶⁹ One imagines that the article had been planned for publication in any case, and appeared regardless of the coup, for pragmatic reasons to do with a desire to use material that had been paid for, to fill the allotted column space, and to cover the absence of any more up-to-date material.

The coup reveals the vulnerability of the weekly newspaper to the effects of its publishing cycle, and also to its dependence on almost happenstance access to international news. On the same page as Henry's article, a brief comment appears in the *Ferretworld* column linking Allende's death, and the coup, with the CIA, Nixon and US manipulation, noting also that the price of shares in Chile's nationalised copper industry has 'boomed'. *Ferretworld* includes an unattributed cartoon that casts doubt on the military account of how Allende met his death. However, *Nation Review* never offered an account of how the coup unfolded. Pinochet immediately shut down all news sources, except for *El Mercurio*, and placed an embargo on foreign coverage, so that only the best-placed foreign journalists had any hope of smuggling material out of Chile. *Nation Review*, had it even tried to obtain details about the coup, would have found itself well down in the pecking order behind the more prestigious world dailies.

Ferretworld, on September 21, briefly describes the infamous rounding-up of Allende supporters into the soccer stadiums, and notes that Cuba was failing to prove in the United Nations that the US and CIA were behind the coup.⁷⁰

The full horror of the counter-revolution was beginning to emerge by early October. Dick Barbor-Might, British journalist and Allende sympathiser, was in Chile at the time of the coup, and became embroiled in the arrests and detentions at the national stadium. He provides a graphic account of his experiences in an article reprinted from

69 Bruce McK. Henry, 'The bloody knives come out', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 48 (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1513.

70 *Ferretworld*, *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 49 (September 21, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1547.

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the *New Statesman*, an account that is disturbing enough in its own right, but that is unfolding before the full scale of the unleashed terror was known or understood.⁷¹

The final words in *Nation Review* on Allende's downfall are presented in the issue of October 12, 1973. Perhaps intentionally, two diametrically-opposed views are given in two adjoining articles. Across the world, solidarity movements had started, with the intention of offering support to Chilean citizens fleeing the junta, and to call for condemnation of the coup by world leaders. An international conference was convened in Helsinki in October 1973, and was attended by Bernie Taft, a member of the Australian Communist party. Taft provides a report of the main events of the conference, including details of an address by Allende's surviving daughter Isabella, and a translation of Allende's final speech, given while the Moneda palace was being bombed. A photograph accompanies this article, reminding readers that in Australia in September there were pro-Allende protest marches, while in October the Australian government formally recognized the Pinochet regime.⁷²

On the following page Mark Tier presents an article headed 'Allende erred: Middle class revolt.'⁷³ Tier's article espouses the received conservative wisdom that Allende was torn between satisfying extreme left-wing activists and the wealthy oligarchies, resulting in excessive pain for the middle-class bourgeoisie, who consequently sought his overthrow. Tier bolsters this stance with the claim that Chile's economic difficulties came as a consequence of Allende's incompetence, and that this failing was sufficient justification to throw him out by unconstitutional means. Tier's article ignores any influence that external pressures must have had on the economy, be

71 Dick Barbor-Might, 'Terror in the national stadium: After Allende, the counter-revolution', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 51 (October 5, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1603.

72 Bernie Taft, 'Chile lives!', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 52 (October 12, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1640.

73 Mark Tier, 'Allende erred: Middle class revolt', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 52 (October 12, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1641.

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they by design, such as choking of investment and CIA-managed sabotage, or as a natural consequence of fluctuations in commerce.

That, for *Nation Review*, is the end of specific mention of Allende, except in later articles dealing centrally with the Pinochet regime.⁷⁴ Whilst the newspaper's longer-term response to Pinochet is of considerable interest, the comparison of treatments must conclude with the ousting of Allende. It is worth noting, however, that, as already alluded to, the specialized task of extracting reliable information from a deeply-entrenched totalitarian culture, as implemented by Pinochet, moves well beyond the capability of a poorly-resourced newspaper like *Nation Review*.

The Australian

While this comparison is limited to the overthrow of Allende in 1973, a brief account of *The Australian's* reportage of his accession to the presidency in 1970 is informative. *The Australian* at the time was not a party to the Australian Associated Press agency, editor Adrian Deamer instead instigating arrangements with the US United Press International service for access to foreign news, inevitably bringing with it the US perspective. The key area of interest for *The Australian* during the September 1970 election that saw Allende gain an electoral majority, was the relationship between Chile and the US, and the potential for US corporations to be nationalised. In articles attributed to 'Our World Cable Service', it is clearly the US perspective that holds sway, with emphasis on Allende's 'Marxist' ideology, describing him as 'The Marxist who is President of Chile'.⁷⁵ Initial interest is focussed on the constitutional detail surrounding Allende's accession, with the point being made that the Chilean constitution may allow Allende to establish totalitarian control. This is a clue to underlying paranoia in US

74 See, for instance, 'Chile, the 'oasis' of fear and silence', *Nation Review*, Vol. 5, No. 31 (May 16, 1975), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1975), p. 804.

75 World Cable Service, 'Chile Poll Promise on US Loans', *The Australian*, (September 5, 1970), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 8. Also: World Cable Service, 'Marxist elected Chile's leader', *The Australian*, (September 7, 1970), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 7.

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circles, given that the constitution had not been changed since 1925, so must presumably have been open to totalitarian capture for 45 years, without incident. By October 1 1970 the exiting Frei government had initiated the unusual ploy of demanding that Allende guarantee the retention of democracy in Chile. Disregarding the irony of what happened to democracy on Allende's death, some analysis of the situation ought to have shown to external journalists that Frei's ploy had no basis in fact. Allende himself pointed out that his past democratic record ought to be sufficient evidence of his position on democracy and the constitution. Nonetheless, the situation is inverted in a United Press article headlined 'No guarantee by Chile's president.' No previous president had been asked to sign any guarantees (as is the case with Australian political parties), and there was sufficient left-leaning sentiment in Chile to indicate that there was no need to curtail democracy. This 'Have you stopped beating your wife?' approach to reporting seems to be setting up a concerted campaign to demonize Allende from the beginning.⁷⁶ An October 5 article, again from United Press, while, as usual, labelling Allende as 'Marxist', attempts to create the impression that Allende is in fact a communist, leading a coalition of 'communists and socialists'. The article also claims that Allende is 'boasting of plans to rewrite the Chilean constitution along Marxist-Leninist lines'.⁷⁷

On October 24, 1970, *The Australian* reported in some detail the assassination attempt on General Schneider (who at that time was still alive, but died subsequently of his wounds). The article reports that the attack was probably instigated by right-wing activists, and presents a balanced account of the situation, except that it dismisses claims concerning external (foreign) involvement as emanating only from 'Marxist

76 United Press, 'No guarantee by Chile's president', *The Australian*, (October 1, 1970), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 6.

77 United Press, 'Military Takeover in Chile Feared', *The Australian*, (October 5, 1970), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 7.

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newspapers.⁷⁸ Subsequent coverage of the incident does not allude to any potential involvement of foreign agents.⁷⁹

As the 1973 crisis in Chile approached, *The Australian* reprinted an article from the *Los Angeles Times*, written by David Belnap, long-serving Latin America correspondent.⁸⁰ The article addresses the resignations of top military officers from the cabinet (including General Prats), in terms of the effect on the balance of power and the likelihood of any military action. The article seems to be a balanced account, but concludes that, although the military will have moved further to the right, and become more politically involved, there will be no military intervention. With hindsight, this would suggest that Belnap was outside the inner circle of US government, corporate and CIA agitators. As a long-term well-respected 'old-school' journalist, Belnap had seen first-hand the consequences of US intervention in most parts of South America, and may have been considered as 'hostile' by US interests.

Because of time zone differences, it was around 10pm on the evening of Tuesday, September 11, Australian time, when the coup occurred. It was not until the morning of Wednesday, September 12 that *The Australian* was able to report developments, and information was sketchy. *The Australian* placed a small announcement (sourced from United Press) on Page 1, stating that Chilean military forces were demanding the immediate resignation of Allende, and that a jet had made a

78 United Press, 'Martial law in Chile after death bid', *The Australian*, (October 24, 1970), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 9.

79 United Press, 'General sought in Chile shooting', *The Australian*, (October 27, 1970), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1970), p. 9. This article alludes to General Roberto Viaux, leader of a failed coup attempt in 1969, and then linked to the CIA in the attempt on Schneider. CIA denied underwriting the actual killing of Schneider, but admitted to supplying arms and maintaining contact. Any CIA link is not mentioned in the article, although such a link was widely asserted at the time.

80 David Belnap, 'Chilean forces move towards neutral stance', *The Australian*, (September 5, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 5.

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low pass over the palace. In the Late News column, an additional note stated that the military had announced that Allende had stepped down.⁸¹

Clearly *The Australian* considered this to be significant news, given that Page 1 must have been revised very late in the press cycle, on the strength of vague information. Perhaps significantly, Allende is described first as *Marxist* president, and then addressed as Dr Allende. This, if deliberate, conforms to the protracted campaign by Allende's opposition to create the impression that his authority was illegitimate.

The Australian in 1973 was arranged with an international news section, placed after any local news articles. Consequently, although it was a significant event, and was covered in considerable detail, news of the coup appeared on page 7 of the Thursday September 13 edition. The article, from United Press, reports that Gabriel Valdes, former Christian Democrat, was flying from New York to Santiago to become the new president, and, while naming the generals thought to be in charge of the coup, fails to mention Pinochet. The coup is explained in terms of Allende's failure to control the economy, and reports no violence other than the arrests of 23 communists, an interestingly detailed number.⁸² An additional (unattributed) article is placed on page 7, titled 'How Allende fell from his tightrope'.⁸³ Disregarding for the moment the fact that Dr Allende didn't fall; he was pushed, one finds that it was economic mismanagement that directly led to the coup. While stressing Allende's proximity to 'communists, middle-class radicals, dissident Christian Democrats and others', the article touches only lightly on the previous failed attempts to foment a coup, and implies that the IIT intrigue is unproven. In an episode replete with ironies, this article claims that 'In the

81 United Press, 'Dr Allende faces military coup', *The Australian*, (September 12, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1. Also: Late News, 'Allende reported dismissed', *The Australian*, (September 12, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1.

82 United Press, "'New president" heads for Chile', *The Australian*, (September 13, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 7.

83 Unattributed, 'How Allende fell from his tightrope', *The Australian*, (September 13, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 7.

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first flush of victory, Dr Allende allowed the wild men of his economic team to run riot'. Given the subsequent antics of Pinochet's Chicago Boys, this is a rich criticism. These wild men are claimed to have caused 'a breakdown in everything produced by the state except propaganda.' There is no evidence, in the historical record, of propaganda being produced during Allende's presidency, beyond what would be termed 'positive spin'; in fact, it seems to have been a characteristic of Allende (possibly shared by *Nation Review*), to indulge in rather excessive public self-criticism, in line with his undying faith in democracy.

The 'How Allende fell' article concludes with a follow-on: 'Bad for Business—p11'. The full heading of the page 11 article is 'Allende: bad for business'. The article is attributed to David Morris, whose book *We Must Make Haste Slowly: The Process of Revolution in Chile* is cited in the heading.⁸⁴ It transpires on investigation that this article is reprinted from one first appearing in *The Washington Post* issue for September 5 1973 (*before* the coup). In that newspaper, the article was headed: 'US vs. Allende'.⁸⁵ In its reprinted form, the article has undergone some significant changes. In the first place, the tense has been changed to *past*, to create a sense of newness and relevance to the post-coup situation. David Morris appears to be a left-leaning author, insofar as his career has favoured such social constructs as local community self-reliance and avoidance of corporate service providers. The key focus of the original version of his convincingly-researched article was the degree of responsibility that ought to be shouldered by the US for events in Chile. It is not known to what extent Morris agreed to editorial changes to his article, but, given the nature of those changes, it seems unlikely that they were made either at his behest or with his approval. Essentially, most

84 David Morris, 'Allende: bad for business', *The Australian*, (September 13, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 11.

85 David Morris, 'U.S. vs. Allende', *The Washington Post*, (September 5, 1973), (Washington, The Washington Post Company, 1973), p. C2.

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points critical of the US have been removed. Examples include the discussion of US pressure on international banks to refuse loans to Chile, the amount of profit extracted by US corporations, the concentration of industry into fewer, and US-owned hands, and the detrimental effect on the Chilean economy of currency manipulation by the US. The concluding sentence of Morris' original article has been deleted: 'If political moderation finally dies in Chile, the United States can share the blame.'

The Australian for Friday September 14, 1973 carries three articles about the situation in Chile, as the lead articles in the international news section on page 10. The main article is a United Press report addressing the actions of 'the new military Government'. The account appears to be balanced and as accurate as the confused situation permitted. The death and immediate burial of Allende without an autopsy raises speculation about the veracity of the 'suicide' account promulgated by the junta. The ferocity of the perpetrators is hinted at in descriptions of military action. The article reveals that the Nixon administration was informed of the intended coup the day before it happened, and chose to do nothing, including notifying Allende of the impending attack. US involvement is denied.

The other articles on page 10 are also sourced from United Press, and give an account of large peaceful demonstrations against the coup, in Paris and Rome, and the views of the Russian government; that the coup was instigated by US monopoly interests, and that Allende was murdered.⁸⁶ The final, and most graphic comment on the coup, also appearing on page 10, is a cartoon by Bruce Petty, showing Socialist Chile

86 United Press, 'Junta crushes last of Allende supporters', 'Protests in two capitals', and 'Russia casts doubt on suicide story', *The Australian*, (September 14, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 10.

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being strangled, by remote control, by the CIA, US banks and the US State Department.⁸⁷

The Australian relies again on United Press for its account, on September 15, of conditions in Santiago as the junta temporarily lifts the curfew. Again, the dominant theme is the brutality and zeal of the coup instigators, and the harm being done to citizens.⁸⁸

As the situation developed, *The Australian* ran a page 1 article on September 17, 1973, sourced from the London *Sunday Telegraph*. The brief article noted that Fidel Castro was seeking authority from the United Nations to provide assistance to Allende supporters in ousting the junta. Further accounts of deaths of Allende supporters began to raise the count substantially.⁸⁹ This article links to a larger article in the World section on page 7, sourced from the World Cable Service in London (in turn derived from United Press International), addressing confirmation that Allende committed suicide.⁹⁰

Coverage of the Chile coup by *The Australian* is aloof, but conforms to journalistic standards, in that it reports events from a largely neutral stance, and restricts itself to an account of events, sourced almost exclusively from United Press. What is missing, particularly from a current perspective, is any additional dimension that would be provided by an editorial opinion. Thus, there is no account of an Australian perspective of the event, and no reporting of the Australian government's attitude to the coup. This creates the impression that the coup is a distant event of some interest, but ultimately of no particular relevance to the Australian condition, or to Australian readers.

87 Bruce Petty, untitled cartoon, *The Australian*, (September 14, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 10.

88 United Press, 'Junta keeps city at gunpoint', *The Australian*, (September 15, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 6.

89 Sunday Telegraph, 'Junta keeps city at gunpoint', *Sunday Telegraph*, (September 17, 1973), (London, Sunday Telegraph, 1973), p. 1.

90 World Cable Service/United Press, 'Widow says Allende did kill himself', *The Australian*, (September 17, 1973), (Canberra, Nationwide News Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 7.

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From 1966 to 1971 Adrian Deamer was editor of *The Australian*. Denis Cryle says of him

Deamer's particular talent, in addition to his professional production skills, was to mentor a new generation of bright young journalists by encouraging them to research and analyse stories in greater depth and by enlivening their working conditions through spirited debate and acerbic wit. With the decline of the entrenched White Australia Policy by the mid-1960s this curiosity extended to international affairs and to Australia's role in the region.⁹¹

Interestingly, a survey carried out by *The Australian* itself, in July-August 1965, found that '91 per cent of respondents frequently read the overseas pages of the *Australian* while 7 per cent read them occasionally and only 2 per cent rarely or never. The same survey indicated that overseas news was the item most read in the paper at that time, surpassing even its daily features.'⁹²

Deamer was in the editor's chair during the accession of Allende to the presidency, but there is no indication that this particular event was being researched and analysed in greater depth under his hand. Articles appear to have been drawn exclusively from United Press, with no cross-checking to other sources, a situation reflecting either an unshaken faith in the veracity and independence of United Press, or that *The Australian's* resources were prioritized for deployment in other areas. There can be little doubt that Deamer was aware of the importance of international news, so one must conclude that he regarded material sourced from United Press as inherently trustworthy, even in situations where genuinely disinterested reporting might have acted against US self-interest. With hindsight, this degree of trust seems somewhat naïve.

There is a context within which Deamer's response to Chile needs to be judged. Deamer had been pivotal in raising Australian consciousness with regard to our south-east-Asian geo-political position, a task involving considerable effort and organizational changes. Consequently, attention would naturally have been drawn away from South

91 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 174.

92 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 179.

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America, particularly as international events came to be increasingly interpreted in terms of their direct influence on Australia. Furthermore, the issue that led to Deamer's dismissal—the Springbok tour—was a long-running and heated local situation, with important political connotations, since it came to be linked to Prime Minister William McMahon's stance and competence. 1971 was the UN International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, directly supported by McMahon, so his pro-apartheid support was seen by *The Australian* as blatantly hypocritical. This issue was extremely difficult for Deamer to manage, caught as he was between journalists committed to a hard-line anti-apartheid position, his own personal disgust with pro-apartheid politicians at state and federal level, and Rupert Murdoch, then based in the UK, whose personal views were moving rapidly further to the right. Deamer's internal support was undermined by the loss of retiring editorial director Douglas Brass, a firm ally. Cryle says 'Deamer's own fortunes deteriorated abruptly in the following year [1971] as Murdoch moved to reverse the paper's liberal policies.'⁹³

The Australian had achieved a reputation during the early 1970s as a strong cultural presence, in support of what was being considered a 'New Nationalism' within Australia. This took the form, not only of broad and often sympathetic coverage for Australian arts practitioners, but also in economic terms, through strong support for Whitlam's 'Buy back Australia' rhetoric, and a new interest in other south-east Asian nations. Journalist Robert Drew had contributed a series of important articles on New Nationalism in April 1973.

By late 1973 however, this identification with New Nationalism had been largely replaced by embryonic neo-liberalism, under the influences of Murdoch's own experiences in the UK, and Deamer's immediate replacement, Bruce Rothwell, who, although Australian, had also spent time as a significant Fleet Street journalist. David

⁹³ Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 192.

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McKnight states that Murdoch's experiences in Fleet Street were fundamental to his political change of heart. There was an intense battle between the print unions, representing blue-collar print-workers, and management, seeking to introduce new technology that would bypass many traditional printing processes. McKnight quotes Murdoch: 'I was pretty much turned into a pretty strong free-market type conservative by... the most searing experience of my life [which was] having 17 years of dealing with the Fleet Street chapels'.⁹⁴ Rothwell had been recruited to run the new *Sunday Australian*, while Deamer continued with the weekday editions, initially as a separate operation. Rothwell's close allegiance to Murdoch, and his increasing influence, while Deamer's star waned, inevitably led to a movement of *The Australian's* editorial stance towards the right. 'New Nationalism' was not a concept of interest to hard-nosed Rothwell, who favoured a dry, business-led, economic-rationalist approach. As Cryle states: 'This episode constituted the onset of a 'cultural revolution' on the *Australian* and an important precedent for the intervention of 1975, in which Rothwell again figured prominently.'⁹⁵

As a consequence of the new regime and ideology at *The Australian* by 1973, events in Chile at the time of the coup must have been viewed from a different perspective than had been the case during Allende's inauguration. Cryle and others have noted Murdoch's strong support for Israel during the early 1970s.⁹⁶ This led, for instance, to Bruce Petty's censure by Murdoch for his unflattering cartoons of Golda Meir in *The Australian* and, by extension, to strong support for Henry Kissinger and

94 David McKnight, (2012), p. 70.

95 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 129. Cryle discusses this period of 'creative tensions' at length.

96 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 154. Also:

Haydon Manning and Robert Phiddian, 'Censorship and the Political Cartoonist', (Flinders University, 2004, Refereed paper presented to the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference University of Adelaide 29 September – 1 October 2004, p. 24. Phiddian catalogues Petty's fall from grace in: Robert Phiddian, 'Petty notions, grand designs: The life and work of Bruce Petty until 1975.', *Overland*, No. 176, (Spring 2004), pp. 26-39.

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Kissinger's US/Cold War-centric viewpoint on world politics.⁹⁷ It would have been natural for *The Australian* of 1973 to present an orthodox, unchallenged US public-consumption interpretation of the coup and its causes.

The state-based daily newspapers

Notwithstanding the considerable circulation for *The Australian*, news reached most readers in the early 1970s through state-based dailies, including the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the *Adelaide Advertiser*, *The Age* (Melbourne) and Brisbane's *Courier-Mail*. Inherent in such localized print media is a high degree of parochialism, due in part to practical constraints, but also as a reflection of readers' tastes, preferences and requirements. Within each state there exists a full complement of news, current events, politics and sport, as well as advertising centred on local businesses. Each newspaper was required to address this context through a limited set of resources, defined by its pool of local reporters, and its network of contacts within government, the police and local sporting structures. Classified advertisements, the great underlying revenue machine that powered the dailies, favoured confinement to relatively small geographical areas, but provided sufficient funds to enable large-scale, sophisticated and well-organized news-gathering processes. While the range and diversity of printed news sources in the 1970s may seem enviably extensive from today's perspective, the reality was that, within each state, and to some extent overflowing between states, originating sources were still limited, and were still subject to editorial influence.

All state-based dailies followed essentially the same obvious structure, reflecting the existing priorities of readers at the time. Local state politics tended to dominate the front pages, in the form of party-political machinations as they occurred, but also in terms of policy, implementation and scrutiny. Overseas news would regularly invade the front pages in the case of significant events, and particularly if some Australian angle

⁹⁷ Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 192.

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could be either found or invented, but, ordinarily, international news was relegated to an overseas section, usually 5 or 6 pages in from the front. In the early 1970s many international situations were emerging that either impinged directly on Australia, such as the war in Vietnam, or that may well have repercussions for Australia, such as the efforts by the UK to enter the European Common Market (thus depriving Australian exporters of one of their main markets), or the involvement of Richard Nixon in the Watergate scandal, potentially affecting the US/Australian relationship. Additionally, the strengthening sense of nationhood within Australia had the corollary effect of sensitizing Australians to the significance of world events and their effects on the nation. These factors tended to increase the number of occasions when international news would be reported with greater priority, but the sense of demarcation between local and overseas news remained intact.

Prosaic local news would follow the overseas section, addressing lesser crime, traffic accidents, local council affairs, human interest stories and general snippets. To a greater or lesser extent there would follow a section dealing with the arts, including film reviews, local theatre productions, book reviews and the like, mingled with what has come to be termed 'lifestyle' articles, dealing with household issues, fashion and motoring. Reflecting those halcyon days before obsessive focus on economics, a separate section was usually provided for business/finance, and tended to be located towards the end of the newspaper. Serious followers of economics could fall back on the financial pages of *The Australian* or the *Australian Financial Review*; however, as Stokes points out, 'Perhaps more than at any time in recent Australian history, these debates [about economic rationalism] brought economic policy regularly, even obsessively, to the forefront of public attention.'⁹⁸ Michael Pusey's interpretation of the significance of the increased prominence of economics is interesting: 'Economic reform was already

⁹⁸ Stokes, (2014), p. 195.

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recasting society itself as a stubbornly resisting sludge through which we must drive the economy.’⁹⁹

Usually those valuable classified advertisements would come next, sandwiched between lifestyle and the invariably exhaustive sport section. A substantial portion of classified advertising consisted of ‘Positions Vacant’, featuring large notices for the higher-paid positions, and reflecting what now looks to have been a huge diversity of job types and opportunities, in an environment clearly characterized by a high demand for workers.

Sport in particular was geared towards state-centred structures, particularly given that accidents of geography, timing and immigrant influxes had led to different codes of football, and that most sport was still localised, club-based and relatively amateur in status. International sport, such as Test cricket, Olympic Games and rugby tours would necessitate special treatment, either by moving it towards the front of the newspaper, or towards the inversely-arranged back-pages where sport resided.

Sometimes sport and politics would collide, for instance during the controversy over apartheid as it was being applied to internationally-fielded South African sporting teams. This issue was fraught with difficulties for the state-based dailies. In the era before sport became a major corporate-owned resource, a strong sense of sportsmanship had persisted in Australian sporting circles. While Australian Rules Football was tribal in its insistence on lifelong allegiances to very localized clubs, there was an over-riding expectation that the ‘fair go’ would be extended to everyone. Thus, the popular view of apartheid was that it was undesirable, since it prevented otherwise skilful sportsmen and women from competing at international levels purely because of their ethnicity. This view was at odds, however, with the residue of the White Australia

⁹⁹ Michael Pusey, *The Experience of Middle Australia: The Dark Side of Economic Reform*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), Preface, xiv.

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policy. Since the Labor Party had been clinging tenaciously to this policy, while the right-wing tended to uphold an imperialist perspective that saw 'native' populations as inherently inferior, the question of apartheid was a vexed one. Public opinion became increasingly at odds with party policy of either persuasion. As the opposition to apartheid developed into full-scale public resistance, expressed in large public protests, this aspect of sport found its way increasingly into both the front (domestic) pages, and the international sections, although perhaps not always with complete editorial or proprietorial comfort.

At the instigation of Keith Murdoch, the Australian Associated Press organisation had been established as a means of providing improved access to overseas news while allowing for efficiencies in cost and organization. All the major state-based dailies became members of AAP, and so made primary use of the service as the source for most overseas coverage. The service relied on news-gathering within particular regions of the world, as carried out by AAP representative reporters based in strategic international locations. AAP specialized in South East Asian affairs, with representation in Singapore, Jakarta, Manila and the like, but there were close quid-pro-quo ties to other agencies around the world. Material would be filed by AAP reporters and wired to the Melbourne headquarters, where it was accessible by member organizations.

AAP material would be worked up into articles for local consumption, but the detail of this process varied. On arrival at specific newspapers, AAP material was subject to the usual editorial and proprietorial pressures, in terms of its size, positioning, content and tone. Consequently, there could be some degree of difference in the final articles as they appeared in discrete state newspapers, despite their common source.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ The workings of AAP are addressed in Susan Forde and Jane Johnston, 'Australian Associated Press', Griffen-Foley, Bridget (Editor), *A companion to the Australian media*, (Kew, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2014), pp. 39-40.

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In the case of reportage of the Chile coup, significant differences can be observed in the overall effect of articles, as they appear in various state-based newspapers. This is so in spite of those articles bearing the same AAP attribution, with no indication that any additional sources were involved. It proves instructive to compare the coverage of the coup in several state-based newspapers, both in terms of their mutual similarities and differences, and in terms of *Nation Review's* treatment of the situation. Whereas *Nation Review* lacks both access to originating sources, and the ability to report in as timely a fashion as the dailies, valid and useful comparisons can be made regarding the overall editorial stance taken by *Nation Review* as against the state-based dailies, with consideration of the complex underlying causes for apparent differences.

Allende described himself as a Socialist, and his policy position supports that view, based as it was on the notions of state-controlled resources allocated through some mechanism intended to provide fairness and equality for society as a whole. His ideology was clearly influenced by Marx, but his political life was formed through a desire for practical, rather than ideological, solutions, and it ran in a distant channel from pure Marxism, and certainly from Communism. Nonetheless, either by design, or through Cold-War-induced fuzziness of thinking, the state-based dailies almost invariably sought to identify Allende with the further left regions occupied by Marxism and Communism. On Allende's election in 1970 for example, the *Sydney Morning Herald* ran a small article headlined 'Marxist may be Chile President', and focussed on likely responses from the US, using the term 'Communist-based government', and reprising the 'domino effect'.¹⁰¹

Aside from small articles carrying little specific news, the state-based dailies paid scant attention to Chile in the early 1970s. In 1968-1969 Bruce Grant, a writer for *The*

101 A.A.P.-Reuter, 'Marxist may be Chile President', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 7, 1970), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1970), p. 1, continued on p.3.

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Age, conducted a content analysis, comparing international coverage by the State-based dailies and *The Australian*, finding that the most comprehensive coverage was provided by *The Australian*.¹⁰² Cryle asserts that this superiority caused the state-based dailies to make concerted efforts to improve their respective international services.¹⁰³ By 1973, it is possible to see some greater attention being paid to international events by the state-based dailies, with deeper analysis and more column-inches.

The Melbourne Age

Just prior to the 1973 coup, *The Age* had run an article quoting Peru's left-wing Premier General Mercado, who was calling for Latin-American military leaders to cease serving the interests of the US, in favour of helping with the struggle for social justice in the Latin-American nations.¹⁰⁴ Two days later Allan Barnes, Chief Political Correspondent, wrote a lengthy, detailed analysis of Dr Cairns's creation of the Australian Industry Development Corporation, a body whose aim was to 'buy back Australia', through local rather than foreign investment.¹⁰⁵ The favourable, serious article, added to the article from Peru, engenders a sense that *The Age* at the time was sympathetic to social justice and New Nationalism, but would this attitude carry through to coverage of the coup?

The Age appears to have missed the deadline for reporting events on September 12, the earliest opportunity for Australian publishing. The following day though, *The Age* ran a large page 1 article under the headline 'Chile generals take tight grip'.¹⁰⁶ It is

102 Bruce Grant, 'Foreign Affairs and the Australian Press', Twentieth Roy Milne Memorial Lecture, (Melbourne, Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1969), p. 10.

103 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 191.

104 A.A.P.-Reuter, 'U.S. dominant for too long, says Peru', *Melbourne Age*, (September 5, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 5.

105 Allan Barnes, 'Labor turns capitalist to buy back Australia', *Melbourne Age*, (September 7, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. X.

106 Unattributed, 'Chile generals take tight grip', *Melbourne Age*, (September 13, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 1.

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noticeable that *The Age* pays Allende the courtesy of using his correct title—President Allende, rather than Marxist—and adopts the position that this is a legitimate leader being deposed by non-democratic means. A large photo (courtesy of AAP-AP) shows troops aiming their weapons at the Moneda palace, and a photo of Allende bears the caption ‘Dead leader’. The article’s main concern is with the generals’ imposition of complete censorship amid the closure of media sources and ‘a state of siege’.

Coverage continues on page 2 with comments from Dr Claudio Veliz, professor of sociology at La Trobe University, and former close aide to Allende. Veliz praises Allende’s programme, but says it was always likely to fail in the face of its powerful opponents. Veliz doubts that US or CIA involvement was necessary for the coup to have taken place. This theme is continued on page 6, with an article by Roy Macartney (respected Washington correspondent for *The Age*, who died in 1975), reporting US denials of involvement.¹⁰⁷ The article notes reactions from governments sympathetic to Allende, and reports attacks on the Cuban embassy. This overall sympathetic treatment is balanced on page 9 by an article from David Holden.¹⁰⁸ Holden asserts that the disaster in Chile is the direct consequence of the failure of Marxism, calling it ‘Allende’s lethal brand of socialism’. The focus of the article is on the hardships endured by Chileans under Allende, due to rampant inflation and shortages of food and other supplies. Holden describes it all as ‘stark, staring nonsense’, in an article whose tone is somewhat sneering and even flippant. It is perhaps relevant that Holden was later killed in Cairo (in 1977) amid speculation that he was in fact a CIA agent. John Simkin writes ‘The investigating journalists became convinced that Holden had been working for the CIA. This was linked to his reporting of CIA involvement in Cuba and Chile. For

107 Roy Macartney, ‘U.S. denies any links with coup’, *Melbourne Age*, (September 13, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 6.

108 David Holden, ‘Allende’s lethal brand of socialism: Road to Marxism leads to disaster in Chile’, *Melbourne Age*, (September 13, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 9.

