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First there was Holocaust denialism, then there was climate change denialism and now we have

Stolen Generation Denialism

AUSTRALIA Why There Were No Stolen Generations Keith Windschuttle

Most Australians would be taken aback to find that whenever academics in the field of genocide studies discuss history's worst examples, their own country is soon mentioned. The March 2001 edition of the London-based *Journal of Genocide Research* indicated the company Australia now keeps. That edition carried six articles, in the following order:

"The German Police and Genocide in Belorussia 1941-1944. Part 1: Police Deployment and Nazi Genocidal Directives", by Eric Haberer

"Comparative Policy and Differential Practice in the Treatment of Minorities in Wartime: The United States Archival Evidence on the Armenians and Greeks in the Ottoman Empire", by Rouben Paul Adalian

"Final Solutions, Crimes Against Mankind: On the Genesis and Criticism of the Concept of Genocide", by Uwe Makino

"The Holocaust, the Aborigines, and the Bureaucracy of Destruction: An Australian Dimension of Genocide", by Paul R. Bartrop

"Did Ben-Gurion Reverse his Position on Bombing Auschwitz?", by Richard H. Levy "Kalmykia, Victim of Stalinist Genocide: From Oblivion to Reassertion", by François Grin

According to Paul Bartrop of Deakin University, Australia deserves this place in the academic literature because our past policies towards Aboriginal children were comparable to those of Nazi Germany. "It did not involve killing," he admitted, "but its ultimate objective was the same as Hitler's was for the Jews; namely, that at the end of the process the target group would have disappeared from the face of the earth." Hence he declared with confidence: "It is impossible to conclude otherwise than that Australia in the 1930s was possessed of an administrative culture that in reality practised genocide." In its first ten years from 1999 to 2009, the quarterly *Journal of Genocide Research* published twelve major articles of this kind about Australia. This was more than three times as many as the journal carried in the same period on the regime of Pol Pot in Cambodia. In Volume 10, Issue 4, 2008, no fewer than three of the seven articles were on Australia: one on the Stolen Generations and two on colonial history. Indicting Australia for genocide has become an academic obsession.

Australia's Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission made this charge notorious when in April 1997 it

published *Bringing Them Home*, the report of its National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families. The report accused Australia of breaching the United Nations convention on genocide. For its historical analysis, the Commission relied heavily upon the work of a small number of university-based historians. Since then, the number of academics and academic programs in this field has grown exponentially to cash in on the demand created. Today, very few countries, and certainly no others of our size, devote the quantity of university resources that we now do to genocide studies. The field is concerned not only with the Stolen Generations but the so-called invasion of Australia and the genocide allegedly inherent in establishing British settlement here.

The underlying agenda of this academic pursuit is not simply the study of genocide, let alone its analysis or prevention. Its aim is political, to argue that our own society and those like it, that is, Britain and the United States, are every bit as bad as Nazi Germany. In the 2001 edition of the academic journal *Aboriginal History*, editors Ann Curthoys and John Docker of the Australian National University wrote:

Settler-colonies like 'Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Argentina, the United States, and Canada' led the way in setting out to achieve what the Nazis also set out to achieve, the displacement of indigenous populations and their replacement by incoming peoples held to be racially superior.

International academic book publishers know there is a market for such material. For their anthology *Genocide and the Modern Age*, editors Isidor Wallimann and Michael Dobkowski commissioned a chapter exclusively on Australia.

The only other countries singled out to this extent were Turkey, which got a chapter for its 1915-17 massacres of the Armenians, and, of course, Germany, which generated several chapters on the Holocaust. In the ten-volume series *Studies on War and Genocide*, edited by Omer Bartov of Brown University, seven of the books commissioned were on Nazi Germany, two were general volumes about genocide in various places, but Australia was the only other country given a volume of its own, *Genocide and Settler Society*, published in 2004 and edited by Dirk Moses of the University of Sydney.

Observing this publishing trend, University of New England historian Alan Atkinson commented:

It is disturbing for an Australian to discover that debates about genocide often do not move very far beyond the classic area of study—Europe under the Nazis—before someone mentions the antipodes. Genocide is a crime, in other words, for which Australia is listed among the usual suspects.

More recently, the focus on Australia has only intensified. In *Blood and Soil*, a world history of genocide published in 2007, the Australian expatriate historian Ben Kiernan of Yale University devoted more attention to the alleged genocidal activities of Australia than to any other nation or region. His book had 61 pages about Australia, compared to the Armenian massacres (21 pages), the Nazi Holocaust (39 pages), the Japanese atrocities in East Asia (31 pages), the Soviet Terror (26 pages), China under Mao (27 pages), and the genocides of Cambodia and Rwanda (32 pages). Four of Kiernan's maps depicted scenes in Australia, the same number as Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia and Maoist China put together. In 2008, Paul Bartrop repeated his earlier accusation. As co-author of the two-volume work *The Dictionary of Genocide*, he wrote the entry "Australia, Genocide in". He again applied the term *genocide* to the Stolen Generations, saying its use in that context "could be sustained relatively easily". In March 2009, one of Australia's best-known historians and essayists, Inga Clendinnen, reviewed the book *Guilt About the Past*, a collection of lectures by German novelist Bernhard Schlink. The lectures discussed how the modern German nation, now two generations distant from the Second World War, should approach the question of guilt for the Holocaust. Clendinnen was disappointed with the book, and wrote, almost as an aside: "I had hoped the lecture titled *Forgiveness and Reconciliation* would speak to our situation in this country." In other words, literary reviews and intellectual discussion in this country now toss off the comparison between Australia and Nazi Germany as if it were so familiar one can now speak about it in shorthand—"our situation in this country"—as though any possible debate is over.

The argument of *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Volume Three, The Stolen Generations 1881–2008* is that Australia does not deserve this reputation. While the case against genocide for the Stolen Generations has already produced several effective critics, most notably anthropologists Ron Brunton and Kenneth Maddock, journalists Paddy McGuinness, Paul Sheehan and Andrew Bolt, and two former Ministers for Aboriginal Affairs, John Herron and Peter Howson, a full defence of the charge has yet to be mounted. This book is longer, more detailed, and much less reader-friendly than it ought to be to gain a wide readership. But to address the full range of arguments made by the prosecution there was no alternative but to proceed comprehensively and forensically. That could only be accomplished properly by a complete re-examination of the foundation on which the case was originally made: its claim to be historically true.

My conclusion is that not only is the charge of genocide unwarranted, but so is the term "Stolen Generations". Aboriginal children were never removed from their families in order to put an end to Aboriginality or, indeed, to serve any improper government policy or program. The small numbers of Aboriginal child removals in the twentieth century were almost all based on traditional grounds of child welfare. Most children affected had been orphaned, abandoned, destitute, neglected or subject to various forms of domestic violence, sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. Historians have given Western Australia a particularly loathsome reputation, but when you examine the records you find the majority of children placed in state Aboriginal settlements were from destitute families and they went there with their parents. In New South Wales, some children became part of an apprenticeship indenture program

to help Aboriginal youth qualify for the workforce. A significant number of other children were voluntarily placed in institutions by Aboriginal parents to give them an education and a better chance in life.

Moreover, there is no fall-back position for those who want to argue that, even if the removals might not have quite amounted to genocide, they were still done for racist reasons. In Chapter Three, I demonstrate in an analysis of welfare policy for white children that none of the policies that allowed the removal of Aboriginal children were unique to them. They were removed for the same reason as white children in similar circumstances. Even the program to place Aboriginal children in apprenticeships was a replica of measures that had already been applied to white children in welfare institutions in New South Wales for several decades, and to poor English children for several centuries before that.

Chapters Three and Eight also discuss several pieces of legislative discrimination against Aboriginal people and their children that derived from the system of Aboriginal protectionism in the first half of the twentieth century. In some states officials treated Aboriginal people who lived on reserves, government stations, and on state-funded missions, depots and settlements as though they were the equivalent of white inmates of welfare institutions. I have no desire in this book to defend these last measures since they effectively treated Aborigines as second-class citizens. However, the critical question in the debate over the Stolen Generations is not whether *all* Aboriginal policy was free of discrimination. Rather, it is about why some Aboriginal children were removed from their parents. The answer was the same for black children as it was for white. They were subject to the standard child welfare policies of their time. This is not to say the laws were all the same for black and white children. In some states they were quite different. Nonetheless, the *intentions* behind the laws that allowed the state to remove children, whether black or white, were the same.

