

THE ROBERT MENZIES INSTITUTE
PRESENTS

THE FINAL CHAPTER

PURPOSE,
ENDURANCE,
AND LEGACY
1961-1966
AND BEYOND

FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

SATURDAY 23 NOVEMBER 2024
SUNDAY 24 NOVEMBER 2024





THE
ROBERT
MENZIES
INSTITUTE



CONFERENCE SERIES

Part IV:

PURPOSE, ENDURANCE,
AND LEGACY 1961-1966
AND BEYOND

Robert
Menzies
INSTITUTE



THE ROBERT MENZIES INSTITUTE CONFERENCE SERIES

The Robert Menzies Institute is dedicated to exploring Robert Menzies's extensive legacy, the ideas that inspired him, and their application to current and future challenges faced by Australia and the wider world.

This is the inspiration behind our series of annual conferences, which draw together leading thinkers to reappraise and examine Menzies's life, ideas, and achievements, as well as the policies and personalities of his governments. Fittingly, the conferences take place in the Old Quadrangle of the University of Melbourne, the buildings in which Menzies studied a little over a century ago and where he was to end his public life as Chancellor five decades later. The conferences form the basis for a series of four books published by Melbourne University Publishing. These books are intended to become an essential reference on Menzies and the Menzies era.

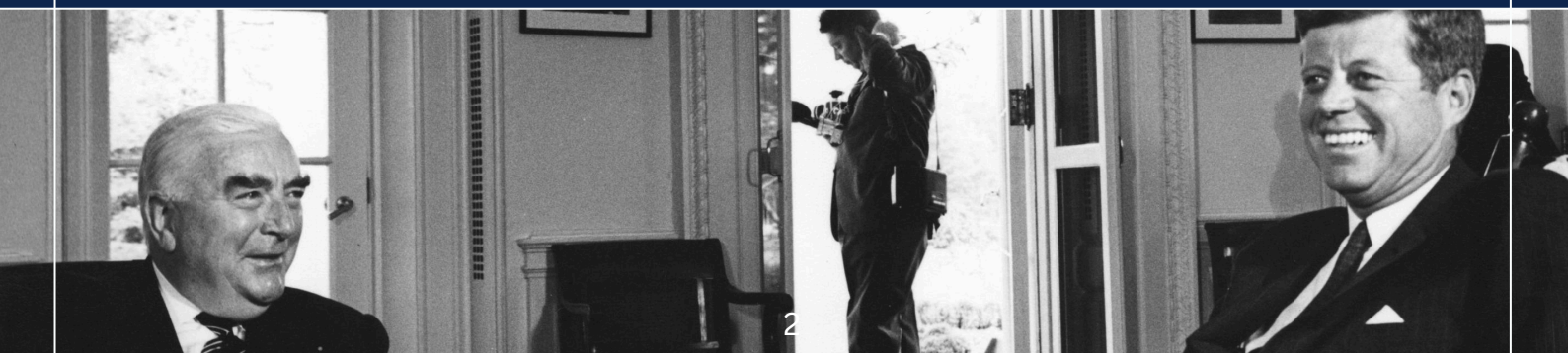
Held in 2021, the first conference examined the early years of Menzies's life and career – from his roots in Jeparit and Melbourne, his brilliant but short-lived legal career, through to State and Federal politics, his successes and failures during his first term as prime minister from 1939-1941, and finally his wilderness years during which he delivered his Forgotten People speeches. The papers presented were published in the book *The Young Menzies: Success, Failure, Resilience 1894-1942*.

The second conference examined the years 1943 to 1954, covering the formation of the Liberal Party in 1944, bank nationalisation, and Menzies's landmark 1949 election victory. During Menzies's second and third terms as prime minister from 1949-1954 he faced multiple political challenges – a hostile Senate, a suspicious public service, the post-war reconstruction of Australia, the Korean war, and the influence of Communism in Australia.

This era also saw a substantial Liberal reform program, including the ANZUS Treaty, Commonwealth scholarships, ending war-time rationing, the creation of ASIS, the Colombo Plan, and the regeneration of private enterprise. The papers presented have been brought together in the book *The Menzies Watershed: Liberalism, Anti-Communism, Continuities 1943-1954*.

Last year's conference focused on the years 1954 to 1961 which encompass Menzies's fourth, fifth and sixth terms in government. This was a period of political ascendancy for Menzies and the confirmation of the strength of his leadership. The conference explored the policy rich developments of this era, many of which embodied Menzies's Burkean incrementalist approach to implementing change. They included the demise of Labor Leader H.V. Evatt and the Labor Party split, the burgeoning of international trade and engagement with Asia, the creation of the Reserve Bank, the education revolution, the building of Canberra, the Suez Crisis, the West New Guinea Dispute, immigration reform, innovations in Indigenous policy, and more. The papers have been collated in *The Menzies Ascendancy: Fortune, Stability, Progress 1954-1961*, which is due for release on 3 December 2024.