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example, his reports in 1973 strongly denied that the CIA was involved in the overthrow of President Allende.¹⁰⁹

By September 14 the scale of the horror was beginning to emerge. *The Age* reported on that day ‘Hundreds killed in Chile’, quoting claims that several hundred had been killed amid fierce resistance. The article describes the response by Prime Minister Whitlam, and notes that 44 ministers had signed a note of protest for delivery to the Chilean Ambassador in Canberra.¹¹⁰ A follow-up article on page 7 that day explores the issues of US involvement, noting a trip by the US Ambassador to talk with Henry Kissinger just prior to the coup, and claiming that the US had 48 hours warning of the coup. Anti-Nixon and anti-Kissinger protests are noted.¹¹¹ Demonstrating a significant degree of engagement with the coup, an Editorial Opinion reminds readers that this was not ‘a coup in the classic South American style’, but rather the illegitimate overthrow of a democratic government, and that the future for Chile appeared grim.¹¹²

The Sydney Morning Herald

Coverage of the coup by the *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) was relatively extensive, beginning with a page 1 article assembled when only scant information was available. The article describes the coup as violent, and acknowledges that Allende had been democratically elected, before going on to describe how the coup was carried out.

109 Simkin based his article on the very detailed account of the episode given by Harold Evans, then editor of the *Sunday Times*. Evans, who had authorized an investigation into Holden’s death by other *Sunday Times* journalists, was unable to access sufficient evidence to establish a definitive connection between Holden and the CIA. Harold Evans, *My Paper Chase: True Stories of Vanished Times: An Autobiography*, (London, Hachette Digital, 2009). John Simkin, ‘Did the CIA murder a journalist working on the Sunday Times?’, *Spartacus Educational* website, < <http://spartacus-educational.blogspot.com.au/2009/09/did-cia-murder-journalist-working-on.html>>, [accessed 20 September 2013].

110 Unattributed, ‘Hundreds killed in Chile’, *Melbourne Age*, (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 1.

111 Unattributed, ‘U.S. had tip of coup plot’, *Melbourne Age*, (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 7.

112 Editorial Opinion, ‘A coup in the classic style’, *Melbourne Age*, (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, David Syme & Co., 1973), p. 9.

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The article is unattributed, but includes a significant amount of material sourced from *El Mercurio*, the right-wing CIA-funded newspaper that was the only media outlet permitted to continue operation under the junta. The article continues on page 4, and enters into considerable background detail, including speculation about who would assume the role of president, who organized and led the coup, and what circumstances led to the coup. Reactions from around the world are also noted.¹¹³ The article is followed-up by an editorial comment, which places blame squarely on Allende and his pandering to the working class, at the expense of the well-being of the middle class. The main thrust of the editorial is that something had to be done to save the country from Marxism, and the military response was justified on that basis.¹¹⁴

The following day *SMH* reported that Nixon knew about the impending coup, but that the US was not in any way involved. Considerable space was then allotted to the possibility that Allende did not commit suicide. A brief note records that government ministers had sworn to uphold the junta directly, rather than obey the constitution.¹¹⁵

As the fallout began to emerge, *SMH* ran an article on September 15 stating that the junta had appointed Pinochet as president, and that he had broken diplomatic communication with Cuba. Responses from other countries deploring the coup are noted, while within Latin America responses ranged from immediate recognition of the junta (Brazil and Uruguay—both military juntas) to a state of mourning (Argentina

113 Unattributed, 'Chile coup: Allende commits suicide', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 13, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 1, continued on p.4.

114 Editorial Comment, 'End of an era in Chile', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 13, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 6.

115 AAP-Reuter, 'Nixon knew of Chilean coup' and 'Allende death mystery: doubts over suicide report', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 14, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 5.

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under Peron). The suspected high number of casualties is mentioned, and the safety of Allende's family is confirmed.¹¹⁶

September 16 1973 was a Sunday, so the Allende account was taken up by the *Sun-Herald*, *SMH*'s Sunday counterpart, with a substantial round-up of emerging material as the junta became established. Priority was given to an account, confirmed by Allende's widow, Hortensia Allende, of the details of his death.¹¹⁷ Following that account, the *Sun-Herald* devoted a full page to the background and unfolding events of the coup, sourced from Maurice Adams in New York. Adams, an Australian, was for 10 years the *SMH* bureau chief based in the US.¹¹⁸ This account is the orthodox story of Allende's failure, as a Marxist, to manage the economy, resulting in a desperate need to oust him before he completely ruined the economy. In an article of this considerable size, one might have expected a more nuanced account, based on a long-term understanding of the history of Chile, using available material that clearly demonstrated right-wing conspiracy and complicity, such as the ITT papers, CIA involvement in Schneider's death and establishment and funding of right-wing activist groups. The role of foreign capitalists, including the manipulation of copper prices, and the US embargo on lending, is conspicuous by its absence. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Adams had become 'imbedded'.

AAP-Reuter provides *SMH* with an account on September 17 of the final moments of Allende's life, as he endeavoured to persuade his family to seek safety from

116 AAP-Reuter, 'Chile, Havana breach' and 'Allende family safe', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 15, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 5.

117 AAP-Reuter, 'Chilean leader suicided, says wife', *Sun-Herald*, (September 16, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 17.

118 Maurice Adams, 'The coup that rocked Chile', *Sun-Herald*, (September 16, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 71.

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the junta. While reporting opposition to the coup as it arose around the world, the article reiterates that the US was not in any way implicated in events.¹¹⁹

Coverage of the coup by *SMH* continues on September 18, with an article reporting the calling of a special UN Security Council meeting, at which Cuba was expected to accuse the US of complicity in the coup.¹²⁰ This was followed on September 19 by confirmation that the Cuban Ambassador did charge the US with responsibility for the coup. Also noted is the justification given by the junta: that they had to act to pre-empt a left-wing plot to assassinate military figures.¹²¹ *SMH* concludes its coverage of the coup with a note that Prime Minister Whitlam had chosen to ‘snub’ the junta, by not recognizing its legitimacy.¹²²

The Adelaide Advertiser

On the eve of the coup, the *Adelaide Advertiser* carried a poignant mention of Chile—the lead-up to the 1974 Soccer World Cup, in which Australia shared the qualifying group with Chile.¹²³ Arrangements had been concluded allowing Chile to play three matches in Australia, during the 1973 lead-up. These matches did not eventuate because Pinochet was reluctant to allow Chileans to leave the country. The World Cup team was only allowed to leave the country in 1974 under considerable pressure not to speak to foreign media.¹²⁴ The USSR withdrew from the 1974 World Cup match with

119 AAP-Reuter, ‘Allende saved his daughter: insults made her flee’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 17, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 4.

120 AAP-Reuter, ‘Coup: Cuba to accuse Washington’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 18, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 5.

121 AAP-Reuter, ‘Cuban Ambassador in UN Security Council charges US with responsibility for coup’, and ‘Assassination plot daim’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 19, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 5.

122 Unattributed, ‘Snub for Chile regime: not to be recognized by Whitlam’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (September 19, 1973), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1973), p. 1.

123 AAP, ‘Chile to test our cup hopes’, *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 11, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 17.

124 Brenda Elsey, ‘“As the World is my Witness”: Transnational Chilean Solidarity and Popular Culture’, *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, ed. by Jessica Stites Mor (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), pp. 180-187.

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Chile, because the match was to have been held at the National Football Stadium in Santiago. This is the stadium infamous for its conversion to a concentration camp where thousands of Chileans were imprisoned, tortured and murdered in the days following the coup. Requests by the USSR to relocate the match to a neutral ground were refused, so when the Russian team withdrew, the Chilean players entered a near-deserted stadium, dribbled the ball up an empty ground and into the goal. The USSR lost its place in the World Cup as a result.¹²⁵

Perhaps spurred by *The Australian's* world news coverage, as mentioned above, world news was given high standing in *The Advertiser* in 1973. An announcement of the Chile coup thus appeared within the World News section of *The Advertiser*, much closer to the front, at page 2, than was the case with other state-based dailies. The article 'Armed revolt against Dr. Allende' appeared September 12, and was an early report, lodged via AAP-Reuter, before Allende had been killed. The article refers to 'President Allende', calling him 'the Western world's first freely-elected Marxist head-of-state with a mandate to rule until 1976.'¹²⁶ By the following day Allende's death was known about, and the story was elevated to page 1. On that page *The Advertiser* reiterates Allende's credentials, and mentions a demonstration outside the US Consul's office in Sydney.¹²⁷ The story is taken up in the World News section on page 2, with an AAP-sourced summary of the coup, suggesting that Gabriel Valdes may become president, and noting that the junta had broken diplomatic channels to Cuba. US responses are given, as well

125 Unattributed, 'Soviet Union refuses to play Chile in World Cup Soccer', *History* website, < <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviet-union-refuses-to-play-chile-in-world-cup-soccer>>, [accessed 20 September 2013].

126 AAP-Reuter, 'Armed revolt against Dr. Allende', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 12, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 2.

127 AAP, 'Chilean leader suicides in coup', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 13, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 1.

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as a statement from USSR. A large photograph accompanies the article, showing a pro-Allende demonstration in Buenos Aires.¹²⁸

The Advertiser's page 5 Editorial comment adheres to the by now orthodox line, that this 'communist' leader was always doomed to fail through his own ineptitude and a flawed ideology. His term is described as an 'experiment', another derogatory and paternalistic description that recurs in right-inspired accounts.¹²⁹ Douglas Wilkie, foreign affairs columnist for the Melbourne *Sun News-Pictorial*, provided an article for *The Advertiser*, headed 'Allende never had a chance', in which he linked Allende directly to Whitlam, claiming that 'Allende the Marxist came to grief before being able to accomplish in Chile anything more revolutionary than Whitlam the Socialist has set about accomplishing in Australia'.¹³⁰ He paints a picture of a calm, balanced, just and wealthy nation, brought low by communism under Allende, claiming that the previous (Frei) government had already addressed any social issues that required attention. Wilkie manages to have it both ways, implying on the one hand that Allende is a communist, and on the other that he has a 'human face', as though Allende's compassion is a cover for some darker streak. Similarly, Wilkie seems to blame Allende for problems arising from the IIT/CIA episode, claiming that he was unable to respond properly to it. Wilkie is silent on the rectitude of the US in the matter. A litany of blame for Chile's economic problems is then laid at Allende's feet, without allusion to the US role in that situation. He says of the junta: 'It is to their credit that they held back for as long as they did.' Wilkie apparently finds no dichotomy in the notion that democracy can be served by illegally deposing a democratically-elected government.

128 AAP, 'Military junta in control in Chile: President dead after violent coup', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 13, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 2.

129 Editorial Comment, 'Coup in Chile', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 13, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 5.

130 Douglas Wilkie, 'Allende never had a chance', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 13, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 4.

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By September 14 *The Advertiser* had received from AAP-Reuter a reasonably full account of the coup itself. In an article headed 'Generals form Chilean Govt.' a balanced and factual account is given of the coup and resistance to it. The article raises doubts about Allende's suicide, and notes that the US was aware of the coup 48 hours prior to its execution. Pinochet is named as the coup leader.¹³¹ Also on September 14 Brett Bayly wrote a brief article quoting from a telegram of protest sent by 44 Members of Parliament to the Chilean Ambassador in Australia.¹³²

The Advertiser for Saturday, September 15 carried an article summarising the junta's early moves, and the responses of other Latin American countries.¹³³ Saturday's *Advertiser*, in common with other state-based dailies, was a considerably larger product than the weekday editions. It was bolstered by many more classified advertisements, a larger 'lifestyle' section, and, of course, a significantly more comprehensive sport section. Additionally, there was a tendency to reserve opinion-pieces, follow-ups and more in-depth analyses of political and other situations for use in the Saturday edition. The World section was pushed further to the back, but was extended to include a component titled '*The Advertiser* men report'. In this part, international stories were expanded, with accounts written by correspondents based overseas, and sometimes locally, who had access to sources beyond the AAP feeds. In this edition, Peter Costigan, Melbourne *Herald* journalist, provided an article for '*The Advertiser* Men report', titled 'Rumbling of a volcano'.¹³⁴ This is a sobering reflection on the wider implications of the coup for Latin America as a whole, in the context of grinding poverty, massive wealth

131 AAP-Reuter, 'Generals form Chilean Govt.', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 14, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 2.

132 Brett Bayly, 'Labor MPs in protest over Chile', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 14, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. X.

133 AAP-Reuter, 'General replaces Allende', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 15, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 2.

134 Peter Costigan, 'Rumbling of a volcano', *Adelaide Advertiser*, (September 15, 1973), (Adelaide, Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, 1973), p. 21.

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gaps and undemocratic military leadership in all but four countries. Costigan raises the issue of US involvement with considerably more emphasis than other accounts tended to do, supported by such evidence as the sudden flight to the US of the US Ambassador to Chile for a meeting with Kissinger, on the eve of the coup. Costigan notes that, to South Americans, Allende did not present a particularly strong presence, but his influence was overstated by the US, in line with the domino effect. Costigan doubts that the junta will solve issues of poverty without massive bloodshed.

Analysis

Analysis and assessment of the calibre, veracity, balance and comprehensiveness of the coverage of the coup by Australian newspapers is by no means straightforward. In particular, it is difficult to isolate today's knowledge and perspective from contemporary attitudes, and knowledge. There is no ready access today to the original material that was transmitted via AAP-Reuter and UPI, so no valid assessment can be made, at least within the ambit of this study, of the editorial processes that must have occurred at each newspaper.¹³⁵

Somewhat perversely, it is interesting first to assess the efforts of 1973 based on everything known now, without regard to whether particular material was available at the time. Most obvious in hindsight is the completely unanticipated harshness and duration of the Pinochet regime, and its significance as sponsor of the newly unleashed neo-liberalism. Facts about the involvement of the US, and Henry Kissinger and the CIA, remain obscured by secrecy, but there has been some material, released through freedom-of-information actions, that was not known at the time. We can therefore

¹³⁵ Johnston and Forde report that "There are several points raised here by Paterson which warrant close attention. These include the use of verbatim news and the use of remodeled news generated by news agencies and used in other media. One pilot Australian study of FM radio news, which found that 61 per cent of analysed news bulletins came from AAP, also found that journalists rewrote copy from this service in accordance with house style." Jane Johnston and Susan Forde, 'Not Wrong for Long: the Role and Penetration of Newswire Agencies in the 24/7 News Landscape', *Global Media Journal – Australian Edition*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2009), p. 4.

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reassess this incomplete and mostly partisan narrative, taking full account of the long history of Chile, as seen from a fresh, post-colonial perspective. In the case of Australia, some insight into the methods used by the US, to promote its ongoing imperialist ventures, has been gained during sometimes difficult elements of the relationship between the two nations, such as trade agreements, support for wars, and the establishment of military bases.

Most striking from a modern perspective is the almost universal acceptance of the validity of the Cold-war domino-effect narrative in the coverage of the time. It seems to have been remarkably easy to paint a picture wherein Chile stands at risk from devious, undemocratic communist forces, as represented by Allende, and can only be saved by intervention from US-supported military forces acting from altruistic allegiance to the Chilean constitution. One can be less hubristic when one considers the way in which the Cold War's replacement narrative—the War on Terror—has been more or less universally and uncritically accepted in this era, despite obvious self-contradicting lapses of logic in the narrative, and access in our time, at least theoretically, to broader, less-mediated information via social channels.

The judgment of a modern reader would also be affected by the crumbling of totalitarian forms of communism in Europe, and, following the advent of neoliberalism, applied almost universally, that reader would perhaps be somewhat aware, and critical, of the machinations of large corporations, in this post-Global Financial Crisis era. With the narrowing of media ownership and public discussion about political 'spin', modern readers may be more inspired to seek out independent verification of the proposed narrative. In short, the 'threats to democracy' posed by Allende, as expressed in the coverage, and an assumption of moral right on the side of US corporate and government interests, are likely to be less convincing to a modern reader. This is not to say that modern readers are necessarily more sophisticated or better-equipped to deal

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with the unknown in our own time, but merely to say that hindsight is almost invisibly entwined with our perceptions and assessments of earlier news events and reporting.¹³⁶

It appears that the narrative proposed by the national and state-based dailies, in the absence of any benefit of hindsight, was by-and-large accepted by most Australians in 1973. Meanwhile, the specific contribution of *Nation Review* to any debate about Chile did offer meaningful reminders of the complexities, multiple agendas and deeper implications of events in Chile, and their potential impact on the world.

What lies at the heart of acceptance of the orthodox narrative is most likely the set of entrenched mechanisms used for gathering news in foreign (and to some extent local) locations. A primary obstruction to obtaining rich, balanced, local information is the language barrier. An English speaker cast into a Latin American country where a form of Spanish is spoken, but which has been modified by several centuries of isolation from Spain, will tend to go to sources that can speak English. Mostly that translates, so to speak, to official authorities, who will often be representatives of external nations. In the case of the US, in 1973, in Chile, one suspects that only the more formal channels would be accessible, meaning that journalists would most likely be exposed to accounts of events as relayed by embassy officials, US government representatives of various kinds, and US businessmen operating locally. Very few Americans would have seen at first-hand the living conditions of peasants in the haciendas, or understood the long history that led to that situation.¹³⁷ The net effect of using US figures as a primary source for information, is that any situation will be seen through the prism of American self-interest, in which any alternative picture sourced from local communities would be disregarded. All Australian newspapers, *Nation Review*

¹³⁶ Consider, for instance, Cryle's views on Murdoch's influence at crucial political moments (In *Murdoch's Flagship*), and widespread criticism of mainstream journalism during the 2013 federal election.

¹³⁷ Edward Boorstein was an exception, who went on to write about his experiences, and was sympathetic to the condition of Chile's poor. See Boorstein, (1977).

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included, relied primarily on the established news agencies. Close study of the wire services like Reuters, AAP and UPI is vital to assembling an understanding of how the original texts that came out of Chile were sourced, and how they were framed, but that process is beyond the scope and resources of this work.

Added to the effects of an Americanised source, are the influences that material from news services would have been exposed to, on arrival at the Australian newspaper editorial desks. Australia itself was, in 1973, at a deeply significant political, social and cultural crossroad. Forces were aligning themselves on ideological lines, and positions were hardening, leading to a tendency for polarisation, while expressions of those ideological positions were being turned into editorial policy at some newspapers. This would have led to a tendency to accept without question, in some quarters, the American capitalist viewpoint, as a matter almost of national pride in the US/Australian alliance. Those on the left, struggling with embryonic notions of self-determination, still, in 1973, regarded a visit to London to be essential to any credibility, and, despite Vietnam, the unfolding of the Watergate scandal, wrongful imprisonment of alleged IRA bombers, and Joh Bjelke-Petersen's disregard for the mechanisms of democracy, most maintained a tendency towards inherent respect for authority (despite the 'larrikin' myth). Australians in general, in 1973, were not well-equipped to make critical judgements about foreign affairs, or about the sources of their information.¹³⁸

Belief in the Cold War narrative is not surprising, and in any case, was not entirely without justification, given the then-recent brinkmanship of the Cuban missile crisis. The domino effect attributed to Asian and South American nations is less convincing, and, in some quarters, was seen to be at best empty rhetoric, and at worst, a

138 My father, in complete seriousness, once said to me 'Of course it's true—it's in the *Advertiser*'.

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deliberate obfuscation.¹³⁹ From the Australian perspective, the battleground for debate about the veracity of the domino effect was of course Vietnam. In the case of South America, from Australia's perspective, that continent was something of a closed book, and there was a xenophobic view that tended to stereotype Latin Americans and their politics, and treat them with disdain.

Following on as a consequence from the acceptance of the 1973 narrative and its sources, is an absence of deeper probing and analysis, such that might have thrown up some challenge to the narrative, based on historical and provable facts. *Nation Review* itself offers no editorial comment on the coup, while the editorials printed in *The Age*, *SMH* and *Advertiser* offer few insights beyond reiteration of the mythology. The *Australian* offers no editorial comment. Reports based on AAP and UPI material, as it was arriving in the heat of unfolding events, are concerned with activity and process, without recourse to analysis or expansion that would have provided a richer context. *Nation Review*, lacking timely access to this material, was forced into (or chose) the path of offering opinion and analysis as provided through longer treatments originally destined for significant overseas publications. Articles in *Nation Review* seem almost randomly to 'side' with either the US-preferred story, or with a more nuanced consideration of Marxism and the theoretical aspects of the Allende 'experiment'. Without access to an editorial stance that would provide an overarching and guiding analysis of the myriad factors affecting the issue, *Nation Review* readers are left to their own prejudices, or deeper knowledge, in order to form a position on the Chile experience. For example, Bernie Taft's and Mark Tier's facing accounts in October 1973 reflect ideological positions arguably from the far Left and far Right, and exhibit a tendency to interpret events according to the filter of that ideology, rather than as a

139 See Rohan Rivett's already-alluded-to comments about Marcos in the Phillipines; Rohan Rivett, 'Another yankee Asian disaster', *Nation Review*, Vol. 2, No. 50 (September 30, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), p. 1480.

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result of balanced, informed analysis, that would be based on knowledge of the specific history of Chile, and the underlying pressures leading to the coup.¹⁴⁰

In summary, what is missing from the contemporary accounts of the coup is a ‘formal’ or organized dissenting voice. The national and state-based dailies do, on occasion, provide material that might form a basis for a challenge to the accepted narrative construct. In overall terms, however, they are content to allow the pro-US, right-wing capitalist account to dominate, by channelling what amounts to propaganda drawn from US corporate and government sources. *Nation Review* does at least provide a place for debate, offering as it does, some glimpse of a disputed ‘truth’. Even so, *Nation Review* does not encapsulate the arguments in a sufficiently stark form, via a strong editorial stance, to engender a fully-articulated kernel of dissent.

This returns us to the initial question: What did *Nation Review* offer to its readers that other papers perhaps did not? From this survey, it is clear that people did not buy it in order to garner hard facts about Chile that were not otherwise available. Scant though factual material was in the dailies, it was significantly superior to anything supplied exclusively by *Nation Review*. Neither did *Nation Review* offer any stridently-argued contrary position to the mostly-accepted US-centric narrative, such as a denunciation that might have been found in an ideologically-aligned journal. What *Nation Review* seems to have offered its readers is the notion that there is not necessarily a true, authoritative and unassailable version of events, but rather that one or more valid alternative interpretations may be feasible, that needs to be discussed and debated. What is being offered is an opportunity to engage with material, to evaluate it in the light of a broader context, also being canvassed in *Nation Review*, including such disparate matters

140 Bernie Taft, ‘Chile lives!’, *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 52 (October 12, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1640, and Mark Tier, ‘Allende erred: Middle class revolt’, *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 52 (October 12, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1641.

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as the activities of ASIO in Australia, disreputable political machinations both here and overseas, and global realpolitik over oil. Chile, specifically, seems not to have sparked particularly vehement responses, given that no letters from readers, addressing this issue, appeared in *Nation Review*. In broader terms though, *Nation Review* was quietly establishing a new perspective, actively engaged in laying a foundation for a new Australian national character, independent of former or current colonial domination. *Nation Review* then, was attractive to those who felt the stirrings of some new national perspective, and were searching for some expression of what it meant in the 1970s to be an Australian.

1976 New South Wales state election

In November 1975 the event that shook the nation inflicted its own particular form of damage on *Nation Review*. The removal of a democratically-elected Prime Minister at the behest of a non-elected sovereign representative challenged the very core of Australian culture in the 1970s. Accepting for the moment the feasibility of the New Nationalism sentiment emerging at the time, this interference by an external, ex-imperialistic nation on the other side of the world was a humiliating reminder of the way that Australia was seen by the rest of the world – a second-rate, unimportant ex-colony that was incapable of managing its own affairs, without intervention by foreign powers at critical moments.

It is argued in Chapter 9 of this thesis that *Nation Review* had become firmly engaged, and identified, with New Nationalism. The dismissal of Whitlam cut across this developing awareness with startling effect, exposing the fragility of a tenuous groping towards any unique Australian culture. Nowhere was this blow felt more profoundly than in the office of *Nation Review*. Partly self-appointed, but largely pressed into its role, *Nation Review* had become for many readers the repository of a particular world-view in which significant, steady progress had been made in what may be considered a national project that would be expected to culminate in fully-formed mature nationhood.¹ The fact of the dismissal, and its nature, combined with the

1 Frank Knopfelmacher wrote a disparaging assessment of this world-view in *Nation Review*. Knopfelmacher was described by his son, in a 2002 talk (after his father's death) as 'the token 'fascist' who wrote a column for the *Nation Review*' (Andrew Knopfelmacher, 'The nine lives of Frank Knopfelmacher', Talk, (Melbourne, March 21, 2002), *Perspectives on World History and Current Events* Website, < <http://www.pwhce.org/textknop.html>>, [Accessed May 15, 2015]). Frank Knopfelmacher was highly critical of the Whitlam government, and condemned its supporters. Writing immediately before the dismissal, he said, 'The Whitlam government represented the interests of the new expanding middle-class bureaucracy, whose interests were secured at the expense of the poor, the very rich, and the independent businessmen. Its budgetary policy, its rhetoric, and its cultural "innovations" fitted in with the economic and status interests of this new class. It is a class "educated" for "managing" the work of others, for consumption rather than production, for conciliation rather than

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responses and events that it engendered, shattered *Nation Review*'s self-image and effectively terminated its perceived mission.²

Thus it was a shell-shocked *Nation Review* that was called upon to follow state elections held in the immediate aftermath of the dismissal. The focus, not just of *Nation Review*, but of the nation, was firmly on the fallout of the dismissal, and of the consequent federal election held in December 1975. While Malcolm Fraser won that election resoundingly for the Coalition, thus resolving the mechanical specifics of government, there was considerable public consternation surrounding the issues of constitution, legitimacy and democratic process. Furthermore, the extraordinariness of the Whitlam years, and their sudden end, required some form of normalizing acclimatisation, while the leadership of the Labor Party itself became an issue, and a fundamental re-evaluation of the political landscape became inevitable. While *Nation Review* had taken great delight over the years in ferreting out minor scandals, behind-the-scenes dealings and policy inconsistencies at the level of state politics, there was a strong sense that the essential, noble and worthwhile duty consisted in engagement with national politics, national interest and the national psyche.

Victoria and New South Wales were to be the first to conduct state elections in the wake of the 1975 federal election. In both instances, circumstances had conspired to create lengthy incumbencies for the respective Liberal Parties; starting with the long reign of Victoria's Henry Bolte in 1955, and of Robert Askin in NSW in 1965. Bolte's successor, Rupert Hamer, had already completed a full term in government, and in NSW Eric Willis, failing initially in his bid to succeed Askin, had ousted Thomas Lewis

conflict, for "scepticism" rather than commitment and for placid enjoyment rather than for adventure.' Frank Knopfelmacher, 'The end of Whitlam's package', *Nation Review*, (October 24, 1975), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 37.

2 John Shaw, reviewing Mungo MacCallum's book *Mungo's Canberra* in 1977, wrote: 'The book might better be called "*The Best of Mungo MacCallum*", because, sadly, the political traumas of 1975 seem to have affected his writing since. Perception has given way to pettiness, and analysis to insults.' John Shaw, 'Review: *Mungo's Canberra*', *Sun-Herald*, (October 27, 1977), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1977), p. 42.

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in January 1976. A newspaper committed to some form of progressive agenda might perhaps have been forgiven for failing to evince any enthusiasm for apparently static, parochial and conservative state politics.

The mood of the people of Australia would have been very hard to gauge at this particular moment. Individuals had formed vastly different responses to the dismissal, ranging from rage, despair and disgust, to rapturous joy, while many had become disengaged, both from specific political processes, and broader citizenship. Graham Hudson's November 1976 analysis of the Victorian election opined that 'In striking contrast to the federal election campaign some three months before, the state campaign was a non-event. Not only did the electorate seem more anxious than usual to retire from involvement in state politics, to a large extent the political parties seemed to share that desire... the parties never displayed much enthusiasm.'³ Hudson identified four reasons why it was difficult for most people to engage with the process: prosperity arising from the post-war economic boom; electoral boundaries that allowed the Liberal Party to establish an iron grip; overwhelming preferences accruing to the Liberals from the Democratic Labour Party; and the difficulty of establishing a Labor majority because of the concentration of most Labor voters in only a small number of inner-city seats.⁴ Additionally, Fraser's Liberal government at federal level was still new, and had not yet inflicted much pain. Thus, not even the right-leaning dailies could find much excitement to report, and Hamer was duly returned to government, in a business-as-usual atmosphere. *Nation Review* contented itself, in the week before the election, with a comment that Hamer's approach was to buy votes with promises, made before but

3 Graham Hudson, 'The Politics of Low Expectations: The 1976 Victorian Elections', *Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (November, 1976), (Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association, 1976), p. 191.

4 Graham Hudson, (1976), pp. 190-194.

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undelivered.⁵ Following the election, Robin Howells provided an analysis of gains and losses, and also noted that the Labor Party intended to ‘professionalize’ itself, by appointing permanent office-holders to provide media advice.⁶

New South Wales was to follow Victoria, with their election scheduled for May 14, 1976. This was a less clear-cut event: Labor had itself previously held power for an extended period (1941-1965), and, in the wake of a close loss in 1973, was better-placed to be a meaningful opponent; Willis was a new Liberal leader who, having needed to engage in some intra-party machinations to establish control, was less secure; some ill-effects had begun to filter through from the federal arena; and Labor had a new, energetic leader in Neville Wran. These factors combined to make the outcome far less predictable than the Victorian election, and worthy of closer attention from the media.

In his 1977 analysis of the NSW election, Malcolm Mackerras points out that a series of electoral boundary adjustments by previous governments had delivered clear gerrymanders to both Labor and Liberal in their times, but that four gradual changes had resulted in a favourable position for the Liberals in 1976.⁷ The factor that most surely explains Labor’s eventual victory was ‘that Labor found [in Neville Wran] a new and attractive leader’.⁸ David Clune and Ken Turner analysed the 1973 NSW election, and found that while Pat Hills (Labor) conducted a ‘traditional’ campaign, based on public meetings and announcements in the Press, Robert Askin was more attuned to ‘newer’ media, notably radio, but also television. In addition, Askin tended to bypass the

5 Robin Howells, ‘Hamer buys votes for Saturday’, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 23, (March 19, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 559.

6 Robin Howells, ‘Seeking media resources in Victoria’, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 24, (March 26, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 585.

7 Malcolm Mackerras, ‘New South Wales changes government’, *Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1, (May, 1977), (Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association, 1977), pp. 158-162.

8 Malcolm Mackerras, ‘New South Wales changes government’, *Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1, (May, 1977), (Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association, 1977), p. 159.

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Press gallery and obtain leverage from his connections with media owners.⁹ As a relative unknown, Wran, from the outset of his leadership aspirations in 1973, pursued what Scott Bennet describes in his 2001 analysis of the 1976 NSW election as a ‘sustained publicity program (sic) devised by Wran and his Press secretary, Brian Dale.’¹⁰ Bennet’s analysis emphasises both the risk inherent in Labor’s selection of Wran, and the changing face of the relationship between politicians and the media, as Wran’s publicity-conscious style took hold. Bennet notes that in the preceding election (1973), Wran had demonstrated his campaign skills by contributing to significant swings to Labor in several by-elections leading up to the state event.

Meanwhile, in the Liberal camp, Willis’ ousting of Tom Lewis, described by Trevor Kennedy as ‘one of the niftiest political coups of the decade’, came as a consequence of these swings to Labor.¹¹ Willis chose to hold the election early, partly to take advantage of the general anti-Labor sentiment accruing from Whitlam, and partly to avoid repercussions from a looming harsh federal budget, but perhaps most emphatically, to foreshorten Wran’s influence on the electorate, in the light of by-election results that indicated stronger than expected support for Labor. In terms of policy, there were some specific local issues that arose. A complex arrangement of milk-production licences was in place, restricting supply of milk to the more lucrative city areas. NSW milk prices were the highest in Australia as a consequence of this oligarchical arrangement, and it happened that several of these lucrative licences were owned by Liberal members, who failed to see any conflict of interest, thus offering an excellent target. Wran was also able to blame the Liberals for poor public transport,

9 David Clune and Ken Taylor, *The People’s Choice: Electoral Politics in 20th Century New South Wales*, ed. By Michael Hogan and David Clune, (Sydney, Parliament of New South Wales, University of Sydney, 2001), p. 104.

10 Scott Bennet, *The People’s Choice: Electoral Politics in 20th Century New South Wales*, ed. By Michael Hogan and David Clune, (Sydney, Parliament of New South Wales, University of Sydney, 2001), p. 114.