One critical point that has always been avoided by the historians of the Stolen Generations is that full-blood children were rarely, and in many places never, removed from their parents. By the early decades of the twentieth century, most Aborigines in the southern half of the Australian continent were people of part descent, but in the northern half, full-descent populations predominated. In the Kimberley district and the Northern Territory, half-castes constituted a small minority of indigenous people. From Federation to the Second World War, the policies of the Queensland, West Australian and Commonwealth governments were to preserve full-blood Aboriginal communities inviolate. By the 1920s and 1930s, when it became clear the full-blood population was not dying out as previously thought, but was actually increasing in some places, these governments established reserves of millions of acres and passed laws forbidding Europeans and Asians from entering Aboriginal communities, employing or removing full-blood Aborigines without permission, having sexual relations with them, or providing them with alcohol or opium.

Overwhelmingly, in the north of the continent, the Aboriginal children subject to removal policies came from the minority of half-castes and those of lesser descent. They were removed for both traditional welfare reasons and to help them gain some education and training for the workforce. In the local idiom, the latter was known as "giving them a chance". The only full-blood children taken into care were those chronically ill, dangerously malnourished or severely disabled, but this was uncommon. Less urgent cases of child abuse and neglect among full-bloods were ignored and simply regarded as Aboriginal business.

This is yet another reason why the charge of genocide is untenable. The United Nations Convention on Genocide, Article 2, defines acts of genocide as those "committed with intent to

destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such". Half-castes and those of lesser descent did not constitute any such group. Their identity varied enormously. Some saw themselves and were treated by others as Aborigines, but there were many who did not. In some communities, full-blood people accepted half-castes; in others they were not regarded as true Aborigines at all; in some cases, half-caste babies born to tribal women were routinely put to death. Chapters Seven and Ten discuss evidence about many half-caste people who did not identify as members of a distinct racial community, and indeed, were more concerned to emulate white people and live like other Australians.

To say there were no Stolen Generations is not to argue there were no forcible removals of Aboriginal children from their families. There were many forcible removals in the period under discussion, just as there are today. The children of parents who neglected them, who let them go hungry, who abused them with violence, who prostituted them, who let them run wild with no supervision, or who drank themselves into an alcoholic stupor while leaving the children to their own devices, all faced forcible removals—often by the police and occasionally under scenes of great duress. Academic historians and Aboriginal activists, however, have redefined all these legitimate removals as racist and genocidal. Only by this means have they been able to mount the semblance of a case. A detailed study of the surviving individual case records in New South Wales in Chapter Two reveals an array of reasons for removal far too broad to fit into any single-minded bureaucratic program.

Some Aboriginal children do have genuine grounds for grievance, but they are not alone. In the rough justice of child welfare policy, white children could be treated harshly too, especially if their mothers were unmarried. Until as recently as the 1970s, such children, white or black, were frequently removed on grounds that we would not approve today. Before governments began paying pensions to unmarried mothers in the 1970s, children could be deemed neglected because they lacked a father, and thus a means of support. Until then, unmarried white teenage girls who fell pregnant were strongly pressured by both church and state to give up their babies, who were often taken from them at birth and adopted out to other families. But in these cases the child's fate was determined not by its colour but by its illegitimacy. There was a common presumption throughout Australia that unmarried teenage mothers, black or white, could not and should not be left to bring up the children they bore.

Some people removed as children remember their former family life as a time when they were happy and well cared for. They recall their removal as an event of great trauma. There is no reason to doubt they are telling the truth. Some of their testimony is inherently convincing. They could not possibly have invented the kind of trauma they described. There were others, however, who remembered trauma from another source—their own homes: "I can understand why they took me," one former inmate of the Cootamundra Aboriginal Girls' Home told an interviewer in 1994. "Mum and dad were terrible when they were on the grog—in fact we were dead scared."

The problem with the Stolen Generations thesis is that childhood recollections constitute the only credible evidence its adherents have provided to make their case. But no amount of childhood anecdotes can establish the argument's central thesis that the intentions of the authorities were both criminal and racist. That accusation was embedded in both the words of the term. The adjective *stolen* said the removals were deliberately intended to achieve an illegal result. The noun *generations* said this objective was targeted at a particular line of people across successive age cohorts. The childhood memories of individuals are not enough to establish that

governments had such intent or such perseverance. Indeed, memories of childhood trauma are consistent with forcible removals for the same welfare reasons as white children.

The case for the Stolen Generations needed a convincing account of government policies towards Aboriginal children. However, this book's examination of the primary source evidence reveals there is a void at the very core of the case. There was no unequivocal statement by anyone in genuine authority that child removal was intended to end Aboriginality. The only support for that proposition has come from creative interpretations of selected statements taken out of context by politically motivated historians. Moreover, the lack of government words on the subject was matched by the lack of government action. The handful of places allocated for the care of Aboriginal children, the tiny budgets that supported the government boards and departments, and the archival records that show how small a fraction of the Aboriginal population they affected, all render the thesis completely implausible.

Another of the central claims of the academic historians who created this story was that children were taken by authorities as young as possible so they would never inherit Aboriginal culture. "The younger the child the better," according to Henry Reynolds, "before habits were formed, attachments, language learnt, traditions absorbed." In the SBS Television series *First Australians*, scriptwriters Beck Cole and Louis Nowra confidently declared: "Between 1910 and 1970 an estimated 50,000 Aboriginal children were removed from their families. Most were aged under five." None of those who make this assertion have ever backed it with proper evidence, such as a breakdown of the ages of the children sent to various institutions. This is not surprising. For the available evidence shows the opposite was true.

The statistics of child removals in this book reveal that those most commonly affected in New South Wales were not the very young but those at workforce entry age, which in rural districts in the first half of the twentieth century was normally thirteen, fourteen and fifteen years. This was because of the influence of the state's apprentice indenture scheme. In Western Australia and the Northern Territory the age of the few separations correlated with primary school age. This was because many part-Aboriginal children in these regions were sent by their parents to board at government and religious hostels and institutions that sent them to school.

Whatever their circumstances, it was rare for babies and infants to be removed. In one archive of 800 children removed between 1907 and 1932 in New South Wales, only seven were babies aged twelve months or less and only eighteen were aged between twelve months and two years. Some governments had policies that strictly forbade removing Aboriginal babies unless they were orphans or urgently needed hospitalisation for disease or malnutrition.

Another deception is the assertion by historians that most children were removed permanently, that they were never meant to see their parents again. "The break from family, kin and community must be decisive and permanent," Henry Reynolds has written. "If young people could return to their families the effort had been wasted." Chapter Two provides good evidence that this was untrue. The case records show that a clear majority of children removed in New South Wales returned either to their families or to Aboriginal communities. In fact, welfare authorities gave the older ones assistance such as money for the rail fare home, and usually accompanied the younger ones on the train. In other states, especially Western Australia, government institutions like the notorious Moore River Settlement and religious missions across northern Australia admitted the majority of child inmates *with* their parents. Institutions for indigent Aborigines of all ages have been widely but wrongly characterised by historians, television

producers and film-makers as homes exclusively for children, when they never were.

Rather than acting for racist reasons, government officers and religious missionaries wanted to rescue children from welfare camps and shanty settlements riddled with alcoholism, domestic violence and sexual abuse. Evidence throughout this book shows public servants, doctors, police and missionaries appalled to find Aboriginal girls between five and eight years of age suffering from sexual abuse and venereal disease. They were dismayed to sometimes find girls of nine and ten years old hired out as prostitutes by their own parents. That was why the great majority of children removed by authorities were female. The fringe camps where this occurred were early twentieth-century versions of today's notorious remote communities of central and northern Australia. Indeed, there is a direct line of descent from one to the other—the culture of these camps has been reproducing itself across rural Australia for more than 100 years. Government officials had a duty to rescue children from such settings, as much then as they do now. From the perspective of child welfare officials, the major problem was that state treasuries would not give the relevant departments and boards sufficient funds to accommodate all the neglected and abused children who *should* have been removed.