This year's fourth and final conference in the series will examine the period 1961 to 1966 and beyond. This was a period when Menzies almost lost the 1961 election and had to manage a full term with just a one seat majority once the Speaker's chair was filled, before rebounding in 1963. Far from winding down, the Menzies Government would have to deal with the challenges of Indonesia's Konfrontasi, the reintroduction of conscription, Britain's attempt to enter the European Economic Community, the Goulburn Catholic School strike, the Vernon report into the Australian economy, the Vietnam war, and more. The era was marked by significant cultural transition, as the prosperity Menzies had overseen begat demands for social change.



INTRODUCTION



Georgina Downer
Chief Executive Officer

Australia does not have a good track record of celebrating its leaders. Perhaps it's something in our national DNA, an irreverence and scepticism of authority, which means our national idols are more likely to be sporting heroes than former politicians. Our American cousins, in contrast, have a rich (and legislated) tradition of memorialising their presidents. Since Herbert Hoover, the 31st President of the United States of America, each US president has had a presidential library, administered by the National Archives and Records Administration. In true American style, however, each library is funded by the private donations each respective president can attract.

In Australia we now have six prime ministerial libraries – for Alfred Deakin, John Curtin, Gough Whitlam, Bob Hawke, John Howard, and now Robert Menzies. The idea for a prime ministerial library and museum in honour of Australia's longest-serving prime minister, Robert Menzies, at the University of Melbourne was first raised in 2015 by the then-Executive Director of the Menzies Research Centre, Nick Cater, with then-Vice Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Glyn Davis. Melbourne University was considered

the natural home for a Menzies library for three reasons. First, Sir Robert had bequeathed his personal library of some 4500 books and items to the University in 1976. The Menzies Collection is housed in the Leigh Scott Room of the Baillieu Library, which Menzies had opened in 1959. Second, Menzies studied Law at the University from 1913-18. Third, Menzies finished his career as Chancellor of the University from 1967-72.

The Robert Menzies Institute was established in 2021 with its home in the East Wing of the Old Quad, the historic heart of the University. In addition to showcasing the Menzies Collection, the Institute explores Menzies's life and legacy through exhibitions, a schools program, research, and regular public events. The conference series forms the foundation of the Institute's scholarly engagement, complemented by a Fellows program and engaging in-house publications.

The Institute exists to ensure current and future generations understand Menzies the man, his thought and ideas, the era, and the legacy, providing a context for the decisions that shaped modern Australia.



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Dr Zachary Gorman
Historian and Research
Manager

Why did Robert Menzies choose to stay on as Australia's prime minister all the way until January 1966? After all, he had broken the record as our longest serving PM as early as November 1954, and speculation surrounding a potential retirement was rife from that date onwards. The only other Australian prime ministers to exit of their own choosing did so remarkably early: Edmund Barton after a single term, and Andrew Fisher scarcely over a year after winning back office at the 1914 election. No other Australian political figure has shown the inclination, let alone the mastery of the 'art of politics', to do what Menzies did in holding the keys to the Lodge for over 18 years.

We finished our last conference with an examination of the knife-edge 1961 federal election result, which left the Coalition with just a one seat majority after the Speaker's chair had been filled. The close outcome might offer something of an answer to our question: Menzies wanted to go out a winner, handing his successor a comfortable majority as Joseph Lyons had bequeathed Menzies in April 1939, and unlike the poisoned chalice of minority government which he himself had handed over to Arthur Fadden in August 1941. But even this does little to explain why, after bouncing-back to win comfortably in November 1963, Menzies used up almost the full three year term before finally announcing his retirement.

The focus of this conference is to examine in detail what the Menzies Government did with those final two terms; and our fullest schedule yet suggests that perhaps Menzies stayed on simply because there was so much more to do. Far from acting as an excuse for policy stagnation, the narrow majority seems to have shaken Menzies out of any potential post-Labor split complacency. The period thus offers a lesson in how even long-term governments can find a sense of purpose, arguably in significant contrast to the meandering we have seen in recent years from governments on both sides of federal politics.

Yet Menzies is often accused of being 'behind the times' by the time he belatedly exited centre-stage. Does this last flourish of activity contradict this perception, or are the Vietnam War and conscription the sort of commitments a prime minister should not make if they are not going to stick around to oversee them? At the very least, Vietnam has always been a major factor in shaping how Menzies has been remembered. History occurs in chronological order, but it is read backwards, with knowledge unavailable to decision makers at the time. One of the great strengths of our conference series is that by dividing up the Menzies period, we are able to more clearly judge each section on its merits, minimising the distorting effects of hindsight. That is just as true of this final period – which is all too often read hastily as the last pages of a biography one is naturally eager to complete.

