**Research Reports**

**Theses**

Victoria University

**Rob Bozinovski**, The Communist Party of Australia and proletarian internationalism, 1920-1956, PhD

**Rachael Calkin**, ‘Cracking the Stalinist Crust’: The impact of 1956 on the Communist Party of Australia, MA

**Rebecca Carter**, Women and peace activism in the 1950s, PhD

**Doug Jordan**, Conflict in the Unions: The Communist Party of Australia, politics and the trade union movement, PhD

**Craig McLean**, R.G. Casey and the Department of External Affairs: approaches to Asia and Southeast Asia, 1951-1960, PhD

Newcastle University:

**Ian Pfennigwerth**, A history of Australian Naval Intelligence, PhD 2005.


University of Melbourne:

**Jenny Hibben**, Shirley Andrews (a biography)

ADFA


Deakin University

**Peter Vlahos**, Malcolm Fraser: a Biography.

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**Research Interests**

**Wayne Reynolds**

Documentary history of the Australian signature and ratification of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty for DFAT.

A monograph and articles on a project: "Australia and the Coming War with Indonesia".


Coordinating the Security and Disarmament Commission of the International Peace Association's conference in Calgary Canada in July (25 papers in the commission dealing with nuclear issues, pre-emption, failed states, UN and globalisation). My paper is on Indonesian fragmentation and globalisation.

Presenting a paper in Jamaica in June on the Colombo Plan and Australian policy on Asia.

**David McLean**

United States and Australian policies in Asia during the Cold War; and Australian-American relations.

**Judith Keene** (University of Sydney), American POWs in Korea.
Research Interests (Cont.)

**Phillip Deery**
Continues research on a range of issues, with some focus on Science and the Cold War.

Currently, preparing a paper on Eric Ashby: A scientist in Russia for a conference jointly organised by the University of Chicago and the University of Melbourne (July 2006). See Conferences below for details.

**Frank Bongiorno**
Gave the Trevor Reese Memorial Lecture, Australia House, London on 10 January: ‘British to their Bootheels too: Britishness and Australian Radicalism’.

While in England also did some work on Crosland and Fabian Society Papers at LSE.


**Frank Cain**
Recently visited the archives in London and Washington to collect new material for ‘Australia's Cold War Wars’.

He contributed a paper to the conference at the ANU in Canberra on the 'Howard Decade'. His paper compared the manner in which Howard and Menzies used the powers of ASIO in their administrations.

David Low
Projects include:
- Colombo Plan
- Life of Percy Spender
- History in the hands of politicians.

Publications


Frank Cain, *Economic Statecraft During the Cold War: European Responses to the US Trade Embargo*, Frank Cass (now part of the Taylor and Francis group), London, late 2006.

For The Library


John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*, Allen Lane,2005.(Veteran historian updates his *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*,1997 which rejected revisionist idea that US was as much to blame as the SU.)


(Using new documentary evidence, Robert David Johnson and David M. Barrett examine the role Congress played in the Cold War. They challenge the popular image of a weak Cold War Congress, in which the unbalanced relationship between the legislative and executive branches culminated in the escalation of the U.S. commitment in Vietnam.)

(Mines the diplomatic materials in European archives, to offer a triangulation of foreign policy as it developed among French, British, and U.S. diplomats and policymakers. He also brings out the calculations of Vietnamese nationalists.)

David L. Roll and Keith D. McFarland, *Louis Johnson and the Arming of America: the Roosevelt and Truman Years*, 2005 (biography of the controversial lawyer and politician who was FDR's architect of industrial mobilization on the eve of WW II and Truman's embattled secretary of defence at the outbreak of the Korean War).

(Examining in detail the deliberations of the Japanese leadership immersed in squabbling over how to end the war with the emperor system intact, Hasegawa claims the atomic bombs were not the most decisive factor in Japan's decision to end the war. Only when the Soviets, jockeying with the United States for post-war influence in Asia, declared war and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria did the Japanese leadership capitulate to prevent falling under Soviet dominance. [Truman had been warned that the Soviet Union would interpret the use of the bomb as a threat, but went ahead, fueling the atomic arms race and the Cold War.]