11 Trevor Kennedy, ‘The Unmaking of a premier’, *The Bulletin*, January 31, 1976, (Sydney, Consolidated Press, 1976), p 8.

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through a combination of failure to invest during the Askin years, and some misplaced transport plans based around a preference for private road transport. Association with federal politics worked adversely not only for Wran, who famously asked Whitlam to stay away from NSW, but also for Willis, since the vexed issue of revenue-raising between federal and state government had led to a scheme that allowed states to raise their own revenue through income-tax surcharges. Wran was able to link Willis to Fraser in connection with what he alleged was ‘double taxation’, a label the Liberals were unable to shake off.

In the event, large, although uneven, swings to Labor finally secured government for them, but not until final counting of closely-contested seats was completed on May 14, revealing a majority of one seat for the Labor Party.

From the aforementioned perceptions of a lack of general enthusiasm for political machinations, combined with a limited and parochial set of policy issues, it might be expected that news coverage of the 1976 NSW election, in the dailies and in *Nation Review*, would not be inspiring. Indeed, a close analysis of coverage, in the *Australian* and *Sydney Morning Herald*, as well as *Nation Review*, bears this out.

The Australian

It was firmly the view of *Nation Review* writers at the time that Rupert Murdoch and the *Australian* had a significant role leading up to, and following, Whitlam’s dismissal.¹² Denis Cryle examines the period in detail, insofar as the dismissal, the subsequent federal election and a strike by *Australian* journalists are concerned, concluding that Murdoch’s anti-Labor intervention was significant.¹³ This view should be offset, although not quashed, by the findings of two analytical studies performed by

12 Cover headline, ‘Rupert Murdoch the third man in the coup’, *Nation Review*, (November 21, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 6, p. 133.

13 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), pp. 132-150.

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Geoff Hasler and Roy Forward.¹⁴ both of whom found generally that the *Australian* was less openly opposed to Whitlam than several of the other dailies, at least in editorials. These analytical studies, based solely on editorials to the exclusion of headlines, articles and other opinions, stop short of the 1975 election, when, Cryle argues, the *Australian* entered its most strident anti-Labor phase.¹⁵ Hasler and Forward do, however, largely concur that the *Australian* wavered about a median that was unfavourable to Whitlam. Furthermore, Hasler finds overall that ‘There were twice as many editorial items that were hostile to the government as there were ones that were friendly [across all newspapers in the study].¹⁶ Meanwhile, Bridget Griffen-Foley describes a relationship between Whitlam and Murdoch that began as cool, and worsened significantly once Labor gained office, adding that ‘In early 1974 Murdoch’s business interests also ran into trouble with the Whitlam government.’¹⁷

Naturally, the underlying consideration must be whether or not editorial criticism was justified, when viewed from the perspective of a voting citizen. One would hope that newspapers, acting in the role of ‘the fourth estate’ would not stint on criticism where it was justified by poor government, or, in the case of an election campaign, poor or unsubstantiated policy claims. Additionally, a thorough study would require a similar analysis of commentary about the opposition parties, in order to reveal any bias along party lines. Furthermore, one may only judge meaningfully the validity of criticism or praise if one has some form of Olympian perspective, allowing one to

14 Geoff Hasler, ‘The press and Labor 1972-1974: an analysis of editorials in four Australian newspapers’, *Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (May, 1977), (Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association, 1977), pp. 130-136, and Roy Forward, ‘Editorial opinion and the Whitlam government’, *Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (May, 1977), (Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association, 1977), pp. 136-141.

15 ‘Not content with appointing an editor whose views were strongly anti-Labor, in contrast with the centrist policies of Hall, Murdoch then used Rothwell’s appointment as editor-in-chief [in mid-1976] to override Hollings’s control of the *Australian*, as part of his vehement, new-found hostility to Labor, particularly Gough Whitlam.’ Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 132.

16 Roy Forward, ‘Editorial opinion and the Whitlam government’, *Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (May, 1977), (Sydney, Australasian Political Studies Association, 1977), p. 138.

17 Bridget Griffen-Foley, *Party Games: Australian Politicians and the Media from War to Dismissal*, (Melbourne, Text Publishing Company, 2003), p. 206.

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evaluate newspapers' reporting and editorials against unreported actualities (the truth). Few people are in a position to know, except in hindsight, the degree to which reporting is accurate, and editorials are apposite.

Cryle goes on to consider the attitude of the *Australian* to state politics, noting that it had expanded its coverage of the states through its new 'Focus on the Nation' page in weekend editions. Labor premier Don Dunstan in South Australia initially favoured the Murdoch Press (including the *Adelaide News*) over its (then) more conservative local counterpart (*The Advertiser*). Ruth Starke notes, 'Television and radio were targeted first, so that the press, and particularly *The Advertiser*, which was not pro-Dunstan, would be forced to follow up the next morning.'¹⁸ Dunstan's relationship with the *Australian* deteriorated dramatically after the dismissal of Whitlam. Cryle discusses 'the Left's deep-seated distrust of Murdoch's intentions' as part of the reason behind this deterioration.¹⁹ In New South Wales, following his election, Neville Wran managed a reasonable relationship with Murdoch, in line with his general media 'savvy', although it seems to have come at a price, including the awarding of a state lottery license to Murdoch interests.²⁰

There can be little doubt about the *Australian's* leanings in the lead-up to the 1976 NSW election. Between the announcement of the election on March 22, to the point where the result was clear, May 14, the *Australian* printed 28 election-related articles. Using lenient judgment, an assessment of the headlines carried by these 28 articles shows that 13 are favourable to Willis, while 5 are favourable to Wran (although 1 of the 5 is a continuation headline on another page). Willis receives 1 unfavourable

18 Ruth Starke, 'Media Don: a political enigma in pink shorts', *Australian Book Review* website, (March, 2013), < <https://www.australianbookreview.com.au/abr-online/current-issue/86-march-2013-no-349/1362-media-don> > [accessed May 20, 2015].

19 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 151.

20 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), pp. 150-154.

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headline, while Wran receives 3. Of the 28 headlines, 6 could be considered neutral. A more detailed review of the headlines is even more disquieting. Of the articles favourable to Wran, 2 occur right at the end of vote-counting, rather than before voting closed. Of the favourable headlines for each leader, Willis is named in 12 out of 13, while Wran is named in 4, 1 of which is a continuation, and 2 of which are the aforementioned late items. Of the 'neutral' headlines, 3 occur after the close of voting, 2 are information announcements, and 1 names Fraser in a positive context, which may be considered favourable to the Liberals. The headline counted as 'unfavourable' to Willis ('*Willis trailing Wran by 14pc in poll*' – April 9) might be counted as neutral, in that it is a factual statement, and, in any case, the expression is revealing – the headline might just as well have read '*Wran leads Willis by 14pc in poll*', which would suggest optimism on behalf of Wran, as opposed to the pessimism on behalf of Willis that is implicit in the chosen wording. Overall, there appears to be a strong identification of the *Australian* with Willis, and the election is viewed from the Willis perspective.

	Australian headlines NSW election 1976	By	Pro-Willis	Anti-Willis	Neutral	Pro-Wran	Anti-Wran	Total
22-Mar	Hamer victory spurs Willis to polls	A	x					
26-Mar	Willis for 'decency'	A	x					
1-Apr	NSW goes to poll on May 1st	P			x			
6-Apr	Willis tips tax cuts before poll	T	x					
7-Apr	Labor pledges 20% cut in bus, rail fares	T				x		
8-Apr	Whitlam ignores 'stay aw ay' plea by Wran	T					x	
8-Apr	Labor's w in a threat to benefits	C					x	
9-Apr	Willis trailing Wran by 14pc in poll	A		x				
10-Apr	Fraser gives states extra \$350 million	M			x			
10-Apr	Willis hopes to cut taxes after new federal deal	M	x					
12-Apr	Willis pledges higher pensions	A	x					
13-Apr	Wran rejects double taxation	T				x		
13-Apr	Wran pledge on state taxation	T				x		
15-Apr	Willis pledges tax and rates reform	A	x					
15-Apr	Willis promises reforms	A	x					
20-Apr	Election rift on milk quota row	T			x			
22-Apr	Dunstan office 'leaked Willis tax plan'	T	x					
23-Apr	Income tax to replace payroll levy says Willis	T	x					
30-Apr	Willis predicts 25-seat majority	A	x					
1-May	*** Election Day ***		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1-May	Cliff hanger poll	A			x			
3-May	ALP control hinges on independent	P					x	

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4-May	Liberals gain in marginal NSW seats	A	x					
4-May	Parochial issues' swing NSW poll	B			x			
5-May	Two seats keep voters guessing	A			x			
7-May	Willis ready to give Labor victory	T	x					
11-May	Willis threat to stop Wran's bills	T	x					
11-May	Wran launches inquiry into road book gift	A				x		
12-May	Wran to confront Fraser on state tax issue	T				x		
	Totals		13	1	6	5	3	28
A = ANONYMOUS		P = POLITICAL STAFF		M = BARNEY MURRAY				
T = PETER TERRY		C = PHILIP CORNFORD		B = WARREN BEEBY				

Articles containing what may be described as local perspectives are mostly either unattributed or written by Peter Terry. No record can be discovered that clarifies Terry's role at the *Australian*, nor whether any of the unattributed articles were in fact penned by him. Based solely on their content, one may conclude that Terry's articles indicate a local NSW political journalist, obedient either to a Murdoch directive, or himself a Liberal sympathiser, given the modes of expression used in them. For example, the April 20 article '*Election rift on milk quota row*' relies heavily on quotations from Leon Punch, leader of the NSW National Party, and Deputy Premier. The thrust of the article maintains that the 'milk quota row' is a fabrication of the Labor party, and that dairymen who are dissatisfied with the system are 'dupes of Labor'. While acknowledging that Punch himself is a major beneficiary of the scheme then in place, the article does not pursue any element of conflict of interest (in fact 9 Liberal MLA's, including 5 ministers, owned quota licences), and the notion that the issue is a Labor Party stunt ought to be easily confirmed or rejected by a committed neutral journalist.²¹

In summary, articles printed in the *Australian* consist either of straight reporting of process ('*Fraser gives states extra \$350 million*', April 10), or else of Liberal Party policy announcements, stated in either neutral or positive terms, without criticism or comment either from the newspaper, or from opposition voices. As an exception, albeit from the opposite direction, '*Wran pledge on state taxation*', April 13, is a report of Wran's Election

21 Scott Bennet, *The People's Choice: Electoral Politics in 20th Century New South Wales*, ed. By Michael Hogan and David Clune, (Sydney, Parliament of New South Wales, University of Sydney, 2001), p. 129.

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Policy speech. The article begins with an item-by-item list of Wran's pledges, but then moves in the second half to a response from Willis, who takes the opportunity to link Wran to Whitlam, and to impugn Wran's honesty. Wran was offered no equivalent opportunity to respond to Willis' pledges. Denial of Liberal Party bias would be difficult for the *Australian* to sustain, on the sole basis of the content of election articles and their headlines.

As a whole, the *Australian's* coverage of the election is uninspired, lacking either depth or comprehensiveness, and adds nothing of substance to public knowledge or debate. Issues are not analysed by impartial 'experts', so no supplementary information is offered that may have assisted voters to assess policy stances, and no effort seems to have gone into testing policy statements. Added to the pointed bias of coverage, these shortcomings indicate either complacency or disengagement.

The Sydney Morning Herald

As the NSW organ of public record, and the undisputed voice of authority, the *Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)* had a responsibility to address the 1976 election in a thorough and even-handed way. In 1976 newspapers remained the principal source of information about elections, in terms of policy positions, electorate information, analysis of issues and, of course, the fundamental responsibility for public scrutiny of the whole process. Higher standards should apply to key local news sources. This is, in effect, a mutually-agreed, although unstated, compact between the public and their main news sources—in return for market dominance, influence and financial well-being, the news source is expected to offer high-quality service that can be trusted, and that provides comprehensive material. This 'understanding' can become a challenge in the coverage of a state election. A state election invariably involves a potential collision amongst competing interests and influences, many of which directly affect the newspaper itself, particularly in cases where newspaper ownership can be just one element of its

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proprietor's business, financial and political interests. When a newspaper becomes the instrument of public record, over and above its role as a mere newspaper, the need for independence that allows journalists to investigate issues in-depth and without fear or threat becomes paramount. Whereas national issues are, at least potentially, open to inspection by several disparate, well-equipped media organizations, it is almost inevitably the case, in Australia, that the dominant state-based newspaper is best placed to address a state election adequately for public confidence. It is in this light that an analysis of the performance of *SMH* in the 1976 NSW election needs to be conducted.

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, as would be expected, gave considerable prominence to the 1976 election. The chosen approach was to reserve space near the front of the newspaper (usually page 1 or 2) and to group all articles relating to the election in a special section, marked by a logo consisting of a map of NSW with the caption 'Election 1976' enclosed within it. This approach is significant in relation to the newspaper's positioning vis-à-vis the election and its outcome. Several mechanisms immediately become available that help to ensure an even-handed treatment of the parties and their issues: election material is grouped for easy location by interested readers; the significance of material tends to be levelled, since the temptation to use prominent location or headlines is obviated; a more direct process of comparison of policy and candidates can be made since all material is grouped together; any bias in reporting tends to be made more obvious; knowledge of this layout may tend to remind journalists that any bias they display in their writing will be more apparent. Conversely, *SMH* does a service to those who have become disengaged by the political process, since for them it becomes easy to identify and avoid any references to the election.

Associated with the election section is a regularly-appearing feature that focuses on specific electoral seats, explaining local issues and introducing the opposing candidates and their views. This is an effective device, since, while providing residents

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with specific information about their candidates and their issues, the focus also facilitates the introduction of a broader range of issues, outside the headline-grabbing major elements. Additionally, the backgrounds of candidates can be expanded to encompass more complex relationships to issues, and to reveal any relevant current or past associations.

There are two crucial additions to this format of coverage: the Editorial, and supplementary articles that explore specific issues in greater depth than occurs within the standard format. Coverage within the standard format, and in additional articles, is considered below. In general, it withstands analysis well, in terms of depth, balance and relevance. Examination of the editorials, however, reveals a surprisingly defiant degree of partiality to the Willis government, when contrasted with journalistic coverage.

Editorials leading up to election-day tended to address the election in only a few brief paragraphs, before moving on to other topics. Where the election was mentioned, however, there was a tendency to link Wran with federal Labor, evoking the shadow of Whitlam, and implying a wasteful, chaotic form of socialism. This was contrasted with a continuation of a steady, reliable Liberal government, committed to maintaining the status quo.²² The Editorial of April 29 argued that previously-feasible partnerships between State Labor governments and Liberal Federal governments, were no longer tenable, because of Labor-induced 'imbalance and dissonance', whereas re-election of the Liberal government would promote 'more flexible, modern forms of government.'²³ Logic would suggest that the combination of a Liberal Federal government with a Labor

22 'Sweet are the uses of personal publicity, no doubt, but Mr Wran cannot convincingly separate himself from the Labor Party, either in federal or state fields.' And 'The Willis government's policy, despite predictable trade union reaction, is at least intended to promote harmony between capital and labour.' Editorial, 'The Class War', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 28, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 6. Also 'Mr Wran has judged it expedient (and in this at least he is realistic) to put "distance" between himself and Whitlamism.' Editorial, 'Crucial Issue', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 29, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 6.

23 Editorial, 'Your vote today', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 29, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 1.

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State government had already been extensively experienced in NSW (1949-1965), so any claims about dissonance were at best shaky, and could only be speculative. South Australians might also have pointed out that Don Dunstan had managed the trick with marked success prior to 1972.

SMH promoted the election-day Editorial, in its entirety, to page 1 (Editorials increasingly found their way to more prominent locations in this period), where it shared a prominent space, set within an article by John O'Hara, bearing the headline '3 million voters have their say'. The Editorial is headed 'Your vote today', a seemingly innocuous or balanced title. Immediately though, the editorial not only directly links Wran with Whitlam, but makes the facetious claim that the people of NSW have already made their decision, when they rejected Whitlam federally. The next sentence, 'Mr Wran is simply Mr Whitlam writ small; the party he leads is Mr Whitlam's party, committed to the same objectives of socialism, class war and strangulation of the states...'.²⁴ The editorial becomes increasingly excessive in its claims, cataloguing a litany of imagined evils, all ascribed to both Whitlam and Wran, with the additional insult to Wran that he is constantly alluded to as inferior in stature and significance to Whitlam. The sum effect approaches a diatribe, narrowly remaining within control. The editorial closes with a contrasting portrayal of the Liberal Party as 'a party with a long record of honest government', and attempts to defuse the perception of Wran as a stronger leader than Willis, by suggesting that Willis 'has already shown that he can set a spanking pace'.

One may perhaps expect that an editorial would present an opportunity to colour a situation through the use of selective observation, emphasising of positive aspects or undisguised praise for a particular interpretation or protagonist. The pre-election editorials in *SMH* step beyond convention, into vitriolic attack, making claims

²⁴ Editorial, 'Your vote today', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (May 1, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 1.

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that do not always have any basis in fact.²⁵ Bennet writes ‘Wran apparently never forgave the newspaper these attacks’.²⁶ Tiffen notes that ‘No doubt reflecting the tensions of the campaign and the closeness of the coming contest, on election eve Wran publicly abused O’Hara [chief political correspondent, *SMH*].²⁷ Steketee and Cockburn expand on this incident, suggesting that O’Hara was simply the unfortunate representative of *SMH* who happened to be present when Wran made what was ‘not the gesture of a leader preparing to be generous in victory’. In the view of Steketee and Cockburn, ‘O’Hara had been fair in his reporting of the election news, though critical of Labor in several feature articles’.²⁸

Max Suich, writing for *The Age* in 2004, claimed that:

In that era [1975], newspaper proprietors in Australia had the absolute authority, often wielded, to issue what journalists of the day called "riding instructions". I doubt if it could or would be done [now] in the brutal, even bizarre, manner of 1975-76, which provoked a journalists' strike at *The Australian* and the sacking or resignation of scores of the newspaper's most talented staff.

Suich goes on to point out that:

[U]ntil the Fairfax family lost control of their company in 1987, the board and chairman preserved their right to decide which party their papers would endorse (and in the postwar period the ALP only got the Fairfax tick twice). In the 1970s Sir Warwick Fairfax not only made the decision on who the papers would endorse but also sought to restrain criticism and embarrassment of the favoured side.²⁹

25 ‘Judging by his policy speech, Mr Wran has no ideas about industrial relations, but his party most certainly has, and the party will prevail.’ Editorial, ‘The Class War’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 28, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 6. And ‘A vote for Labor is a vote for an outdated and discredited Commonwealth-States relationship, a vote against reform, a vote for imbalance and dissonance in our federal system.’ Editorial, ‘Crucial Issue’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 29, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 6.

26 Scott Bennet, *The People’s Choice: Electoral Politics in 20th Century New South Wales*, ed. By Michael Hogan and David Clune, (Sydney, Parliament of New South Wales, University of Sydney, 2001), p. 127.

27 Rodney Tiffen, ‘Wran and the Media’, *The Wran Era*, ed. By Troy Bramston, (Sydney, Federation Press, 2006), p. 107.

28 Mike Steketee and Milton Cockburn, *Wran: An Unauthorised Biography*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 123.

29 Max Suich, ‘Media Bias: Read all about it’, *The Age website*, (September 10, 2004), <<http://www.theage.com.au/artides/2004/09/09/1094530764780.html>> [accessed November 20, 2013].

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Gavin Souter has explored in depth the convolutions and complexities of a company that, in 1853, became solely owned by the Fairfax family (on the withdrawal of partner Charles Kemp), when John Fairfax took his son Charles into partnership in Kemp's place.³⁰ Sir Warwick Fairfax served as managing director during a period when the company was still owned and controlled by members of the Fairfax family, although a non-family general manager was responsible for the day-to-day operational and executive decisions. Notably Rupert Henderson had this role from 1938 to 1949, when a share-issue caused a reorganization, in which Angus McLaughlin was given the title of general manager, while Henderson, now a shareholder, became managing director. A new title, governing director, was coined for Sir Warwick.³¹ In reality, Henderson continued to wield operational power until his retirement in 1964, when he was succeeded by McLaughlin. Following McLaughlin's heart attack in 1969, R. P. Falkingham became managing director, and was in that position at the time of the NSW election.

There was a general sense among the Fairfaxes that Henderson's shoes would not be satisfactorily filled by other contenders, and Sir Warwick had the view that he should be granted 'full executive and administrative powers'.³² Other family members were not comfortable with this notion, and, ultimately, a novel solution was found when Sir Warwick was constituted a 'Committee of One', replacing the managing director position, while Falkingham became general manager. The Committee of One stood from December 1969 until 1977, placing considerable influence in Sir Warwick's hands at the time of the 1976 NSW election.

30 Souter, (1991).

31 Souter, (1991), pp. 44-63.

32 Souter, (1991), p. 66.

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Sir Warwick's interests ranged wide, but were firmly based on conservative ideas of empire, monarchy and religion. In 1944 he had incurred the wrath of Henderson by writing a series of articles claiming that heavier emphasis on religion and morality was essential in order to resolve industrial turmoil.³³ McLaughlin as well had to contend with intervention by Sir Warwick when, in 1969, Sir Warwick complained about an editorial that appeared to favour republicanism, having already provided an unsolicited critique of Fairfax newspapers in 1968.³⁴ The period of operation of the Committee of One was marked by anxiety caused through Sir Warwick's abuse of 'his power and authority by interference when he wants to'.³⁵

This degree of intervention, the ideological stance of Sir Warwick, and his powerful ability to intervene at any level in any area of the newspaper's operations, seem sufficient to explain the vehemence of the *SMH* pre-election Editorials. It can explain the difference between viewpoints as expressed in editorials versus articles, particularly if, at Fairfax, there was a wish to avoid overt opposition within the ranks of *SMH* journalists, similar to what had, somewhat embarrassingly, occurred at the *Australian*. Tiffen adds: 'Wran had overcome the proprietors' editorial hostility partly by cultivating a sense of intimacy and friendship with the Press gallery.'³⁶ In other words, Wran saw the futility of trying to win over Sir Warwick, and chose instead to cultivate good relations with journalists, in the hope that favourable reporting would trump editorial influence.

The first of the dedicated sections appeared on page 2 of the April 16 edition. Carrying the by-line 'By the Industrial Editor', the opening article describes government interest in a proposed scheme to offer company shares to workers, in an attempt to

33 Souter, (1991) p. 47.

34 Souter, (1991) p. 65.

35 Memorandum from John Bremer Fairfax to Sir Vincent Fairfax, as quoted in Souter, (1991), p. 69.

36 Tiffen, (2006), p. 107.

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reduce industrial unrest. Other articles discuss a proposed Trade Union Affairs Commission (again to deal with union-inspired industrial action), criticism of Wran by Willis regarding Wran's rejection of Fraser's 'federalism' approach to state taxation (or 'double taxation' from Wran's perspective), and urging by union officials to delay appointment of a railway commissioner until after the election. Generally, articles in the election section do not carry by-lines, or any form of identification of the contributor, as was common practice. The first electorate profile (Hurstville) offers a timely discussion of a proposed port facility in Botany Bay, with opposing views that include the balance of economic benefit against environmental concerns, and implications for transport and other infrastructure.

Overall, this first example of the *SMH's* coverage sets the pattern for the rest of the election. Balance between the opposing leaders is even, with equal space being allocated to their statements. Incumbent parties tend to have an advantage in elections, being able to present themselves as the achievers of various beneficial programmes, to carry the authority that goes with titles, status and involvement, and, most significantly, to control the use of funds—pork-barrelling. This advantage, despite efforts at balance, is reflected in the overall coverage of April 16, primarily because the worker-incentive scheme is given prominence and is a positively-stated initiative, and secondly because the coverage of Hurstville plays to the benefits of incumbency. To a greater or lesser extent, a slight favouring of the Willis government continues in subsequent coverage, up to election day. For example, the April 24 election feature leads with 'Pulpit advice on voting', a strong pro-government angle, attempting to leverage the concern held by the large number of catholics in NSW about Labor's pro-abortion policy. This is, to some extent, balanced by 'ALP plan to help building industry'.³⁷ While offering coverage of

37 Alan Gill, 'Pulpit advice on voting', and Kieth Martin, 'ALP plan to help building industry', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 24, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 4.

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issues that favour both parties, the balance of persuasion falls towards the Liberal government.

In an interesting departure from the 'Election 1976' section, the issue of *SMH* for April 21 (page 2), while including a specific election section, carries another, quite separate, article on page 8. The page 8 article addresses the milk quota question, and bears a by-line for John O'Hara, *SMH's* chief political correspondent at the time. The article's headline—*Milk would cost more under Labor-Punch*—alludes to Leon Punch and his position on the milk distribution system, as it was being affected by the allocation and ownership of quota licenses. From the headline, and from the first few paragraphs, this article appears to be a straight promotion of the government's stance on this issue. Punch accuses Labor of threatening to destroy stability and order in the milk industry by ending the quota system, and suggests that consumers as well as producers would be hurt by the changes; both good altruistic reasons for maintaining the existing system. Interestingly, Punch announces that his government would introduce compensation for any loss in value of milk quota licenses. Readers who were aware that several ministers were owners of milk quotas may by this time have been feeling some disquiet, but at this point the article changes tack, mentioning a debate held the previous evening on the ABC's *This Day Tonight* programme. On that programme, Alex Armstrong, chairman of the Dairy Farmers Action Group, had said that 'His group believed that in the public interest people who made the laws, if they were likely to have any financial gain from the laws should declare their interest publicly.'³⁸ O'Hara then quotes an affronted Joseph Calcraft, Liberal member, as saying that Armstrong 'was casting doubts on the

38 John O'Hara, 'Milk would cost more under Labor-Punch', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 21, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 8.

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integrity of members of Parliament who had quotas'. The article ends with 'Mr Calcraft said he had earned his quota and made no apology for it.'³⁹

One of two things is going on in this article: it is either 'straight' reporting, in which case O'Hara seems to find nothing untoward in the stance adopted by quota-holding members; or it is a superbly subtle exposure of the arrogant attitudes of a group of jaded politicians, made complacent by their extended term in power. The article also contains a small seed of the coming change in the political/media landscape; the issue, which Liberal quota-holding members would no doubt like to see disappear, has been rejuvenated by its inclusion on the TV programme *This Day Tonight*. The immediacy and power of television as a political implement is beginning to be felt, while a sobering cold draft wafts over the consequent dwindling ability of newspaper proprietors to directly influence the political agenda. It is not accidental that newspaper proprietors at the time were jockeying for control of television stations.⁴⁰

A 'new' constituency had been gaining ground since the early 1970s—female voters. Largely overlooked in the misogynist, blokey world of post-war Australia, women had begun to influence election outcomes, and to set policy agendas, through such organizations as the Women's Electoral Lobby, forceful entry into the Australian Journalists' Association, and as a result of realignment of 'women's magazines', away from purely domestic topics and towards politically-significant viewpoints. Acknowledging this shift, *SMH* had been revamping its *LOOK* section. This section may be described as a 'lifestyle' section, with a focus on a female perspective. By no means completely liberated, the *LOOK* section dealt with fashion, household matters

39 John O'Hara, 'Milk would cost more under Labor-Punch', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 21, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 8.

40 Fairfax was an early entrant into TV, with a share in ATS 7 (1956), increasing to 94% by 1964, by which time it also had acquired CTC and ATV. The key media interests in Australia had been jockeying for control over press and TV interests throughout the 1970s, culminating in battle between Murdoch and Fairfax over the Herald and Weekly Times group in 1979, involving complex trade-offs between press and TV holdings. See Souter, (1991), pp. 54, 61, 75-78.

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and entertainment, but, increasingly, articles were beginning to appear in this section whose purpose was to enlist women in particular causes, both political and social. In line with this development, the LOOK section for Thursday April 22, 1976, carried a feature on the respective leaders of the major parties, their attitudes to feminist issues, and their policy positions on matters considered to be of particular interest to female readers. The article offers a deliberately balanced treatment, using a split page in which each panel bears a reasonably flattering photograph, a similar heading, and equal word-count for both Wran and Willis. It is an informative presentation, encapsulating the leaders' respective attitudes, and, incidentally, revealing perhaps more effectively than any other platform, some essential differences. Wran presents as progressive, passionate about emerging issues including family planning, and determined to introduce a broad range of innovative policies. Willis directly supports 'traditional' family values and the woman's place in that construct. A summary of key policies for each party is also presented, allowing readers to form a quick understanding of the broad sweep of each leader's position.

On April 28 *SMH* gathered together a small collection of readers' letters.⁴¹ It is not clear whether this was the sum total of letters, or whether some selective process has occurred. The letters seem to reflect rather arcane interests (council amalgamations, horse-racing, religious interference) rather than expressing any discernibly dominant theme. A reasonable balance seems to be evident, either by accident or design. Apart from this selection, few readers seem to have been moved sufficiently to write to the editor, suggesting that, overall, readers, and voters, were largely unmoved by the 1976 election.

According to Wran's Press secretary, Brian Dale,

41 'Readers' views on the election', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (April 28, 1976), (Sydney, John Fairfax & Sons, 1976), p. 7.

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Whereas none of the other editorials advocated direct support for Wran they were not, in his eyes, as vicious as that in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. In the ten days between polling day and the night Willis conceded, Wran referred frequently to the *Sydney Morning Herald* editorials... 'If we win we should try and defuse their hatred of us. It may be a vain attempt but we'll try it.'⁴²

Many, including members of the Labor Party, suspected that awarding the NSW Lotto license, in 1979, to a curious amalgamation of Murdoch, Packer and Sangster, formed a part of this attempt to ingratiate Wran with newspaper interests.⁴³

Nation Review

In 1976, while putting himself through law school, a young Malcolm Turnbull was also working as 'a stringer for *Nation Review*'.⁴⁴ Turnbull was submitting regular articles about NSW politics, and was thus well-placed to head up *Nation Review*'s coverage of the 1976 NSW election.⁴⁵ He was able to establish a starting point early on, during the lead-up to the Victorian election, when, in the NSW Parliament, Premier Eric Willis said during a speech 'I cannot for the life of me understand why honourable gentlemen opposite rely entirely on *Nation Review* and other similar muck-raking journals as their sources of information.'⁴⁶ Turnbull segues this introduction into a report about Wran's challenge in connection with another Liberal financial scandal, implicating planning and environment minister John Fuller in a potential conflict of interests

42 Brian Dale, *Ascent to power...*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1985), p. 108.

43 John Pilger refers to the situation as 'Perhaps the most significant bonding of new Mates', adding 'Wran's pragmatism did not go unrecognised; during his decade as political boss of NSW he was often supported by the Packer and Murdoch media...'

John Pilger, *A Secret Country*, (London, Cape, p. 259.

Cryle notes 'But if the Wranisation of News Limited in New South Wales accommodated Murdoch's business interests, notably during the government's controversial Lotto license allocation to Murdoch and Packer interests, such concessions continued to rankle with sections of the union movement and the party itself.'

Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 152.

44 Malcolm Turnbull, 'Interview with Malcolm Turnbull', conducted by Matt Smith, *Audio Politics and Society, the Upstart website*, (January 25, 2012), < <http://www.upstart.net.au/2012/01/25/interview-with-malcolm-turnbull/> > [accessed November 18, 2013].

45 Not to everyone's satisfaction – reader Leslie Katz, for instance, took exception to Turnbull's lack of 'regard for accuracy a law student (to say nothing of a journalist) should [have]', and to his immodesty in claiming credit for the achievements of others. Leslie Katz, 'Letters', *Nation Review*, (October 31, 1975), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 3, p. 54.

46 As reported by Malcolm Turnbull, 'Wran continues tough offensive', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 21 (March 5, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 513.

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relating to a property and planning permission issue. Turnbull's focus is on Wran's strong and well-crafted attack, but also provides a detailed account of the situation that led to the allegation. Foreshadowing the milk quota episode, Turnbull concludes his article by focussing on the central ethical matter, of whether a minister should be permitted to make government decisions that affect his own financial position.