Our intention is that by the end of the weekend, we will see how this 'final chapter' makes for a compelling and complex stand-alone story. And one that has had a lasting impact on the nation.

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Economic Reform

We begin with the issue of economic management, which had been central to both the long Menzies ascendancy and its near-end at the 1961 poll. The situation in that year was so dire that it almost jeopardised Treasurer Harold Holt's hopes of succeeding Menzies to the top job. Yet, as the long-term survival of the Coalition Government attests, there was a remarkable spring back to prosperity that lasted the rest of the decade. This was accomplished in large part by diversifying Australia's exports, so that the 'sheep's back' was balanced by a burgeoning mining industry. Yet as Australia became an ever-more successful trading nation, the contradictions of our efforts to stem trade that might hurt our secondary industries became ever more apparent. A similar push towards efficiency was responsible for the implementation of decimal currency – a reform which had a simplicity that belied an utterly pervasive and positive impact on how the nation does business.

The Public Service and Policy Formation

One of the keys to how Menzies had successfully transitioned into government from 1949, was the manner in which he retained his predecessor's high achieving public servants. But there was more to success than continuity alone, particularly in the way that Menzies worked with Allen Brown to revolutionise the Prime Minister's Department (admittedly before the period of this conference, but with an impact that was still being felt in the 1960s). However, there was a catch. For Menzies's tremendous faith in the public service may have hardened his attitude towards potentially useful outside advice, in a manner that became more detrimental as the years wore on. This was seen most starkly in the case of the Vernon Report, even though this was ironically the brainchild of a former mandarin in John Crawford.

Education

The fact that the 'final chapter' of the Menzies era was no mere historical footnote is epitomised in the watershed implementation of state aid for independent, and frequently Catholic, schools. This issue touched a deep nerve, with roots and resentments stretching back to the 19th century, and it was one on which Menzies had clearly stated his pro-parental choice views as early as 1943. Yet, because of Menzies's desire to uphold federalism and its decentralised allocation of responsibilities, it was one that took him two decades to act upon. The circumstances which finally prompted intervention were in part political, but they were equally the imperative to catch up in an arms race of science education in which Australia was clearly falling behind.

Far earlier than this, Menzies had shown himself to be willing to expand the Commonwealth's scope when it came to universities. He did this directly through his support for the 1946 social services referendum, the legislative power from which he then used to implement life-changing Commonwealth Scholarships that allowed a far broader cross section of the nation to receive a higher education. But also more indirectly, through the unprecedented funding allocated in response to the Murray Report handed down in 1957.

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Yet for all of Menzies's lofty ideals in this area, Australia's universities have arguably failed to live up to the expectations he had for them. And in part the origins of this failure may be dated to this period, which saw the advent of Colleges of Advanced Education, designed to take some of the load off of the rapidly expanding university sector.

National Identity

The assumption that Menzies's views were 'dated' by the 1960s, is most commonly asserted when it comes to his attitude towards the monarchy and British Commonwealth. The cultural cringe with which people reacted to his quoting from a Thomas Ford poem during the 1963 Royal Tour being case in point. Yet the fact that Menzies himself had evolved along with the nation he led is demonstrated by his decision to finally recommend the appointment of an Australian as Governor General in 1965 – ignoring his previous advice that the appointee should be a known confidant of the sovereign. Likewise, this period saw great innovations in how Australia projected itself to the world, including in the little-studied field of tourism.

Alliance and Defence

Right at the beginning of the Menzies era, the Australian Government had signed the ANZUS Treaty in 1951. While the Treaty is often upheld as the cornerstone of the Australia-US Alliance, Menzies was acutely aware that its loose commitments fell short of the definition of an alliance. It was a 'superstructure built on a foundation of jelly', as would be ominously proven when President Kennedy warned us not to expect much American help should Konfrontasi escalate into a full-blown war with Indonesia. The alliance therefore had to be cultivated, a task which was far broader than Australia's involvement in military conflicts like Vietnam. It also involved Australia hooking itself up to a crucial American communications network, most memorably as part of the space race.

The shadow that Cold War conflicts cast over the Menzies era gives the impression that this was a militaristic age, in which Australia must have been investing a large proportion of its GDP to fight off the perceived red menace. However, an examination of the historical record shows that Menzies firmly capped defence spending in the wake of the Korean War Wool Boom's inflationary crisis, hence it had proportionately nose-dived by the end of the 1950s. It was Konfrontasi and the very real threat of war with Indonesia that forced a sharp change of approach, with the Menzies Government revolutionising the Australian Defence Force in its final years.