(Millett traces the war’s origins to the post-liberation conflict between two revolutionary movements, the Marxist-Leninists and the Nationalist-capitalists. With the U.S.-Soviet partition of Korea following World War II, each movement, now with foreign patrons, asserted its right to govern the peninsula, leading directly to the guerrilla warfare and terrorism in which more than 30,000 Koreans died. Millett argues that this civil strife, fought mostly in the South, was not so much the cause of the Korean War as its actual beginning.)

**Journals**

*Cryptologic Quarterly*

*Studies in Intelligence*
Published by the Center for the Study of Intelligence, a dept of the US CIA. It publishes classified and unclassified articles (the latter are available on the internet).
Burgeoning Sector of Library: The Domestic Cold War Rages On in US
(Traditionalists v Revisionists v New Right)


And the historiographical conflict, now with explicit contemporary relevance, will continue. Publications are being spawned by the Bush Administration’s “Long War” against terrorism, as lessons are sought from Democracy’s “triumph” over communism in the Cold War.


CWIHP Publications

CWIHP Publication Index. Listing all the articles and documents published by CWIHP in its Bulletin, Working Papers, and e-Dossiers, the CWIHP Index is organized by publication and by Subject-Keyword.

The Index is available for download on the CWIHP website at www.CWIHP.org; follow the CWIHP Publications link.

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Balázs Szalontai, “Kim Il Sung in the Khrushchev Era: Soviet-DPRK Relations and the Roots of North Korean Despotism, 1953-1964”. Concentrating on the years 1953-64, this history describes how and why North Korea became more despotic, even as other Communist countries underwent de-Stalinization. For ordering information, contact Stanford University Press at www.sup.org.

Conferences
Australian Historical Association
Biennial Conference: 3-7 July, Canberra

Panel: Comparing Menzies and Howard
Mackerras, Comparison of the Menzies and Howard Electoral Strategies; Cain, ASIO, Comparing the Menzies Years and the Howard Years; Broinowski, Foreign Policies in the Menzies and Howard Years.

Panel: Charting the Influence of Anti-Communism

McArthur, “Pink Parsons” and the Prophet Motive: The ideology of “God’s Will” and the early Cold War conflict in Australia

Janiewski, Anti-Communist Missionary: Fred Schwarz, the Christian Anti-communism Crusade and the Imperial Politics of the Cold War

Reserve paper: Fischer A transnational approach to the comparative study of anti-communism

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An unfortunate clash of timing

The Melbourne Conferences on Soviet and Australian History and Culture
University of Melbourne, July 4-8 2006)

An extensive programme includes:
Fay Anderson, Controversy over the Soviet Union in the late 1940s.

Phillip Deery, Eric Ashby: A Scientist in Russia.

Roger Douglas, Brian Fitzpatrick and Manning Clark through the eyes of ASIO.

James Wagnorne, Brian Fitzpatrick and the Australian Council for Civil Liberties in the Post War Period.


The Cold War On ABC Radio National

Beginning on Sunday May 7th, ABC Radio National’s Hindsight program will broadcast a five-part documentary series on Cold War history.

Entitled Torn Curtain: The Secret History of the Cold War, the series was originally broadcast in February 2005, and has now been updated with a new episode on China and the Cold War, focusing on the ‘opening to China’ in the early 1970s.

This new episode will begin with Gough Whitlam’s visit to Beijing in July 1971 - just days before Henry Kissinger’s secret visit to China, which paved the way for the Sino-American rapprochement. In the last few years, much fascinating new material has emerged from the Nixon-Kissinger archives and Chinese sources on the background to Chinese-American détente, and the competition between China and the Soviet Union for supremacy in East Asia.

This program will re-examine the Whitlam visit and Australia’s recognition of China in 1972 in the larger context of what ‘we now know’
about this crucial juncture in Cold War history.