The Fate of the Stolen Generations Thesis in the Courts

The uncomfortable truth for us all is that the parliaments of the nation, individually and collectively, enacted statutes and delegated authority under those statutes that made the forced removal of children on racial grounds fully lawful.

—Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, Apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples, House of Representatives, February 13, 2008

[I]ntegration of part Aboriginal children was not based on race; it was based on a sense of responsibility —perhaps misguided and paternalistic—for those children who had been deserted by their white fathers and who were living in tribal conditions with their Aboriginal mothers. Care for those children was perceived to be best offered by affording them the opportunity of acquiring a western education so that they might then more easily be integrated into western society.

—Justice Maurice O'Loughlin, judgment in *Cubillo and Gunner v. Commonwealth*, Federal Court of Australia, August 2000, para 162

If the Stolen Generations story were true, its members should have had many victories in the courts, now that the tide of opinion is firmly on their side. The charges involved serious breaches of the law—false imprisonment, misfeasance of public office, breach of duty of care, and breach of fiduciary and statutory duties—and human rights lawyers and Aboriginal legal aid services have been lining up for years to take their cases. Yet only one claimant has ever been successful before a court: Bruce Trevorrow, who in 2007 was awarded \$525,000 by the South Australian Supreme Court. Given the huge size of the potential client base, and the fact that Aboriginal people and their lawyers have had a grievance about the issue for more than twenty-five years, the lack of legal success is telling. On its own, it is enough to seriously question whether there really were any Stolen Generations.

In his apology in the House of Representatives in February 2008, Kevin Rudd avoided any use of the term *genocide* but he did accuse the parliaments of the nation of enacting racist statutes. That accusation, however, was untrue, as either Rudd or his speechwriters would have known were they familiar with either of the two major test cases on the Stolen Generations. The best-known of those cases, *Cubillo and Gunner v. Commonwealth*, was decided by Justice Maurice O'Loughlin in the Federal Court in August 2000. Counsel for the applicants, Ms M. Richards, had submitted that the Northern Territory in the 1940s and 1950s had a policy called "the removal policy" and "the half-caste policy". She said that,

because it targeted only half-caste children, it was based on race rather than welfare. It was pursued "without regard for the welfare of individual children or their individual circumstances". In his judgment, Justice O'Loughlin said:

I cannot accept that submission; it failed to recognize those decisions of the High Court to which reference has already been made that classified the legislation as beneficial and protectionist; it failed to recognize that there was then, as there is now, an acceptance of the need for special legislation and special consideration for Aboriginal people. Finally, there was absolutely no causative link connecting 'race' to a failure to have regard for the welfare of children. The existence of one does not preclude the existence of the other.

What the judge meant by "those decisions of the High Court to which reference has already been made", were several verdicts, the most recent of which had been *Kruger v. Commonwealth*; *Bray v. Commonwealth*. That was a judgment made by the full bench of the High Court in July 1997 but which today is largely unknown outside legal circles. Yet it was the major case that considered whether the removal of Aboriginal children amounted to genocide. Although handed down only two months after the *Bringing Them Home* report accused the nation of that very crime, most news media and virtually all members of the political commentariat ignored it. Since then, they have pretended it never existed. I discuss its findings in more detail in Chapter Ten, but let me observe here that five of the six judges commented specifically on the question of genocide. Counsel for the plaintiffs argued that the Northern Territory's Aboriginal Ordinance of 1918, which permitted the Chief Protector and Director of Native Affairs to remove and detain all Aboriginal people in the Territory, including children, thereby breached the United Nations Convention on Genocide. All five judges rejected the claim. Justice Daryl Dawson said:

there is nothing in the 1918 Ordinance, even if the acts authorized by it otherwise fell within the definition of genocide, which authorizes acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part any Aboriginal group. On the contrary, as has already been observed, the powers conferred by the 1918 Ordinance were required to be exercised in the best interests of the Aboriginals concerned or of the Aboriginal population generally. The acts authorized do not, therefore, fall within the definition of genocide contained in the Genocide Convention.

Justice Michael McHugh concurred:

The 1918 Ordinance did not authorize genocide. Article II of the Genocide Convention relevantly defines genocide to mean certain acts 'committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such'. The acts include 'imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group' and 'forcibly transferring children of the group to another group'. There is, however, nothing in the 1918 Ordinance that could possibly justify a construction of its provisions that would authorize the doing of acts 'with intent to destroy, in whole or in part' the Aboriginal race.

In short, when they tested specific policies before the Federal Court, and when they argued the general intentions of the parliaments and legislators before the High Court, the historians and political activists who invented the notion of the Stolen Generations proved incapable of substantiating their case. As far as Australia's highest courts are concerned, the central hypothesis of the Stolen Generations is legally extinct. The only legal cases with any potential credibility would be those made by individuals such as Bruce Trevorrow, who was unlawfully removed from his family and suffered badly as a result. But as Chapter Twelve demonstrates, the Trevorrow case did not confirm the Stolen Generations thesis. Instead, it provided yet more evidence to disprove it.

How Many Children Were Removed?

Even though one forced removal would be regarded today as one too many, the numbers in the Administrator's report, if accurate, do not support an argument that there was a large scale policy of forced removals occurring in this period.

—Justice Maurice O'Loughlin, judgment in *Cubillo and Gunner v. Commonwealth*, Federal Court of Australia, August 2000, on the paucity of child removals in the Northern Territory in the 1940s and 1950s

In the Prime Minister's apology, he said the total number of children wrongly removed between 1910 and 1970 was "up to 50,000". He said this meant between 10 and 30 per cent of Aboriginal children had been "forcibly" taken from their parents. The *Bringing Them Home* report claimed that between one in ten and one in three Aboriginal children were "forcibly removed". In reality, these claims were unwarranted guesses. Indeed, the Human Rights Commission seriously misrepresented some of the principal research it used to reach the higher figure. As an example of the rate of removal, it reported the findings of one study made in Bourke:

Dr Max Kamien surveyed 320 adults in Bourke in the 1970s. One in every three reported having been separated from their families in childhood for five or more years.

That was *not* the study's rate for the separation of children "from their families". What Kamien actually found was this:

Between the ages of 5 and 14 years 34 per cent of the 320 adult males and females interviewed had experienced the absence of one parent for more than five years. Absence of both parents for the same time period was recorded in 5 per cent of males and 7 per cent of females.

Moreover, the great majority of the "absences" recorded by Kamien were not forcible removals. Most occurred simply because the fathers were away from home, working on rural properties. Of children separated from both parents, Kamien found the most common reason was not to lose their culture but to go to hospital. In four of the other six studies it cited, *Bringing Them Home* seriously misrepresented the results. Of the remaining two studies, one was unpublished and no one else can find any record of the other. Chapter Thirteen examines the charade of research interpretations on which the Human Rights Commission made its "confident findings".

My own estimate of the total number of Aboriginal children taken into care in the period from 1880 to 1970 is provided in Chapter Thirteen. The total is 8250. "Taken into care" means Aboriginal children separated from parents and placed in government, church and charitable institutions, plus the very small numbers placed into foster care and adopted by white families. The figure represented 5.2 per cent of the Aboriginal population at the 1976 census of 160,000.

This total is not offered as a counter-estimate of the number of the Stolen Generations. The argument of this book is that there were *no* Stolen Generations. The figure is an overall estimate made from the surviving records of children separated from their families for substantial periods under the broadest range of conditions, both voluntary and involuntary, and for all kinds of reasons, both positive (education and hospitalisation) and negative (neglect, destitution, sexual abuse, and the death of parents). The total and the proportion are much lower figures than are usually claimed but they demonstrate another theme of this book. Rather than governments being over-zealous, the reality was the opposite. Everyone who worked in Aboriginal child welfare complained that the states and territories did not do nearly enough, especially in the period from Federation to the Second World War. There were always many more Aboriginal children badly in need of welfare, education and health services than governments were willing to fund.