Dominoes and Decolonisation

America's reluctance to commit ground troops to the Asia-Pacific in the late 1950s and early 60s in part explains Australia's enthusiasm for the reversal of this policy reflected in the Vietnam War, which may well have been proportionately more popular here than in the United States itself.

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However, because these pro-war advocates are less easy to lionise compared with the anti-war protest movement, their voices scarcely appear in the existing historiography. Bringing them to the foreground is essential to understanding the context which would lead to a significant number of Australian lives being sacrificed to the conflict.

Central to the way in which the Menzies Government framed Vietnam, was that Australia was responding to a request from the South Vietnamese Government for help against a violent insurrection movement, much like the one that had been successfully subdued in Malaya. Hence, despite a firm anti-communist stance, Australia was not interested in involving itself in regime change. Likewise, the government was willing to adapt to reality when it came to decolonisation in the Indo-Pacific. While Australia did not necessarily want European powers to withdraw from our region, the government accepted this changed reality, and was able to ensure that we faced far fewer negative consequences from this than had first been assumed.

Liberalism and Homeownership

While homeownership had been central to Menzies's liberal vision for the nation since his immortal 'Forgotten People' broadcast of 1942, this was clearly a policy that could not be implemented in a single election cycle. One of the benefits of Menzies's electoral longevity was that policies were given time to bloom, and could therefore reap long term dividends not just in terms of votes, but in reshaping the nation for the better. However, as much as Australia's homeownership rate tipping above 70% represented the 'Forgotten People' dream realised, this accomplishment left the Liberal Party with one less goal to fight for. Menzies had been at his most philosophically fruitful during his time away from office in the 1940s, but after 16 years of incumbency, his immediate successors were not given the same chance to come up with ideas. The battle against socialism which had given the party its initial vigour had likewise passed into the history books, leaving the potential that liberalism, or at least the Liberal Party, might be weakened by its very success amidst the inevitable handover from Menzies.

Choosing His Own Exit

As outlined above, Menzies was not the only prime minister to choose when he left office, but he was the only prime minister to have served more than two terms before doing so. This session explores how Menzies's long incumbency had psychologically affected his Labor rivals, who had to deal with what felt like a permanent state of Opposition. Likewise, Menzies's apparent permanence had a deep psychological effect on the nation he led, all of which would come to the fore in the public's response to his exit. It was and is a moment to reflect on how unique the Menzies era was, and what this tells us about the nature of Australian democracy.

Taken collectively, these papers represent a significant advancement in modern scholarship on Menzies and will form a worthy basis for the fourth volume of the Robert Menzies Institute's Melbourne University Publishing Series. The intention is for the conference audience to ask probing questions, which will allow the presenters to refine their papers with a view to publication, and for this reason a significant time has been allocated to question time on each topic. There is thus a great responsibility which falls on the shoulders of all present at the conference, and we look forward to hearing your input and thank you for joining us.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Saturday 23 November 2024

TIME	EVENT	SPEAKER
8:30am	Registration – Library, First Floor, North Wing, Old Quad	
9:00am	Welcome - Georgina Downer	
9:10am	Keynote - Geoffrey Blainey AC	
SESSION ONE 'ECONOMIC REFORM'		
9:30am	Menzies and the Dual Economy, 1961-66	Assoc. Prof. David Lee
10:00am	RG Menzies and the Introduction of Decimal Currency	Selwyn Cornish AM
10:30am	Morning Tea	
SESSION TWO 'THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND POLICY FORMATION'		
11:00am	Robert Menzies and Allen Brown: The odd couple?	Professor Jim Walter
11:30am	Menzies and the Vernon Report	Dr. John Hawkins
12:00pm	'A risky enterprise': Menzies, Sir John Crawford and the Vernon Committee	Professor Nicholas Brown
12:30pm	Lunch	
12:45pm	Speech Competition Winner	Thomas Maguire-Nguyen
SESSION THREE 'EDUCATION'		
1:30pm	The Menzies Government, B A Santamaria and the Beginning of State Aid	Anne Henderson AM
2:00pm	Science and Science Education	Professor Jennifer Clark
2:30pm	University unlimited: Commonwealth Scholarships in Australian universities, 1951-1974	Dr. James Waghorne & Assoc Prof. Gwilym Croucher
3:00pm	Menzies and Liberal Education	Dr. Lyndon Megarrity
3:30pm	Afternoon Tea	
SESSION FOUR 'NATIONAL IDENTITY'		
4:00pm	Recommending an Appointment to the Sovereign	Dr. Damien Freeman & Sen. Dean Smith
4:30pm	'A cure for prejudice': Robert Menzies, Travel and Nationalism in the 1960s	Josh Woodward