Details of the other episodes – on the ‘war scare’ of 1983, the case of Australian physicist Tom Kaiser and the Venona decrypts, Richard Nixon’s secret nuclear alert, and the Cold War as battle of ideas - can be found at http://www.abc.net.au/rn/history/hindsight/features/torn/

The programs will be broadcast on Hindsight on ABC RADIO NATIONAL on Sundays at 2pm, repeated Thursdays at 1pm

For further information call series producer Tom Morton on 02 8333 1391 or e-mail morton.tom@abc.net.au

Documents


Polish Archives Opened

ASSOCIATED PRESS Nov. 26, 2005 reported that Poland's defence minister signed an order that will give researchers access to most of the Warsaw Pact's top-secret archives, including decisions related to the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the Soviets 1979 plan for nuclear strikes in event of a NATO War.

The document will make almost all 1,700 volumes of files, currently held at the Defence Ministry archives, available through the state Institute of National Remembrance early next year. For more information and additional news links, visit the CWIHP website at www.CWIHP.org and click on the Cold War News link on the right side of the page.

Documents show Tonkin Gulf Intelligence "Skewed"

On December 1, 2005, after prolonged resistance, the largest U.S. intelligence agency, the National Security Agency declassified over 140 formerly top secret documents - histories, chronologies, signals intelligence [SIGINT] reports, and oral history interviews - on the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident. Included in the release is a controversial article by Agency historian Robert J. Hanyok on SIGINT and the Tonkin Gulf which confirms what historians have long argued: that there was no second attack on U.S. ships in Tonkin on August 4, 1964.

Hanyok's article provides a comprehensive SIGINT-based account "of what happened in the Gulf of Tonkin". Using this evidence, Hanyok argues that the SIGINT confirms that North Vietnamese torpedo boats attacked a U.S. destroyer, the USS Maddox on August 2, 1964, although under questionable circumstances.

The SIGINT also shows, according to Hanyok, that a second attack, on August 4, 1964, by North Vietnamese torpedo boats on U.S. ships did not occur despite claims to the contrary by the Johnson administration. President Johnson and Secretary of Defense McNamara treated Agency SIGINT reports as vital evidence of a second attack and used this claim to support retaliatory air strikes and to buttress its request for a Congressional resolution that would give the White House
freedom of action in Vietnam. Hanyok further argues that Agency officials had "mishandled" SIGINT concerning the events of August 4, and provided top level officials with "skewed" intelligence supporting claims of an August 4 attack.

Hanyok's article is part of a larger study on the National Security Agency and the Vietnam War, "Spartans in Darkness," which is the subject of a pending FOIA request by the National Security Archive.

Follow the link below for more information: [http://www.nsarchive.org](http://www.nsarchive.org)

More Vietnam Documents

The Digital National Security Archive has published the Archive's second collection on the Vietnam War, based on the most recent declassifications of Nixon and Ford administration documents, with detailed coverage of the Paris Peace negotiations, the Vietnamization program, the war in Cambodia, the 1972 Christmas Bombing, and the fall of South Vietnam.

Highlights of the new Vietnam collection include:

- Kissinger-Thieu meeting transcripts, August 1972 (including discussions in which Kissinger tells Thieu the U.S. will stand aside while he invades North Vietnam)
- Nixon-Thieu memoranda of conversation
- Kissinger-Xuan Thuy transcript, Paris Aug. 4, 1969
- Planning documents for Operation PRUNING KNIFE (DUCK HOOK) from 1969, contemplating massive bombings of North Vietnam
- NSC meeting memoranda
- Histories of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Search for Limited Nuclear Options, 1969-1974

("To Have the Only Option of Killing 80 Million People is the Height of Immorality" - Henry A. Kissinger).

Newly declassified documents detail U.S. nuclear war plan options, Nixon's and Kissinger's reactions to them, and their interest in making nuclear weapons more useable.

Declassified documents from the Nixon administration show that U.S. nuclear war plans included pre-emptive options for striking Soviet and Chinese nuclear forces. They also show President Nixon and Henry Kissinger reacting to the massive nuclear strikes embodied in U.S. war plans, by demanding more flexible options and plans for limited use of nuclear weapons.