The most offensive numerical assertion in this debate, that the removal of children was on a scale large enough to be genocidal, is not just wrong but embarrassingly wrong. In the

first half of the twentieth century, when university historians and *Bringing Them Home* assured us governments were doing their best to eliminate the Aboriginal race, its population grew substantially. In the period nominated by the Human Rights Commission as the worst affected, 1910 to 1970, the Aboriginal population of Australia grew by 68 per cent from 83,588 to 139,456. Growth was particularly strong in those regions where governments were purportedly determined to absorb half-caste and other part-Aboriginal people into the white population. In New South Wales, the Aboriginal population grew by 65 per cent from 1915 to 1940. In Western Australia, the supposedly "doomed race" of full-descent people in the north of the state did not decline at all, while in the southern half of the state, where part-Aboriginal people predominated, their numbers were up no less than 120 per cent between 1900 and 1935. In both cases, their populations grew at a faster rate than that of white people. Chapters Two and Seven have the details. If the Stolen Generations thesis is true then the Australian Aborigines are the only people in world history to have suffered genocide in the midst of a boom in their population.

Education versus Institutionalisation

There is another good reason why it was not the policy of governments to remove Aboriginal children from their parents: they wanted the children to go to school. Governments pursued this objective with far more action and money than they ever gave to child removal. In the 1880s all Australian colonial governments instituted compulsory education for children of school age. All parents, of whatever racial or ethnic background, were required to enrol their children. In New South Wales, the Department of Public Instruction constructed schoolhouses and employed schoolteachers on all the twenty-one Aboriginal stations set up between 1893 and 1917. It also provided schools and teachers on any of the 115 Aboriginal reserves that had enough children of school age to justify it. On those reserves where there were not enough children for a dedicated school, the Aborigines Protection Board insisted they must go to the local public school. In the early years, it tried to coerce Aboriginal parents into sending their children to school by withholding rations if they refused. In its later years, it tried a more conciliatory approach by giving all Aboriginal children a hot midday meal at school.

In the early twentieth century, it was true that much provision for Aboriginal schooling was substandard. Many Aboriginal children received a lower-level curriculum than whites. In some parts of New South Wales and Western Australia, protests by white parents about Aboriginal standards of hygiene and disease (including, as I demonstrate in Chapter Four, cases of venereal disease among Aboriginal primary school children) meant some public schools refused to enrol them. Nonetheless, the number of places governments provided for Aboriginal children who lived with their parents and went to school, compared to the number of places governments funded at welfare institutions for those removed from parents, is telling. In New South Wales in the 1920s and 1930s, there were only three welfare institutions designated for Aboriginal children. One at Bomaderry housed twenty-five infants to ten-year-olds, the second at Cootamundra accommodated fifty girls aged up to thirteen years, and the third at Kinchela housed fifty boys aged up to thirteen years. At the same time, some 2800 Aboriginal children in New South Wales lived with their parents and attended public schools. That is, there were twenty-two times as many places for Aboriginal children at public schools than at welfare institutions.

In the Northern Territory in the 1950s, virtually none of the approximately 8000 full-blood Aboriginal children either attended school or were housed in a welfare institution. For part-Aboriginal children the government pursued a policy of

integration and assimilation. But even here, there were between two and three times as many part-Aboriginal children living with their families and attending schools than housed in welfare institutions. In 1959, for instance, there were 815 part-Aboriginal children at Northern Territory schools and 315 part-Aboriginal children in institutions. Of the latter, many were sent by their parents to be boarders while they went to school. Chapter Ten discusses the role played by the Retta Dixon Home in Darwin and St Mary's Hostel in Alice Springs. On the grounds of school policy alone, no one can argue that the government was conducting a systematic program to destroy Aboriginality by stealing children from their families. The existence of this disparity disproves the core allegation of the *Stolen Generations* thesis.

The Origins of the Myth

The empirical underpinnings of *Bringing Them Home* derived largely from the work of white academic historians. The Human Rights Commission did no serious research of its own into the primary historical sources. Co-authors Ronald Wilson and Mick Dodson also declined to hear any evidence that might have contradicted their preferred interpretation. They did not call witnesses from the many still-living public officials responsible for child removal to hear or test their reasons for their policies and practices. The Commission's only original contribution was to solicit the testimony of 535 Aboriginal people who had been removed from their parents and who spoke about their own experiences. While many of these stories were completely believable in what they said about what happened and how they felt, it is nonetheless true that when these witnesses were children they were not in a position to comprehend the question at the centre of the accusation of genocide, the motives of government policy-makers.

Moreover, some of these informants made claims that should never have been published. In *Bringing Them Home*, the anonymous "Jennifer" claimed one child at the Cootamundra Girls Home was beaten to death by the staff, who then secretly disposed of the body. As Chapter Five argues, this assertion deserves no credibility whatsoever and, indeed, was a malicious defamation of the matron at the time, Miss Emmeline Rutter. History books have reproduced other tall tales from allegedly stolen children that could not possibly be true. One gave a vivid first-hand account of 500 children supposedly rounded up in 1938. The alleged aim was to remove all the half-caste children in the Kimberley district to the West Australian government's Moola Bulla station. However, as shown in Chapter Eight, the entire population of half-caste people in the Kimberley at the time, adults and children, amounted to just 500 and the station's records of the full-blood and half-caste children it accommodated and fed at Moola Bulla that year numbered only sixty-one; most of them had been sent by their parents to go to the station's school.

Some of the most celebrated books by Aboriginal authors about supposedly stolen children also provide serious grounds for contention, especially the works of Margaret Tucker and Sally Morgan. These and other stories told by well-known Aborigines Lowitja O'Donoghue and Charles Perkins are discussed in Chapter Six. I also discuss there the influence of the Communist Party of Australia, which few people realise played a key role in making some Aboriginal authors famous.

The idea that the removal policies had a racist component and were aimed at ending Aboriginality did not originate in Aboriginal testimony. Indeed, until the term "stolen generations" first appeared in 1981, there had been no popular tradition among Aboriginal people that employed either the term or the concept. In the 1910s and 1920s, parents on some state-funded Aboriginal stations in New South Wales and South Australia did disagree with the government finding employment for their teenage children as

four-year indentured apprentices. But these complaints were not about the removal of babies or young children. Moreover, these parents knew their children would be gone for a fixed term and then return.

The person who initiated the idea that the government wanted to destroy Aboriginality was a then unknown white postgraduate history student, Peter Read. He alone was granted the vision denied to all who came before him. In the course of just one day, he wrote a twenty-page pamphlet to make his case. His original title was "The Lost Generations" but his wife advised him to substitute the more attention-getting adjective, *stolen*.

Read's publication, *The Stolen Generations*, was published in 1981 and was noticed within social policy and legal circles, but not much else. The critical turning point in the attitudes of Aboriginal people did not come until two years later. Read's colleague in the Link-Up social work organisation, Coral Edwards, addressed a meeting of the National Aboriginal Consultative Council to ask for funding for their new service. To the forty, mostly middle-aged Aboriginal community leaders, who until then had been ignorant of any racist separation policy, Edwards's speech came as a bombshell. Mothers had not voluntarily given their children away, she said. Rather, "the governments never intended that the children should ever return".

It is not difficult to understand the immediate appeal of such an explanation to many Aboriginal families, especially to those who had grown up on welfare communities and segregated housing estates with high rates of crime, alcoholism, domestic violence and child abuse. This new version of events was deeply comforting. The myriad problems in their own lives no longer derived from the failings of their families or the bad choices they made themselves. Mothers had not given their children away, fathers had not left their children destitute or deserted their families or been so consumed by alcohol they left them vulnerable to sexual predators. Siblings and cousins had not abandoned their communities because they thought their way of life hopeless. Instead of reproaching themselves, Aborigines could suddenly identify as morally innocent victims of a terrible injustice. Their problems could all be blamed on faceless white bureaucrats driven by racism. Read's interpretation has since come to be believed by most Aboriginal people in Australia.