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Sunday 24 November 2024

TIME	EVENT	SPEAKER
8:30am	Registration – Library, First Floor, North Wing, Old Quad	
SESSION ONE ‘ALLIANCE AND DEFENCE’		
9:00am	From the bottom of the sea to the moon: Menzies and Australia’s communications golden age	Dr. Michael De Percy
9:30am	The ADF Menzies Built	Dr. Andrew Carr & Professor Peter Dean
10:00am	The Menzies defence legacy: wise, brave, and enduring	Dr. Tom Lewis OAM
10:30am	Morning Tea	
SESSION TWO ‘DOMINOES AND DECOLONISATION’		
11:00am	Australian anti-Communist organisations in the Vietnam War debate	Lucas McLennan
11:30am	Managed Decolonisation	Dr. William Stoltz
12:00pm	Relaxed and Comfortable: Menzies and the fall of Empire (1961-66)	Sean Jacobs
12:30pm	Lunch	
SESSION THREE ‘LIBERALISM AND HOMEOWNERSHIP’		
1:15pm	Homes Material, Homes Human and Homes Spiritual: The Menzies Government and Housing Policy	Dr. David Furse-Roberts
1:45pm	The frontier of property-owning democracy: Housing, the reform of Australian liberal urbanism, and electoral politics in Western Sydney, 1961-1966	Dr. Christopher Beer
2:15pm	Menzies’s Philosophical Legacy to his party	Dr. Charles Richardson
2:45pm	Afternoon Tea	
SESSION FOUR ‘CHOOSING HIS OWN EXIT’		
3:15pm	A Horse With No Name: Federal Labor, 1954-1966	Sen. Stephen Loosley
3:30pm	‘One of the world’s masterpieces’? Australian reaction to Menzies’s retirement, January 1966	Professor Frank Bongiorno AM
4:15pm	Closing Remarks - Dr. Zachary Gorman	



Christopher Beer

Chris is an academic whose research has spanned many aspects of Australian urbanism. He completed his doctoral studies at the Australian National University and subsequently held associations with the University of Canberra, Macquarie University, and the University of Newcastle.

Geoffrey Blainey

Geoffrey Blainey is known for his texts on Australian economic and social history. His first book, *The Peaks of Lyell*, was published in 1954. His second book, *The University of Melbourne: A Centenary Portrait (1956)*, led him back to academia, and in 1961 he began his teaching career in economic history at the University of Melbourne. He was made professor in 1968, and in 1977 he was given the Ernest Scott chair in history. His later books included *The Causes of War* (1973), *Triumph of the Nomads* (1975), *A Land Half Won* (1980), *A Shorter History of Australia* (1994), *Sea of Dangers: Captain Cook and His Rivals* (2009), and *A Short History of Christianity* (2011). *Before I Forget: An Early Memoir* was published in 2019.

Frank Bongiorno

Frank is Professor of History at the Australian National University and President of the Council for the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences. His books include *Dreamers and Schemers: A Political History of Australia* (La Trobe University Press, 2022) and (co-authored with Nick Dyrenfurth) *A Little History of the Australian Labor Party* (Second edition, NewSouth, 2024). He contributed a chapter to *Confusion: The Making of the Australian Two Party System* (ed. Paul Strangio and Nick Dyrenfurth, Melbourne University Press, 2009). He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, and recently completed a term as President of the Australian Historical Association.

Nicholas Brown

Nick is a professor in the School of History, Australian National University, with interests in Australian social, political and public policy history and biography. His current projects include a biographical study of Sir John Crawford, in collaboration with Frank Bongiorno, David Lee and the late Stuart Macintyre.

Andrew Carr

Andrew is a Senior Lecturer in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. His research focuses on Strategy and Australian Defence Policy. He has published in outlets such as *Survival*, *Parameters*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Australian Foreign Affairs*, *International Theory*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and *Comparative Strategy*. He has a sole authored book with Melbourne University Press and has edited books with Oxford University Press and Georgetown University Press. He is currently a member of the ANU-Defence Strategic Policy History Project, writing a history of Australian Defence White Papers from 1976-2020.

Jennifer Clark

Jennifer is a historian from the University of Adelaide. She is the author of *Aborigines and Activism: Race, Aborigines & the Coming of the Sixties to Australia* and *The American Idea of England, 1776-1840*. Her current research interests cover post war Australian history, including memorial culture, science education, automotive history and history pedagogy. She has published several articles relating to the Menzies era exploring science education, race and Australian-American relations.

Selwyn Cornish

Selwyn is Honorary Associate Professor in the School of History, Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University, and the Official Historian of the Reserve Bank of Australia.