Nixon and Kissinger sought alternatives to the massive Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) options which targeted up to 4000 nuclear weapons on Soviet military and industrial installations. During the 1960s, the SIOP had become a set of plans with five major pre-emptive and retaliatory options for massive nuclear strikes against the Soviet Union and other communist countries.

The massive SIOP attacks would have killed millions and Nixon and Kissinger were startled, even worried, by their scale when they first heard a SIOP briefing on January 27, 1969, only a week after the inauguration. Concerned that threats of apocalyptic nuclear attacks lacked credibility, during the years that followed, Kissinger sought plans for the limited use of strategic nuclear weapons. In this way, he wanted to avoid the "risk of our being paralysed in a crisis because of the lack
of plans short of an all-out SIOP response."

This recently released electronic briefing book documents the Nixon White House's search for useable nuclear threats. It also publishes for the first time Secretary of Defense's Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy (NUWEP) which provided guidance to war planners based on the new concepts of controlled escalation.

One of the studies in this briefing book includes data, as of 1971, on the nearly 13,000 U.S. nuclear weapons deployed overseas, with a breakdown of their regional locations (e.g. Europe, Pacific) and weapons types (see document 4, page 35).

Follow the link below for more information and to read the documents: http://www.nsarchive.org

[U.S. Unable to Penetrate Apartheid Regime's Nuclear Weapons Programme]

The U.S. intelligence community failed to penetrate the veil of secrecy surrounding the nuclear activities of South Africa's apartheid regime, particularly its nuclear weapons programme, according to documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and archival research, and posted on the Web on 13 March 2006 by the National Security Archive at George Washington University.

Included in the Archive posting are over thirty documents - many originally classified Top Secret/Codeword - produced by interagency groups, the CIA, and the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR). The documents were obtained by Archive Senior Fellow Jeffrey T. Richelson, while conducting research for his forthcoming book, Spying on the Bomb: American Nuclear Intelligence from Nazi Germany to Iran and North Korea (W.W. Norton).

The documents show that years after South Africa claimed that it had developed a new technique for uranium enrichment the U.S. was uncertain as to what it entailed. In addition, the documents show that in the 1980s the U.S. did not know the status of South African bomb development.

An interagency assessment does demonstrate that the Intelligence Community did, in 1977, correctly assess that while South Africa's entrance into the nuclear weapons club could be delayed, it could not be prevented. In 1993, President F.W. DeKlerk revealed that South Africa had, during the 1980s, built six nuclear weapons and was in the process of building a seventh when his government decided to halt the program and destroy the nuclear devices.

Follow the link below to read: "U.S. Intelligence and the South African Bomb." http://www.nsarchive.org

[Towards the End of the Cold War]

In 1985, the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union concluded their Geneva Summit, which became the first step on the road to transforming the entire system of international relations-although, unlike the summits of the
1970s, it did not produce any major treaties and was not seen as a breakthrough at the time. The movement toward the summit followed a change in the leadership in the Soviet Union. On March 11, 1985, the Politburo of the USSR Communist Party Central Committee elected Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev as its new General Secretary. This event symbolized the beginning of the internal transformation of the Soviet Union.

The National Security Archive has posted a series of newly declassified Soviet and U.S. documents which illustrate the depth and the speed of changes in 1985. Most of the documents were published for the first time.

Follow the link below for more information and to read the documents: http://www.nsarchive.org

New Cold War Centre

Center for the Study of the Impact of the Cold War on the United States

New York University has announced a new Center for the Study of the Impact of the Cold War on the United States. It will be offering dissertation and post-doctoral fellowships and a number of summer stipends over the next five years. The centre's mission is to encourage research on how the Cold War and the red scares shaped domestic political culture and foreign policy. It is particularly interested in proposals that deal with civil liberties, civil rights, academic freedom, political repression, and resistance. Other topics may include: gender relations, internal security, labour relations, foreign policy, and political economy. It also looks forward to supporting projects that see the central issue of these years as the U.S. response to revolutionary nationalism and decolonization in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

The centre is a joint project of Faculty of Arts and Science and the Tamiment Library, a special collection at NYU documenting the history of Labour and the Left. It encourages applications from scholars whose work draws on the collections of the Tamiment Library http://www.nyu.edu/library/research/tam.