That does not make the story true. Indeed, as an historical interpretation of government policy in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, it was poorly founded from the outset. Its creator once boasted he had read "all the thousands of childcare records of the NSW Aborigines Protection Board". However, Read could not have done anything like the investigation he claimed. His research for *The Stolen Generations* was so shoddy he was completely ignorant of the existence of one government and mission-run institution in New South Wales that housed Aboriginal children for nineteen years, and he attributed to another institution a fifteen-year history that bore little relationship to what it actually did. Chapter Five provides the details. He drew selectively on the individual case files of removed children to bolster his case, but misrepresented the total picture. He provided false information about the age of children concerned and the proportion of them who never returned to their families and communities. He selected from government minutes and reports a small number of apparently incriminating quotations, took them out of context, and gave them a meaning their originators never intended. What little support for his thesis he could find he exaggerated out of all proportion. He claimed the Ward Registers of the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board openly revealed the real motives of those in charge:

The racial intention was obvious enough for all prepared to see, and some managers cut a long story short when they

came to that part of the committal notice 'Reason for Board taking control of the child'. They simply wrote 'for being Aboriginal'."

My examination of the 800 files in the same archive found only one official ever wrote a phrase like that. His actual words were "Being an Aboriginal".

In the early twentieth century, according to Read, the Australian authorities began to realise the Aborigines were not "dying out" as once thought. Instead, the number of half-castes and others of part descent were increasing. So instead of being rid of the Aboriginal race by natural causes, governments decided they had to do the job themselves. "In the long term, Aborigines were not wanted — anywhere," Read wrote. "Their extinction, it seemed, would not occur naturally after all, but would have to be arranged." One of Read's academic colleagues, the historian Heather Goodall, said the New South Wales government tried to do this by deliberately reducing the Aboriginal birth rate. This was, she claimed, the publicly declared reason the Aborigines Protection Board introduced its policy of youth apprenticeships:

The Board stated quite openly in its reports and minutes that it intended to reduce the birthrate of the Aboriginal population by taking adolescent girls away from their communities. Then it intended that the young people taken in this way would never be allowed to return to their homes or to any other Aboriginal community. The 'apprenticeship' policy was aimed quite explicitly at reducing the numbers of identifying Aboriginal people in the State.

Goodall did not give any specific source for her claim. Instead, she referred readers of her book *Invasion to Embassy* to the Aborigines Protection Board's annual reports for the period 1906 to 1923. I read the board's reports not only for the years she suggested but also for its entire eighty-five years of existence, looking for any comment about its intention to reduce the Aboriginal birth rate. I could not find anything of the kind. Instead, the board explained its apprenticeship policy in 1924 in the following terms:

[The Board's] object is to save the children from certain moral degradation on the reserves and camps, and to give them a chance to reach maturity, after which they are given every facility to return either on holiday or permanently, according to their wish, to their own districts, where they are expected to take up suitable employment. Here they have an opportunity of meeting people of their own colour, and in many instances they marry and settle down in homes of their own.

The board also defined its policy in very similar terms in its minutes of June 1919 and its annual report of 1925–26. Chapter Three quotes them in full and examines the board's real objectives. In short, the board saw a period of apprenticeship as the key to gaining employment, and the best way for Aboriginal youth to get off welfare and live independent lives in the modern world. It wanted to put an end not to the Aboriginal race but to Aboriginal dependency.

The Human Rights Commission used Read, Goodall and other academic historians as its major sources of information on government policy, thereby replicating their omissions, mistakes and falsehoods. *Bringing Them Home* reproduced a passage from Pat Jacobs's biography of A.O. Neville, which quoted the West Australian Chief Protector apparently announcing that in the "best interests" of Aboriginal children he intended to remove as many as possible from their parents: "I say emphatically there are scores of children in the bush camps who should be taken away from whoever is looking after them and placed in a settlement ..." This quotation, however, was a truncated version of what Neville actually said. His full sentence was:

I say emphatically there are scores of children in the bush camps who should be taken away from whoever is looking after them and placed in a settlement, but on account of lack

of accommodation, and lack of means and additional settlements, I am unable to exercise the power which the Act definitely gives me in this respect.

In other words, instead of a declaration of intent to remove scores of such children, Neville's full statement was actually an explanation why he could *not* remove them. As Chapter Eight shows in detail, he never had the funds to remove more than a handful each year. The same was true of the Chief Protectors in other states. None of them ever had enough money to remove all the genuine child welfare cases within their domain, let alone attempt as immense a task as eliminating the Aboriginal race.

That did not mean, however, that Aboriginal institutions were as impoverished as historians have painted them. Though conceding that they were not as terrible as the mass extermination camps of Nazi Germany, historian Anna Haebich nonetheless claimed: "Aboriginal people in Australia's refugee camps and gulags faced for a far longer period the daily reality of starvation, disease, chronic ill health and often early death." It is true that the Moore River Settlement in Western Australia was a vermin-infested dump, and some of the remote missions in the tropical north ran short of food supplies in the wet season and during periods of prolonged drought, but they were not typical. The best Aboriginal stations had superior buildings and more amenities than many white working-class people in the outer suburbs and country towns at the same time. Some institutions for Aboriginal children had swimming pools, gymnasiums, tennis courts, film projectors, radios, record players, pianos and telephones decades before many white people. Chapter Five contains details. In the midst of the 1930s Great Depression, the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board used unemployment relief funds to provide its La Perouse Reserve with new buildings designed by the Government Architect, to plant it with trees and shrubs from the Sydney Botanic Gardens, and to connect every home with fresh water and sewerage. The State Government Tourist Bureau thought so highly of the refurbished La Perouse it listed it with Bondi Beach among Sydney's recommended visiting spots for overseas tourists. In the 1950s, the Church of England's St Mary's Hostel for Aboriginal children at Alice Springs, located in a former wartime recreation centre for servicewomen, was another model of its kind that attracted busloads of tourists.

The Best-Concealed Conspiracy in Australian History

On top of the awkward fact that the Aboriginal population grew strongly throughout the period it was supposedly subject to genocide, there is another oddity about the Stolen Generations. Why did this not become a public issue before Peter Read emerged on the scene in 1981? If, as the Human Rights Commission claimed, its origins went back to 1910, why didn't earlier Aboriginal activists make a fuss? At the high point of Aboriginal radicalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the attempt to put an end to Aboriginality by removing children never received a mention in any major agenda of Aboriginal political grievances.

During the lead-up to the successful 1967 constitutional referendum to give the Commonwealth powers in Aboriginal affairs, not one of the political activists campaigning for reform mentioned stolen children as an issue to be rectified. In 1970, neither the ten-point Policy Manifesto of the National Tribal Council, nor the Platform and Program of the Black Panthers of Australia, nor the 1972 Five-Point Policy of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy at Parliament House, Canberra, or any other political manifesto of the time, mentioned stolen children, let alone the genocide that Aborigines had purportedly been suffering for the previous sixty years. Aboriginal activists of that era proved very adept at gaining attention from the news media and very capable of articulating their case. Black Panthers spokesmen included Gary Foley, later a university lecturer, Paul Coe,

subsequently a barrister, and Dennis Walker, son of one of Australia's leading literary figures. They and their colleagues were politically astute enough to mount the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on the lawns of Parliament House—an inspired piece of political symbolism—yet could not recognise the genocide and child stealing taking place right beneath their noses.

A greater mystery is that some of the best-known of an earlier generation of Aboriginal activists had been in an even better position to see what was going on. In the 1940s and 1950s, William Ferguson, Walter Page and Pearl Gibbs actually served as directors of the Aborigines Welfare Board of New South Wales, one of the very organisations then committing the purported genocide. Yet they never realised what was happening. Of all people, they were the ones who should have identified it first. How could they possibly have missed it? If the Stolen Generations story was true, then at that very time, right across Australia, in all states and territories, scores of white welfare officials, backed by parliamentarians and senior public servants, were forcibly removing Aboriginal children to put an end to Aboriginality. How did these hundreds of white people, for a period of more than sixty years, maintain the discipline needed to keep the whole thing so quiet that Aboriginal activists like Ferguson, Page and Gibbs were oblivious to its existence? Why did no one leak the truth? A conspiracy on this scale must have been the best-kept secret in Australian history. On these grounds alone, the inherent implausibility of Read's thesis should always have been self-evident.