Brian Dale describes the almost cloak-and-dagger machinations of Willis as he struggled to assemble a strategy for the timing of the 1976 election.⁴⁷ This is essentially an 'insider's view', as seen from the Wran camp. Willis announced on March 31 that the election was to be held May 1. The first edition of *Nation Review* to emerge after Willis's election-date announcement (April 2, 1976) carried an article, again by Malcolm Turnbull, that seems to have been well-informed about the government (Willis's) perspective.⁴⁸ Turnbull's account meshes convincingly with that of Dale, in terms of a very complex sequence and timing of events. Turnbull's account stresses the rather clumsy and dishonest attempt by Willis to hoodwink the Press by denying the imminence of the election, and claims that this strategy adversely affected Willis's standing with the Press.

Turnbull then addresses the reasons for Willis's calling of an early election, and considers what issues will come to dominate the respective parties' campaigns. Turnbull is cynical in dismissing Willis's recent efforts to defuse some issues, describing them as "papering" gestures'. In a closely-argued assessment of Wran's situation, Turnbull concludes that Wran will need to win disparate seats, based on local matters, rather than attempt to establish a state-wide swing, and opines that the question of public transport reform may well determine the outcome of the election.

47 Brian Dale, *Ascent to power...*, (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1985), pp. 92-100.

48 Malcolm Turnbull, 'Petrol and death take NSW to polls', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 25 (April 2, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 605.

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Indicative of Wran's understanding of the importance of media, *Nation Review* carries a large (half-page) advertisement on behalf of the ALP, and featuring Wran himself.⁴⁹ This suggests an awareness also of the political leanings of *Nation Review* readers, or at least an assumption that readers would be receptive. Possibly using similar reasoning, Willis placed no advertising with *Nation Review*, although an alternative analysis may be that Willis was dismissive of the newspaper as a consequence of a weaker understanding of media management.

Nation Review for April 16, 1976, again assigns the task of election-watching to Malcolm Turnbull. His article, 'NSW is in turveyland', considers the unusual turn that electioneering has taken in NSW, where, traditionally, Labor tended to rely on the involvement of federal associates to bolster state candidates, while the Liberals usually campaigned on the strength of local identities.⁵⁰ In this case Turnbull notes that Wran is actively keeping Whitlam at arms' length, while the Liberal strategy is to try to establish an unbreakable nexus between Wran and Whitlam. In Turnbull's view, this strategy is flawed, both because NSW voters will not recognize an equivalence, and because attempts by governments to portray oppositions in a negative light do not usually succeed. He is also puzzled by Willis's resorting to 'the old-fashioned pork barrel style of electioneering'. Turnbull is critical of Willis's approach to costing his promises, and detects some technical shortcomings that he says were not noticed or investigated by the daily Press. The second half of this lengthy article turns to the relationship between Fraser's federal government and the states, as Turnbull notes that, while Fraser has taken steps to ensure that dealings with Labor states, such as South Australia, are equally satisfactory to their Liberal counterparts, Willis appears to be stressing a notion that

49 Advertisement, 'ALP supporters, your support is needed now', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 26 (April 9, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 633.

50 Malcolm Turnbull, 'NSW is in turvyland', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 27 (April 16, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 653.

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only Liberal-to-Liberal relationships will operate successfully under Fraser's new federalism proposals. Turnbull then wonders what reasons Fraser might put forward in favour of Willis, and suggests that Fraser's accusations of over-commitment by Wran cannot be sustained, given Willis's own pork-barreling, and adoption of many Labor-inspired policies. This argument leads Turnbull to a discussion of Wran's 'double-taxation' accusation directed at the Fraser federalism proposal. Again resorting to close technical reasoning about the ways that taxation operates, Turnbull notes that Wran's strategy may lead to longer-term difficulties if Wran is indeed elected, or that he may need to change his rhetoric during the campaign.

'A Sydney correspondent' writes about a government project awarded without tender, for the construction of a new NSW parliament house building, in *Nation Review* for April 16.⁵¹ While this subject is not strictly related to the election, it does have repercussions, since there appears to be some confusion about the propriety of the arrangement, and some concern as to whether Wran would honour the arrangement if elected. The correspondent wryly notes that, since in NSW the opposition is the more disadvantaged in terms of facilities, Leon Punch's (public works minister) decision to proceed suggests that he expects to lose the election.

Nation Review for April 23 offered the final real opportunity for commentary about the NSW election, since the edition for April 30 would be finalised just before Election Day. In fact, the April 30 edition contained no mention of the election, reverting instead to matters of national focus. Reflecting this situation, the April 23 edition contained three items that might be said to relate to the election. Malcolm Turnbull returned with another article directly addressing the election.⁵² Helen

51 A Sydney Correspondent, 'Refusing to tender for a new house', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 27, (April 16, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 655.

52 Malcolm Turnbull, 'A boring election bad for NSW Labor', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 28, (April 23, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 677.

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Townsend contributed an article about the removal of condom machines from Wynyard railway station.⁵³ John Singleton added his comments within the *Advertising* section.⁵⁴

Malcolm Turnbull's offering for this week centred on the 'flatness' of the election campaigns, suggesting that the initial flood of policy releases had waned to a mere trickle, with more than a week yet to run. Turnbull's view was that the 'boringness' of the election was an inherent aspect of state-level politics, 'nothing but a long, grey horizon of mundanity', addressing transport, milk prices, class sizes and conveyancing costs. In Turnbull's view, a boring election is more likely to favour the incumbent government, regardless of the flair, or lack of it, displayed by the party leaders. One issue that may rejuvenate the campaign though, is the milk-pricing and quota situation, with the Dairy Farmers Action Group now focussing on marginal electorates and removing their support from the Liberals. For Turnbull, yet another conflict-of-interest story may also hamper the Liberal Party—this time, Liberal Candidate for Kirribili, Bruce McDonald, who had apparently held directorships with many companies, some of which made significant profits, while others were entering into receivership, suggesting some form of manipulation. Turnbull concludes by noting that Willis had denied any wrongdoing on McDonald's part, despite an inquiry by the corporate affairs commission.

Helen Townsend's story concerns the removal of condom vending machines from Wynyard railway station, following a mention of their existence on a Mike Willesee television programme. While not directly related to the election, this story does exemplify a split in community standards and viewpoints. The fact that events occurred in a railway station at a time when public transport, and in particular railways, was

53 Helen Townsend, 'The NSW railways v. the safe ways', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 28 (April 23, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 679.

54 John Singleton, 'The bold and boring Lib/Lab shuffle', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 28 (April 23, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 681.

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receiving severe criticism, tended to cause a link in voters' minds with the general matter of public transport and its place in a community. Anecdotal evidence suggested that, since the programme, several underage boys had been seen buying condoms from these machines. Given the shift in community values pertaining to sex, this was a pivotal moment for the matter to arise. On the one hand, authoritative figures (tending to the right) considered that this situation encouraged underage sex, and the machines should be removed, while progressive advocates (identified with the left) felt that, if underage sex were occurring, it would happen anyway, and at least protection measures would reduce unwanted pregnancy, so the machines should be replaced. This presents a stark, black-and-white incarnation of the struggle between traditional morality and the new permissiveness, and represents a choice between conservative and reformist viewpoints. Appearing just prior to an election in which Willis was proclaiming the dangers of a socialist government, while Wran was decrying the stagnation of the conservatives, this article may well have provided readers with a clear moral choice, more compelling than obtuse concepts such as phantom 'double taxation', or shady conflicts of interest.

Nation Review's last word before the election fell, somewhat ironically, to John Singleton. Singleton had by this time become wealthy as a result of successful involvement with media development (advertising, and radio stations). A committed advocate of laissez-faire social structures, he, along with rural property magnate Sinclair Hill, had formed the Workers' Party in January 1975. In appropriately Machiavellian style, the Workers' Party was in fact a party that in essence sought to remove all rights from workers, by advocating the virtual abolition of government, to make way for Adam Smith's 'invisible hand'. What may be termed 'the Singleton factor' is an important element of Australian life in the mid-seventies, when (sometimes heated) debate revolved around the 'ocker'. This phenomenon is discussed in detail elsewhere in

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this thesis.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Singleton had submitted a contribution to *Nation Review*'s February 6, 1976 issue, under the sporadically-appearing *The Media* heading. The article dealt with a revamp of Fairfax's Sydney newspaper the *Sun*, and is disparaging of what Singleton considers to be a pointless exercise that had made no improvement.⁵⁶ It is not clear how Singleton came to offer this piece; it may have been a casual arrangement, or it may have been commissioned. One can imagine that the views of an undisputed media expert at the height of his influence would be attractive, and Singleton may have felt that the *Ferret* offered an opportunity to enhance the 'ocker' line. In any case, the article was not particularly controversial, and the *Sun* may not have been high in *Nation Review* readers' awareness. The article did, however, elicit a letter from a reader asking whether, in fact, it was the same Singleton who was 'convenor of the Workers(?) party (alias League of Rights)'.⁵⁷

Singleton returns for an article under *Advertising*, another sporadically-used heading, in the April 2, 1976 issue, titled 'Ockers triumphant—they are us'.⁵⁸ This may perhaps be seen as a self-serving exercise, in that it claims that the type of cheap, low-quality 'ocker' advertisements made infamous by Singleton, derive from a valid and legitimate tradition of specifically Australian culture. Singleton's argument, in fine, is that 'real' Australian culture does not reside in an intellectual life, but rather in the suburban setting of poorly-educated, unambitious people (ockers). This article triggers two letters

55 See 'Witnessing the end of New Nationalism' in Chapter 8.

56 John Singleton, 'How the Sun goes down over Sydney', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 17 (February 6, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 415.

57 D. B. Hassuker, 'The one and only J.S.' Letter to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 19 (February 20, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 458.

58 John Singleton, 'Ockers triumphant—they are us', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 25 (April 2, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 608.

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criticizing Singleton's logic in the April 9, 1976 issue,⁵⁹ and a letter in the April 16 issue linking Singleton's ocker views with Hitler's attitude to eugenics.⁶⁰

Singleton uses *Nation Review* to air his Workers' Party views in the April 9, 1976 issue, again under the heading *Advertising*. In this piece, Singleton advocates the removal of controls on TV and radio advertising, and the privatisation of the ABC.⁶¹ Given his business interests, this article clearly represents Singleton's self-interest, as does, a cynic may argue, the Workers' Party itself. Singleton returns for another article under the *Advertising* heading, in the April 16 1976 issue,⁶² provoking two more letters from disgruntled readers in the April 23 issue.⁶³ This article, again self-serving, is an account of how Singleton's agency managed to persuade Muhammad Ali to make an advertisement for the Norman Ross chain of stores.

This, then, is the setting for Singleton's April 23 NSW election article. The article begins by suggesting that political advertising is ineffective, and that the famous 'It's Time' campaign just happened to coincide with a historical moment when voters would have changed their votes to Labor in any case. This is a valid interpretation of the public mood at the time, although close analysis could well reveal that the campaign perhaps enhanced, or even, to some extent, created this mood for change.⁶⁴ Singleton's

59 G Baxter, 'Singleton and Shakespeare', and E. E. J. Collen, 'Ockers opposites', Letters to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 26 (April 9, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 626.

60 M. R. Liverani, 'Blond John and the ockers' Letter to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 27 (April 16, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 650.

61 John Singleton, 'Let the airwaves sing unfettered', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 26 (April 9, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 632.

62 John Singleton, 'How to discount to friends', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 27 (April 16, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 656.

63 Allen Clarke, 'Sick of Singleton', and M. J. Vincent, 'And the best is yet to come', Letters to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 28 (April 23, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 674.

64 This cause-versus-effect dichotomy has echoes in the role of *Nation Review* in the New Nationalism phenomenon, as canvassed in the Conclusion of this thesis. The few published comments about the role of *Nation Review* in New Nationalism (MacCallum, Home), imply that the paper was, at best, a

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political views enter the article when he suggests that the Liberal party's mix of socialism and free enterprise 'screwed up the country slowly and boringly', Whitlam's 'screwing up' was, on the other hand, 'so fast as to be reckless'.⁶⁵ Singleton then provides a caustic, cynical and exaggerated account of the boring, insubstantial platforms of both parties, allowing him a smooth path for the introduction of his own (Workers' Party) policies, suggesting that these policies would excite the public to a far greater extent. He may have been right about that. Singleton lists the policies, all of which reduce to the replacement of government functions by private enterprise equivalents, supported by his unsubstantiated and exaggerated claims that government is always inferior to private enterprise (because of the 'invisible hand'). He concludes his list, ruefully, with the comment 'But of course the Workers' Party is still a little premature for the Australian apathy, it is all too logical. It makes complete sense.' The conclusion drawn from Singleton's ruminations is that the public will not be swayed by advertising, and, seeing no discernible difference between the candidates (despite his earlier portrayal of socialism versus free enterprise), will opt to retain the incumbent.

This article triggered a response from a reader in the letters section of the April 30 issue, suggesting 'If Mr Singleton is to continue advertising his Workers' Party in this boring fashion, he should pay advertising rates for the privilege instead of being paid for his drivel.'⁶⁶ Another reader's letter suggests that Singleton is 'as entertaining as bleeding piles, and just as attractive'.⁶⁷ The following week (May 7), there were five vitriolic letters from readers denigrating Singleton and his writing. The common thrust of these letters

recorder of the New Nationalism movement, whereas I have suggested its role was as a positive contributor, rather than a mere passive observer.

65 John Singleton, 'The bold and boring Lib/Lab shuffle', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 28 (April 23, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 681.

66 Megan Stoyles, 'Bold, boring Long John', Letters to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 29 (April 30, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 698.

67 Ray Young, 'Entertaining bleeding piles', Letters to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 29 (April 30, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 698.

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is an accusation of deliberate lying, obfuscation and dishonesty, in pursuit of self-interest.⁶⁸

The May 7 issue of *Nation Review* was published during the ten days between election-day and the announcement of a formal outcome. Malcolm Turnbull again addresses the NSW election, this time with a report on the current status, including perplexity resulting from the fact that a large swing towards Labor, and a greater than 50% majority, still could not guarantee a victory. Turnbull reflects on the reasons for the swing to Labor, citing Wran's superlative media skills, and Willis's shortcomings in addressing several election issues. Turnbull then considers the likely character of a Wran government, and the most likely programme of reform that he would undertake. Suggesting that Wran is a member of the conservative Right within the Labor Party, Turnbull predicts that changes will be restrained and will focus on rather arcane aspects of administration. He concludes with discussion about possible reform of the Legislative Council to make it more representative and relevant. His concluding statement is: 'The possibility of John Singleton MLC is likely to turn the *Hansard* writers pale with fright.'⁶⁹

Turnbull concludes his, and *Nation Review's*, coverage of the 1976 NSW election with an article in the May 14 issue.⁷⁰ His attention is drawn to the likely leadership repercussions for the defeated Liberal Party, and he concludes that Willis's leadership, while insecure, will hold for some time, given the paucity of potential replacements available to the Liberals. Turnbull makes the interesting comment: 'As for Labor, if Wran is to have a long term in office he is going to have to do what Whitlam wouldn't,

68 Tony Reeves, 'Biff, bam, down with John', Charles Livingstone, 'Slam, bang, down again', Allen Davis, 'One man's riches are plastic junk', A. M. Bowman, 'Abe and the deaver ocker', and Surfeit, 'Sold by Singleton', Letters to the Editor, *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 30 (May 7, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), pp. 722-723.

69 Malcolm Turnbull, 'Wran turns Labor's fortunes in NSW', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 30 (May 7, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 724.

70 Malcolm Turnbull, 'NSW: the aftermath', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 31 (May 14, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 753.

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namely leak a few government files containing the odd Liberal scandal.⁷¹ He chooses as an example the contested building of the Eastern Suburbs railway, but there are undertones suggestive of a general disgruntlement on Turnbull's part with what he seems to perceive as excessive self-interest, or even corruption, within the former Liberal government.

Analysis

Between the calling of the election (March 31) and election-day (May 1), there were five issues of *Nation Review*. Two more issues addressed the election after election-day. There was, of course, plenty of opportunity to deal with the general surveillance of NSW politics prior to the pronouncement of the election, but the brevity of the campaign period presented a very limited opportunity for the newspaper to engage with the specific issues brought up during the campaign. The ability to establish a dialogue with readers, in which letters can be written in response to articles, was inhibited by the publishing cycle. Thus, the question of *Nation Review's* effectiveness, and its contribution to the debate surrounding an issue such as an election, becomes complex.

Malcolm Turnbull was responsible for almost the entire engagement of *Nation Review* with the election, so any evaluation of the newspaper's response to the election hinges on Turnbull's approach to his task, and his capabilities. In the light of his background, and his eventual movement into conservative politics, some scrutiny needs to be applied to his political writing. The presence of John Singleton, with his almost messianic advocacy of laissez-faire society, is somewhat disquieting. *Nation Review* saw itself, and was regarded by its readers, as a journal striving for excellence in content and presentation, appealing to an overall well-educated readership, and promoting progressive politics. Singleton's genius is a chameleon-like ability to mask inherently

71 Malcolm Turnbull, 'NSW: the aftermath', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 31 (May 14, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 753.

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elitist sentiment behind a ‘common-man’ performance. His presence brings ambiguity to the coverage presented by *Nation Review*. Either the paper is naively disseminating Singleton’s views, or it has sufficient faith in the sophistication of its readership to assume that readers will, without editorial guidance, be capable of analysing Singleton’s rhetoric.

There is a ‘what might have been’ scenario that may be established as a yardstick. *Nation Review* had access to several well-placed political correspondents, writers and media commentators at the time. One might imagine an editorial meeting in which an election feature was mapped out for early in the campaign period. In addition to Turnbull, Mungo MacCallum may have been persuaded to come down from the Olympian elevation of Canberra and federal politics, to discuss the implications of relationships between the Fraser Liberal government and Labor versus Liberal state governments. Bob Ellis may have discussed the ways in which local issues affected Sydneysiders. C. M. Evans, who more usually contributed articles about the media (before Singleton) would have been well-placed to provide an analysis of Wran’s media strategy. *Ferretwatch* may have been invoked to assess the dailies’ coverage of the campaign. Even the review section may have been able to focus on works with some resonant aspect. Readers may have been encouraged to write about their perceptions, and their responses to articles, both in *Nation Review* and other publications.

This ‘all-out’ scenario presupposes that *Nation Review* saw itself as immersed in political dialogue at all levels. If a state election is seen merely as just another minor and parochial event, then one might understand that no special effort would be deemed either necessary or desirable. It seems easily arguable that the newspaper did indeed see politics, at least at the federal level, as being its core *raison d’être*, given an obsessive engagement with Whitlam’s dismissal at the time of this election. The arrival of regular dispatches from state-based correspondents indicates a long-term interest in airing

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regional events, particularly of a political nature, so it follows that a state election, particularly in the most populous state, ought to have been considered as significant.

By these standards then, *Nation Review's* coverage of the election is lacklustre. Turnbull's articles are well-written and balanced. There is a forensic adherence to logic that allows Turnbull to cut through some of the artifice and bluster of politics, and he is able to explore aspects that do not receive attention in the daily Press. While no direct bias is discernible in Turnbull's work, there is some element of 'insider' perspectives at play. Turnbull essentially accepts the rules of engagement of a political contest in traditional forms. He does not challenge the nature of the contest as it was enacted; rather, he offers a hegemonic, conservative, response to the election, instead of a more overtly dissenting or radical interpretation, as might fit more naturally with the '*lean and nose*' role, the irreverence of Hepworth, and the 'cultured' elements of the review section. His criticisms are expressed mildly and sometimes obliquely, as, for example, in his discussion of Willis's responses to the milk quota issue in his April 2 article: 'If the media accept his "papering" gestures as evidence of real concern, then Willis will survive.'⁷² In this response, Turnbull's preoccupation is with whether Willis will get away with the politics of obscuring the central issue (conflict of interest), rather than with the morality of that conflict and Willis's ethical stance regarding self-interest (at least on behalf of those of his ministers who hold quota licences).

The articles appearing in *Nation Review* are lengthier and more detailed than those published by the daily Press. Of course, with daily publishing, the sum total of material presented by *SMH* exceeds that of *Nation Review*, but, taken individually, the articles in *SMH* do not penetrate deeply below the surface of issues. *Nation Review's* greater freedom to explore aspects that the parties would prefer to have suppressed,

72 Malcolm Turnbull, 'Petrol and death take NSW to polls', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 25 (April 2, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 605.

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emerges in such areas as Turnbull's log of events surrounding the announcement of the election by Willis.⁷³ This freedom, though, is not exploited to the full, primarily because of Turnbull's sympathetic 'insider' perspective. In keeping with the times, and in the tradition of *Nation Review's* flirtations with litigation for libel, a strong and vocal objection to the consequences of hubris brought on by long-term office, as evidenced by the milk quota licence issue, 'insider' land-use allocation, the Eastern Suburbs railway and other irregularities hinted at by Turnbull, would have provided a more altruistic, disinterested and intellectual interrogation of the establishment and the political health of NSW.

The arrival of John Singleton in the pages of *Nation Review* is curious. The letters from readers about Singleton and his contributions attest to a strong dislike of his philosophy, which is, *prima facie*, at odds with the ethos of *Nation Review*. Singleton's links with the Workers' Party are not acknowledged by *Nation Review* (they are revealed only in letters from disgruntled readers), and indeed, there is no commentary about the Workers' Party itself, a natural target, one would have thought, for this newspaper. Singleton's article of April 23 is, as was pointed out in readers' correspondence, an undisguised spruiking for votes for his own party, at the most crucial moment of the election campaign.⁷⁴ Singleton's involvement with *Nation Review* is sufficiently unnatural to invite speculation as to its purpose. One may, for instance, see Singleton's Workers' Party as a right-wing anarchist movement that *Nation Review* might embrace, either as 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' (splitting right-wing support for Fraser), or from sheer larrikinism. More prosaically, Singleton's connections with advertising, and his personal wealth, may have offered some hope to a cash-strapped publishing editor for

73 Malcolm Turnbull, 'Petrol and death take NSW to polls', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 25 (April 2, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 605.

74 John Singleton, 'The bold and boring Lib/Lab shuffle', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 28 (April 23, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 681.

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improvements in advertising revenue. Conspiracy theorists may even see Singleton's arrival as an attempt to subvert the newspaper and either neutralize it or co-opt it into a right-wing cause.

Whereas Turnbull's articles are competent, though unimaginative, workmanlike reports, the authority of *Nation Review* is weakened by Singleton's involvement, to the extent that the newspaper's coverage of the 1976 NSW state election falls short of what its readers might have expected.

Responding again to the question 'What did *Nation Review* offer to its readers that other papers perhaps did not?', requires refinement. As with the *Australian*, *Nation Review* needs to take into account the different interests of its disparate readership. Residents of NSW, affected directly by the policies and outcomes of the election, would have had a different perspective from interstate readers, whose interest will be framed in terms of a larger context.

The *Australian* was partisan, seeing the election in terms of a polarized Left versus Right, ideological battle, playing out on the greater stage of national politics. The strategy of linking Wran to Whitlam therefore had two advantages for the *Australian*; the attempt to tar Wran with the failed Whitlam brush ought to have helped Willis's campaign, and, on the national level, it provided opportunities to reprise the attacks on federal Labor, and to attempt to cement the perception of socialism as being inherently evil, and its purveyors as either traitors to the nation, or incompetent managers. To some extent, there is a risk in pushing this strategy too far. NSW readers, with a closer understanding of the local issues, would have been aware that the Liberal party in NSW was not immune from accusations of irregular management, and Wran's proclaimed policies, as well as his patently mild demeanour, did not fit the *Australian's* portrayal of left-wing politicians. Nonetheless, NSW readers of the *Australian* would have been susceptible to its persuasion.

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Readers of the *Sydney Morning Herald* had to come to terms with that newspaper's internal inconsistencies. On the one hand, John O'Hara was writing reasonably balanced, level-headed articles dealing with concrete matters, while on the other, strident editorials warned that a vote for Wran would surely cause the sky to fall, with no convincing factual basis for that view. Voters seeking information to help them form a view of the implications of electing one or other party did not receive a great deal of help from the *SMH*. O'Hara's articles, balanced as they generally were, toed the official line, reflecting the parties' Press releases, taken at face-value. Penetrative journalistic investigation would, for instance, have shed useful factual light on conflict-of-interest issues in the milk quota license affair, whereas the *SMH* simply parroted the conflicting Press releases from each side. Similarly, Wran's highly-effective 'double taxation' demon might have been exorcised by a simplified but factual analysis of the real implications of Fraser's federalism. As for the strident editorials, the effects may have run counter to their intention. Only an already-convinced Liberal voter could have taken them seriously and derived comfort from them, while Labor voters would have found it easy to discount such vituperation. Undecided voters may have been panicked into taking the editorials seriously, but there is an equal likelihood that such intolerant language would have alienated wavering voters from both the *SMH* and the Liberal Party.

Coverage of the election by the relevant dailies therefore left a niche, either for a balancing left-wing perspective, or, more desirably, for a balanced, intelligent and thorough journalism-based treatment of the election issues, party policy and electoral conditions. This sounds like a job for *Nation Review*. Its generally progressive, reformist stance was a characteristic of *Nation Review* that would have positioned the newspaper to offer a left-wing interpretation of the election as a counterbalance to the dailies. Alternatively, longer articles addressing the finer nuances of the issues, and based on thorough research, would have provided a trustworthy tie-breaking source that readers

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could have used to evaluate both the political elements, and the journalistic standards of the other newspapers. Instead, *Nation Review*, its attention focussed to an obsessive extent on the federal spectacle and the fallout from the previous November, failed to take the NSW election seriously. From its gloomy perspective, on the heels of the Victorian election, and in the absence of any compelling election issues, *Nation Review* failed to pick up on a significant socially-driven change in NSW, and therefore missed an opportunity to pull itself back from the abyss of despair. The selection of Malcolm Turnbull as the chief correspondent dealing with the election was, in its own right, a sound move, but Turnbull's work was undermined by several factors: inadequate depth of coverage; a lack of other voices to offer either resonance or difference; the slightly bizarre allowance of John Singleton to run his own ultra-right-wing campaign using the pages of *Nation Review*; and a lack of any editorial presence during the campaign. In terms, then, of strict journalism, *Nation Review* failed in its duty to its readers. In a broader sense, the newspaper may well have been performing a subliminal role in fomenting and shaping the social shift that underwrote Wran's ascension.

Introduction

‘From the mid-1960s, with a dwindling material basis for imperial sentiment, Australians were confronted with the task of remaking their nation in the wake of empire.’¹ Thus, Curran and Ward set the scene for an exploration, and explanation, of the phenomenon that became known, in the 1960s, as New Nationalism. Coincidental almost exactly with the trajectory of this movement, in its inception, rise and ultimate failure, *Nation Review* embodies many characteristics of the phenomenon, and seems inextricably linked with its fortune. Not only the coincidence of the time-line points to a nexus; the ideology of its proprietor, the enthusiasms of its contributors, the composition of its pages, the targets of its attention, all signpost what appears to have been a self-imposed mission of national emancipation and enlightenment conducted by the newspaper.

Although merely inheriting the *Nation* part of its title almost two years into its existence (from Tom Fitzgerald’s eponymous fortnightly journal), the newspaper appears to have absorbed the essence of the word, as though it had been waiting for the missing key to its character. It is arguable that the best issues of the newspaper were those published immediately following the inclusion of the symbolic word, at perhaps the height of a new consciousness, in the nation, of the need to form an Australian identity liberated from any imperial constraints. This chapter explores this apparent, perhaps symbiotic, relationship between *Nation Review* and New Nationalism.

The epithet ‘New’ came to be applied to several phenomena that emerged at this time across the Western world; there was the French *Nouveau Vague*, film-making that reached into many areas of social, political and cultural engagement, primarily to

1 James Curran & Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2010), p. 5.

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challenge conservative perspectives and traditions of art; There was New Journalism, emerging from new approaches to journalism by American writers the likes of Norman Mailer and Tom Wolfe; There was a 'New' satire boom in the U.K., following on from the 1960 review *Beyond the Fringe*, and challenging, at least to some extent, the conservative establishment. New forms of theatre explored a changing relationship between players and audience.

In Australia, the arrival of these new things was, for various reasons, slightly delayed. However, given the influence of European culture here, it was inevitable that they would insinuate themselves, regardless of any opposition from conservative forces (such as censorship). When they did arrive, they took on evident Australian characteristics. As an accessible and flexible art form, theatre proved effective in rapidly responding to social change, while a flurry of new amateur and professional theatre companies came into being, and government support materialized, in the form of grants and new state-based facilities, such as the controversial Sydney Opera House, and the Adelaide Festival Theatre.² Australian film was more problematic—being less nimble by virtue of its technical complexity, high costs and dependence on structural depth for its underpinning, it was inherently slower to respond. Only in the area of critical review of film could any initial reflection on Australian identity be registered. Increasingly vehement calls for a distinctly Australian voice in film would lead to the development of government initiatives in this area. Following from an initiative of Holt, John Gorton announced the creation of the Australian Council for the Arts, which in turn recommended the formation of the Australian Film Development Corporation. The AFDC came into being in March 1970, charged with the administration of a fund that could be used to finance 'quality films and programmes with a significant Australian

2 A concise account of the development of Australian theatre in the 1960s and 1970s is offered in *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: Asia/Pacific*, ed. By Don Rubin et al., (London, Routledge, 1998).

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content.³ Ben Goldsmith notes ‘Although the foundations had been laid by Whitlam’s predecessors John Gorton and Billy McMahon, the Australian film revival of the 1970s only really took shape after Whitlam became Prime Minister in 1972. Whitlam’s government established the Australian Film and Television School (AFTRS) in 1973; included a Film and Television Board as one of the initial specialist panels in the new Australia Council for the Arts; and replaced Gorton’s film support agency, the Australian Film Development Corporation (AFDC), with the Australian Film Commission (AFC) in 1975.’⁴

An Australian version of New Journalism would emerge in *Nation Review* right from the paper’s inception, a direct consequence of the strategy of inviting contributions from the broadest range of journalists, writers, critics and commentators. Given Richard Walsh’s light editorial touch (or possibly his punishing workload and schedule), it followed that individualistic writing styles would filter through, especially since the paper was willing to address matters that aroused particular passion, both in writers and their readers.⁵ The blurring of distinctions characteristic of New Journalism was not confined to *Nation Review*; *The Australian* was highly influential in broadening the scope of newspapers into areas hitherto confined to magazines. Denis Cryle describes this style of journalism as ‘satiric journalism’, saying:

The paper had already established a reputation for feature writing and, in Hall’s case, publicised the achievements of its journalists in the *Armchair Australian*. In the context of daily journalism, its staff were less confined to the brief,

3 The entire \$250,000 budget for *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* was met by the Corporation. Ina Bertrand and Dianne Collins, *Government and Film in Australia*, (Sydney, Currency Press, 1981), pp. 146-151.

4 Ben Goldsmith, *Australia’s film industry owes a debt to Gough Whitlam*, October 21, 2014, The Conversation Website, <http://theconversation.com/australias-film-industry-owes-a-debt-to-gough-whitlam-33240> [accessed December 30 2014].

5 Mungo MacCallum gives a sense of this atmosphere, and demonstrates that the phenomenon was not restricted to *Nation Review*, in recollecting his time at *The Australian*, working with David Solomon, and covering the then opposition (Labor) party: ‘I think I can say the arrangement worked splendidly in every way; we both produced lots of good copy, with my somewhat flamboyant style complementing David’s more academic approach, to the satisfaction of head office.’ MacCallum, 2001, p. 167.

factual reporting that had prevailed in the Australian Press until that time. A generational and home-grown phenomenon, satiric journalism of the *Australian* signalled a period of intense political and cultural change and paralleled the 'New Journalism' of US exponents without consciously emulating its attention to realist techniques. Like its overseas counterpart, satiric journalism shared a willingness to undermine received notions of professional objectivity and a desire to establish a more democratic relationship with readers. In the case of the *Australian's* weekend columnists Phillip Adams, Mungo MacCallum and Ray Taylor, satiric journalism combined politics, satire and gossip, blending these into witty personalised commentary.⁶

In capturing the interests of readers, *Australian* writers on cultural issues played an enduring role in helping to gain a regular following for the paper. Their high visibility and stylistic idiosyncrasies stand in contrast with the profiles of its editors who, while influential, were ephemeral and unknown to the bulk of *Australian* readers.⁷

New Nationalism

The emergence of nationalism in Australia was complex. The nation was built from a group of colonial settlements, geographically remote both from the Imperial Power, and from each other. Each settlement's independent origins sprang from a diverse set of imperial motivations, ranging from capitalist expansion, through the need for an out-of-the-way dumping ground for unwanted citizens, to Utopian experimentalism. It was a nation, furthermore, that had been superimposed over an indigenous culture whose very existence was denied. Finally, it was a nation that saw itself as wholeheartedly European, despite being poised at the edge of the Asian territories to the north-east, whose large populations cast a shadow over every consideration of nationhood, shaping much of Australia's political history. Given these often contradictory origins, it is unsurprising that the emergence of any definable national identity has been particularly vexed. While this thesis cannot hope to fully explore the complexities of nationalism, or even of New Nationalism, It is useful to understand how it impinges on the trajectory of *Nation Review*.