Gwilym Croucher

Gwil is the Deputy Director of the Centre for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Melbourne. A former Fulbright Scholar, his research focuses on different aspects of the political economy of higher education. He has published widely on higher education policy and management and led large publicly funded research projects. He is also a regular media commentator on higher education in Australia.

Michael de Percy

Michael is Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Canberra. His qualifications include a PhD in Political Science from the Australian National University, a Bachelor of Philosophy (Honours) from the University of Canberra, and a Bachelor of Arts from Deakin University. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, a Chartered Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Logistics and Transport (CILT), and a Member of the Royal Society of NSW. He is National Vice President of the Telecommunications Association, Chairman of the ACT and Southern NSW Chapter of CILT, and a member of the Australian Nuclear Association. Michael is a graduate of the Royal Military College, Duntroon where he received the Royal Australian Artillery Prize. He was appointed to the Australian Research Council's College of Experts in 2022 and as the Managing Editor of the *Journal of Telecommunications and the Digital Economy* from 2025. Michael's political commentary appears regularly in *The Spectator Australia* and on *Spectator Australia TV*.

Damien Freeman

Damien is a Fellow of the Robert Menzies Institute and an Honorary Fellow of Australian Catholic University, whose most recent book is *The End of Settlement: Why the 2023 referendum failed*.

David Furse-Roberts

David is a Research Fellow at the Menzies Research Centre. He holds a PhD in history from the University of NSW and is the editor of *Howard: The Art of Persuasion* (2018) and *Menzies: The Forgotten Speeches* (2017). Since joining the MRC in 2016, he has written for *Quadrant*, *Spectator Australia*, and other publications on the history and contemporary relevance of liberalism in Australia. In 2021 he published *God and Menzies: The Faith that Shaped a Prime Minister and his Nation*.

John Hawkins

John is deputy head of the Canberra School of Politics, Economics & Society at the University of Canberra. He was awarded a PhD in political science from the Australian National University for his thesis on the Australian treasurers. He also holds an MSc in economics from the London School of Economics and an MA in politics and history from Macquarie University. He is co-editor of *History of Economics Review*. He previously worked in the Australian Treasury and the Reserve Bank and served as secretary of the Senate Economics Committee. He was interviewed for the Afternoon Light podcast in August 2023 on Menzies as treasurer.

Anne Henderson

Anne is the Deputy Director of the Sydney Institute. She is a prolific and respected author having published books on Enid Lyons, Joseph Lyons, Mary Mackillop, Patrick Glynn and more. In 2014 she published *Menzies at War*, a detailed account of Menzies's years in the political wilderness between his two stints as prime minister, which was shortlisted for the Prime Minister's Literary Award for History. Earlier this year, she published *Menzies Versus Evatt: The Great Rivalry of Australian Politics*.

Sean Jacobs

Sean is a Port Moresby-born Australian writer, government relations and policy specialist. He has worked with all levels of government in PNG, Fiji, New Zealand and Australia. He currently works in local government in Australia. Sean is the author of three books, and has published with the *Diplomatic Courier*, *International Affairs Review*, *Small Wars Journal*, *The Spectator* and the *Australian Institute of International Affairs*. He is a graduate of Griffith and Macquarie Universities, and currently serves as a Griffith Asia Institute Industry Fellow.

David Lee

David is Associate Professor in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of New South Wales, Canberra. He is the author inter alia of *John Curtin*, Connor Court, 2022 and *The Second Rush: Mining and the Transformation of Australia*, Connor Court, 2016.

Tom Lewis

Tom is a military historian, the author of 22 books, and a public speaker and presenter. He is a retired naval officer who served in combat as an Intelligence analyst; an ex-secondary school teacher, pilot, and scuba divemaster. He was the Director of Darwin Military Museum in its redevelopment from 2009 to 2013. His Order of Australia was bestowed on him for services to naval history. He has won numerous prizes for his literary works, the most recent being as the national winner of the 2021 Australian Naval Institute's Commodore Sam Bateman Book Prize for *Teddy Sheean VC*. Tom is an expert on World War II, especially in the Pacific, but he has also written in areas analysing medieval combat; military aviation, and the reality of battlefield behaviour. His latest books are *The Sinking of HMAS Sydney*, which examined life on board WWII warships as well as the final fight between Sydney and Kormoran, and *Cyclone Warriors – the Armed Forces in Cyclone Tracy*.

Stephen Loosley

Stephen Loosley is Council Chair at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. Mr Loosley was the General Secretary of the NSW branch of the Australian Labor Party (1983–90), prior to being elected to the Australian Senate in 1990, where during his term he served as Chairman of the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs. He also served a term as ALP National President (1991–92).