This year the centre expects to offer one dissertation fellowship, one post-doctoral fellowship, and two summer stipends. Dissertation fellows will receive stipends of $20,000 for a nine-month academic year; stipends for post-doctoral fellows will be $40,000; and summer fellowships are $2,000 per month. One-semester fellowships will be offered at half of the above stipend. Health insurance is also available. Office space will be provided and all fellows will have a formal affiliation with New York University.

For more information applicants are encouraged to contact either Marilyn Young (Marilyn.Young@nyu.edu; 212-998-8610) or Michael Nash (Michael.Nash@nyu.edu; 212-998).

Teaching Resource

A new website on the cold war for high school teachers and students, www.coldwarfiles.org. The website is an interactive online cold war teaching resource, drawing upon the materials generated by the NEH funded Summer Institutes, incorporating access guides and lesson plans used and developed by the participants.

The LSE-GWU-UCSB Conference Essay Prize

The London School of Economics’ Cold War Studies Centre, the George
Washington Cold War Group of George Washington University, and the Center for Cold War Studies of University of California Santa Barbara, have announced the creation of a new prize, as part of their annual international graduate student conference on the Cold War.

The best paper presented at the event will be published in Cold War History, subject to all revisions required by the editors. The conference discussants will provide a first selection, and the final decision will be taken by the directors of the host institutions.

For more information about the conference please visit the Graduate Conference webpage (http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CWS/events/graduate_conference_06.htm)

**D (DEPARTURE) NOTICES**

**Alexander Nikolaevich Yakovlev** who died in Moscow, October 2005, aged 81, was probably the best known "architect of perestroika.” Soviet ambassador to Canada, then member of the Politburo, he was Mikhail Gorbachev's closest adviser.

Alexander Yakovlev rose through the Communist Party ranks to become one of the most vocal critics of the Stalinist past and an advocate of democratization in the second half of the 1980s. Recently released documents from the Yakovlev Collection of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) show the unprecedented scope of issues on which Alexander Yakovlev exerted influence within Soviet decision-making circles under Gorbachev.

A large collection of documents from the former Soviet bloc is available for research at the National Security Archive.  
http://www.nsarchive.org

**Lyenko Urbanchich** (1922-2006, Nazi propagandist and political powerbroker.)

One of a considerable number of post war immigrants who had been Nazis or sympathizers, but whose anti-communism gained them entry. Their extreme views intensified the Cold War polarisation in Australia. Urbanchich engaged in successful branch stacking in the Liberal Party, and strengthened its far right faction. His property at Kurrajong was used as a paramilitary training centre (see obit by Mark Aarons in SMH 4/3/06).

**Michael Rayner Thwaites, ASIO, Moral Re-Armament and the Australian Cold War Anti-Communist Crusade**

After war service in the RAN and a short time teaching English at the University of Melbourne, Michael Rayner Thwaites (1915-2005) was a career-long anti-communist spook. Recruited to the infant ASIO in 1950 by the newly arrived second Director-General, Colonel Charles Chambers Fowell Spry, Thwaites played a central role in the defection of Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov in 1954.1

In his memoir, *Truth Will Out: ASIO and the Petrovs* (1980), Thwaites recounts how in England, just before and just after the Second World War, he had been introduced to and become a fervent adherent of the Moral Re-

1 *Truth Will Out*, 18.
Armament movement (MRA)\(^2\) the Christian spiritual revivalist creation of the expatriate American Lutheran pastor, Dr Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman (1878-1961). Without the Thwaites name being publicly revealed, Eddie Ward MHR managed to have the Menzies Government acknowledge that an ASIO officer with MRA connections had been the ghost-writer of the Petrovs’ *Empire of Fear* (1956).\(^3\)

In *Truth Will Out*, Thwaites informed his readers that when he signed on with ASIO his interests and inclinations were in academic and literary directions. He was, however, being unduly modest. He had expressed views publicly about Australia’s fate in a lecture, “Australia - Cooperation or Chaos: Fundamental Concepts of Democracy”, delivered to the Melbourne Junior Chamber of Commerce on 21 June 1948. In this thinly-disguised MRA recruitment pitch, Thwaites made plain that Christianity was the sole road to democracy, that his audience was either for this revelation or against it, and that it governed his every thought and action.