6 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 82.

7 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), p. 68.

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The term New Nationalism is attributed to Donald Horne in Australia in 1968, although the same term had been used in earlier equivalent ruminations in Canada.⁸ From the inception of colonial Australia, understandings between Britain and Australia had traversed several different phases, becoming increasingly complex as Australia developed its own (contested) sense of identity, and as Britain was drawn into affairs of its own. Emergence from the protective but distorting relationship with Britain proved to be an intensely uncomfortable process, fraught with contradiction, disagreement and false starts. The vacuum left by Empire demanded to be filled, but attempts to articulate meanings that reverberated with any deeply-sublimated national soul proved elusive.

The Australia of the early 1960s was a very different place to the nation that made its way through the 1980s. In the 1960s, society was bound to stable, high employment, within a primarily protectionist economy, and was circumscribed by narrow notions of family, monarchy, religion and paternalistic politics. Harbingers of change elsewhere, such as civil rights movements, feminism and the anti-capitalism that culminated in the May 1968 riots in Paris, had made less impact in Australia, at least until the close of the decade. The 1980s saw Australia embrace the returned ideology of a market-driven economy, largely unprotected by tariffs, with accompanying movement away from notions of a national social project, towards conservative individualism and an abandonment of real sovereignty. However, the intervening years of the 1970s bore little similarity, in many respects, to either the 1960s or the 1980s. The differences, moreover, cannot be considered in terms of evolutionary stages emerging during a period of linear transition. 1970s Australia was either an aberration, corrected by the normalising orthodoxies of the 1980s, or it was a lost dream, a distinctly Australian

8 Stuart Ward notes that Claude Ryan, editor of French-Canadian newspaper *Le Monde*, used the term in an editorial dated August 15, 1964, while Donald Horne independently coined the term for a *Bulletin* article dated October 5, 1968. See *Australia and the World: A Festschrift for Neville Meaney*, ed. By Joan Beaumont & Matthew Jordan, (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 2013).

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destiny, thwarted by a mixture of failed determination, a lack of confidence, and antagonistic external interventions.

New Nationalism, as mooted by Horne and others, failed to survive into the 1980s. Furthermore, in a mixed blessing, Australia has remained resistant to notions of overt nationalism. Republicanism, a potential focus for nationalistic fervour, appears to be recumbent, having failed to muster sufficient enthusiasm to stir the nation to anything beyond negative definitions regarding what sort of republic it would reject. A tendency persists to depend on ‘powerful friends’, for both defence and trade. On the other hand, extremes of jingoism and overt expressions of ‘my country, right or wrong’ appear to evince similarly low levels of enthusiasm. The suspicion with which nationalism was regarded following the tumult of recent European history, added to the origins of the nation, involving as they did the near-destruction of earlier cultures, were just two elements of a reluctance to embrace simplistic notions of what it meant to be Australian. Race-based nationalism, of the sort that began to emerge in the 1890s, was a non-starter in the multicultural, cosmopolitan society that was stepping tentatively into the 1970s.

Nation Review, in its various forms, spans exactly the most intensive period of New Nationalism. Beginning with Gordon Barton’s own strong views about Australian nationhood, and extending to the choice of contributors, the stance on issues, and the slant of political opinion, the paper clearly had a position on New Nationalism. It is tempting, given their contemporaneity, to link the fortunes of *Nation Review* and New Nationalism. This chapter explores the relationship of New Nationalism to *Nation Review* articles, editorial comment and engagement with readers, in an attempt to determine whether the fates of the paper and of New Nationalism had become so closely intertwined that the demise of *Nation Review* was an inescapable consequence of the abandonment of the New Nationalism project. Did *Nation Review* cling over-

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tenaciously to concepts of New Nationalism, thus becoming as irrelevant in the neoliberal globalism of 1980s Australia as New Nationalism itself had become?

Origins of Australian Nationalism

The question of Australian nationalism, new or otherwise, proved to be a confounding one, so it was understandable that the search for a new form of nationalism in the 1960s and 70s would start with a reconsideration of past experiences. Early visions of nationhood began to emerge in the 1890s, as the complex impracticalities of maintaining separate colonies began to intrude. Only cooperation between the colonies would permit sustainable economic, defensive and social enterprise.

The pressures of international affairs led to the strengthening of calls for federation. Federation, however, was a pragmatic, material construct, directed at the practicalities of national commerce, law and military organization, and international dialogue. It implied no stirring of an inherently national spirit or identity. Nonetheless, cultural stirrings were emerging in parallel to the tedious civic process of federation. As Lynn Zott points out:

The 1890s occupy a unique and transitional position in Australian literary history. In the years leading up to the end of English colonial rule and the creation of an autonomous Australia, the stirrings of nationalism reached a fevered pitch. Journalists, fiction-writers, poets, indeed the common man in Australia, according to the legend, felt the urge of a national calling and unity.⁹

Australian literature was enjoying a new freedom and popularity, based largely on a young tradition of bush tales and ballads. The laconic, sceptical bush characters created by Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson were often aired in the influential *Bulletin* magazine, and came to personify the new national character. *The Bulletin* proclaimed itself 'The Bushman's Bible' in the December 15, 1888 issue. Douglas Stewart says of J.

⁹ Introduction by the Editor *Nineteenth Century Literature Criticism*, ed. By Lynn M. Zott, (Detroit, Gale Group, 2003), Vol. 116.

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F. Archibald, co-founder of *The Bulletin*, ‘His aim to express the spirit of Australia also of necessity involved, as he had foreseen from the start, searching out and publishing the best work of its black-and-white artists, its balladists and poets and story-writers, who could express that spirit at its finest or its richest.’¹⁰ Under the shrewd direction of Archibald, *The Bulletin* managed to steer a path between the bush and the city that allowed it to prosper and to wield considerable influence. A strong supporter of workers’ rights, the magazine heavily influenced the development of socialist politics and early labour movements, but this determination to defend workers led to an unsavoury (by today’s standards) stance on some issues.¹¹ In particular, the magazine viewed Chinese immigration as a deadly precursor to an Asian onslaught, (a view driven largely by the perceived threat to hard-won pay and work conditions) and took up the fight to maintain a ‘White Australia’, through restriction of immigration. *The Bulletin’s* masthead: ‘Australia for the White Man’ remained in place until 1960, when the magazine was bought by Frank Packer, who appointed Donald Horne to edit the revitalized publication. It was one of Horne’s first acts to remove the banner.¹²

This was a form of nationalism springing from the mythologising of the Bush, incorporating an idealisation of a unique agrarian society. Partly as a reaction to the harshness of the penal past, there was a sense that a new nation needed to be built, not on the rotting foundations of a British or European model, but according to a new, unencumbered Utopian vision. A significant element of this line of thought was that

10 Douglas Stewart, *Writers of the Bulletin, 1977 Boyer Lectures*, (Sydney, The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1977), p. 17.

11 This stems from Archibald’s own experiences in the Palmer River goldfields. Douglas Stewart notes, in his 1977 Boyer lecture, ‘Living in a hut with the miners, sharing their perils and privations in that hot and isolated place, [Archibald] developed an abiding respect for them, and for all such battlers of the outback, that was soon, and permanently, to be reflected in the *Bulletin*.’ Douglas Stewart, *Writers of the Bulletin, 1977 Boyer Lectures*, (Sydney, The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1977), p. 12.

12 Patricia Rolfe records that ‘When he [Horne] asked Kenneth Prior [proprietor of the *Bulletin* until he sold it to Frank Packer in October 1960] why it was still there, Prior said “It’s been a tradition for generations.” The change of management was effective on November 23 1960, and Australia for the White Man disappeared from the issue of December 7.’ Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: An Illustrated History of the Bulletin*, (Sydney, Wildcat Press, 1979), p. 302.

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Australia would need to consciously create a closed environment, keeping at bay the power and corruption of unfettered capitalism, the hollow nationalism of new European States, and the interference of foreign investment. Vance Palmer claims ‘There is no doubt that during the latter half of [the nineteenth] century, the Australian people were acutely aware of their isolation, and were determined to turn to account the freedom it gave them by building up something like an earthly paradise for the common man. Or perhaps for the uncommon man of the future’.¹³ The degree to which Australia failed to realise the Utopian dream is best illustrated by William Lane’s abandonment of Australia in 1893, to form New Australia, an ill-fated settlement of around 220 idealists, in Paraguay. *The Bulletin* described this venture as ‘one of the most feather-headed expeditions ever conceived’.¹⁴ Lane’s smaller Paraguayan failure was emblematic of failures on the grand scale in Australia, as capitalism fought back against the workers’ rights so hard-won in the 1880s and 90s, as failing European economies wrought their repercussions locally (through reduced demand for products), and as the rise of potentially aggressive military might (particularly in Japan) destroyed any myth of sustainable isolationism. Palmer notes a theme, as familiar today as in 1890: ‘It seemed as if the doctrines of mateship and equality were easier to use as rhetoric on the public platform than to put into practice.’¹⁵ Palmer also identifies a tendency for issues to become increasingly the subject of professional politics, and to lose connection with any spirit at large in the populace. . In this way, the fate of the nation becomes separated from the will of its people, and subject to vested interests. Palmer again: ‘now there were other forces, partially beyond its control, compelling it to shed its hermit spirit and

¹³ Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties*, (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1966), p. 9.

This sense of continually attempting to define the nation in terms of future aspirations, rather than current realities is a theme explored at length by Curran and Ward. See Chapter 7, ‘Endlessly Coming of Age’, Curran & Ward, (2010), pp. 224-253.

¹⁴ Quoted from *The Bulletin*, June 1893, in Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: An Illustrated History of the Bulletin*, (Sydney, Wildcat Press, 1979), p. 142.

¹⁵ Palmer, (1966), p. 158.

move into the current of world affairs.’¹⁶ This theme, incidentally, was reprised when, in the 1980s, Australia began to dismantle social protections and move to a free-market ideology. Viewed from the perspective of the 1960s and 70s, with themes of human and civil rights, in a context of increasing multiculturalism, 1890s race-based nationalism was unsuitable as inspiration for a new nationalism.

International Pressures

The 1915 Gallipoli experience was as close as could be claimed to the sort of nation-building trauma experienced by many other countries, but, in an echo of the 1890s bush culture, it was perhaps too remote to forge a true national conscience, involving as it did a small body of men fighting in a foreign location.

William Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia from 1915 to 1923, had caused the great rift that effectively paralysed the Labor Party for fifty years, when he sought authority to introduce conscription in 1916. For Hughes, conscription was part of a large-scale, long-term strategy for maintaining the security of Australia following the War, in a part of the globe where the ascendancy of Japan overwhelmed all other considerations. The battle over conscription, however, became protracted and bitter. Senator John Mullin, for instance, in opposing conscription, ‘[W]anted Australia to concentrate on constructing strategic railways, unifying the railway gauges, building seaplanes and thousands of aeroplanes as well as dirigibles. He would erect the most up-to-date arsenals and honeycomb Australia with bases for the Australian fleet.’¹⁷ In the referendum of October 28, 1916, conscription was narrowly defeated, a great shock to Hughes. Meaney describes the ensuing period, as ‘the attack on national community’, during which Hughes introduced legislation giving government authorities the ability to unilaterally declare associations to be unlawful, to shut them down and to confiscate

16 Palmer, (1966), p. 166.

17 Meaney, (2009), p. 177.

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their property.¹⁸ Hughes's rhetoric fomented a bout of class warfare, culminating in perhaps the closest Australia has come to open civil war, the General Strike of 1917. It was a complete rout for the strikers. Meaney states that "Those who were allowed to return to their jobs were totally at the mercy of their employers. The vanquished carried from the experience a deep sense of grievance that alienated them further from the dominant culture."¹⁹

To anyone looking back to the Great War for some symbol of Australian nationalism, it becomes clear that, after the innocent bravery of Gallipoli in 1915, the notion of loyalty to an Australian nation becomes sullied by political and class warfare. Anything less than uncritical adherence to British race-loyalty was deemed to be treason. As Meaney concludes:

In 1918 the National Government had become hysterical about loyalty. The crisis of the war had given notions of British race patriotism an absolute value. It had tested for the first time the full meaning of [Australian] nationalism. After 1915 the rulers and the respectability, acting in the name of the people, required total submission to and sacrifice for the common cause. For these Australians, conscription was the ultimate symbol of the collective commitment and therefore of the loyalty to state and race.²⁰

The only version of nationhood permitted by the hegemony, that of a race-based British Australia, would have no reverberation for Australians in the 1960s, faced as they were with the enforced removal of the British presence from their lives, and given that numbers of non-British immigrants had by then increased significantly.

Any possible basis for a new form of Australian nationalism, arising out of the horror of the Great War, was lost to hegemonic political ambition. The resultant malaise, and the stranglehold established by British Australian nationalism, impeded any advancement of a more substantively Australian understanding of nationalism, until a

18 Meaney, (2009), pp. 204-240.

19 Meaney, (2009), p. 206.

20 Meaney, (2009), p. 236.

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change was forced by the withdrawal of British influence in Australia's region in the 1960s.

The arrival of the Second World War brought with it a special concern for Australian strategic interests. The fall of Singapore was a massive shock for all the allies, felt most deeply by Australia, and exacerbated by the capture of 15,000 Australian servicemen and women, including nurses. After Pearl Harbor, John Curtin unambiguously recognized the shift away from Britain and towards the US when he announced:

The Australian Government, therefore, regards the Pacific struggle as primarily one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the democracies' fighting plan.

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 or kinship with the United Kingdom.²¹

Curtin was however, suspicious of US post-war ambitions for the region.

Meaney claims that Curtin remained 'a committed British race patriot', who 'found the American embrace "suffocating" and in 1944 promulgated the ANZAC Agreement which in response to US incursions into Australia's "sphere of influence" called for a "hands off" policy in the Pacific.'²² Meaney asserts that the Second World War, and in particular the fall of Singapore, did not indicate an automatic rejection of Britain and replacement with the US as a protector. Rather he sees a pragmatic assumption of responsibility by Australia for its own well-being, albeit within a British Commonwealth. For Meaney, as well as for Curran and Ward, Australia remained staunchly British Australian after the Second World War. Any turning away from Britain towards the US was done with reluctance and some disquiet.

21 John Curtin, 'The Task Ahead', first published in the *Melbourne Herald*, December 27, 1941, (Undated), Curtin University Website, < <http://john.curtin.edu.au/pmportal/text/00468.html> > [accessed 12 September 2014].

22 Matthew Jordan, 'Pondering Australia's World', *Australia and the World: A Festschrift for Neville Meaney*, ed. By Joan Beaumont & Matthew Jordan, (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 2013), p. 45.

Post World War Two

It was Britain's withdrawal into Europe in the 1960s that forced the issue of self-aware nationalism onto Australia. Post-war moves towards some form of nationalism were driven by policy changes in Britain, as Britain began the process of disentangling itself from former colonies, so that it could forge a new identity as a member of the emerging European community. Nonetheless, some form of 'Britishness' would need to be accommodated: in 1946, according to a Gallup poll, 'Asked to choose between British and Australian nationality... 60% said British and only 37% Australian. What's more, the following year the British percentage was up to 65, the Australian down to 28.'²³

As Dutton says of the period, 'Thus, despite Federation and some nascent nationalist sentiment, both Australian politicians and the public identified themselves and the new Commonwealth as British.'²⁴ Australia's *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, addressing citizenship status, did not emerge through a new Australian nationalism, but simply as a bureaucratic response to changes in British citizenship definitions. Galligan and Roberts note that 'While the Labor government's legislation was limited to proclaiming Australian citizenship, keeping it in line with reformed practices within the British Commonwealth, it drew criticism from conservatives who preferred to retain the title of British subject.'²⁵

As the US sphere of influence spread deeper into South-east Asia, Australian politics needed to take greater account of US policy, while Britain became more distant and less influential. Trade between Australia and Asia-Pacific countries also began to increase. Thus, any expression of Australian citizenship and nationality in terms of a

23 Noel McLachlan, *Waiting for the Revolution: A History of Australian Nationalism*, (Ringwood, Penguin Books Australia, 1989), p. 272.

24 Dutton, (2002), p. 10.

25 Brian Galligan & Winsome Roberts, *Australian Citizenship*, (Carleton, Melbourne University Press, 2004), p. 33.

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British relationship became less viable. Furthermore, Dutton's 'nascent nationalist sentiment' was receiving a boost in the form of Jack Lang, former Labor premier of New South Wales. Lang was calling in 1948 for a more meaningful understanding and definition of Australian citizenship *per se*, going beyond technicalities to express what it meant to be Australian 'body and soul'.²⁶

By the 1960s then, Australians had negotiated a complex history of internal and external conflict, different understandings of race and nationalism, and the sudden removal of the maternal presence of Britain. Beilharz and Cox summarize the Australian nation's unhelpful origins thus: 'Given its lack of a myth of national foundation, in war or revolution, given its accidental and bureaucratic origins as a penal colony, to the afterlife of which its instigators apparently gave little thought, it may actually be more useful to view Australia as an accidental nation.'²⁷

New Nationalism Arrives

Those who are interested in Australian social history are deeply indebted to Donald Home, in particular for *The Lucky Country*.²⁸ This 1964 book offers a comprehensive picture of Australian society on the cusp of change. Home's views on Australian nationalism at the time offer a starting point from which to consider Australian nationalism. In posing the rhetorical question 'What is an Australian?' Home highlights the key Australian characteristic of scepticism, particularly in the context of responses to authority. While discussing this characteristic, and perhaps reflecting his own scepticism about the value of nationalism, Home says 'The very lack of any definite nationalism, of statements on who Australians are and where they stand in history,

26 Jack Lang, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, November 23, 1948, vol 200, pp. 3300-3301.

27 *The Sage Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, ed. By Gerard Delanty & Krishan Kumar, (London, Sage Publications Inc, 2006), p. 556.

28 Donald Home, *The Lucky Country*, (Camberwell, Penguin Books (Australia), 1964).

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cannot be wholeheartedly deplored in an age that has seen so much horror and cruelty unleashed in the name of nationalism.’²⁹ For Horne, nationalism in post-war Australia had dwindled from the more strident bush-based phenomenon of the 1890s. It had been stifled during the Menzies years of continued subservience to Britain. He felt at the time that ‘The momentum towards concepts of independent nationhood has slowed down, or stopped.’³⁰ *The Lucky Country* does not recognize nationalism per se as a notable attribute of Australian consciousness in 1964.

In his Introduction to the sixth edition of *The Lucky Country* (2008, so after Horne’s death in 2005), Hugh Mackay wrote ‘Horne was an observer and analyst, rather than a forecaster: he explicitly resisted the urge to predict.’ Mackay also notes ‘[R]esearch was what Horne was best at. His method was both inductive and intuitive, based on piercingly astute observation and a capacity for rational analysis developed under the influence of one of his academic heroes: Professor John Anderson at Sydney University.’³¹ While, in 1964, Horne had sufficient evidence to confirm that something was about to happen in terms of a shift in Australian nationalism, he elected not to discuss the state of Australia in those terms. By 1968, however, it was clear to Horne that the residual stagnation of the Menzies era had dissipated, making way for quite sudden and, by Australian standards, dramatic movement towards the enunciation of some new version of Australian nationalism. As previously mentioned, it was Horne who is attributed with the first use of the term ‘New Nationalism’ in an Australian context. Mark Davis, in his paper ‘Constructing an Australian publishing field: the emergence of the ‘cultural mission’ in Australian non-fiction book publishing, 1958 – 1968’ suggests that Horne was part of a critical mass of ‘publishing companies and other

29 Horne, (1964), p. 34.

30 Horne, (1964), p. 93.

31 Hugh Mackay, ‘Introduction to the Sixth Edition’, Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country*, (Camberwell, Penguin Group (Australia), 2008), pp. xi and xiv.

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media and cultural institutions, and agents such as influential journalists, critics, authors, and reviewers, who were collectively engaged in the generation and accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital in the context of a broader modernising movement for national reform'.³² Davis's characterisation of this movement as a 'cultural mission' is helpful in comprehending Horne's approach in *The Lucky Country*, and subsequent follow-up books, including *The Next Australia* (1970), *Death of the Lucky Country* (1978), *Time of hope: Australia 1966-72* (1980) and *The Lucky Country Revisited* (1987).

The timing of this cultural mission is interesting—it seems to pre-date the key social and political movements usually associated with New Nationalism, such as opposition to the Vietnam war (as part of a larger anti-imperialism), women's and indigenous rights, and agitation against censorship. Indeed, *The Lucky Country* owes its existence to the receptive group of intellectuals described by Davis. Carl Reinecke adds detail in his celebration of the book's 50th anniversary, describing the encouragement given to Horne by Max Harris and Geoffrey Dutton, then editor for the newly-formed Australian arm of Penguin publishers.³³ Dutton had quickly assembled a list of similar books exploring various aspects of Australian culture. Reinecke writes '*The Lucky Country* was just one piece, albeit an important one, in Penguin's cultural agenda and its attempt to assert an Australian literary identity.'³⁴ As early as 1958 Russell Ward had written *The Australian Legend*. Baron Alder, considering the book on its 50th anniversary, says 'Ward's objective in *The Australian Legend* was to trace the historical basis for the Australian

32 Mark Davis, 'Constructing an Australian publishing field: the emergence of the 'cultural mission' in Australian non-fiction book publishing, 1958 – 1968', (University of Melbourne, (Undated)), The Australian Sociological Association Website, < <http://www.tasa.org.au/uploads/2013/11/Davis.pdf/>> [accessed 12 November 2014].

33 Carl Reinecke, '*The Lucky Country* turns 50', December 1, 2014, The Inside Story Website, < http://insidestory.org.au/the-lucky-country-turns-fifty> [accessed 14 December 2014].

34 Reinecke, (2014), [accessed 14 December 2014].

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“national mystique”.³⁵ Alder says that the book, overtly political, attracted criticism from all sides of politics, and that

In 1962, Peter Coleman, who was then the editor of *The Bulletin*, edited a collection of essays by luminaries including Donald Horne, Manning Clark and Robert Hughes. Coleman and his contributors endorsed what they saw as a counter-revolution in Australian historiography that rejected the stultifying effects of nationalism on Australian culture and the view of Australian history epitomised by *The Australian Legend*.³⁶

It is clear from these interactions that issues of Australian nationalism were being debated from at least the early 1960s.

New Nationalism has become associated, in retrospect, with the upheavals of the Whitlam era, but Horne first used the term in 1968 with reference to John Gorton, who had begun to espouse a somewhat naive but simply-expressed and apparently heartfelt sense of national pride. On his accession, Gorton enthusiastically took up Harold Holt’s nation-building themes, and was genuinely in tune with them, insofar as they resonated with his own intuitive sense of nationalism. Gorton’s very public nationalist attitude raised the awareness of people towards the notions of some new Australian identity and cultural life. It was this spirit of the new that Horne detected, and it was Gorton that Horne had in mind when he began to use the term New Nationalism in 1968.

By the time of Whitlam’s arrival, the post-Menzies Liberal government had already launched several new cultural vehicles: the Australian Council for the Arts (Holt); the Australian Film Development Corporation (Gorton); First appointment of an Arts Minister (McMahon).³⁷ Donald Horne had made another important observation about

35 Baron Alder, ‘*The Lucky Country* turns 50’, September 1, 2008, Quadrant Online Website, < <http://quadrant.org.au/magazine/2008/09/the-australian-legend-fifty-years-on/> > [accessed 14 December 2014].

36 Alder, (2008), [accessed 14 December 2014].

37 Peter Howson, actually Minister for the Environment, Aborigines and the Arts. A possibly apocryphal story is told by Gary Foley and Mungo MacCallum (and others) that Howson, a strong supporter of McMahon, expected to be rewarded with a prestigious Ministry on McMahon’s ascension.

this period: the government of the day was lagging behind the majority of citizens in identifying, defining and enunciating important social concerns. Writing in *Time of Hope* about Whitlam's pivotal Blacktown speech, Horne says 'They cheered him most when he became most concerned because the issues they were cheering were not issues created by Whitlam or the other politicians; they were issues that had, in a sense, been created among the people.'³⁸ He adds 'Many of the new issues coming up from among the people were resisted by most of the politicians'.³⁹ Given that many of these popular issues concerned questions of Australian society and culture, this is a clear indication that New Nationalism was a rising force before it was named, from as early as 1964.

New Nationalism and Nation Review

New Nationalism had begun to take root in Australia perhaps as early as 1964, although perhaps not focussed as a cultural mission then. This predates *Nation Review* (*The Review*) by six years; by the time it emerged, the paper could ride the already-formed wave of New Nationalism. Furthermore, this newspaper had as its proprietor Gordon Barton, as perfect an example of a New Nationalist Man as could be conceived. Barton's background included significant contact with John Anderson, at around the same time as Horne's association, and Barton appears to have agreed at an intellectual level with much Andersonian philosophy. Barton had expressed his Australian nationalist credentials as clearly as possible, by establishing a successful transport company in direct competition with some significant foreign corporations. His failed attempt to establish an air transport service in the face of vested interests had given him

Instead receiving Environment, Aborigines and Arts, he is said to have exclaimed 'The little bastard gave me trees, boongs and poofers.' Gary Foley, 'Ministers for Aboriginal Affairs and other Horror Stories', April 19, 2011, Victoria University Research Repository website < <http://vuir.vu.edu.au/25873/> > [accessed 12 November 2014]; Also Mungo MacCallum writing in the Byron Shire Echo, February 10, 2009, Byron Shire Echo website <http://www.echo.net.au/downloads/byron-echo/volume-23/byronedo2335.pdf> [accessed 12 November 2014].

38 Horne defines the word 'concerned' as at the time standing for 'a reformist expression of the belief that the current political agenda was outmoded; it was a demand for the recognition of new problems'.

39 Horne, (1980), p. 8.

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an immediate example of the incursions and control exerted by foreign-funded organizations. Most importantly though, Barton's early opposition to Australian involvement in Vietnam, and the means by which he expressed that opposition, show that he was well ahead of government thinking. Encountering the political resistance observed by Horne, Barton had resorted to a privately-funded open letter published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (October 22, 1966) to make his views known. Furthermore, his letter is positioned so as to differentiate between the US and the Australian perspective of the Vietnam situation. Barton distinguishes between US anti-communism, and Australian xenophobia, while accusing the US of duplicity in claiming to be in Vietnam for the assistance of its people, rather than its own self-interest. He also draws attention to the unpopular and irrational posture of the Australian government. The letter drew an immediate and overwhelming response from Australians of all backgrounds, demonstrating that Barton had struck a chord, and that the government had lost touch with public opinion, and been left behind. Given the general propensity for media proprietors to exert editorial influence, one would expect *The Review* to have been as in touch with advanced public opinion as its owner.⁴⁰ Furthermore, by the time of the arrival of *The Review*, opposition political parties (including Barton's own Liberal Reform Movement, which became the Australia Party) had made inroads into absorbing publicly-held concerns and attitudes.

Discussing the Australia Party, Donald Horne provides an alternative, and perhaps more evocative phrase for New Nationalism—'new middle-class enlightenment', in his retrospective *Time of Hope*, and offers a succinct description of the Australia Party, illustrating its encapsulation of much of the credo of New Nationalism:

⁴⁰ But Barton was consistently remote from his newspaper. In a rare appearance in *The Review* ('Gordon Barton in review'), November 5, 1971, p. 93), Barton likens his relationship to that of a parent handing independence to a child.

The Australia Party, although in organizational terms it still barely existed, had become one of the portents of ‘concern’ [in Horne’s meaning]. With something like eighty percent of those who voted for it belonging to relatively high-income professional, technocratic, educationalist or business families, two thirds of whom never went to church, with its candidates given a very high rating by WEL and its members including prominent supporters of abortion law reform and education reform, the anti-Vietnam movement and various environmentalist movements, with policies for promoting equality and diversity (and much greater spending) in education and for an extension of the welfare state with national health schemes, and with plans for a suppression of foreign investment by taxation and for the control of economic growth, the Australia Party was one of the epitomes of the new middle-class enlightenment.⁴¹

Assessment of *Nation Review* in terms of its New Nationalism credentials is an imprecise process. While it is possible to survey the content of each issue, it would be pointless to try to aggregate numbers of articles having some New Nationalist slant, or to try to pinpoint editorial attitude to the phenomenon, which would, in any case, vary over time. What emerges on reading *Nation Review* is the overall flavour of the experience. First, there is the quirky editorial spelling and capitalization convention. Then there are articles bearing headlines that are deliberately obscure, or based on awful puns, or that connect to broad external references. Articles themselves are laced with colloquialisms, puns and specific cultural references. These articles are written with considerable influence from American New Journalism (or a local counterpart), creating a different sense of news coverage compared to the more staid dailies. The extensive Review section sets the cultural agenda for *Review* readers, and is deeply enmeshed with burgeoning Australian arts creations in film, music, writing and painting, all of which carry their own strata of New Nationalism. Advertisements are, by necessity, almost exclusively placed by local businesses, while the unique style of D-Notices offers immediate cultural nuancing, reflecting uniquely Australian attitudes to many aspects of social behaviour and morality. Works of fiction, including John Hepworth’s regular

41 Horne, (1980), pp. 79-80.

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column, almost invariably evoke some national characteristic. Donald Horne was deeply conscious of the significance of *Nation Review* and its New Journalism, asserting

[T]he big bang of New Journalism was the *Sunday Review*. Committed to change and scathing (often scurrilous) about what already existed, it took up all the causes of permissiveness... At its best, especially in the work of Mungo MacCallum, Richard Beckett and Bob Ellis, it developed something new, an Australian vernacular—tough, sardonic, racy, bawdy, meaty—an idealisation of progressive intellectuals' conversation; its energy was mocked by the cartoons of Leunig, reminders of futility.⁴²

Overall then it could easily be established that *Nation Review* was in tune with emerging nationalism, but closer examination is necessary in order to understand how the various factors interplay, and to address the matter of whether *Nation Review* was a leader in New Nationalism, or merely a commercially-motivated follower of already-established trends.

Nation Review from a New Nationalism perspective

Michael Cannon served as editor for only the first five issues of the *Sunday Review*. He appears to have had some specific model in mind for the paper, so it may have developed some distinctly different character under his continued guidance. Regardless, some signs of New Journalism are evident from the start, with headlines including 'A Fake Constitutional Crisis' (p. 5), 'It's psychedelic, baby' (p. 7), and 'More smoking by would-be adults' (p. 8). In 'Life under the screws' (p. 10), Beatrice Faust uses writerly methods to describe prison conditions following 'disturbances' at Pentridge Jail (note American spelling). Her introduction alludes to writers' treatments of prison life and makes reference to Desmond Morris' book *The Human Zoo*. Faust has written eight paragraphs prior to introducing Pentridge.⁴³ Cannon's second issue includes an examination of the role of financial journalists in their reporting of stock

42 Horne, (1980), p. 37.

43 *Sunday Review*, (October 11, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), Vol. 1, No. 1, pages as shown.

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market events.⁴⁴ In terms of New Nationalism, some awareness is already present: Bernard Boles links art to nationalist politics in ‘Prime Minister turns his face against contemporary art’.⁴⁵ Considerable attention is paid to Australian society in articles about life in the cities, Australian universities and so on. A separate section contains ‘News from countries other than Australia’, which tends to heighten the distinction.⁴⁶ A separate Review section has not yet emerged, but, so far, most book and film reviews address overseas material, although of course at this time there were not many Australian films to review. The third issue (October 25, 1970), sets the course against censorship that was to become a prominent element of the newspaper, and that formed a key element in the establishment of New Nationalism, with a masterful coverage of the Portnoy’s Complaint obscenity trial (itself a centrepiece of New Nationalism, involving defiant Australian publishers). Recognition of the shift in global influences is clear, as the newspaper highlights regional news, and the specific relationships between Australia and other south-east Asian countries, with analysis of the withdrawal of Britain from the region. Already, several articles express concern that Australia is merely detaching from its British imperial master, in order to succumb to US domination.