Lucas McLennan

Lucas works as a Senior History Teacher. He completed an Honours Degree in History and teaching qualifications at Monash University and recently completed a Master of Education from the University of Melbourne. His Masters thesis was on the Education policy of the first Anglican Bishop in Australia, William Grant Broughton, while his earlier Honours thesis examined Australia's compulsory military training schemes between Federation and the First World War. He has a strong interest in Australia's political, religious, and cultural history.

Lyndon Megarrity

Lyndon is adjunct lecturer at James Cook University in Townsville, where he teaches history and political science. His research interests include Queensland, Northern Australia, and overseas student policy. He is also the author or co-author of several books, including *Northern Dreams: The Politics of Northern Development in Australia*, which won the 2019 Chief Minister's Northern Territory History Book Award. With Carolyn Holbrook and David Lowe, he co-edited *Lessons from History* (NewSouth, 2022), a collection of essays on contemporary issues and debates informed by history. Published in 2024, Megarrity's latest book is the first biography of Dr Rex Patterson, Minister for Northern Development in the Whitlam Government.

Charles Richardson

Charles has a law degree from Melbourne University and a PhD from Rutgers University, specialising in ethics and political philosophy. He has worked in a variety of positions in government and politics, and is a former director of Above Quota Elections Pty Ltd. His work has appeared in numerous publications and he has been featured as a commentator in newspapers, radio and television; since 2012 he has written on world politics at his blog, *The World is Not Enough*, and does periodic consulting work on electoral matters. His research interests include the history of liberal democratic structures and the comparative study of European party systems.

Dean Smith

Dean has been a Liberal Senator for Western Australia since May 2012. He is a member of the Coalition's Shadow Economic Team, having been appointed Shadow Assistant Minister for Competition, Charities and Treasury in June 2022. He was previously a member of the Coalition Government's Senate Leadership Team – elected Chief Government Whip in the Senate by his Liberal Senate colleagues in January 2019. Dean was awarded the McKinnon Prize in Political Leadership in 2018 by a panel of eminent Australians, including John Howard and Julia Gillard. Prior to entering the Senate, he held senior executive roles at Insurance Australia Group and SingTel Optus. Dean brings to his Senate role extensive policy experience, having worked as Policy Adviser to both Western Australian Premier Richard Court and Prime Minister John Howard. His Parliamentary Committee roles include member of the Senate Economics Committee and Senate Select Committee on the Cost of Living Committee, Chair of the Senate Scrutiny of Bills Committee and Deputy Chair of the Joint Standing Committee on the Implementation of the National Redress Scheme. He was previously the Coalition Government's nominee to the Advisory Council of the ANU China in the World Centre, and was appointed to the National Archives of Australia Advisory Council in July 2022. In 2011 he was awarded the Distinguished Service Award by the Liberal Party of Australia.

William Stoltz

Will is a security and foreign affairs scholar and former Australian national security official. He is a Lecturer & Expert Associate at the ANU's National Security College and a Visiting Fellow at the Robert Menzies Institute, where he's researched the Menzies Government's foreign policy decisions and role in establishing the Australian Secret Intelligence Service.

James Waghorne

James is a Senior Research Fellow at the Melbourne Centre for Higher Education and the University of Melbourne's de facto historian. His work reaches across the history of university governance, university disciplines, the heritage of university campuses, and the changing influence of campus life and culture on the student experience. Additionally, he takes in the historical connections between universities and the state, industry and community groups. James is the co-author of *Australian Universities: A History of Common Cause*, *Liberty: A History of Civil Liberties in Australia*, and co-editor of *The First World War, the Universities and the Professions in Australia, 1914–1936*.

James Walter

Jim is Emeritus Professor of Political Science in the School of Social Sciences at Monash University. Walter has published widely on Australian politics, history, biography and culture. Among his books are *The Leader: a political biography of Gough Whitlam* (1980), *The Ministers' Minders: personal advisers in national government* (1986), *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society* (with Brian Head, 1988), *Tunnel Vision: the failure of political imagination* (1996), *The Citizens' Bargain: a documentary history of Australian views since 1890* (2002), *No, prime minister: reclaiming politics from leaders* (with Paul Strangio, 2007) *What were they thinking? The politics of ideas in Australia* (2010), *Settling the Office: The Australian Prime Ministership from Federation to Reconstruction* (with Paul Strangio and Paul 't Hart, 2016) and *The Pivot of Power: Australian Prime Ministers and Political Leadership 1949-2016* (with Paul Strangio and Paul 't Hart, 2017).

Josh Woodward

Josh is an Australian environmental historian whose research explores representations of nature in tourist advertising. He has published several articles on the tourist promotion of Australian national parks and their emergence as important sites of the settler-nation. He completed his Master's at the University of Western Australia, where he was the 2019 recipient of the Frank Broeze scholarship. Josh will complete his PhD on twentieth century Australian tourist advertising at the Australian National University in 2025.