**The MRA Mission: The FOUR ABSOLUTES, “reconciliation” and “God Control” etc etc**

Claiming that in the early 1920s God had revealed the truth to him, Buchman’s proselytizing aims were far from modest - it was a lifelong quest to remake the world, no less.\(^4\) Buchman’s creed of God-control demanded rigid adherence to something he called absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love.

The emphasis on the *absolute* was a clear pointer to the unrelenting zealotry which drove Buchmanism and which, through its active adherent Michael Thwaites, played a direct role in propelling state-sanctioned anti-communism in Cold War Australia.

In his exposé, *The Mystery of Moral Re-Armament: a Study of Frank Buchman and His Movement* (1964), Tom Driberg documented Buchman’s truly remarkable evangelical talents. MRA rapidly spread around the globe.\(^5\) Buchman personally brought God’s revealed message to Australia as early as 1924 and, arriving here almost unknown, is said to have met Prime Minister S M Bruce and his predecessor, W M Hughes.\(^6\) The Buchmanite mission was well established in Australia by the mid-1930s.

The prominent Melbourne Methodist cleric, the Rev C Irving Benson, was so taken with Buchman that, in his book, *The Eight Points of The Oxford Group: An Exposition for Christians and Pagans* (1936), he likened Buchman’s influence on Christendom to that of John Wesley.

“I thank heaven for a man like Adolph Hitler”

In his early crusading days, the religious huckster and opportunist in Buchman got the better of him especially in the ingratiation department. Despite

\(^2\) *Truth Will Out*, 26. MRA was originally called The Oxford Group to the chagrin, it is said, of the followers of John Henry Cardinal Newman’s Oxford Movement. In the UK, MRA has recently re-branded itself, “Initiatives of Change”:\[http://www.iocf.org\] – and in Australia; “MRA - Initiatives of Change”.

\(^3\) *Parl Debs (HReps)*, 24 October 1956, 1795.


\(^5\) For the MRA riposte, see J P Thornton-Duesbery, *The Open Secret of MRA: An Examination of Mr. Driberg’s ‘Critical Examination’ of Moral Re-Armament* (1964) and the more recent hagiographical treatment, Garth Lean, *Frank Buchman: A Life* (1985).

\(^6\) Lean, *op cit* n 5, 119-120.
repeated attempts to explain it away, Buchman never did quite live down his vouchsafing to *The New York World-Telegram* (in late 1936) the startling appraisals that he “thank[ed] heaven for a man like Adolph Hitler” and that Heinrich Himmler was “a great lad.”

That Buchman might not be the purveyor of some brand of absolute honest truth seems never to have dawned on such devoted camp followers as M R Thwaites.

**MRA and the Cold War: Of all enemies, the one most “diabolical”**

As the Cold War emerged, Buchman quickly pressed MRA’s fanaticism into the tailor-made anti-communist crusade. An Armageddon-like crisis was looming and MRA stood ready to do the Almighty’s work in extirpating all vestiges of (Godless) communism—what Thwaites called the menace of “diabolical Bolshevism”.

*Truth Will Out*, which is nobly dedicated, “TO ALL DISSIDENTS FOR TRUTH”, stands for the proposition that, if the whole truth of the Petrov affair has yet to be exposed, nothing that may emerge in the future will alter the orthodoxy.

Thwaites illustrates this by reminding readers that Prime Minister Menzies first heard Petrov’s name on 10 February 1954 when Spry told him of the possible defection. Absolute honesty should have dictated that readers be informed that at least twice in 1953 Spry had named Petrov in written progress reports to Menzies—even if (which, arguably, beggars belief) the PM had forgotten.