Even during the interregnum before Richard Walsh’s arrival, a strong line of New Nationalism pervades the *Sunday Review*. The December 13, 1970 issue features a lengthy article by Barry Humphries about burgeoning Australian art and literature.⁴⁷ Books reviewed include *From Bob to Bungles* by Ray Aitchison and *On the Road to Sydney* by David Martin. *The Legend of King O’Malley*, by Michael Boddy and Bob Ellis, is reviewed

44 Morgan McLean, ‘The role of financial journalists in stock market sensations’, *Sunday Review*, (October 18, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 6.

45 *Sunday Review*, (October 11, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 9.

46 To borrow from Shaun Micallef’s *Mad as Hell* (ABC Television).

47 Barry Humphries, ‘Australian art on the make’, *Sunday Review*, (December 13, 1970), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1970), Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 291.

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by Leonard Glickfield, and Philip Adams and Morris Lurie offer short fiction and reminiscences.

With the arrival of Richard Walsh, a return to international flavour is evident, with greater coverage of world news, and some particular focus on events in Britain. Nonetheless, features and reviews continue an Australian theme, and the *Sunday Review* interpretation of New Journalism is perhaps becoming clearer. With a few exceptions, such as a lengthy review of Barry Humphries' book *The Wonderful World of Barry MacKenzie*, and the arrival of *Iron Maiden* (the short-lived cartoon strip), the paper settles into an international, rather highbrow mode. Local politics is addressed in considerable detail, with some degree of irreverence from the likes of Mungo MacCallum and some of the un-named 'correspondents'. Taking a random sample from roughly the middle of this period—Vol. 1, No. 44 (August 14 1971), the issue consists of:

- A cover dealing with a minor incident involving a rift between the Queen and Lord Snowden, Princess Margaret's husband;
- Nine articles covering local politics, over five pages;
- A feature about the collapse of the West Gate bridge;
- A brief article about the changing role of Australian media;
- Seven international articles over four pages;
- A two-page feature about the *Oz* obscenity trial in London;
- Eight reviews of non-Australian books in the review section;
- Two reviews of non-Australian films;
- A financial article lamenting lethargy by Australians over foreign ownership of minerals;
- The usual regular columns such as 'Continuity', 'Outsight' and 'Tucker'.

This list clearly shows that New Nationalism was not a major preoccupation at this time. Australian content concerns mainly light-hearted subjects, including Leunig's cartoons. Articles addressing Australian politics tend to be written in primarily traditional journalistic style, apart from MacCallum. Of course, political articles were provided by a range of anonymous 'correspondents' (five of the local political articles in

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this issue), and so any style similarities are perhaps accidental. It should be remembered though, that some of the newspaper's contributors were journalists employed by other publications. An opportunity for anonymous 'moonlighting' was also a chance to unwind a little, and experiment with hints of New Journalism. This freedom lends a considerable degree of vivacity to the writing, rendering even the dullest of local political news at least a little more palatable, and contributing to a broader sense of excitement that the paper exudes even in this era.

This 'internationalist' period comes to a sudden and dramatic end with the issue for November 5, 1971 (Vol. 2, No. 4). Perhaps as a result of some navel-gazing after a year of operation, this new phase sees a strong Australian flavour. The paper retains its separate local and overseas news sections, with 14 briefer local articles, and six overseas articles, varying in length. Added to these usual features though, several specific articles begin to develop a stronger New Nationalism line. Most prominently, a long article with Gordon Barton allows him a rare moment to elucidate his own philosophy, and that of his Australia Party. Barton advocates for greater independence from foreign powers, a higher level of Australian ownership and investment in business, and a reduction in defence spending. Rather surprisingly, on being asked his opinion of *The Review*, he says

The Review is less original than it ought to be. A great deal of the stuff that we are putting through is pretty conventional and pretty old-fashioned in its general orientation. I would like to see a very much more modern form of radicalism emerge than we have been used to in Australia rather than one which talks in the terms which are so current in places like the US and Britain.

The notion used to be, you see, that Australians were original and radical people and went their own way. Now it seems that we are laden down with all the hand-me-downs coming from overseas and which are haunting us from the past and this is one of my objections to the Labor Party. It is one of my objections to the Left in Australia that we seem to have this sort of dependence on both the past and on the thoughts of people a long way away and in slightly irrelevant situations. I would like to see an attempt to get a new

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kind of radicalism in this country and I think it will come. I think if it's going to come anywhere it is going to come in journals like *The Review*.⁴⁸

This is very much a call to arms. Coming from one's boss, it would no doubt carry significant weight with the paper's staff and contributors. Furthermore, Barton had been a very low-key proprietor who had allowed free rein to the paper from its inception, so an admonition such as this would have been more powerful for its rarity. This form of encouragement may well have come as a welcome incitement, at least for some contributors.

This issue carries an article describing a clash between Gorton and McMahon over the 'degortonsation programme' that McMahon was running in the arts field, highlighting differences in nationalist perception between the two.⁴⁹ With McMahon's ineffectual performance becoming clearer, there may perhaps have been a resurgence in any case for New Nationalism, but Barton's intervention seems to be a more concrete motivation for an intensification of New Nationalism at the newspaper.

The main feature for the November 5 issue was an article by John Hammond Moore, an American journalist. The article deals with the disparity between politicians who strongly sought to maintain a range of links with the US, and 'the often bitter and jingoistic attitude that the so-called man in the street has had towards the Damn Yanks'.⁵⁰ Although the review section was yet to embrace New Nationalism, this issue does include a long article about Australian painter John Peter Russell, and his influence among Impressionist painters here and in France.

The use of main features for New Nationalist-inspired pieces became a regular occurrence. An important feature appears in the following week (November 13) penned

48 Unattributed, 'Gordon Barton in review', *The Review*, (November 6, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 93.

49 Canberra correspondent, 'John Grey still a Liberal force', *The Review*, (November 6, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 90.

50 John Hammond Moore, 'Australia wants protection from those damn yanks', *The Review*, (November 6, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 98-99.

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by Adrian Deamer. Deamer had been sacked in July of that year from editorship of *The Australian*, as a result of political and editorial differences with Murdoch.⁵¹ The article, ‘Being both Australian and National’, comes from the text of Deamer’s address for the Arthur Norman Smith Memorial Lecture in Journalism.⁵² In it, he discusses the background to his dismissal, and subsequent changes to the paper. In the course of discussion Deamer considers the role and significance of a national newspaper, and some of the factors militating against the success of such a venture in Australia. He says ‘The idea behind the launching of the *Australian* was to bring Canberra, as the nation’s capital, to the people of Australia... For the first time Australia was to have a newspaper that thought and reported nationally... above all, it was to be a national newspaper.’⁵³ Deamer points to factors that increase the relevance of a national paper, citing changes that were making education, transport, health and law national rather than state responsibilities, and also noting improved communications, national TV broadcasting and nationwide business ventures.⁵⁴

From this point on, New Nationalism picks up its pace in *The Review*, coupled, of course, to the independent spread of nationalism into film, art, literature and even sport. Thus, it becomes possible to show more interest, in the review section, in new Australian artistic ventures, imparting a stronger local focus. Beginning with a review of the Australian film *Walkabout* in the November 20, 1971 issue, a welter of nationalist

51 Cryle and Hunt, (2008), pp. 127-130.

52 Adrian Deamer, ‘Being both Australian and National’, *The Review*, (November 13, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 6, pp. 158-159.

53 Adrian Deamer, ‘Being both Australian and National’, *The Review*, (November 13, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 158.

54 A lengthy letter in response to Deamer was published in the November 27, 1971 issue, penned by Tony Mitchell and Masha Eisenberg, of the University of Sydney, who had mounted a petition to urge the dismantling of Murdoch’s ‘improvements’, arguing that both journalistically and financially, the changes were disastrous. Tony Mitchell and Masha Eisenberg, ‘Petitioning the Australian’, *The Review*, (November 20, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 7, p. 203.

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material appears. Representative examples include: offers for Australian art prints;⁵⁵ a major book review by John Hepworth of *The Glorious Years of Australia Fair from the Birth of The Bulletin to Versailles* by Graeme Inson and Russell Ward;⁵⁶ an article about new Australian cinema;⁵⁷ a review of *The Australian Nationalists*;⁵⁸ a Maurice Lurie rumination;⁵⁹ Richard Beckett's reflections on Nationalism.⁶⁰

The Review also chronicles changes to the political landscape. Don Chipp is praised for his vision of a truly multicultural nation.⁶¹ Mungo MacCallum criticises McMahon's stance on defence treaties.⁶² By June 24, 1972, New Nationalism has become the main theme. For that issue, the cover features a Leunig cartoon depicting a slouch-hatted Australian swilling beer while sitting in a (Kentucky) Fried Chicken bucket. The headline demands 'WHO ARE WE?' Humphrey McQueen provides an 'analysis of Australian society' in the feature article 'The Suckling Society'.⁶³ Geoffrey Kenihan addresses the sometimes appalling behaviour of Australian tourists overseas, writing

55 Special *Review* offer, 'Prints by famous Australian Artists', *The Review*, (November 27, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 225.

56 John Hepworth, 'A good old fashioned wallow in nostalgia', *The Review*, (January 15, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 13, pp. 358-359.

57 Albie Thoms, 'New Cinema looks for answers', *The Review*, (January 22, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 14, p. 395.

58 A A Phillips, 'Whatever happened to Australian confidence?', *The Review*, (February 5, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 16, p. 447.

59 Maurice Lurie, 'On Meanjin, Warts, Expatriatism, And Other Filthy Matters', *The Review*, (February 19, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 18, pp. 498-499.

60 Richard Beckett, 'When we should have been building the barricades', *The Review*, (February 26, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 19, pp. 526-527.

61 Canberra Correspondent, 'Chipp scuttles migration issue', *The Review*, (May 6, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 29, p. 801.

62 Mungo MacCallum, 'Blushing over outdated treaties', *The Review*, (June 10, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 34, p. 953B.

63 Humphrey McQueen, 'The Suckling Society', *The Review*, (June 24, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 36, pp. 1020-1021.

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‘[S]omehow, the Ugly Australian brings a raw, colonial rumbustiousness to his ugliness, unmatched by the candidates of other nationalities.’⁶⁴

In this period the Bookferrets Club is at its height, contributing also to a sense of legitimate Australian identity, with its regular presentation of Australian books, in a context where it was otherwise often difficult to access local books for consideration. Donald Home refers to this period as ‘Waiting for Whitlam’.⁶⁵ He might better have said ‘Waiting for Gough’, evoking Samuel Beckett; with the loss in 1969, it seemed Whitlam might never come.

Gough Arrives

Thus far, it may be concluded that *Nation Review* was somewhat slow to engage with New Nationalism, but that, once started, it became a major source of information about national culture, and, in turn, a significant influence in turning Australians towards the notion that they might consider themselves to be Australians in their own right. What is more, this predates the arrival of Gough Whitlam and his deliberate programme of nationalism at all levels.

A simplistic analysis of *Nation Review*, based on its coverage of politics between Menzies and Whitlam, might suggest that the newspaper was ideologically affiliated with the Left—after all, its coverage of incumbent Liberal politicians was merciless and unremitting. Furthermore, the review section celebrated the full range of the New, seen predominantly as an invention of the Left. From this, it may have been expected that when Whitlam finally arrived at the end of 1972, there would be euphoric celebration in the offices of *Nation Review* (as it had become in July), and massive support for him in the pages of the paper. In fact, Whitlam’s arrival receives very low-key attention. While

64 Geoffrey Kenihan, ‘The Unmatched Ugly Australians’, *The Review*, (June 24, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 36, p. 1027.

65 Home, (1980), p. 157.

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the change of government understandably dominates this issue, there is little discernible glee. Sober analysis of the implications, and an account of Whitlam's first actions are set beside analysis of voting numbers, the fate of departing Liberal politicians is considered, and the scandal of a high-spending election campaign in the SA seat of Sturt set an atmosphere of 'business-as-usual'. The review section has probably not had time to tailor any specific response, so it too looks the same as usual.

The merging of Tom Fitzgerald's *Nation* with Barton's *Review*, to form *Nation Review* in July 1972, clouds the issue of the relationship between *Nation Review* and the Whitlam government. Richard Walsh considers this to be 'the heyday of the ferret', saying

Gordon had some misgivings about the larrikin persona *The Review* had developed and hoped this marriage would bestow on the Ferret a little gravitas. While I did not share Gordon's misgivings I certainly felt *Nation* could add depth to our critique at a time when the *National Times* was indisputably gaining in strength.

Since about April (1972) we had been able to develop a very strong *esprit de corps*, which had brought together the staff, our contributors and our readers in a sense of common purpose. The result had been an almost uninterrupted stream of wonderfully vibrant issues. The merger happened at a time of great political and journalistic optimism; it was immediately to result in the strongest issues we were ever to produce.⁶⁶

Arrivals from *Nation* included George Munster and several long-term regular contributors. Munster in particular was an 'old school' journalist, almost obsessive about establishing factual information to build authoritative, neutral accounts.⁶⁷ His drier style and his authoritative position as Sydney Editor, may have initiated a pegging back of the New Journalism mode, in favour of straight, no-nonsense reporting.

By now though, the general character and attitudes of *Nation Review* were firmly established. Readers appreciated the impolite, larrikin humour and iconoclasm on the

66 Walsh, 1993, p. 133.

67 Mungo MacCallum describes Munster as 'an enthusiast whose extraordinary ability as a researcher never quite compensated for the turgidity of his prose'. MacCallum, 'From *Nation* to Now', 2005, [accessed 20 December 2014].

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surface, but they understood that articles offered well-researched authoritative material, often as an antidote to the blind acceptance of establishment narrative offered by the major dailies. Readers expected to find out about books, films and art that was not considered to be serious or valid, or proper, and that tended to be suppressed by more straight-laced publications. The Australian form of New Journalism had become second-nature (outside of Munster's influence), and an Australian perspective of international affairs by now seemed normal.

Nation Review's response to Whitlam is further obscured by the *Living Daylights* fiasco. When it was amalgamated into *Nation Review*, the fusion of different aims and philosophies created a newspaper of a confused character, although in some ways it echoed larger confusions in the broad Australian culture. As Donald Horne describes it

It was a period when capitalist development of the cities was reaching a perceived crisis... It was a period when the whole ideology of growth might be seen as challenged—not only by eco-nuts, but by economists and engineers, both in the discovery of some of the hidden costs of growth, such as pollution, and in the fears that resources might run out... And it was a period when children of the consumer society had begun to devour their own: freedom of choice and the pursuit of pleasure were reaching meanings the marketers of goods had not intended.

It was also a time of perceived crisis in national identity—come partly from changes in economic and strategic reality, but also concerned with changing consciousness and ways of life.⁶⁸

Despite these confusions, *Nation Review* pushed ahead with a New Nationalism line, but now with the authority, in many cases, of official government policy. Brian McKinlay sought to clarify the history of the 'powerful friends' syndrome in a feature article on January 26, 1973 titled 'The passing of the Great White Fleet'.⁶⁹ Gordon Barton's open

68 Horne, (1980), p. 166.

69 Brian McKinlay, 'The passing of the Great White Fleet', *Nation Review*, (January 26, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 15, pp. 456-457. Perhaps made more poignant as an Australia Day article.

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letter to LBJ was offered as a full-size poster.⁷⁰ The shift towards the southeast-Asian economic sphere was noted.⁷¹ And so it went on.

Culture was undergoing its own explosive development, and *Nation Review* continued to be at the forefront of airing, and most likely setting, new attitudes. ‘This Australia’ began: a weekly feature using contributed photographs to show aspects of Australian life, both the disappearing and the new. The fight against censorship was renewed, this time in consideration of ‘pornography’ (a loose term that could be applied to almost anything that conservative Australians wanted censored).⁷² After decades of dominance by British and American popular music, we were ‘awaiting the emergence of Australian rock’.⁷³

Owen Webster took New Nationalism seriously, and began to link it to the notion of republicanism. In ‘Orstralia, know we’ll never failya’.⁷⁴ Webster bemoans the lack of depth and rigour in debate about Australia’s constitution, and ridicules the national anthem contest.

The May 25, 1973 issue contained the first in a series of four important feature articles by Donald Horne, examining ‘Gough Whitlam’s Australia’.⁷⁵ This is Whitlam, and Horne, at the height of their powers. Horne saw a new style of government arising,

70 Poster Offer, ‘Gordon Barton’s Famous Letter’, *Nation Review*, (February 2, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 16, p. 480.

71 Rohan Rivett, ‘Gough’s Magna Carta: Towards a new Asian community’, *Nation Review*, (February 2, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 16, p. 482.

72 D J Hislop, ‘Taking the body wraps off’, *Nation Review*, (February 23, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 19, p. 571,
Front-page headline, ‘Goodbye Pornography’, *Nation Review*, (March 23, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 23, p. 681, (About NSW and Victoria legislation attempts to tighten censorship control).

73 Rob Smyth, ‘Awaiting the emergence of Australian rock’, *Nation Review*, (April 13, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 26, p. 799.

74 Owen Webster, ‘Orstralia, know we’ll never failya’, *Nation Review*, (April 19, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 27, p. 832.

75 Donald Horne, ‘A return to idealism?’, *Nation Review*, (May 25, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 32, p. 985.

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in which the old, barnacle-encrusted political parties, accustomed to fighting over mere minor differences in execution, were needing to give way to more stark notions of better ways to bring new ideas to fruition. Horne saw cause for optimism in the victories of Whitlam, Dunstan and Hamer—new men ousting old party warriors and introducing new, far-reaching social reform. The article finishes with a prescient warning that over-confidence could bring Whitlam down, and in a frivolous and teasing mood Horne admits how wrong his forecasts might be: ‘The mirage disappears in political accidents. Labor blows itself up. Doug Anthony and Vin (sic) Gair take over. Princess Alexandra, after her conversion to the catholic faith, becomes the first queen of Australia. The new national capital moves to Brisbane...’⁷⁶

Horne’s next instalment was ‘Intellectuals and Gough’s government’, an expatiation of a theme he introduced in *The Lucky Country*: that Australia’s dismal performance as a nation could be laid, not at the door of a disinterested public, but of its second-rate leaders.⁷⁷ Here he argues that intellectuals were dismissed and denigrated by all sides of politics, becoming ‘engaged in the pleasures of mutual expatriation in their own country’. Thus was lost any form of aspiration, of new ideas and of expertise. Horne links an emerging recognition by Whitlam of the value of intellectualism with the new Australian national project. ‘It is being Australian that produces the novelty; Australia is where we are and a real consideration of its unique circumstances must produce unique political attitudes.’⁷⁸

June 1973 marked perhaps the coinciding high-point of both the Whitlam government and *Nation Review*. Crowley describes the disenchantment, writing ‘During

76 Donald Horne, ‘A return to idealism?’, *Nation Review*, (May 25, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 32, p. 985.

77 Donald Horne, ‘Intellectuals and Gough’s government’, *Nation Review*, (June 1, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 33, p. 1024.

78 Donald Horne, ‘Intellectuals and Gough’s government’, *Nation Review*, (June 1, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 33, p. 1024.

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1973, increasing dissatisfaction with the Whitlam Government was reflected in general and by-elections.⁷⁹ He explains that, while Whitlam's personal popularity continued to improve, with consensus that 'he was a brilliant individual and an outstanding spokesman for Australia', his ministers had perpetrated several embarrassing gaffes and blunders, and 'much of the earlier goodwill towards the party had waned.'⁸⁰

Up to this point, much of Whitlam's programme had been aimed at 'normalizing' the constitutional mechanisms concerning Australia and Britain, entailing such things as detaching the Australian judicial system to any ties, via appeals, to the British High Court, defining Australian interests in territorial waters, and cutting down on 'a lot of monarchical paraphernalia.'⁸¹ It was appropriate then for Donald Horne to present the third of his articles, headed 'Which new nationalism [sic]?' in the June 8, 1973 issue of *Nation Review*.⁸² In this instalment, Horne exhorted Australians to progress beyond xenophobic and chauvinistic forms of nationalism. He suggested that 'there is now a greater acceptance of Australianness as a human condition, fit for art', adding 'If we are finally going to throw off symbols of immaturity it should be done with a bit of dash, so that there is something to remember about it later.' Discussion along these lines inevitably leads to consideration of the introduction of a republic, and Horne, as a republican, countered concerns about constitutional change with the warning 'In fact the present setup in which the prime minister appoints the governor-general has dangers and those who are concerned about constitutional checks might be better satisfied with an independent head of state, elected directly by the people...'. In this vein, Horne suggested that the frivolous process for selecting a national anthem ought to have been

79 Frank Crowley, *Tough Times: Australia in the Seventies*, (Richmond, William Heinemann Australia, 1986), p. 90.

80 Crowley, (1986), pp. 90-93.

81 Curran & Ward, (2010), p. 135.

82 Donald Horne, 'Which new nationalism?', *Nation Review*, (June 8, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 34, p. 1047.

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replaced by a serious examination of what it means to be Australian. This moment, when academics and politicians were serious about getting to grips with Australian nationalism, and when public support for such directions appeared to be quite solid, was perhaps the zenith of New Nationalism.

Horne's final article, 'Facing a neutral Australia', appeared the following week.⁸³ In it, Horne contemplated the implications of true independence, unfettered by what he saw as an unwise reliance on powerful allies. His view was that accommodations would be met with those allies, and that a smooth, peaceful transition to independence was a real possibility, extending the 'luck' that seemed to accompany most of Australian history, in that most other independent nations had required real physical struggle to achieve that end. Horne particularly advocated meaningful engagement with Asia, concluding that 'I think we should do this because it is good in itself. But it might also be prudent.'

It is clear that Horne saw *Nation Review* as a significant factor in the promulgation of New Nationalism (in whatever form it may ultimately have materialized). In addition to seeing the paper as a fit place to discuss weighty matters in a serious, intellectual and committed way, Horne acknowledges in *Time of Hope* that 'At *Nation Review* there was a movement to throw off the oppressive elitist totalitarianism of old-style sub-editing, and when *Nation Review* spawned the publication *Living Daylights* the sincerity of the new journal was preserved by leaving it very largely unedited.'⁸⁴ Horne also links the importance of *Nation Review* to 'the spread of an educated middle class' (pp. 90-91), and is aware of the substantial (55,000) circulation at that time, signalling to him that *Nation Review* was at the centre of debate about New Nationalism (p. 160, p. 165).

83 Donald Horne, 'Facing a neutral Australia', *Nation Review*, (June 15, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 35, p. 1084.

84 Horne, (1980), p. 166.

Nation Review and Tabloid Story

It is worth noting that *Nation Review* was one of the publications that carried the *Tabloid Story* supplement. *Tabloid Story* emerged in 1972, as a consequence of discussions between Frank Moorhouse, Carmel Kelly and Michael Wilding, who were seeking outlets for Australian short-story fiction. They felt that the quarterly magazines such as *Meanjin* had ‘editorial policy on selection of fiction [that] was out of phase with the new fiction being written.’⁸⁵ Bruce Woodcock, in his biography of Peter Carey, quotes Wilding, noting that ‘*Tabloid Story* championed a new sort of writing: “no more formula bush tales, no more restrictions to the beginning, middle and end story, no more preconceptions about a well rounded tale.”’⁸⁶ Their idea to publish a self-contained free supplement, to be included within willing publications, gave them an immediate, large outlet for fiction-writing. To get started, *Tabloid Story* used a grant from the Commonwealth Literary Fund, and received funding from the Literature board of the Australia Council. Funding was contingent, in part, on condition that “The magazine should “be literary in character, be of quality and be of value to Australian writing”, and that it should “devoted predominantly” to Australian writing’.⁸⁷

Although it hosted *Tabloid Story* from the first issue (of *TS*), *Nation Review* makes no particular mention of it within its own pages, until the February 1980 monthly *NR* issue, when *TS* was incorporated briefly. Surprisingly, nothing seems to have been made of an incident of censorship involving *Tabloid Story*: ‘The distributors of *Nation Review* in Queensland and Western Australia objected to Michael Wilding’s “The Nembutal

85 Michael Denholme, *Small Press Publishing in Australia: the early 1970s*, (North Sydney, Second Back Row Press, 1979), p. 123.

86 Bruce Woodcock, *Peter Carey*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 7.

87 Denholme, p. 54.

Story”, in the second [TS] issue, and removed it from all copies distributed in those states, replacing it by a blank page and a half.’⁸⁸

The New Journalists

Australian New Journalism as a subject merits considerably more attention than can be paid to it in this context. Denis Cryle has found that

While the American phenomenon is well documented (Wolfe 1973; Hellman 1981), there has been little real investigation of the New Journalism in post-war Australian media, to the point where one may be forgiven for questioning whether such a local phenomenon existed at all. Only Donald Horne, in *Time of Hope* (1980), makes any reference to its existence in Australia after 1965 and, even then, in a cursory manner. Consequently, there has been neither a sustained analysis of overseas influence nor of those local traditions which contributed to its emergence.’⁸⁹

Cryle goes on to examine the question of an Australian strain of New Journalism, using *Nation Review* as a case study. He agrees with Donald Horne in asserting that the form taken in Australian New Journalism springs, not from American New Journalism (Hunter Thompson, Norman Mailer), which has its own origins and influences, but from local sources, wherein ‘[L]ocal practitioners, including [Richard] Beckett himself, drew on local traditions to create their own distinctive brand of iconoclasm’, which lay at the heart of Australian New Journalism.⁹⁰ Cryle traces Australian New Journalism from ‘Sydney libertarianism’ and ‘irreverent student journalism’ and sees it as ‘espousing a species of literary anarchism rather than hard-line revolutionary rhetoric’.⁹¹

Bob Ellis cites Australian journalist Lenny Lower as a significant influence on the character of *Nation Review*.⁹² Lower, writing in the period of the 1930s Depression and the Second World War (before dying of cancer, aged 43, in 1947) was immensely

88 Denholme, p. 123.

89 Denis Cryle, ‘New journalism post-war and Australia media traditions: a case study of *Nation Review*’, *ejournalist*, 2002, Vol.1 No. 2, pp. 1-7, <<http://ejournalist.com.au/v2n1/denis.pdf>>, [accessed April 23, 2015].

90 Denis Cryle, (2002), p. 2.

91 Denis Cryle, (2002), p. 3.

92 Bob Ellis, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

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popular. He wrote humorous articles for *Smith's Weekly*, the *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph* and *Women's Weekly*. Cyril Pearl provided the Introduction to a 1963 collection of Lower's work, writing 'He was an individualist in an era of creeping conformity. He was a rebel in a country of suffocating acquiescence. A Darlinghurst Don Quixote, he tilted at windbags, punctured pomposity, slaughtered sacred cows, all with tremendous gusto. He saw that much of life was absurd, and his laughter echoed down its stuffy corridors, lusty, irreverent and irrepressible.'⁹³ This description certainly evokes *Nation Review* at its best, and, given that Cyril Pearl was a significant contributor to Fitzgerald's *Nation* and to *Nation Review*, there is a direct link, reinforcing the notion that sources such as *Smith's Weekly* can account for an Australian version of New Journalism.

An advertisement noting the six-month existence of the *Sunday Review* (presumably penned by Richard Walsh), claims 'The *Sunday Review* is not a poor man's London Sunday paper: its witty and abrasive commentary is clearly descended from the historic traditions of Australian journalism.'⁹⁴ In his assessment of *Nation Review*, Cryle rightly notes the significance of political cartoons in the paper, and makes the important point that 'The *Review*, like its larrikin predecessor, *The Bulletin*, can be read as a complex text which employs diverse registers and techniques, including colloquialisms and parody, to dispense with conventional reporting.'⁹⁵

Reader Henry Rosenbloom (then co-editor of *Dissent* magazine) wrote a lengthy, thoughtful letter to the editor (October 22, 1971), in which he criticised a perceived uniformity of journalism in the *Sunday Review*, and that he described as a 'house style',

93 *The Best of Lennie Lower*, ed. by Cyril Pearl, (Melbourne, Lansdowne Press, 1963).

94 Unattributed Advertisement, 'The *Sunday Review* is six months old', *Sunday Review*, (April 4, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), No. 26, p. 737.

95 Denis Cryle, (2002), p. 5.

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which he found lacking in terms of deeply analytical writing.⁹⁶ Richard Walsh responded to Rosenbloom the following week in his ‘Continuity’ column, suggesting that ‘Anyone who cannot distinguish between Beckett, MacCallum, Ellis and Hepworth is not really trying. What Rosenbloom actually means is “house tone” but there are still vast differences between Beckett’s mordant sarcasm, MacCallum’s gentler sardonicism, Ellis’s romanticism and Hepworth’s nostalgia.’⁹⁷ Walsh is arguing here that the journalism in *Nation Review* does not derive from a particular ‘school’ of journalism; rather, it emerges organically from the individual interests, experiences and temperaments of its writers. It is not therefore an offshoot of American New Journalism, but a coalescence of traditions and influences, responding to the particular social, political and cultural environment of the time. It is, nonetheless, ‘new’ in that it rejects the notion of distance between the journalist and the story, opting instead to introduce a strong element of personality and perspective, to bring the writer’s presence to the story.

Nation Review attracted contributors who, besides laying claim to be journalists, were also writers, as can be attested by reference to the books, poetry, plays and films they wrote. John Hepworth wrote (amongst others) *The Long Green Shore*, a war memoir. Mungo MacCallum and Bob Ellis have written several books collecting political history and analysis, as well as autobiographical works. Ellis has written successful screenplays. Richard Beckett wrote on a wide range of topics, including gardening, food and Australian language.⁹⁸ Discussing the origins of *Nation Review*, Ellis says:

Where it came from was complex – it was partly *Smith’s Weekly*, it was partly Lenny Lower. It was partly the Push, it was partly Australia’s vigorous

96 Henry Rosenbloom, Letter to the Editor, ‘Reviewing the *Review*’, *Sunday Review*, (October 22, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 30.

97 Richard Walsh, ‘Continuity’, *Sunday Review*, (October 28, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 65.

98 See the Bibliography for a selective representation of published works from these authors.

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intellectual public culture A lot of it depended on the particular personality of John Hepworth who had survived World War Two and seen all his friends killed and was drunk therefore, and disorderly for the next forty or fifty years. And part of it was Mungo, and a lot of it was Richard Beckett (Sam Orr).⁹⁹

Ellis's view reinforces what Walsh had to say in 1971. The style of journalism featured in *Nation Review* derives from the individual writerly approach to reporting that came naturally to its contributors. Phillip Adams recalls:

To come back to your issue of writing – we had a cluster of editors about that time, who liked writing, and liked ideas. I remember sitting in the editor's office at *The Age* when it was the really interesting bloke that Ranald brought out from the *Observer* in London [Michael Davie, editor 1979-81] after Graham Perkin had died. And we're sitting in his office, talking about things, and someone came in and said 'Oh, Sartre's died', and he wanted to run something on John-Paul, and after he left, [Davie] said 'Isn't it a fucking disgrace, that we have to wait until Sartre's dead, to discuss the philosophies of Sartre'. So I always had the brief that there was nothing I couldn't write about. Writing was very much an issue for Adrian Deamer – he liked writing, it was an issue for Graham, he liked writing, and for a while there you had Helen Garner, a lot of people who loved writing. This was where Ellis, and almost everyone at *Nation Review* came in. These people weren't clerks of fact, they were rebellious of style, whether they were drawing a cartoon or writing prose, and that was a very liberating thing. Now there's no magic of words, there's nothing of the ebullience you get from Ellis on even his darkest day.