"The Criminals Who Enacted the Programs"

In presenting a more realistic version of this story, part of my task includes reassessing the reputations of those who worked in the field in those years. We need to know whether the white people who determined Aboriginal policies in the past, and those who provided direct-contact services to Aborigines—welfare workers, missionaries and other members of religious orders, police officers, nurses and matrons in children's institutions, the managers of Aboriginal reserves and stations—deserve the status they now have. Historians today treat them as little better than the officers and guards at Belsen and Treblinka. They do this even though the historical record reveals that some of the most influential of them emerged from humanitarian organisations, religious societies and political movements that had long worked in support of indigenous peoples. As Chapter Seven demonstrates, although historians have misrepresented the roles of the Chief Protectors A.O. Neville in Western Australia and Cecil Cook in the Northern Territory, their careers as administrators nonetheless leave little to admire. But it is a very different story with most of those employed in the front line caring for Aboriginal children. The determination of some historians to destroy the reputations of the latter people is contemptible.

Free from any risk of defamation suits from their now dead subjects, and speaking from the comfort of tenured university positions with six-figure salaries, academics such as Peter Read, Anna Haebich and Raimond Gaita have written of "the criminals who enacted the programs" and applied labels such as "sinister", "hated", "monstrous" and "psychopathic" to people like Emmeline Rutter, Ella Hiscocks, Sister Kate Clutterbuck, Sister Eileen Heath, Amelia Shankelton and Father Percy Smith who spent much of their adult lives under the same roofs and conditions as the orphaned, abandoned and unloved children they worked to save. Similarly, Colin Tatz, a professor of genocide studies, defamed the famous Aboriginal tenor, the late Harold Blair, by associating him with a scheme that ostensibly offered Aboriginal children Christmas holidays by the sea, but whose purported secret agenda was to adopt them into white families.

The Human Rights Commission's inquiry treated such people unjustly. As I show in several places in this book, the

Commission's public hearings declined to call as witnesses public officials and welfare workers who could have contradicted its predetermined conclusions. The Commission only sought evidence that confirmed its prejudices. It only wanted to hear from those claiming to be stolen children and never gave their "captors" the chance to answer the charges. Yet when some of the latter who were still living came before properly constituted court hearings, they easily disproved the accusations. This was particularly true in the Northern Territory, as Chapter Ten demonstrates in its discussion of the failed test case of Lorna Cubillo and Peter Gunner.

Some prominent Aboriginal people engaged in child welfare have been quietly airbrushed from history because their activities contradict the Stolen Generations thesis. One of them was Auntie Molly Mallett, a member of the Cape Barren Islander community descended from the Tasmanian Aborigines. As Chapter Eleven discusses, Mallett moved to Launceston where she provided government-approved foster care for orphaned and neglected Cape Barren Islander children. From the 1950s to the 1970s, she fostered so many she "lost count". Even though she had far more experience than anyone else in the plight of these half-caste children, the Human Rights Commission's inquiry never called her as a witness. *Bringing Them Home* declined to even mention her role, preferring its readers to believe the children were all placed with white families and in white institutions.

Many of the politicians who decided Aboriginal policy in the period of so-called genocide were anything but faceless. By far the greater number of them owed their allegiance to the "progressive" or Left side of politics. One thing the university historians who established this story kept largely to themselves was that most of the legislation they condemned was passed by Labor governments. In New South Wales, the 1915 *Aborigines Protection Amending Act*, which allowed the Aborigines Protection Board to remove children without recourse to a hearing before a magistrate, was the work of the first Labor government in the state, headed by James McGowen and W.A. Holman. The Act's 1943 amendment, which allowed Aboriginal children to be fostered out to non-indigenous families, was introduced by the Labor government of William McKell, one of his party's favourite sons who later became governor-general. In Western Australia, A.O. Neville was appointed Chief Protector in 1915 by the state's first Labor government headed by John Scaddan. The 1936 Act that purportedly entrenched Neville's proposals for "breeding out the colour" was the product of the Labor governments of Phillip Collier and John Willcock.

In contrast, when a proposal for "breeding out the colour" was put to the conservative government of Joseph Lyons in 1933, it wanted nothing to do with it. As noted in the preface, this proposal has been wrongly linked to the question of child removal when, in reality, it was wholly confined to controlling the marriage of adult Aborigines of part descent. As Chapter Seven records, the Lyons government treated it with disdain. In August 1934, the responsible minister, J.A. Perkins, told the parliament:

It can be stated definitely, that it is and always has been, contrary to policy to force half-caste women to marry anyone. The half-caste must be a perfectly free agent in the matter.

Not one of the historians of the Stolen Generations has ever quoted this statement. It disproved yet more of their claims about the genocidal objectives of Commonwealth government policies in the 1930s.

Some prominent radical political activists of earlier eras were complicit in policies and activities that historians and the Human Rights Commission now characterise as racist and genocidal. For instance, in the 1967 constitutional referendum, one of the leading campaigners for the "Yes" vote was Faith Bandler, then a familiar figure in radical and Communist Party

circles. In January 2009, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd awarded Bandler Australia's highest civilian honour, the Companion of the Order of Australia, for her work on behalf of racial minorities. It is not widely known today but in 1959 Bandler adopted an abandoned two-year-old Aboriginal boy into her non-indigenous family. She raised him until he was twelve. At the time, none of her Aboriginal political colleagues thought she was doing anything wrong. To accuse Bandler of committing a racial crime for this act, let alone being a party to genocide, would be absurd and offensive. We should offer the same presumption of innocence until proven guilty to everyone else who acted from similar motives, whatever their political background or racial origin.

When their track records are examined more closely, many of those white people engaged in Aboriginal affairs a century ago become unexpectedly familiar. They were the religious and political evangelicals of their time, determined to do good works for others in order to give meaning and substance to their own lives. They bear an uncomfortable resemblance to the white lawyers, academics, social workers, journalists and political activists who do the same today. In short, accusers and accused are the same kind of people. The big difference is that those charged with crimes against humanity actually did something tangible to improve Aboriginal lives. Their accusers have offered only bogus history, feigned compassion, and empty symbolic gestures.

Today we inhabit a censorious age in which the present generation presumes it alone has wisdom and virtue. We pride ourselves on our moral and intellectual superiority to all the generations before us. We assume the right to condemn the past for not sharing our currently fashionable moral postures. Nonetheless, all those in the past responsible for Aboriginal policy and child welfare still deserve a proper hearing, with their names and reasons fully disclosed so we can judge the decisions they took in the light of the prevailing attitudes and opportunities of the time, as well as what we know about their characters through the full record of their public lives.

Ultimately, however, it is the reputation of the nation that is at issue. Thanks to the determination of academic historians and state education curriculum boards, Australian schoolchildren have by now largely succumbed to the prevailing version of this story. Many have learnt to despise their own country for this episode and to be ashamed of the Australian past. Australians abroad are saddled with a reputation for racism comparable to white South Africans in the era of apartheid. Aboriginal people themselves are taught the arrival of the Europeans brought so much violence and heartbreak they should never allow themselves to be fully reconciled to Australian society.

The philosopher Raimond Gaita has claimed that, if the *Bringing Them Home* report is accurate, the case for genocide is over-determined. My book argues that the only thing over-determined is the case *against* genocide. Not one of the major contentions made by the Human Rights Commission, or the bevy of academic historians upon whom it relied, stands up to scrutiny. *Bringing Them Home* is probably the most unreliable and deceptive public document ever produced in this country. Unfortunately, it has also been one of the most influential. It claimed to have uncovered a whole class of victims, children forcibly removed from loving parents whose lives were thereby ruined. In reality, the greater victims have been those generations of Aboriginal children who, thanks to the report's subsequent influence on social workers, child welfare officials and children's court magistrates, have since been left too long in violent, destitute and sexually abusive families for fear of creating a "new" Stolen Generation. An historical fiction has created a real-life social catastrophe, whose appalling consequences are now verified by government and judicial inquiries, time after time.

Black and White Perspectives on the Apology

"For the pain, suffering and hurt of these stolen generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry. To the mothers and fathers, the brothers and sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry." Here was the word, used twice in two quick sentences by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, that everyone in those ranked, packed galleries had come to hear. There was, quite audibly, the exhalation of breath. That same release—the hope of an expulsion, really, of a national burden—could be felt across the country, in public gatherings before giant screens in places such as Melbourne's Federation Square and Sydney's Martin Place, to clubs and parks in small towns and school classrooms everywhere.