Thwaites was not the only Buchmanite who rose to prominence in ASIO. His colleague there in 1950-1953, Raymond Whitrod (1915-2003), had joined MRA in the mid-1930s. And there were probably others. Whitrod’s interest had waned because he was put off by the way individual conscience was swamped by MRA’s manipulative group mentality (of which, more later).

The fact that such a committed follower of the MRA cause (and self-confessed counter espionage neophyte) as Thwaites rose so swiftly in ASIO would surely have cheered Buchman—if, as seems highly likely, he knew of it. It also seems highly likely that Thwaites met Buchman when in 1956 he visited Australia again (for two months and this time leading a party of no less than 30 acolytes—but too many spinsters in the bachelor Buchman’s entourage for Ray Whitrod’s liking!)

Two days before Buchman’s arrival in Melbourne (from Fremantle) on the *Surriento* on 4 February 1956, the prominent commentator, Peter Russo, used his regular column in *The Argus* to take a big swipe at Buchman referring explicitly to his hucksterism and reminding the newspaper’s readers of Buchman’s mid-1930s pungent pro-Nazi pronouncements.

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7 Driberg, 64-65.
8 *Truth Will Out*, 20.
9 As embodied in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage* (1955) (or, for that matter, *Empire of Fear*).
12 *Truth Will Out*, 17.
13 NAA CRS B78, Item Buchman/Frank Nathan Daniel; Whitrod, *op cit* n 12, 52.
Remarkably, Buchman’s visit to Melbourne coincided with the fact that the American “hot gospeller” and “faith healer”, Oral Roberts, was being run out of town.\(^{15}\)

Buchman’s second Australian visit had been promoted by Wilfred Kent-Hughes, Arthur S Warner, and other Tories and led to Buchman being feted by Victorian Premier Henry Bolte.\(^{16}\) According to his biographer, Buchman went to Canberra where he met Dr H V Evatt, Mr. Kim E Beazley MHR (of whom more later) and the Governor-General, Sir William Slim. However, “Prime Minister Menzies was not interested to meet him”.\(^{17}\) In Canberra, Buchman had a session with acolytes in which he engaged in one of MRA’s favourite group initiation techniques: the absolutely honest group confession, each participant being asked to reveal to the group his absolutely honest assessment of the other participants.\(^{18}\)

As its anti-communist crusade picked up pace in the 1960s, MRA’s Australian recruitment activities were skilfully put to work on impressionable undergraduates. MRA promoted a beguiling and evangelising abstraction labelled “reconciliation”. When the word “reconciliation” was introduced into the conversation by some kindly cleric or layperson, the occasional worldly-wise undergraduate would be put on guard that an MRA recruitment/conversion pitch was underway.

Regrettably, some over-zealous MRA recruiters engaged in decidedly un-Christian techniques. The absolute honesty/absolute purity angle peddled by Buchman required prospective Buchmanites to fess up to adolescent sexual peccadilloes. The homosexual tendency seems to have been a particular MRA aversion. Having induced a vulnerable trusting young person to disclose sexual sinfulness, some MRA recruiters were prepared to stoop to emotional blackmail such as threatening to expose the youngster’s sexual activities if the recruit declined conversion to the cause.\(^{19}\)

The Kim Beazley the Elder/MRA/M R Thwaites connection

MRA exerted itself wherever there was an opportunity to re-make the world including, especially, the unions. Thus, through MRA, Thwaites enjoyed close personal relations with what, at first blush, might seem a highly improbable site of sympathetic politico-religious endeavour in those far-off Cold War days, namely, the Waterside Workers’ Federation.

The MRA links also crossed the formal party boundaries. The leading MRA adherent in the federal parliamentary ALP in years gone by was Kim Beazley the Elder, the member for the House of Representatives seat of Fremantle.

\(^{15}\) This curiosity in the annals of intolerant small-town/small-minded Melbourne had been vigorously boosted by the soon-to-fold (January 1957) Argus; see David Edwin Harrell Jr, Oral Roberts: An American Life (1985), 73-79, 179, 259.