The thing about *Nation Review* was no-one was meant to hide their views, so not only were they encouraged to express them freshly, but they could express them with any degree of passion, or even irrationality that they chose.¹⁰⁰

Adams himself was an effective writer in the new style, as his October 28, 1972 article demonstrates.¹⁰¹ In 1972 he had produced the Bruce Beresford/Barry Humphries-scripted film *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie*, which was directed also by Beresford. This was one of the first films to receive all of its funding (\$250,000) from the Australian Film Development Corporation, established in 1970.¹⁰² Innocuous by today's standards, the film pushed some boundaries of taste for its time, thereby attracting the attention of the film censors. Under Don Chipp, a process of appeal to contest censorship decisions

99 Bob Ellis, personal interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

100 Phillip Adams, personal interview, Int. by David Olds, (Sydney, March 1, 2013).

101 Phillip Adams, 'In the hands of the graffiti freaks', *Nation Review*, (October 28, 1972), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 2, p.532.

102 David Stratton, *The Last New Wave: The Australian Film Revival*, (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1980), pp. 42-45.

had been set up, and Adams elected to challenge the 'R' rating his film had attracted. He wrote about the experience in this feature article. Calling on his expertise as an amateur Egyptologist, Adams drew parallels with Howard Carter's descent into the tomb of Tutankhamen in 1922.

There was no intention to present this article as strictly factual, disinterested news, even though, at its heart, this was an item of news. The fact that Adams was able to write the article at all is a clear indication of the spirit of New Journalism at work. The embedding of the writer into the story is no longer forbidden under the rules of New Journalism. Several paragraphs pass before the purpose of Adams's parallel narrative emerges, and the structure allows Adams to use a third-person perspective, further confusing the relationship of story to journalist. The article clearly demonstrates some of the features of Cryle's 'satiric journalism'. Some of the humour is inelegant, but the allusions to history and archaeology are intellectual in their appeal, and the carefully-crafted structure is undeniably a literary mechanism. The 'trick' of commencing an article with some unrelated, non-intuitive and distant subject matter, and then constructing an unexpected relevancy to the real subject of the article, was a favourite ploy amongst *Nation Review* contributors, even in cases where 'hard' news is being reported.

John Hepworth

Following his World War 2 army career, Hepworth became a journalist, while also writing plays, including *The Last of the Rainbow* (1962). As a founding editor of the *Sunday Review*, Hepworth began by writing a regular column, titled 'Notes of the Week', starting with the first issue, and running until December 27, 1970, after which it was renamed 'On the Inside' for the January 3, 1971 issue, before becoming the iconic 'Outsight' column that occupied the back page from January 10, 1971 to July 28,

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1978.¹⁰³ It was Hepworth's task to take news snippets and transform them into amusing anecdotes, satirical comment, or fabricated yarns. Initially, the column would consist of five or six separate items. The column for November 22, 1970 (p. 194) for instance, includes an item about the release of a set of stamps for Christmas ('No mother-in-law problems this year, we hope. '), a beer-brewing monopoly in Victoria, scaremongering about the use of marijuana in Perth, criticism of John McEwen for failure to recognize indigenous land ownership, and Labor Party pre-selection antics in NSW. A natural progression saw the arrival of lengthening treatments of a particular item, at the expense of other topics. Thus, by April 11, 1971, there were only four items, the first occupying half of the column's space. Hepworth was still engaging directly with news stories (in this case, a birthday celebration in Brisbane, held for Gladys Moncrieff). By May 27, 1972, there were two items. From August 26, 1972, Hepworth shared the back page with Bill Peach ('Peach Split'), and wrote about a single topic each week. Finally, for October 7, 1972, he had the full back page available, except for some space occupied by a Leunig cartoon. This pairing with Leunig became a regular layout. At this stage, he was still writing about a single issue, in greater depth, and still directly connected to a specific news item, albeit in a meandering way.

By August 10, 1973, Hepworth is in full swing. 'The foul breath of spring in people's faces' meanders across a range of disjointed anecdotes in which any connection to current affairs has been abandoned, as has any semblance of reality, other than as an occasional trigger to launch an anecdote.¹⁰⁴ The writing is lively and quirky, while colloquialisms tend to disguise well-crafted, expressive and tightly-controlled sentences:

Greataunt Cassandra seemed singularly elated by the fact that the moths had got into the handknitted merkin. "It is, of course, tremendously exciting that it

¹⁰³ Richard Walsh daims credit for this move, as part of his revamp of the paper on becoming Publishing Editor. (Walsh, 1993, p. 13).

¹⁰⁴ John Hepworth, 'The foul breath of spring in people's faces', *Nation Review*, (August 10, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 43, p.1364.

should have been found after all these years”, she wrote in the arachnidic script which distinguishes the epistles of all the female members of our family, “but the moths have chewed the arse out of it.”

This treatment can be traced directly to what has become thought of as an Australian tradition of writing, exemplified by Henry Lawson and the writers in *Smith's Weekly*.

Here is Lenny Lower on journalism, and, incidentally, taking a putative line on New Journalism:

Journalists are born. Why, nobody knows. The ambitious few become journalists by study. It is to these people who, tired of life, wish to become journalists, these few remarks are addressed.

For a start, if you'll just take an eyeful of that last sentence you can see that it's cockeyed. You will find all sorts of examples like that as we go along with the course...

That's what is called ordinary, straight reporting. On the other hand we have descriptive writing. This is what's used to fill up the space where the advertising should have been.¹⁰⁵

While Hepworth's contributions moved generally into the arena of entertainment, as opposed to hard journalism, he remained attuned to harsh realities, and a sense of anguish and sadness sometimes pervades his work. As an immediate response to the dismissal of Whitlam, he wrote, “That the counterfeit presentiment of a prigged and periwigged fellow tokenly representing the hollow crown of England should of his own arrogance dismiss the properly elected prime of the nation... Christ, you couldn't believe it.”¹⁰⁶

Morris Lurie (a regular contributor of fiction to *Nation Review*) made a selection of Hepworth's writing for publication in *John Hepworth... his book* (1978).¹⁰⁷ Leunig provided illustrations for the book, capturing Hepworth's inherent sadness, while at the same time showing his sense of mischief and occasional joy in simple things. It is somehow fitting that, in his final ‘Outsight’, he should write,

105 *The Best of Lennie Lower*, ed. by Cyril Pearl, (1963), p. 137.

106 John Hepworth, ‘And so it went, all through the dreadful night’ *Nation Review*, (November 14, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 5, p. 132.

107 *John Hepworth... his book*, ed. by Morris Lurie, (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1978).

In parlous times such as these in which we live one tends to clutch at whatever straws are blowing in the wind. The delusion of words is a sometimes comfort and one is tempted to seek solace in the distilled wisdom of the classics—to hide behind the aphoristic shield of saw, proverb, apothegm, adage or byword such as the ancient Greeks and others were fond of tossing off in ancient Greek or Latin.¹⁰⁸

Bob Ellis

Bob Ellis established an unbroken relationship with *Nation Review*, beginning from the 18th issue (February 7, 1971) and ending with his efforts to resurrect the paper after the final published issue (December 18, 1981). Ellis made his *Sunday Review* debut February 7, 1971, when he reviewed David Lean's *Ryan's Daughter*.¹⁰⁹ His reviews appeared almost every week thereafter (a few issues had no film reviews), and generally followed new releases, regardless of origin (given that the majority of films were American). One may observe a growing confidence in the role, as Ellis develops his style, beginning with a tight, academic neutral-observer stance, and gradually freeing himself up to express his opinions in more colourful language, while drawing on a widening range of references for his comments. Ellis' reviews often appeared under playful headlines, but he could also strike a serious note, as in his February 21, 1971 review of Sydney Pollack's *They shoot Horses, Don't They?*¹¹⁰ Under the headline 'Depression documented' Ellis likens the 1930s dancing marathon at the centre of the film to an event in Imperial Rome's Colosseum. He writes, 'To it, the poor, the hungry, the depression-ruined, the social outcasts, the drifters and the star-struck flotsam and jetsam flock like moths in a sad quest for the fifteen hundred dollar first prize...' His

108 John Hepworth, 'A fine promise of poking in a panacea', *Nation Review*, (July 21, 1978), (Melbourne, Monobloc Proprietary Limited, 1978), Vol. 8, No. 40, p. 24.

109 Bob Ellis, 'Films: Lean night out', *Sunday Review*, (February 7, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), No. 18, p. 527. In *Ferretabilia*, Richard Walsh daims February 14 for Ellis's debut (Walsh, 1993, p. 24).

110 Bob Ellis, 'When the minister's son went bolshie', *Demonstrator*, April 18, 1971, p. 807; 'On the glamorous adultery circuit', *A Man I Love*, April 25, 1971, p. 835; 'Walt Disney: the forerunner of the flower children', *Bambi*, May 23, 1971, p. 946.

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conclusion clearly shows a desire to interpret film in a social, as well as a cultural, context:

As a symbol for the competitive society all of us live in and the rat-race each of us runs from cradle to grave, it's hypnotically compelling.

As a documentary on the Depression and how it ravaged the human soul it's quite unsurpassed.

As a luminous gallery of human sadness and desperate courage, it's inexpressibly moving.

It's also pretty funny.¹¹¹

Ellis's first opportunity to extend his scope came as a result of the 1971 Sydney Film Festival. This festival is of interest for its role in opposing censorship, and 1971 was the first year that censorship was not applied, under an agreement with Don Chipp, then Minister for Customs and Excise, in whom responsibility for censorship reposed. Ellis was given a full page for each of the two weeks the festival ran (June 13 and June 20, 1971). Acknowledging Chipp's influence, he opens his account of the festival with, 'Now that Mr Chipp has reordered the antipodean universe on the intoxicating premise that film festivals do not corrupt our morals, I am busily reordering my mind on the gloomy premise that they certainly corrupt our judgement.'¹¹²

While the majority of the article consists of direct criticism of the many films he attended, Ellis manages to insert some broader observations, demonstrating his deep knowledge of the art and history of film. He notes in advance that it is impossible to judge films objectively, and that the momentary mood of the reviewer will colour his or her assessment. There is an inherent recognition of a certain amount of pose in the whole phenomenon of the film festival: 'I disagreed brazenly with two exultant film directors in two white wool turtleneck sweaters closely resembling my own about the

111 Bob Ellis, 'Films: Depression Documented', *Sunday Review*, (February 21, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), No. 20, p. 583.

112 Bob Ellis, 'Festival fans grope for objectivity', *Sunday Review*, (June 13, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 36, p. 1030.

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cinematic brilliance of *The fruit of paradise...*¹¹³ The resultant tone of the article exudes deep knowledge, clear understanding of both the workings and purpose of artistic methods, and an ‘insider’s’ perspective of the film industry. The passion behind his writing is hinted at in the final paragraph, as is his writing skill in bringing the article full-circle to reconnect with its introduction: ‘More next week. So far the festival has cost me nine good friendships. They really ought to be banned.’¹¹⁴

For the following week, Ellis increases his own presence in the article, by way of including personal experiences, and using his own expressive style. He says of the festival, ‘It was, in short, atmospherically about average—about halfway between the offcuts of a Fellini orgy and a traffic jam on the harbor bridge—but filmically it was wonderful.’¹¹⁵ Ellis had perhaps made his mark: the following week (June 27, 1971) his reviews occupy more than half of the page (p. 1086), whereas Robert Jordan’s review of the Melbourne film festival in its entirety is restricted to the remainder of the same page. Having found a suitable voice, he settled into the role of slightly provocative, opinionated but knowledgeable insider, offering reviews that sometimes occupied increasing amounts of space, according to the week’s releases. His political stance began to reveal itself: his review of Peter Cook’s brilliant satirical film *The Rise and Rise of Michael Rimmer* is headlined ‘Formula for a 1972 Labor landslide’.¹¹⁶ This may well have been a back-hander; Cook’s film tracks the political career of a narcissistic psychopath.

Ellis was absent from the paper for two months following this review (he travelled to London to cover British election politics). The intervening weeks were filled by a competition allowing readers to submit their own film reviews. This is an

113 Bob Ellis, ‘Festival fans grope for objectivity’, *Sunday Review*, (June 13, 1971), p. 1030.

114 Bob Ellis, ‘Festival fans grope for objectivity’, *Sunday Review*, (June 13, 1971), p. 1030.

115 Bob Ellis, ‘More invigorating than the Zambesi’, *Sunday Review*, (June 20, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 37, p. 1058.

116 Bob Ellis, ‘Formula for a 1972 Labor landslide’, *Sunday Review*, (October 8, 1971), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1971), Vol. 1, No. 52, p. 1488.

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interesting ploy, either to avoid the cost and difficulty of replacing Ellis, or a recognition that the voice of Ellis had become irreplaceable, and that he had arrived as a core component of the paper's persona. His reviews returned for the December 4, 1971 issue (addressing two films then appearing in London). From January 8, 1972 normal services were returned.

For July 29, 1972, the first issue of *Nation Review*, Ellis wrote his first feature article for the paper, titled 'Shooting the Ellis way.'¹¹⁷ This was a full-page feature, angrily satirising the Australian film industry as it then operated. This preoccupation with the vagaries of the Australian film industry was carried over to an article in the November 25, 1972 issue.¹¹⁸ This is the first article to unleash the Bob Ellis writing style with all constraints removed. The intent of the article is to point out the bureaucratic and financial impediments to the establishment of a viable film industry, while haranguing Australian film-goers for their snobbery. Here is a typical passage:

So any simple Australian lens perve who dares the awful sprocketed highway down to our snobbery's glutted mincing machine had better be armoured against the horrible journey, with the helmet of blundering faith, the breastplate of invincible gall, the shield of his mother's mortgage and the sword of terrible pride, lest he tumble beneath the cavalry hoofs of the galloping harlot Commerce, his lifelong temptress and natural foe, and never rise again.

This passage extends a metaphor to breaking-point, invoking the language and imagery of chivalry, while placing the scene in a prosaic Australian setting, with colloquialism and the mundane suburban mortgage. Ellis himself says

I was much influenced by Evelyn Waugh. He was so concise, so close-in, so true. There's no fat on it, you know. I wrote like that for a very long time you know, and nobody noticed, except, eventually, Auberon Waugh, who said 'You

117 Bob Ellis, 'Shooting the Ellis way', *Nation Review*, (July 29, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 2, No. 41, p. 1187.

118 Bob Ellis, 'The awful sprocketed road', *Nation Review*, (November 25, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 192.

write exactly like my father. You have the same capacity to go entirely mad in the middle of a sentence.’¹¹⁹

Ellis was able to tread a fine line between swooping emotion and maudlin introspection, indeed ‘going entirely mad in the middle of a sentence’. He seemed to be prepared to expose his innermost thoughts and feelings, leaving no margin for safety. Such dangerous writing found a niche with an appreciative readership in *Nation Review*, and complemented the styles of the other contributors, as described earlier by Walsh.

Ellis, to a greater extent than the other writers at *Nation Review*, regarded himself as ‘literary’, as opposed to ‘journalistic’. He set out deliberately to absorb the writing styles of great authors, and was selective in matching a writing style to a specific article type. Having settled into film reviewing, he began to take an interest in covering political events. For his political writing, he initially emulated Norman Mailer. He says ‘After that [film reviews] I began to sense that I could intrude... after that I did a piece on the Askin election in 1971. Patrick Cook was sitting on my shoulder, and I deliberately wrote it in what I believed was the style of Norman Mailer. That went down reasonably well and then every so often I’d bob up in Canberra and Mungo would say ‘What the fuck are you doing here?’¹²⁰

Despite this sense of Ellis’s cutting into ‘traditional’ MacCallum territory, their specific interests, writing styles and objectives allowed a form of synergy to develop. While MacCallum offered primarily factual, dry, but wryly-expressed day-by-day accounts of politics, Ellis tended to pursue the larger ideological and moral dimensions. ‘After the rain, the desert will bloom’ is a typical article in this mould.¹²¹ Ellis, apparently

119 Bob Ellis, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

120 Bob Ellis, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

121 Bob Ellis, ‘After the rain, the desert will bloom’, *Nation Review*, (December 9, 1972), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1972), Vol. 3, No. 8, p. 255.

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serious, offers several points of advice to the expected Whitlam government, on the eve of the election. His suggestions range from large-scale infrastructure developments ('Put a pump in the sea, and run a pipe across the land, and fill up Lake Eyre') to inclusive, utopian, democratic government ('Have a suggestion box, and a permanent officer who reads it. If you use an idea, acknowledge it. Effective government is effective communication.') Demonstrating a willingness to tackle any subject, Ellis writes a sports review of the Muhammad Ali/Ken Norton boxing match, although perhaps not in the expected style: 'Maybe boxing should be banned. So much glory is hard to look on and still stay aware of the inevitability of human littleness, which is socialism's secret slogan.'¹²² Ellis continued to write for *Nation Review* until the end, writing in the first monthly version of the paper, 'My appointment as film critic for this organ I regard as the climax of my career. This decade I plan to behave.'¹²³

On the face of it, Bob Ellis demonstrated his commitment to the new nationalist cause when he wrote and submitted an entry for a new national anthem, in response to Gough Whitlam's election announcement of a competition to select a replacement for God Save the Queen. As Stuart Ward writes, 'His electoral promise to introduce a new national anthem... was part of a series of measures designed to disentangle Australia's political, constitutional and sentimental symbolism from its outmoded British moorings.'¹²⁴ The competition was doomed from the start, as critics at the time pointed out. Ward quotes Felix Werder, music critic for *The Age* at the time, who said, 'With a competition, you'll just get hundreds of synthetic 19th-century pastiches.'¹²⁵ From

122 Bob Ellis, 'Fat Ali wears thin', *Nation Review*, (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 48, p. 1521.

123 Bob Ellis, 'An enormity of experience', *Nation Review*, (January, 1980), (Melbourne, Care Publications Proprietary Limited, 1980), Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 37.

124 Stuart Ward, 'The "New Nationalism" in Australia, Canada and New Zealand', *Australia and the World: A Festschrift for Neville Meaney*, ed. by Joan Beaumont & Matthew Jordan, (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 2013), p. 204.

125 Beaumont & Jordan, (2013), p. 205.

around 4,000 entries a panel of judges struggled to find six worthy finalists, one of whom was Ellis. As Ward puts it,

Composers were faced with only two options—something couched in 19th-century heroic mode that might stimulate some ancient collective lineage, or a more contemporary verse that might improve with age. Most of the short-listed entries fell into the former category—only Bob Ellis seems to have attempted the latter, and even his composition read more like a plea for New Nationalism than its lyrical realisation.¹²⁶

That Ellis was in irreverent mode rather than newfound Australian patriot mode is revealed by Mungo MacCallum: ‘It must now be quite clear to everyone that the Australian national anthem contest is a gigantic hoax. Our own Bob Ellis more or less admitted this to the viewers of *This Day Tonight* on tuesday [sic] when he said that it took him a mere 90 seconds to write his own opus...’¹²⁷

Ellis, as with most supporters of New Nationalism, seems to have given up the notion of any meaningful change. In a major feature, an interview with Bill Hayden in the aftermath of the December, 1975 election (following Whitlam’s dismissal), he writes, ‘Maybe like the man said, Australian civilisation was going straight from innocence to decadence, without any intervening flirtation with maturity.’¹²⁸

Influence

While *Nation Review* itself may have become dispirited, and while the New Nationalism movement faltered as a specific project, both had acquired sufficient momentum to ensure some form of continuation, at least of influence. The idea of Australia as an entity had taken root in mainstream society and culture, as evidenced in the artistic outpourings that continued to explore and exploit a new national confidence, in government policy in all areas, and in external perceptions of what Australia was. The

126 Beaumont & Jordan, (2013), p. 205.

127 Mungo MacCallum, ‘The agony of the anthems’, *Nation Review*, (July 6, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 38, p. 1167.

128 Bob Ellis, ‘After the fall, or perhaps death of a salesman’, *Nation Review*, (January 30, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 16, pp. 396-397.

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type of journalism that evolved in the pages of *Nation Review* found its way into the state-based dailies, initially in review sections, but soon in mainstream news sections. Television news and current affairs programmes found greater relevance (and improved ratings) when they adopted livelier coverage and began to cultivate ‘personalities’ who overtly expressed opinions as part of deeper analysis of stories. Writers who had experienced a taste of freedom while writing for *Nation Review* were prepared to push harder against the constraints of editorial policy in other publications. In any case, editorial policy itself relaxed as it became evident that an Australian perspective could often be accommodated even into conservative narratives. Thus, as the Fraser government retreated from more tangible elements of New Nationalism, newspapers themselves, rather than retreating, continued to accentuate Australianism, as ongoing nationalism or sometimes as ‘ockerism’.

Aspects of Australian life that, for a period, had seemed precocious, even outlandish, in their push for a more authentic voice, became normalized through readers’ gradual acclimatization to the new perspectives. The writers of *Nation Review* contributed to an irreversible tendency towards a distinctly Australian voice that would pervade all forms of media. The effect was particularly evident in television and radio, as the ‘BBC voice’ gave way to parochial vernacular. For the first time, Australians found that, not only was the Australian accent distinctive, but that it was not uniform throughout the nation, so that pronunciations and expressions could be linked to specific geographic locations.

Disillusionment

Overall, *Nation Review* offered significant support for much of Whitlam's ambitious national and cultural programme. But the political journalists at *Nation Review* were battle-hardened veterans; scrutiny of government was deeply ingrained. When Whitlam or his ministers made errors of judgement, the paper was prepared to attack with as much vitriol and sarcasm as had been the case in the days of McMahon. There was an added edge of anger, which was to develop into bitterness, as the Whitlam dream began to unravel. *Nation Review* was scathing, for instance about the contest for a new national anthem.¹ MacCallum bluntly labelled Hayden, Cameron and Whitlam as 'duds'.² Frank Knopfelmacher, admittedly *Nation Review*'s token 'right-winger', was permitted to write a lengthy article charging Whitlam with 'Aminesque ego and rhetoric' relating to Whitlam's stance on the Arab-Israeli conflict.³

The May 18, 1974 Double-Dissolution election saw Whitlam returned, somewhat chastened by the narrowness of his victory. This, it may be argued, was the turning point for New Nationalism. Whitlam's second term was taken up with pragmatic issues, and with the implementation stages of earlier policy. This election took place during the initial period of amalgamation of *The Living Daylights* into *Nation Review*. There was an inevitable dilution of *Nation Review*'s previous political and intellectual focus, as more populist, shallower counterculture values were incorporated. For instance, space was taken from book and arts reviews to be used for 'gig' listings, of venues where

1 Mungo MacCallum, 'The agony of the anthems', *Nation Review*, (July 6, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 3, No. 38, p. 1167

2 Mungo MacCallum, 'Big three: duds', *Nation Review*, (November 16, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 142

3 Frank Knopfelmacher, 'Whitlam's Aminesque ego and rhetoric', *Nation Review*, (November 30, 1973), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1973), Vol. 4, No. 7, p. 234.

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the music was as likely to be regurgitated American rock as original Australian material.⁴ The heady days of big ideas, long-term reforms and big social projects were drawing in, being replaced by pragmatic survivalist politics, abandonment of ‘difficult’ challenges and the distractions of counterculture ‘freedoms’.

There were hints of disillusionment with Whitlam—the man, not his ideas. The May 17, 1974 issue’s cover featured a full-page photograph of Whitlam looking relieved rather than victorious, with the rather ambiguous headline ‘He’s Back’.⁵ MacCallum’s accompanying article, written before election results were confirmed, took the line that the election was there to be won by the Liberal Coalition, but that they had mismanaged their campaign. His assessment of Whitlam’s performance is muted, although he noted that ‘The final TV messages went the same way: a persuasive, confident Whitlam still relying on the intelligence, idealism and sense of fair play of the Australian people, and film clips of Snedden haranguing crowds, interspersed with a brief talk from him looking soporific. It seemed to be all over.’⁶

From this point, opposition by corporations to Whitlam’s nationalist programme began to become organized. In the May 17, 1974 issue, John Hepworth reviewed Len Fox’s book *Australia Taken Over?*, in which Fox documented the degree to which foreign investment had infiltrated ‘Australian’ business. Fox asserted that ‘it would seem that there is a continuous many-sided campaign being waged by American and other foreign big business organizations and their allies in Australia, one of whose aims is the defeat of the Labor government and its replacement by a government which, while paying lip service to nationalism, would again put Australia on the road to

4 See for instance, Gail Holst, ‘Australia, sanctuary for mediocre music’, *Nation Review*, (August 30, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 46, p. 1479.

5 Front Cover, ‘He’s Back’, *Nation Review*, (May 17, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 31, p. 977.

6 Mungo MacCallum, ‘He’s back through Lib crack’, *Nation Review*, (May 17, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 31, pp. 979-980.

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becoming a US base, economically, politically and militarily, for the whole Asian-Pacific area.⁷ This theme was followed up in the July 5, 1974 issue, with a cover illustration depicting a Whitlam-headed goldfish swimming in a small goldfish bowl, stalked by a predatory US cat.⁸

In the midst of serious economic problems triggered by the 1973 Oil Crisis, and with a very expensive reform agenda, Whitlam himself needed to compromise his own vision of Australian national independence. The mini-budget brought down after the 1974 election reflected this compromise in its treatment of large private enterprises. MacCallum wrote about the dilemma in the November 15, 1974 issue, pointing out that, while Whitlam would persist with his socialist-leaning agenda, it could only be achieved through traditional capitalist mechanisms. In MacCallum's view, November 10, the date of the budget, would be seen as 'the spot in history where the Australian Labor government eventually decided that real social reform was just too difficult under the circumstances.'⁹ History seems to have proven him right.

While Whitlam's domestic woes had curtailed the New Nationalism, he persisted with his international perspective, as noted by T. D. Allman, writing about Whitlam's visit to Europe in December 1974.¹⁰ Underlining new relationships, Whitlam went first to Brussels, where he made it clear that '[N]o one could imagine... that Australia can any more be regarded, politically or economically, as a British camp-follower. Demonstrating just how thoroughly he has reconstructed Australia's old priorities, Whitlam not only declared... that Britain should remain inside the Common Market...

7 John Hepworth, 'Foreign companies against Labor', Review, Len Fox,, *Australia Taken Over?*, *Nation Review*, (May 17, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 31, p. 1007.

8 Unattributed cover illustration, 'A true history of the amazing Mr Marshall Green', *Nation Review*, (July 5, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 4, No. 38, p. 1229.

9 Mungo MacCallum, 'The mini budget blues', *Nation Review*, (November 15, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 5, No. 5, p. 134.

10 T. D. Allmann, 'Whitlam cuts the last of the post imperial labels', *Nation Review*, (December 27, 1974), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1974), Vol. 5, No. 11, p. 297.

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[but that], should Britain pull out of Europe... the British cannot hope to go back to their old, cosy preferential trade relationships with Australia'. Allman added 'And if Gough's blunt speaking put the British on notice that the thin red line is a thing of the past, his official talks in London further emphasised the divergent international paths on which Britain and Australia now find themselves.'

From this point on the Whitlam government, and the New Nationalism project, became subsumed by the 'Loans Affair', the blocking of supply bills by the Senate, and the Dismissal. *Nation Review* had access, in the form of its proprietor, to perhaps the most-qualified Australian authority on the matter of raising finance from non-traditional sources—Gordon Barton. Barton, in a front-page article, and in a complementary feature, defended the Whitlam government, suggesting that it was 'vested interests' in the U. S. that resented being bypassed (although they had in fact been approached but had refused assistance—a disputed conspiracy issue), that were responsible for manufacturing outrage at what Barton saw as legitimate procedures.¹¹ Barton fully supported the raising of loans from non-traditional sources in keeping with his strong desire for Australian independence.

During the period of blocked supply, Knopfelmacher penned a vitriolic column in the October 24, 1975 issue, claiming that the whole basis of Whitlam's reforms was flawed, and that the type of society they were directed at creating was parasitic, hedonistic and immoral.¹² To some extent agreeing with Horne's view that New Nationalism stemmed from middle-class intellectualism, Knopfelmacher differed, in that he regarded this class as 'a class "educated" for "managing" the work of others, for

11 Unattributed Headline, 'Finance whiz king defends Labor's 'improper' channels', *Nation Review*, (July 11, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 5, No. 39, p. 1001.

Unattributed, 'Why the obsession with proper channels?', *Nation Review*, (July 11, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 5, No. 39, p. 1013.

12 Frank Knopfelmacher, 'The end of Whitlam's package', *Nation Review*, (October 24, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 37.

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consumption rather than production, for conciliation rather than conflict, for “scepticism” rather than commitment, and for placid enjoyment rather than adventure.’

As an ardent detractor of the Left, Knopfelmacher found it too difficult to resist gloating about the Dismissal; however, the newspaper as a whole expressed outrage, directed predominantly at Malcolm Fraser, but also at the Governor-General’s part in events, and the underlying constitutional mechanisms.¹³ Rupert Murdoch was identified as ‘the third man in the coup’.¹⁴

Witnessing the end of New Nationalism

In the aftermath of the Dismissal, *Nation Review* focussed on Fraser’s systematic dismantling of Whitlam’s socialist policies. The December 13, 1975 election was covered from this perspective, and *Nation Review* from this point on becomes a catalogue of the submersion of New Nationalism. Some examples include ‘Stand by stars, stripes and sycophants’¹⁵, ‘Bland – man from the multinationals’¹⁶, ‘Labor retreats to frightened silence’ (outlining Labor’s ‘absolute surrender to the government of the political battlefield, particularly as the fallen dominoes from Labor’s programs of the last three years are beginning to stack up in Malcolm Fraser’s out-tray.’)¹⁷, ‘Hold on boys, here comes Uncle Sam’¹⁸ and so on.

It is clear that any notion of New Nationalism in terms of Australian economic and military independence was killed off during Fraser’s first full term in government,

13 Frank Knopfelmacher, ‘At last, a proper world crisis’, *Nation Review*, (November 21, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 6, p. 142.

14 Cover headline, ‘Rupert Murdoch the third man in the coup’, *Nation Review*, (November 21, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 6, p. 133.

15 Daniel Kelly, ‘Stand by stars, stripes and sycophants’, *Nation Review*, (December 31, 1975), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1975), Vol. 6, No. 12, p. 295.

16 George Munster, ‘Bland – man from the multinationals’, *Nation Review*, (January 16, 1976), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 14, p. 341.

17 Alan Ramsey, ‘Labor retreats to frightened silence’, *Nation Review*, (January 23, 1976), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 15, p. 365.

18 John Hindle, ‘Hold on boys, here comes Uncle Sam’, *Nation Review*, (March 26, 1976), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 24, pp. 588-589.

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but culturally, nationalism had achieved a degree of momentum, and winding back the new freedoms, equalities and attitudes was to take longer. In line with the new emphasis on consumerism, Australian nationalism was being conscripted into the world of advertising and ‘lifestyle’. A new term emerged—‘ockerism’, used to greatest effect by advertising whiz John Singleton. The term was derived from a character, played by Ron Frazer, in the *Mavis Bramston Show*. Ocker (derived in turn from Oscar) was a character most often found propping up a bar, dressed in shorts and thongs, and pronouncing deeply xenophobic or misogynistic and ignorant opinions about a wide range of topics. The term rapidly came to common usage as a shorthand method of alluding to an Australian version of the Common Man. (There were briefly Ockerinas, but the term failed to stick).

The arrival of the Ocker reflected some form of capitulation. Australian identity and nationality would no longer be a product of deep ruminations by Horne’s intellectuals; rather, there would be a ‘dumbing-down’, a reduction of what it meant to be Australian to issues of what brand of beer and cigarettes one consumed, what was happening in the increasingly corporatized version of sport, and what could be done to deal with university students (long-hairs). Crowley quotes from Max Harris’s *Ockers: Essays on the Bad Old New Australia*. Harris wrote ‘At first in the roseate aura of the new Labor dawn, there was some innocent talk of a New Nationalism... The most fascinating event, coinciding with the Whitlam era, was the resurgence of that ill-educated, dogmatic, incoherent, and arrogant psychological phenomenon—the Australian ocker.’¹⁹ *Nation Review* went along with Ockerism, at least to the extent of engaging Singleton to supply articles on a regular basis. As has been discussed, Singleton’s political interests veered towards the hard right, with his misnamed Workers Party, so infiltration of *Nation Review* was significant victory for Ockerism in its use as a

19 Crowley, (1986), pp. 265-266.

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conservative notion, and a popular antidote to left-leaning intellectualism. Singleton opened his campaign with an article, ‘Ockers triumphant—they are us’, in the April 2, 1976 issue.²⁰ The article lambasts ‘foreign’ good taste, intellectualism and sophistication. It champions bigoted, uninformed opinion, claiming such opinion to have bubbled up as some form of inherent cultural wisdom, more valid than knowledge based on intellectual reflection. Singleton claims that ‘[Ocker-based advertisements] were the ones that best understood and presented all those things that are most Australian about us all.’