—Tony Wright, *Age*, Melbourne, February 14, 2008

For all the reasons given in this book, I believe the parliamentary apology by Prime Minister Rudd in February 2008 was indulgent and unwise. In the short term, of course, the massive and favourable media coverage made it a public relations success for him and his government. It satisfied the millions of suburban voters who have always had goodwill towards Aboriginal people, who wanted racial reconciliation and an end to bad feeling over this issue. But in describing Aboriginal child welfare policies of the past as the "great stain" on the nation's soul, Rudd not only defamed a great many people from his own side of politics, but did no favour to Aborigines either. He added further fuel to the politics of permanent grievance on which the hard men of Aboriginal activism have long thrived. The apology confirmed Aboriginal people's core identity as victims of injustice rather than potential beneficiaries, like everyone else, of the prosperous, liberal, democratic, egalitarian society established here since 1788.

It is clear, however, that my views on the topic are very much in the minority, and are likely to remain so for some time. The above account from Tony Wright in the *Age* captured quite accurately the popular response. Throughout the country, there was a collective sigh of relief from the majority of white people at the discharge of what had felt like a national burden.

A small minority of whites, however, were anything but relieved. Among the members of Australia's intellectual culture, the failure of Rudd to use the term *genocide* or to offer any reparations remained burning issues. The philosopher Raimond Gaita insisted that academics, journalists and lawyers would not drop their demands:

Even if Kevin Rudd believes (as clearly he doesn't) that some of the Stolen Generations were victims of genocide, it would have been foolish for him to have said so on the day when he offered them a prime ministerial apology. It would have been unnecessarily offensive to many Australians who would understandably have been hurt as much as they would have been scandalised ...

It is, however, inconceivable that Aborigines and their fellow Australians will stop thinking for long about which concepts are necessary to describe their past truthfully. Discussion of genocide will then be unavoidable. It would be a "moral, intellectual and political disaster" if academics and others were to censor themselves because minds slam shut or to refuse to discuss outside academe whether the Aborigines were the victims of genocide.

Even though this book disputes all Gaita's other interpretations of this topic, what he says here is true. The charge of genocide does hurt and does scandalise most Australians. And all those white academics, journalists and lawyers who have supported the accusation are determined to persist with it, no matter what.

Aboriginal political leaders initially greeted the apology with high emotion. The visitors' gallery of Parliament House was

packed with Aboriginal identities, who gave the Prime Minister a standing ovation. Many, including Lowitja O'Donoghue, wept throughout his speech.

After the moment had passed, however, it is doubtful that the apology changed any Aboriginal minds at all. Later that morning, O'Donoghue and Aboriginal spokesman Patrick Dodson gave interviews to journalists, calling for a more material response. According to the Age:

Mr Dodson described the apology and Mr Rudd's speech as a watershed. 'The sincerity that he brought to that has moved many hearts of indigenous people across this country,' he said. But he added: 'Any group of people who have been treated badly under laws made legitimately by the Crown deserve to pursue compensation judicially, legally or politically and they deserve our support.'

Ms O'Donoghue, while declaring herself 'very proud' of Mr Rudd for keeping his promise to apologise, also took issue with the government over its refusal to compensate people taken from their families. And she warned that extra money to tackle indigenous disadvantage in areas such as health and education should not be a substitute for compensation.

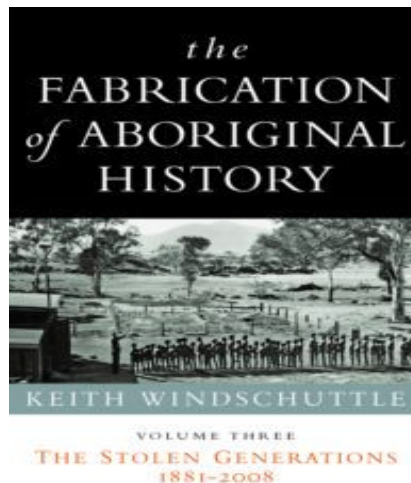
Other Aboriginal activists treated the event with cynicism. Gary Foley, one of the radical identities of the 1970s and now a historian and lecturer in indigenous studies at Victoria University, was interviewed by the *Melbourne Historical Journal*:

"How do you think the apology should be taught at universities?"

"I think it should be taught in Political Science classes as an example of the duplicity and deceit of politicians. And it should be taught in psychology classes in terms of how a nation appeases itself of its guilt. And it should be taught in drama school as a classic example of Australian political comedy. And it should be taught in driving school as a magnificent example of defensive driving and evasive tactics and manoeuvres. It should also be taught in kindergartens as a fairy tale."

Meanwhile, out on the streets where Aboriginal people congregated, some young men had little time for irony. The *Northern Territory News* reported:

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's national apology to the stolen generation has sparked a spate of racial violence in Darwin. Five people had to be admitted to hospital after one brawl. The Caucasian men were attacked by a group of 10 Aboriginal men, who demanded that their victims 'say sorry'. A 28-year-old Territory woman watched helplessly as her friend was king-hit and kicked to the ground outside a Darwin 24-hour eatery on Sunday morning. She said three men ran at them from across the road, when they looked at the group yelling at two women. 'They just started king-hitting him. They got him on the ground and then two others came over and started kicking him,' she said. 'They kept screaming that we were not sorry at all.'



*This is an edited extract from the introduction to **The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Volume Three, The Stolen Generations 1881-2008**, Macleay Press, \$59.95, 656 pages, published in December 2009.*

<http://www.quadrant.org.au/magazine/issue/2010/1-2/why-there-were-no-stolen-generations>

Dr Fredrick Töben informs Adelaide Institute of developments in his German matter via a letter he sent to the Australian Director of Public Prosecutions, Canberra.

**The Attorney-General's Department
CANBERRA ACT 2600**

20 January 2010

Re: Matter of Dr G F Töben and Federal Republic Germany

Dear Sir

1. I wish to advise you that as was the case a couple of years ago, the German Mannheim State prosecutor, Andreas Grossmann, is still trying to indict me for 'inciting racial hatred', this being the concept used to silence anyone who refuses to believe in the official version of the Holocaust-Shoah.

2. As I indicated to you then I was quite prepared to attend court but then my barrister of choice, Horst Mahler, had his practice certificate withdrawn, and there is no competent defence counsel in Germany who would risk defending me at the matters of law stage. It is at this level that any lawyer who too vigorously defends anyone will also be charged with an offence as it is deemed his mindset is getting too close, even embracing, Revisionist thoughts. Mahler himself has received a 12-year prison sentence because of his expressed opinions on what ails Germany.

3. Grossmann's last attempt to put me on trial failed when the European Arrest Warrant, which had me arrested and imprisoned in England for 50 days, was rejected by a London

court. The argument was that the arrest warrant was not specific enough as it entailed a mere ticking of boxes – and in my case two boxes were ticked: racism/xenophobia and cybercrime. The underlying reason for the arrest warrant's failure was that so-called Holocaust denial is an expressed opinion, and British Common Law does not, as yet, criminalise thoughts and publicly expressed opinions on this historical topic.

4. I enclose a copy of my book on this matter: *50 Days in Gaol. Dr Fredrick Töben's Global Battle for Free Speech.*

5. You will also note the book contains the alleged indictable material that make up the case against me at Mannheim.

6. I have now received via the German Consulate in Melbourne a copy of the indictment. I was requested to accept it as being served on me, or in the alternative to advise of my rejection of same, which then would enable the Mannheim prosecutor to send the material through your office to me. I have advised the German Consulate that I reject this kind of service of legal documents, and I now anticipate the prosecutor will forward the material to you for processing.

7. Please be advised of the following:

7.1 My Australian matter, which began in 1996 and ended before the Federal Court with my imprisonment for 3 months

on 13 August 2009, attempted to criminalize so-called 'Holocaust denial' as a racial matter.

7.2 It failed to materialise because Parliament refused to make it a criminal matter not to believe in the Holocaust.

7.3 However, in my case Court Orders were made in 2002 that attempted to silence me on transmitting anything per Internet that specifically dealt with the complex loosely labelled 'Holocaust':, namely, six million Jews were killed, systematically, and the murder weapon was a gas chamber.