\(^{16}\) A A Calwell was among the guests at a reception at the Melbourne Town Hall who were said to be disappointed because the honoured guest did not speak: The Argus, 8 February 1956.

\(^{17}\) Lean, op cit, n 5, 484. R G Casey and Harold Holt seem to have been MRA sympathisers: NAA CRS M2684, Item 34; CRS M4294, Item 7. W C Wentworth, also displayed a willingness to lend ministerial assistance to MRA in its activities with the aboriginal community, and attributed pro-MRA sympathies to his parliamentary colleague, John Grey Gorton: NAA CRS A463, Item 1971/466. See text at n 23 below.

\(^{18}\) Lean, op cit, n 5, 494.

\(^{19}\) Personal sources. I hasten to emphasise that I am not attributing any such despicable conduct to Michael Thwaites.
(1945-1977). In 2001, Beazley described MRA in the following way:

“It’s a discipline of the conscience, of thinking first thing in the morning and then writing your thoughts down of what you’re going to do. Is it absolutely honest? Is it absolutely pure? Is it absolutely unselfish? Is it absolutely loving? If a thought of mine meets those four tests it probably doesn’t come from me. It may very well come from God.”

Referring to Beazley’s close MRA connections, in April 1971, W C Wentworth wrote to his ministerial colleague, Sir Alan Hulme, seeking a political favour, namely, the expenditure of $6,000 of taxpayers’ money, to support the proposed attendance of six aboriginals (in a delegation of 100 Australians, no less) at an MRA world conference at its HQ in Caux, Switzerland.

Through their shared MRA commitment, Beazley the Elder was a great mate of M R Thwaites. In his Foreword to Truth Will Out - a paean of praise for the author and for ASIO - Beazley the Elder observed in Aesopian terms that “The vehemence of propaganda against [ASIO] is a tribute to its effectiveness”. In the early 1970s, the Thwaites/Beazley career paths intersected in Canberra.

The Thwaites Commonwealth Parliamentary Library sinecure
Thwaites retired from ASIO in early 1971. Later that year, the McMahon Government appointed him to the position of Assistant Parliamentary Librarian in Canberra. The Thwaites obituaries suggested, axiomatically as it were, that praise should be heaped on the government for such an outstanding appointment. In truth, it was a profoundly provocative appointment: a gift by the McMahon Government under the Old Mates Act.

In the House of Representatives in October 1971, after the appointment had become known publicly, the Liberal member for Latrobe (John Jess) asked the Speaker, Sir William Aston, about it. Having said that Thwaites was “far above any other candidate for the position”, Aston was subjected to interjections by the ALP Members for Bendigo (David Kennedy) and Oxley (W G Hayden) about the successful candidate’s library and research experience.

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20 Beazley was elected to fill the seat vacated by John Curtin. His biographer records that Curtin was subjected to the MRA treatment by his staff member, Fred McLaughlin: David Day, John Curtin: A Life (1999), 481.


22 NAA CRS A463, Item 1971/466.

23 Truth Will Out, 8. FitzSimons op cit n 22 at 7 dates Beazley the Elder’s formal MRA involvement from 1951. I infer that Beazley was aware of MRA from an earlier time.

24 Truth Will Out, 11. Without explanation (but plausibly, in my view) one of his obituarists asserts that Thwaites was disappointed to be passed over for promotion: Michael Smith, The Independent, 15 November 2005.

25 I declare an interest. This section draws on my direct observations as a member of the Library’s Research Service in 1972 and other personal sources.

Best here to let *Hansard* speak for itself:

“The Speaker – *The work that he is doing in the Parliamentary Library is parallel with the work which he has done for the last 20 years.*

*(Opposition members interjecting).*”\(^{27}\)

Any suggestion that Thwaites brought meaningful leadership to the Parliamentary Library is risible. The dominant reason why the Library was highly valued by members and senators alike on both sides of what was then a clear partisan fence was that the chief librarian, John Brudenall, was such a gifted, hard-working and a consummate professional librarian.

L W Maher

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\(^{27}\) *Parl Debs (HReps)*, 7 October 1971, 2016-2017.