A logical follow-on from Ocker was Norm. Norm began as the lazy, overweight couch-potato, an antihero at the heart of Victoria’s 1975 ‘Life: Be in it’ health campaign. Norm, as conceived by his creator Phillip Adams, was a ‘passive participator’ in sporting activities, who, in the campaign advertisements was encouraged to get off the couch and engage with community and family activities. This was a highly-successful campaign in terms of public awareness (although its actual impact on Australian lifestyles is less clear), and was taken up nationally by the Fraser government, with Norm now transformed into hero status.²¹ While ‘Life. Be in it.’ did, to a small extent, encourage intellectual pursuits, its focus was on physical activity and sport, a good fit with increased corporate interest in controlling sport. Writing in 1987, McKay and Rowe suggest that ‘In the past decade or so a rapid change has occurred as corporate sponsors have radically transformed the form and content of Australian sport.’²² This shift away from the intellectualism underpinning the New Nationalism (as Horne saw it) seemed to be a satisfactory outcome for Australian governments.

20 John Singleton, ‘Ockers triumphant—they are us’, *Nation Review*, (April 2, 1976), (Melbourne, IPEC Australia Limited, 1976), Vol. 6, No. 25, p. 608.

21 Colin Benjamin and Jane Shelton, ‘Thirty Years of “Life. Be in it.”’, *Issues*, December 2007, (Victoria, Control Publications Pty Ltd, 2007), Vol. 84, pp. 9-12.

22 Jim McKay and David Rowe, ‘Ideology, the Media, and Australian Sport’, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1987, (Champaign, Human Kinetics Publishers, 1987), Vol. 4, pp 258-273.

Aftermath

New Nationalism, it seems, had collapsed into abandonment of big ideas and significant policy, in favour of consumerism, passivity and disengagement from matters of national concern. Curran and Ward are imprecise about the timing of the demise of New Nationalism, saying only ‘Whereas the New Nationalism of the 1960s and 1970s had focused attention on the need to renovate Australia’s national symbols, celebrations and civic ‘relics’, in the 1980s the emphasis changed. The term ‘New Nationalism’ itself fell into disuse, a tacit acknowledgement, perhaps, that it had failed to provide any cohesive means of invoking the much-vaunted ‘spirit of the people’.²³ It does seem clear that the most significant elements of New Nationalism, at least potentially, were the attempts, most strongly enunciated by Whitlam, to replace colonialist master-servant relationships by a true form of national independence, expressed in terms of defence strategy, trade relationships within South-east Asia, and a new set of cultural symbols. Momentum was lost after Whitlam’s 1974 election win, and Fraser was keen to re-establish ‘business as usual’. Only the minor trappings of any real Australian nationalism were allowed to persist.

How then, did a *Nation Review*, now devoid of perhaps its main *raison d’être*, adapt to the new paradigm? For a start, by the late 1970s the paper had lost its proprietor, a source both of financial support and a New Nationalist philosophy. The camaraderie that comes from sharing the barricades had been dissipated, first by the Whitlam victory, and then by the bitterness stemming from Whitlam’s defeat. The sense of common purpose evident in the heyday of *Nation Review*, was no longer sustainable, following the fragmentation of readership caused, at least in part, by the *Living Daylights* episode, and by changing social and cultural priorities. A ‘snapshot’ view of *Nation Review* after the fading of New Nationalism provides some interesting observations.

23 Curran & Ward, (2010), p. 224.

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Taken as a representative, the issue of *Nation Review* for November 3, 1978 (Vol. 9 No. 3) shows significant differences to the ‘heyday’ issues of 1973-74. This issue is chosen because it comes around six months into Gold’s era, thus allowing enough time for changes to have filtered through, and because it is nearly three years after Whitlam’s removal.

Geoffrey Gold, not being a millionaire entrepreneur, faced immediate financial difficulties as *Nation Review*’s new proprietor. Unable to pay competitive rates for contributions, Gold made the best of his situation by encouraging younger, less well-established writers to contribute, bolstered by occasional returns of some of the paper’s ‘establishment’ writers. Partly as a genuinely-held philosophy, but again as a pragmatic response to financial constraints, Gold adopted a policy of ‘participation and co-operation of our readers and contributors’.²⁴ The front-page banner by then included the subheading ‘Australia’s National Alternative Weekly’, reflecting significantly-reduced expectations. No longer seeking to turn the tide of Australian history, as had, perhaps subliminally, been the case in 1973, *Nation Review* had accepted a niche role, offering material to those who identified themselves, for whatever reason, as being outside the prevailing hegemony.

The paper still manages to offer a surprisingly rich range of content. Of principle interest in this issue was Joh Bjelke-Petersen’s regime in Queensland. Under Bjelke-Petersen’s anti-demonstration laws, a procession by 2000 people intending to present a petition to Parliament had been violently broken up by 700 police, in what *Nation Review* referred to as ‘The Battle of Brisbane’. A ‘World’ section offered several articles covering international events. Several lengthy book reviews provided the vehicle for exploration of a range of social issues (mental health, asbestos, child-development).

²⁴ The Editor, ‘New Ferret guidelines’, *Nation Review*, (November 3, 1978), (Melbourne, Monobloc Proprietary Limited, 1978), Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 3.

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No prominent writers are named in this issue, other than Dr Jim Cairns, who offered an article questioning the dominance of wealth as a life-goal.

To summarise, rather brutally, no ‘big-picture’ stance emerges from this later edition of *Nation Review*. Issues are dealt with in isolation, and from an ‘alternative’ perspective. While there are residual traces of New Journalism, contributors perhaps lack the experience and skill to write convincing, stirring prose, so that articles read as flat, one-sided polemical statements. In terms of its stated purpose, as an alternative paper, this edition is effective within its self-imposed constraints, but offers no vision or aspirational goal for the emergence of an identifiable Australian nation. *Nation Review* outlived New Nationalism, but in an emaciated form.

History

A key purpose for this thesis was to begin a process of excavating *Nation Review*. There are two aspects to this. The first is to establish key historical data from the primary source (the newspaper itself) and from such secondary sources as exist. The second aspect, intended to address the limitations of the newspaper as a source, and in the absence of secondary literature, is to turn, necessarily, to other authorities.

The primary source is, of course, wholly reliable in terms of specific dating, actual content, and publishing details. In many cases specific writers of particular contributions are identified, but many more are not. Furthermore, the papers in their own right have nothing to tell us about external operational matters, behind-the-scenes turmoil or details of context. A history built from this source alone, while offering a sound framework, can only fall short of providing insights into the deeper workings of the paper. Nonetheless, the framework that can be constructed from the primary source enables other scholarship to be properly anchored temporally, and identifies areas of particular interest or significance, that can become the focus of broader research.

To address the second aspect, I have instigated correspondence and interviews with some participants in the life of the paper. In particular, Richard Walsh was able to speak of his days at the helm, Phillip Adams could speak as a contributor, and Bob Ellis as a long-term, significant writer for *Nation Review*. Additionally, Ash Long provided informative and useful material addressing newspaper distribution in the earlier days. These contributions, while useful in themselves as a means of adding flesh, are limited again by the extent of involvement each contributor experienced, and it will require many such contributions in the future to fill some existing voids. Even so, this thesis offers a solid basis, and, perhaps, some useful incentive for interested parties to take up the project of developing a deeper understanding of the historical account.

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The account of history given in the thesis sets events into a deeper context, touching on aspects such as *Bookferrets*, censorship, developments in Australian arts, political events and changing social values. By connecting the history of *Nation Review* with these events, I have provided a new perspective from which to view the development of important social themes in Australia in the 1970s. The complete set of newspapers may be viewed as a potential corpus that could be mined in different ways to provide both qualitative and quantitative perspectives on the decade in Australia. With its astute gaze turned unblinkingly on the nation, this newspaper provides a unique and incisive contemporary interpretation of many significant events, attitudes, and shifts in society, as shown in this thesis. It is likely that some commonly-held understandings of many 1970s events could be better-understood, or even revised, in the light of the material contained in *Nation Review*.

The end days of *Nation Review* are fraught with drama and last-minute reprieves. It is clear that those who committed themselves to the struggle for survival were moved primarily not by potential profit, but by some form of faith, some idealistic urge to see the good fight prevail, in the face of terrible odds. Sadly, this is the least well-documented period. Mystery surrounds the roles of such intriguing figures as Mary Montagu and Peter Isaacson, and Bob Ellis is somewhat vague about his involvement in any efforts to resurrect the paper after Geoffrey Gold. Additional information about this period would enrich our understanding of why *Nation Review* ultimately collapsed. The account presented here is, nonetheless, the most comprehensive and accurate yet available.

Comparisons

It has been useful to ask the question ‘What did *Nation Review* offer to its readers that other papers perhaps did not?’ Implied in this question is the subtext: ‘Why have people continued to remember with great fondness a newspaper they read perhaps 40

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years ago?’ While responses are likely to be as diverse as the individuals making the response, an obvious area for investigation is the primary purpose of a newspaper—the dissemination of news. The thesis noted that this function is, in itself, not clear-cut. In particular, the dynamics directing a weekly paper differ in many significant ways from those of a daily paper. It would be unfair and pointless to assess the effectiveness of any weekly paper compared to a daily, if speed of response to events is the key criterion. *Nation Review* set itself up as ‘lean and nose’. This does not necessarily translate to a direct news-gathering function; it applies equally to deeper investigation and contemplation of material garnered from other news sources. It is fair though to assess whether the epithet was justified by the paper’s performance, or whether it was ultimately a hyperbolic media confection.

Detailed examination of two significant events—the overthrow of Salvador Allende in 1973, and the Wran victory in the 1976 NSW election—led to the conclusion that *Nation Review* did not offer any particularly compelling edge of quality or effectiveness over the national and state daily newspapers, in terms of breadth and depth of factual reporting.

In the case of Chile, a lack of access to well-connected news and information sources forced *Nation Review* into a passive stance as a retailer of material initially found in other publications. Furthermore, no definitive narrative stance emerged that could make sense of events in Chile from a dispassionate, all-encompassing perspective for an Australian readership. What did emerge, more noticeably than in other sources, was a preparedness to examine the situation from more than one politically- or ideologically-based perspective. Furthermore, an Australian perspective emerges, independent from former and current imperial powers.

At the time of the 1976 NSW election, *Nation Review* appeared to be locked into the past, as contributors struggled to make sense of the removal of Gough Whitlam, and

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as significant issues arose on the national scene as a consequence of Malcolm Fraser's harsh political initiatives. *Nation Review* was able to offer excellent, well-sourced material that contributed directly to voters' levels of knowledge and understanding, but still the newspaper lacked focus, and did not place any particular emphasis on the lead-up to the election, or, for that matter, on the aftermath. This may be interpreted as a natural consequence of the paper's national position, with the affairs of NSW held in suitable national perspective. There may also have been an element of ennui; seen from a counterculture stance, as was to an extent the case in the post-*Living Daylights* era, a state election may have been regarded as the largely irrelevant stirrings of an obsolete system, unlikely to deliver the sorts of progressive reforms called for by many in the *Nation Review* readership.

Qualitative comparisons of the type undertaken in this thesis do, however, run the risk of arriving at unbalanced conclusions, when attempting to judge *Nation Review* overall. Most readers of *Nation Review* were, according to contemporary research into readership (identifying the 'ferret-type'), reasonably well-educated and actively engaged in discourse about current affairs, amid a more general public interest, as reflected in the emergence of current affairs television programmes at the time. Thus, *Nation Review* was most often read as an adjunct, rather than an alternative, to the daily broadsheets and tabloids. In that role, the paper was exceptionally effective in adding deeper, more nuanced perspectives, offering counter-narratives, and probing into areas neglected by the mainstream Press, whether by accident or design.

Coverage by the state-based dailies of the events selected for examination could be hegemonic, unilateral and isolated. *Nation Review*, on the other hand, did offer variations of perspective, idiosyncratic interpretations and a greater degree of contextual placement. Probably the *modus operandi* for the average ferret-type was to read the accounts in the dailies, and then turn to *Nation Review* for either reinforcement of what

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the dailies reported or, more likely, for an astute tearing-down of some placid hegemonic reporting. Furthermore, the ferret-type would venture into the review section to find book reviews on books addressing relevant subjects, as well as a kind of cross-fertilization of interpretation through exposure to a broader range of arts coverage, including theatre that was distinguishing itself through a succession of new socio-political plays that resonated with Australian audiences.

While the two stories addressed here were running their courses, many other events, both significant and trivial, were taking place throughout the world and locally. The events addressed in the comparisons were sufficiently significant that the daily newspapers assigned high levels of resources and attention to them. Where the dailies were less effective, was in placing their accounts into a broader narrative. *Nation Review*, by contrast, used techniques related to New Journalism, as well as leveraging the broader experience and literary skills of many of its contributors, as a means of providing a more comprehensive explication of news, resulting in a richer, more informative account of significant events.

In its role as adjunct *Nation Review* can be considered to have been unique, authoritative and effective. Meanwhile the paper, in its lean and nosey style, continued to shed often unwanted light on other matters, unearthing situations that were embarrassing to politicians, or raising awareness of potentially corrupt or improper behaviour in public institutions, as well as keeping larger issues of significance, such as environmental and human rights struggles, in the light of public discussion. A sustained campaign against Queensland Premier Joh Bjelke-Petersen to some extent countered the level of media control alluded to by Bjelke-Petersen as ‘feeding the chooks’.¹ Around

1 See, amongst others, Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 227. Bjelke-Petersen also said ‘The greatest thing that could happen in Queensland and the nation is when we get rid of all the media. Then we could live in peace and tranquility’. Quotation collected by Helen Cameron in *Feeding the Chooks*, as viewed on *Queensland Historical Atlas*

the time of Allende's removal, *Nation Review* reported on a proposed inquiry into the activities of ASIO and ASIS,² an alternative Trade Union Women's Conference,³ Marcos' persecution of opposition politicians in the Phillipines,⁴ corruption connected to Sydney gambling casinos,⁵ and a report on the new Festival of Light organisation.⁶ Of these topics, only the Festival of Light appears to have received much attention in the daily papers. At the height of the 1976 NSW election *Nation Review* found the time and resources to look at Jimmy Carter's rise within Democratic ranks in the US,⁷ the plight of the homeless,⁸ and police corruption in Western Australia,⁹ amongst many other items. This was a paper actively engaged with the core responsibilities of news reporting.

New Nationalism

Anecdotal discussion, bolstered by the hard evidence of circulation figures, suggests that the newspaper was prominent in the minds of many, and analysis of the paper's content has demonstrated significant engagement with the project of coming to

Website, September 23, 2010,, < <http://www.qhatlas.com.au/quotation/feeding-chooks-selection-well-known-sayings-former-queensland-premier-sir-joh-bjelke-peter>>, [accessed December 29, 2014].

As an example, the April 5, 1974 issue has a front page headlined 'St Joh', detailing some of circumstances of the gerrymander that allowed Bjelke-Petersen to govern, and an article inside describes legislation banning the right to protest. *Nation Review*, Vol. 4, No. 25 (April 5, 1974), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1974), pp. 769, 778.

- 2 William H. Martin, 'At last the ASIO/ASIS show!', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 47 (September 7, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1474.
- 3 Caroline Graham, 'Theirs was a model congress', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 47 (September 7, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1475.
- 4 Rohan Rivett, 'Persecuting Benigno Aquino', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 47 (September 7, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1480.
- 5 A special correspondent, 'Bally/casino contacts', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 48 (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1507.
- 6 David Harcourt, 'A moratorium for wowsers: The blind plead for light', *Nation Review*, Vol. 3, No. 48 (September 14, 1973), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1973), p. 1509.
- 7 Bob Waite and David Osborne, 'Carter pushes peanut pragmatism', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 29 (April 30, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 706.
- 8 Robin Osborne, 'Shadow People', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 29 (April 30, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), pp. 707-709.
- 9 Jan Mayman, 'Western police obscure Skull creek issues', *Nation Review*, Vol. 6, No. 30 (May 7, 1976), (Melbourne, Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd, 1976), p. 727.

terms with the nationalist aspects of withdrawing from the influence of the British Commonwealth.

Donald Home suggests in *Time of Hope* that the rise of an educated middle class triggered the renewed interest in current affairs, citing several papers and journals, including *Nation Review*, as part of a response to the phenomenon.¹⁰ Mungo MacCallum goes further, claiming that *Nation Review* spearheaded and inspired the arrival of several journals, papers and magazines dealing with matters of Australian culture.¹¹ Despite this strong identification of *Nation Review* with emerging nationalist ideas, key books addressing Australian nationalism and New Nationalism, and dealing in specific terms with the 1970s, nonetheless make no mention of *Nation Review*.¹² It is inconceivable that these authors would have dismissed *Nation Review* as an active element of Australia's social upheaval, had they been made more aware, through academic publications, of the paper's significance.

A possible explanation for the failure to address *Nation Review* in this context is that the paper's role as an *agent for change* has been overlooked, the paper instead being perceived as, if anything, merely an *instrument of record*. It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to make assertions around issues of quantifiable effect in media sources, but it seems highly likely that, at the very least, the presence of *Nation Review*, the things it had to say, and the way it said them, would have reinforced nascent sensations of New Nationalism in its readers. With a seeming renewal of interest in Australian national identity (even to the extent of renewed calls for a republic), the insights offered by an understanding of *Nation Review* become deeply relevant.

10 Home, (1980), p. 90.

11 MacCallum, 'From *Nation* to Now', 2005, [accessed December 29, 2014].

12 See, for instance Curran & Ward, (2010), McLean, (2003), Crowley, (1986).

The End

It was noted in this thesis that a close correlation existed between the period of interest in New Nationalism, and the lifetime of *Nation Review*. A possible trajectory, explaining the rises, falls and ultimate demise, links the paper with its relationship to events playing out in Australia in the 1970s. Thus, as a paper tinged with satirical leanings, *Nation Review* was at its strongest in the days before the arrival of Gough Whitlam, when its writers were free to throw their considerable talents at a right-wing government that was seen to be dull, out of date, inept, and opposed to sweeping social change. When Whitlam became Prime Minister, there was, at first, jubilation and a release of energy and enthusiasm that saw the best issues published in the life of the paper. As Whitlam failed to live up to the godlike status that had been ascribed to him, enthusiasm waned and the paper became jaded. Attempts to inject new life into the paper, via the creation and subsequent merger of *The Living Daylights*, failed dismally, not least because the counterculture possessed no economic model capable of sustaining a paper.

Much of the character of the paper, expressed in its personalized journalistic style, its interest in Australian arts and its cultural awareness, had been replicated in other daily and weekend newspapers, so the task of rejuvenating the Australian Press was largely achieved. Meanwhile, the great social experiment called New Nationalism was abandoned in favour of ‘business as usual’ and a return to self-interest under right-leaning governments, leaving *Nation Review* without a purpose. With Gordon Barton forced to abandon the paper and with the arrival of Geoffrey Gold, a range of desperate measures was tried as a means of carving out a readership and establishing a funding model. These efforts included the ‘people’s paper’, followed by the switch to a monthly magazine format. This account would end with *Nation Review* failing to please anybody, and folding as a consequence.

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A close study of the history of *Nation Review* has shown that some of these factors did indeed come into play. Walsh says for instance ‘In mid-August 1975 we moved the production of the *Ferret* to Sydney. I felt the spirit of the magazine was sagging noticeably and that perhaps such a radical change would reinvigorate us...’¹³ Degrees of enthusiasm, joy, cleverness, boredom, disengagement, angst and despair can be detected in different mixes during the life of the paper, and there is no doubt that social directions in Australia changed from embracing New Nationalism to rejection of social goals in favour of economic aspirations. Little has been written to explain the demise of New Nationalism, except in the broadest terms, and no specific date can be ascribed to it. The most telling blow against New Nationalism was the dismissal of Whitlam, coupled as it was with the ‘Loans Affair’ that put the notion of an independent Australia to a test that was failed.

While all these factors need to be accounted for, the simplest, most direct reason for the demise of *Nation Review* remains a financial one. John Konstas, as financial controller of IPEC, was deeply aware of the cost of running *Nation Review* in its heyday, and was hostile for that and other reasons. The loss of such a magnanimous and understanding benefactor as Gordon Barton could only be fatal. As has been seen, the paper failed to develop any substantial revenue base from advertising, either corporate or classified, and the cover charge, meagre as it was, given the quality of the newspaper, could be as much a threat as a revenue source, as seen in the adverse reactions to successive price increases.

The various efforts of Geoffrey Gold to reduce costs and introduce radical funding models could not ultimately save the paper. At the end, producing each issue of *Nation Review* came down to a week-by-week struggle, and depended on whether the

¹³ Walsh, 1993, p. 226.

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costs for that week could be covered by scabbling together sufficient funds, through desperate, often unorthodox measures.

Bob Ellis makes a thought-provoking comment:

Oh God I curse Richard Walsh. Without him there would have been a normal continuity and succession - I mean Hepworth would have still died, but it would have been Denton or somebody that took over – there are comparable figures (to Hepworth) among the Doug Anthony All-stars, Chasers etc – there are lots of stand-up comedians of course who would have been, in an ongoing NR, contributors. You lose the thread – like, Perkin died - he was 46 and *The Age* never recovered – it was the snipping of the vertebrae. Imagine if, say, in the course of *Late Night Live* Philip Adams had died in 1996 – there wouldn't have been anybody to do it, and it would have lost the extraordinary stature of it since, all it's achieved.¹⁴

Nation Review constitutes a great and valuable national asset, which has, to date, been undervalued and largely ignored by academic researchers. It is hoped that this thesis will suffice to start a process of rediscovery, so that the intellect, the enthusiasm, and the vast fluctuating emotion that is encapsulated in the pages of *Nation Review* can again emerge into public consciousness, to inform the many debates currently centred around Australian media, Australian nationalism and Australian history.

¹⁴ Bob Ellis, Interview, int. by David Olds, (Sydney, February 25, 2013).

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Appendices

<i>Appendix A:</i>		<i>Imprint Panel Publisher Details</i>				
Volume	Issue Number	Year	Date	Title	Publisher	Publisher Address
<i>The Sunday Review</i>						
1	1	1970	11/Oct	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	5	1970	8/Nov	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	7	1970	22/Nov	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	12	1970	27/Dec	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207

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1	14	1971	10/Jan	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	15	1971	17/Jan	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	20	1971	21/Feb	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	23	1971	14/Mar	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	24	1971	21/Mar	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207

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1	26	1971	4/Apr	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	29	1971	25/Apr	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	30	1971	2/May	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	32	1971	16/May	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Ipec Australia Limited	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	34	1971	1/May	<i>Sunday Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	35	1971	6/Jun	<i>Sunday The Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
<i>The Review</i>						
1	37	1971	20/Jun	<i>The Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207

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1	38	1971	27/Jun	<i>The Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	43	1971	6/Aug	<i>The Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	822 Lorimer Street, Fishermen's Bend, Victoria, 3207
1	46	1971	20/Aug	<i>The Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne
2	2	1971	1/Oct	<i>The Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne
2	5	1971	6/Nov	<i>The Sunday Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne
2	18	1972	19/Feb	<i>The Sunday Review</i>	All Enquiries to P.O. Box	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne
2	22	1972	18/Mar	<i>The Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne
2	23	1972	25/Mar	<i>The Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne

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2	36	1972	24/Jun	<i>The Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne
<i>Nation Review</i>						
2	41	1972	29/Jul	<i>Nation Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
2	52	1972	14/Oct	<i>Nation Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney

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3	11	1972	29/Dec	<i>Nation Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
3	52	1973	12/Oct	<i>Nation Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
4	23	1974	22/Mar	<i>Nation Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
4	29	1974	3/May	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
4	31	1974	17/May			

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4	32	1974	24/May	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
5	1	1974	18/Oct	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	113 Roslyn Street, Melbourne, 777B George Street Sydney
5	44	1975	22/Aug	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	102 Glover Street, Cremorne Junction
7	42	1977	4/Aug	<i>Nation Review</i>	Incorporated Newsagencies Company Pty Ltd	102 Glover Street, Cremorne Junction
8	36	1978	22/Jun	<i>Nation Review</i>	Monobloc Pty Ltd	7 Cato Street Hawthorne Victoria

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8	48	1978	15/Sep			757 Toorak Road, Hawthorne
9	2	1978	27/Oct			
9	3	1978	3/Nov			
9	5	1978	17/Nov			
9	9	1978	15/Dec			
9	40	1979	26/Jul	<i>Nation Review</i>	Published under license weekly by Care Publications Pty. Ltd.	PO box 339 Camberwell (same office address as above)
10	1	1980	January	<i>Nation Review</i>	Published by Care Publications Pty. Ltd.	PO box 339 Camberwell (same office address as above)

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10	8	1980	August	<i>Nation Review</i>	Published by Care Publications Pty. Ltd.	PO box 339 Camberwell (same office address as above)

Appendices

<i>Appendix B:</i>		<i>Personnel Details</i>								
Volume	Issue Number	Year	Date	Title	Chairman of Directors	Managing Director	Editor in chief	Assistant Editor	Business Manager	Notes
<i>The Sunday Review</i>										
1	1	1970	11/Oct	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew	Michael Cannon	Bill Green		
1	5	1970	8/Nov	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew		Bill Green		Michael Cannon leaves
1	7	1970	22/Nov	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew		Bill Green		Changed to folio numbering system
1	12	1970	27/Dec	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew				Bill Green no longer Assistant Editor
					Chairman of Directors	Managing Director	Publishing Editor			
1	14	1971	10/Jan	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew	Richard Walsh			Richard Walsh becomes Editor

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1	15	1971	17/Jan	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew	Richard Walsh			The independent quality Sunday Newspaper' added to Publishing sidebar
1	20	1971	21/Feb	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew	Richard Walsh			Churchill quote replaced by Max Newton quote (in Publishing sidebar)
1	23	1971	14/Mar	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew	Richard Walsh			Quote from Jobson's Investment Digest (March 3) replaces Max Newton quote 'The Sunday Review has generated enough 'quality' to virtually exclude every newspaper reader in Australia from its ranks except perhaps for a few members of Mensa, Gordon Barton and his family, and a sprinkling of academics.'
1	24	1971	21/Mar	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	John Crew	Richard Walsh			Quote from Sandra Dawson (Australian Book Review) replaces Jobson's. 'The Review has grown sharper and tougher etc.'
					Chairman of Directors	Managing Editor	Assistant Editor			

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1	26	1971	4/Apr	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			Richard Beckett becomes Assistant Editor. Quote from Denis O'Brien (the Bulletin) replaces Dawson. 'The Sunday Review' was the first serious contender etc.'
1	29	1971	25/Apr	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			Churchill quote reappears
1	30	1971	2/May	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			Ambrose Bierce replaces Churchill.
1	32	1971	16/May	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			David Syme quote
1	34	1971	1/May	<i>Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			The independent national quality weekly' replaces earlier subtitle in Publishing sidebar. The Sunday in small caps, Review in large caps. No quote. Publishers details no longer supplied
1	35	1971	6/Jun	<i>Sunday The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			The independent quality national weekly' replaces earlier subtitle in Publishing sidebar. Sunday in small caps, The Review in large caps. No quote.
<i>The Review</i>										

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1	37	1971	20/Jun	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			The independent quality national weekly' replaces earlier subtitle in Publishing sidebar. Sunday in small caps, The Review in large caps. No quote. Note re rules for capitalisation.
1	38	1971	27/Jun	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett			Ferret drawing appears, with subtitle 'Like a ferret, lean and nosey'.
1	43	1971	6/Aug	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett	Barry Watts		Barry Watts appointed Business Manager
1	46	1971	20/Aug	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett	Barry Watts		Office relocated
2	2	1971	1/Oct	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett	Barry Watts		Note re availability of back-issues
2	5	1971	6/Nov	<i>The Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	Richard Beckett	Barry Watts		Soliciting paid contributions Also interesting panel about the Review being used in schools (p. 141)
2	18	1972	19/Feb	<i>The Sunday Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh		Barry Watts		Richard Beckett no longer assistant editor. Word 'Sunday' becoming dimmer.
2	22	1972	18/Mar	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh		Barry Watts		Note about Review index availability.

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2	23	1972	25/Mar	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	John Hepworth	Barry Watts		John Hepworth becomes Assistant Editor
2	36	1972	24/Jun	<i>The Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	John Hepworth	Barry Watts		Ferret logo loses 'lean and nose' subtitle
					Chairman of Directors	Publisher	Editors	Business Manager		
Sunday Review										
2	41	1972	29/Jul	<i>Nation Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	George Munster, John Hepworth	Barry Watts		Arrival of Nation Review
2	52	1972	14/Oct	<i>Nation Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	George Munster, John Hepworth	Barry Watts		Workers for Women's issue.
										Editorial coordinator: Vere Kenny
										Editorial Group: Julia Orange, Julie Rigg, Sandra Hall, Ruth Lindsay, Caroline Graham, and others
										Production Group: Kerrie Lee, Jan Knewstubb, Morna Sturrock, Robyn Wallace, Tess Baster, and others
										Publisher's secretary: Tricia Foley
										Distribution/Accounts: Jenny Harrison

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										Paste-up: Heather Seymour, June Stephens
										IBM Typsetters: Eileen Sharp, Umeko Landrigan, Bette Winn, Marlene Derengowski
										Subscriptions: Bronwen Murdoch
										Librarian: Alison Vale
										Receptionist: Noella Hamilton
3	11	1972	29/Dec	<i>Nation Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	George Munster, John Hepworth	Barry Watts		Abbreviated Christmas issue, shorter column
					Chairman	Publisher	Editors	Assistant to Publisher	Business Manager	
3	52	1973	12/Oct	<i>Nation Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	George Munster, John Hepworth	Barry Watts	Robin Howells	Barton 's title changed, Robin Howells joins.
										Oct 16 1972 first issue Living Daylights
4	23	1974	22/Mar	<i>Nation Review</i>	Gordon Barton	Richard Walsh	George Munster, John Hepworth		Robin Howells	Barry Watts goes

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4	29	1974	3/May	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>						Incorporation with Living Daylights, publisher information changes format, names no longer carried, smaller panel.
4	31	1974	17/May							No panel published
4	32	1974	24/May	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>						Panel reinstated
5	1	1974	18/Oct	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>						Living Daylights logo dropped from imprint panel.
5	44	1975	22/Aug	<i>Nation Review Incorporating The Living Daylights</i>						address change

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7	42	1977	4/Aug	<i>Nation Review</i>						All mention of Living Daylights gone
					Proprietor	Publisher	Editor			
8	36	1978	22/Jun	<i>Nation Review</i>	Geoffrey Gold	Geoffrey Gold	Christopher Forsyth			Under new management Also note 'ferret needs ferrets' advert p. 17 25 Aug. Now printed Fridays.
8	48	1978	15/Sep							(not in imprint panel) Editorial describing policy for 'born again ferret' (p. 4)
9	2	1978	27/Oct							Getting down to earth - article about NR being non-profit subscriber-supported effort. Important. Suggests 40,000 circulation. P.3
9	3	1978	3/Nov							New Ferret guidelines p. 3
9	5	1978	17/Nov							Porno advert survey
9	9	1978	15/Dec							Lean and doctrinal like a one-way weasel - article about US magazine Sojourner
					Proprietor	Publisher	Editor			
9	40	1979	26/Jul	<i>Nation Review</i>	Geoffrey Gold	Geoffrey Gold	Christopher Forsyth			Under new management/publishers? (Still Geoffrey Gold owned)

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					Editor-in-chief	Assistant Editor	Business Manager	Administrative Assistant		
10	1	1980	January	<i>Nation Review</i>	Geoffrey Gold	Shane Stanley	Andrew McCauley	Michael Gold		New magazine format
					Editor-in-chief		Business Manager	Circulation Manager		
10	8	1980	August	<i>Nation Review</i>	Geoffrey Gold		Andrew McCauley	Michael Gold		New magazine format