7.4 This roundabout way of censoring historical debate is a little more sophisticated than the German method of directly interfering with historical research that criminalises dissenting opinions, then labels such 'hater', 'denier', 'antisemite', 'racist', 'Nazi', 'xenophobe', et al.

7.5 At no stage in these proceedings is factual truth permitted to be presented. In Germany Germar Rudolf, a chemist, presented his research in his books, *The Rudolf Report* and *Lectures on the Holocaust*. The books have been criminalized and any evidence declared inadmissible. After serving over three years in prison he was released last July. In March this year Ernst Zündel will be

released after spending five years in jail. Lawyer Sylvia Stolz is still spending time in prison, as are in Austria Wolfgang Fröhlich and Gerd Honsik, in the latter two cases the racist charge levelled against those who refuse to believe in the Holocaust dogma in Germany is changed and called 'revitalising/re-activating National Socialism'.

7.6 Note how the climate change orthodoxy has latched on to the denier concept and has now labelled reputable scientists, who disagree with the official version of events, as 'climate change deniers'.

8. I am intending to fly to Washington, there to launch my book, and for this trip I require an Australian Police Clearance. As this matter is not a criminal matter the Police Certificate has not recorded anything against me, and as the Americans only object to matters of moral turpitude and drug-related matters, I should receive permission to travel to the USA – as British historian David Irving has done recently, and he has a similar prison record to mine.

9. Please note that I no longer am the director of Adelaide Institute, and the material complained of by the German prosecutor was wiped from the Internet as part of my attempting to comply with the 13 May 2009 Federal Court of Australia court order when I deleted all material from the website.

10. Finally note:

10.1 My formal address for any service is not: PO Box 3300, Norwood SA 5067, but PO Box 77, Goroke Vic 3412.

10.2 My email address is: toben@toben.biz, and I assume we can expect the German Landgericht to send its material through per email attachment and hard copy. This is how the Federal Court of Australia matter was handled.

10.3 My telephone number is Mobile: 0417088217 – but note I have restricted access to telephone transmission here in country Victoria.

Submitted for your attention.

Sincerely

Dr G F Töben

Copy to Landgericht Mannheim and German Consulate, Melbourne.

The following is another one of those big con-jobs, as happened during the 1990s Adelaide War Crimes Trials where a witness identified the accused to be sitting in the public gallery – but that was an American tourist just visiting Adelaide and observing court procedures. The case never proceeded to prosecution stage!

Nazi death camp survivor recognises John Demjanjuk 04 Feb 2010

A Russian survivor of the Nazi death camp Sobibor has said that a man on trial for working at the death camp, John Demjanjuk, was definitely one of the guards.

John Demjanjuk is accused of being a guard at Sobibor camp in occupied Poland and aiding the murder of 27,900 Dutch Jews who were gassed during his alleged time there.

"I remember him, I remember them all," Alexei Vaitsen, 87, told Czech Radio. "He was a guard. I saw him leading a group of prisoners to work in a forest."

Mr Vaitsen, a Jewish veteran paratrooper who is seriously ill after several heart attacks, was shown a photograph of John Demjanjuk by a reporter. Mr Vaitsen is the first living witness to positively identify Demjanjuk, who is on trial in Munich in what is likely to be the last major case dealing with war crimes by the Nazi regime.

Demjanjuk, 89, claims that he was a prisoner of the Germans for the whole of the war and has not said a word since the trial began last month.

He was arrested, tried and sentenced to death in Israel 20 years ago but was cleared when new evidence surfaced.

"I'm glad he was put on trial," said Mr Vaitsen, who lost his entire family in the war and escaped from Sobibor after a rebellion in late 1943. "But can you really call that a trial when he refuses to communicate with the judge? "I would like a real trial for him, one that he couldn't escape again." Efraim Zuroff, chief Nazi-hunter at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Jerusalem, told Czech Radio the discovery was "great news" but said it had to be verified. Prosecution lawyers are using testimony from survivors to prove that if Demjanjuk was a guard at the camp, he would have played an active role in the mass killings there.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/7149046/Nazi-death-camp-survivor-recognises-John-Demjanjuk.html>

Lord Monckton is on the fringe: Barnaby Joyce The Age, January 20, 2010

Christopher Monckton, 3rd Viscount Monckton of Brenchley, the eccentric UK climate sceptic, is proving too hot for some of Australia's most prominent climate sceptics – including Barnaby Joyce. Joyce, who famously said that **climate change sceptics were being treated like holocaust deniers** and likened

environmental campaigners to eco-Nazis, believes Monckton is on the fringe of the debate and unhelpful to those who question human induced climate change. Monckton, an adviser to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, is about to embark on [an Australian](#)

[tour](#) with our very own climate sceptic celebrity Ian Plimer.

The tour is reaching most of Australia, except the Northern Territory and Tasmania, and [it will cost \\$100,000](#). That enormous sum is being underwritten by two semi-retired engineers in Noosa, John Smeed and Case Smit — and includes the \$20,000 stipend Lord Monckton has requested to do the 13-day tour.

Monckton has had his fair share of strange moments. One of his more obscure was proposing to quarantine all aids victims in the 80s (he has since said the idea is unworkable because the epidemic has grown so much it would be unfeasible).

But it is his scepticism of the science underpinning global warming that has returned him to the public's attention. Monckton not only promotes the usual gamut of solar radiation and hockey stick criticisms of the science, but also claims any global efforts to curb emissions is a plot to establishing a world government and give power to the World Bank.

Monckton also says that after the Berlin Wall fell, the communists needed another way to centralise power and have created climate change as their Trojan horse. Joyce told *Greenlines* this week that while he would listen to Lord Monckton when he is in town, people should not read much into it.

"Obviously I and my constituency have some doubts (about the science) but when you find yourself waltzing with the fringe you should take a step back," Joyce said. "Lot's of people from the fringe often take up causes and it can do more harm than good."

A spokesman for Opposition leader Tony Abbott said he would not meet with the Lord when he speaks at the National Press Club on February 3 in Canberra (it is a private function not as a formal speech on the Gallery's speaking roster).

On Wednesday conservative columnist Janet Albrechtsen [in The Australian wrote](#) that Monckton was an extremist in his language and is hurting the cause of those who want to ask hard questions of the science.

That is despite Albrechtsen's [column of October 28](#), which is devoted to Lord Monckton's global world government theory and demanding why the Rudd Government doesn't reveal what they are signing up to in Copenhagen.

"Monckton became aware of the extraordinary powers to be vested in this new world government only when a friend of his found an obscure UN website and hacked his way through several layers of complications before coming across a document that isn't even called the draft treaty," Albrechtsen wrote in the October opinion piece that you can find [here](#).

Well, American essayist and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson did say foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds.

Only Opposition Energy and Resource spokesman Nick Minchin was more positive about the Lord, telling *Greenlines* he listens to both side of the debate and would be very happy to meet him.

Lord Monckton begins his lecture tour in Sydney on January 26 with a luncheon at the Union Club.

Peter Hartung notes:

In the above article Barnaby Joyce is quoted as having stated that "**climate change sceptics were being treated like holocaust deniers**". If they are being treated like Holocaust deniers, then Climate Change Sceptics may as well be educated about the facts, and become Holocaust deniers, instead of being the pitiful lapdogs of Judaic/Democratic/Capitalistic propaganda.

Lord Monckton comes to Adelaide: Truth at Last - Exposed



On 4 February 2010 Peter Hartung, Director of Adelaide Institute, welcomes Lord Monckton to Adelaide, and presents him with a copy of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a 40-page introduction to the Holocaust Lies, by Richard Harwood.

Lord Monckton was very interested in the subject, and I am sure that this will be the start of a new intellectual adventure for him.

His lecture in Adelaide was attended by 600 people, who represented a very broad cross section of the community. He gave an extremely entertaining and charismatic talk, which factually demolished the official 'propaganda'. It looks like this is the end of the 'Global warming/Climate change' lies and quite likely the end of the current Australian Kevin Rudd government, together with the 'Copenhagen Climate Change Circus'.

Adelaide Institute supporters handed out many dozens of the pamphlets, *Did Six Million Really Die?* and were met in general with a very receptive audience.