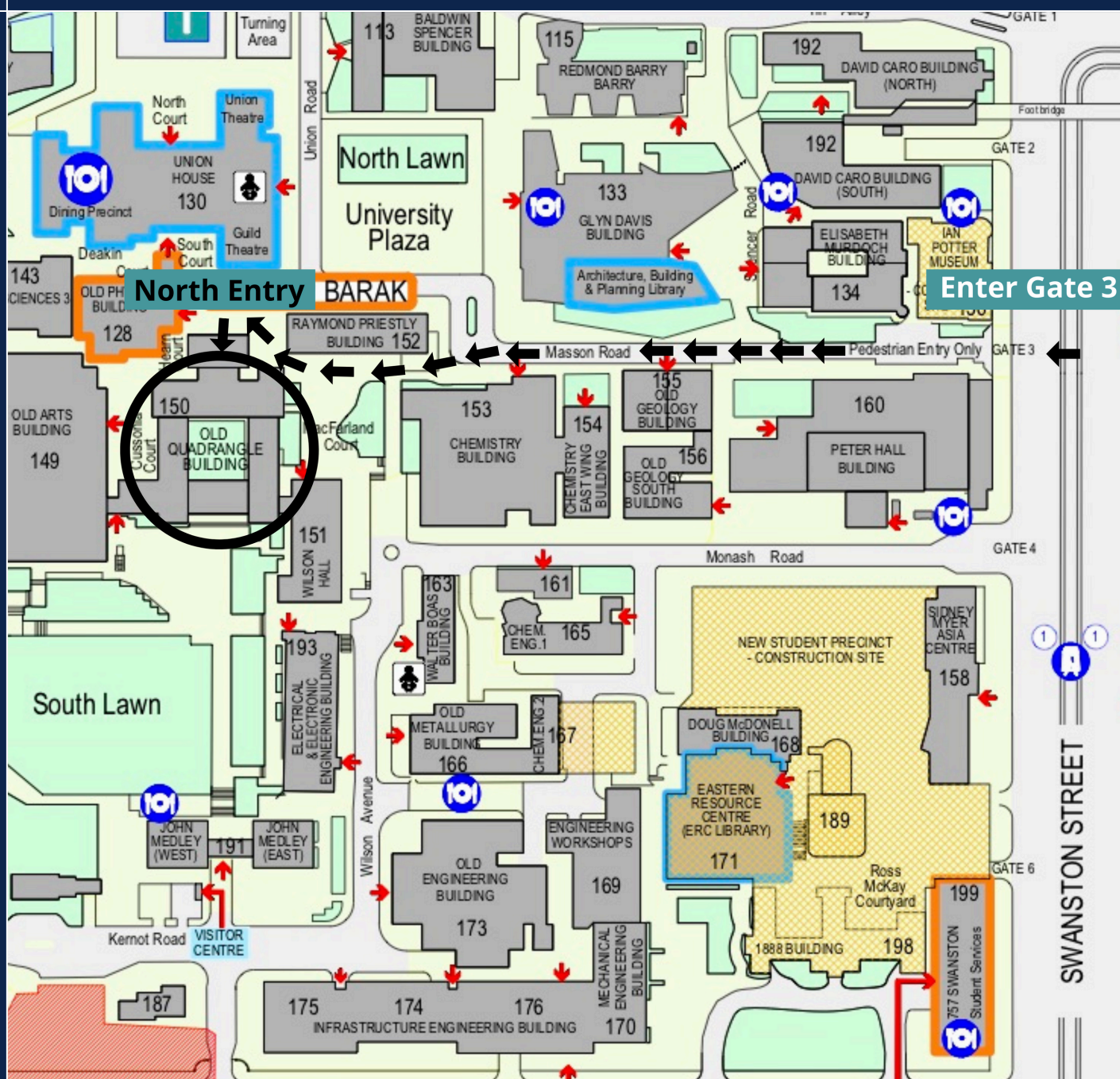
MAP

Melbourne University Campus

On entering the Old Quad from the main North Entry, please proceed through the doors of the stained glass window installation which will take you into the Foyer. From the Foyer, head south through the open double doors and proceed up the stairs or via the lift to Level 1, where the Library main doors will be open and clearly visible.



Find your way
on your phone



Please note that the main North Entry door is located at the North side of Old Quad.

For those who are driving, parking may be difficult, but we suggest the Eastern Precinct Car Park at 375 Cardigan Street, Carlton, near the corner of Elgin Street. Their charge is \$25 for the day.

NOTES





EAST WING - OLD QUAD
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