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SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER  
MR. E.G. WHITLAM, Q.C., M.P.,  
AT THE UNVEILING OF THE EUREKA FLAG,  
BALLARAT FINE ART GALLERY,  
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NO DOUBT MY OPPONENTS WOULD SAY THAT THE CHIEF LESSON OF EUREKA IS A SIMPLE ONE: THE GOVERNMENT WAS NO MORE POPULAR WITH MINING INTERESTS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY THAN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS TODAY. NEVERTHELESS, I HAVE ALWAYS THOUGHT IT AN AUSPICIOUS COINCIDENCE THAT THE ELECTION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL LABOR GOVERNMENT FOR 23 YEARS SHOULD HAVE OCCURRED, ALMOST TO THE DAY, ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE EUREKA STOCKADE. NOT THAT MY PARTY CLAIMS ANY MONOPOLY OF PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT, ANY EXCLUSIVE AFFINITY WITH THE SYMBOLS OF AUSTRALIAN HISTORY. EUREKA HAD LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DO WITH THE FORMULATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY. IT HAD LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DO WITH THE GREAT MOVEMENT FOR FEDERATION - THE MOVEMENT THAT CAME TO FRUITION HALF A CENTURY AFTER EUREKA IN THE EMERGENCE OF AN AUSTRALIAN NATION. YET WE IN THE LABOR PARTY - WOULD BE LESS THAN HUMAN IF WE DID NOT SEE IN THE EVENTS OF EUREKA - SAD AND REMOTE AND ISOLATED AS THEY WERE - A SYMBOL OF THE PRIDE, THE INDEPENDENCE OF SPIRIT, THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS AND THE STRONG NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS FOR WHICH LABOR HAS ALWAYS STOOD, AND WITH WHICH THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS ESPECIALLY IDENTIFIED.

I HOPE YOU WILL FORGIVE ME FOR STRIKING THIS PARTISAN NOTE. IT IS A TRUISM, PERHAPS, THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF AN HISTORICAL EVENT LIES NOT IN WHAT HAPPENED BUT IN WHAT LATER GENERATIONS BELIEVE TO HAVE HAPPENED. ON THAT SCORE, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT OF EUREKA'S IMPORTANCE TO THE LABOR PARTY AND TO AUSTRALIA. HISTORY IS A PROCESS OF COLLECTIVE REMEMBRANCE; AND BEYOND QUESTION THE EVENTS OF 3 DECEMBER 1854 PERSIST IN THE MEMORY AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF OUR PEOPLE - IN THE WORDS OF ONE WRITER - AS "THE PIONEER AND SUPREME AUSTRALIAN EVENT IN THE SPECTACULAR SENSE." DR. EVATT, A GREAT STATESMAN AND A PERCEPTIVE HISTORIAN, WENT SO FAR AS TO DECLARE THAT "AUSTRALIAN DEMOCRACY WAS BORN AT EUREKA". I ACCEPT THAT JUDGEMENT, AND HERE, IN THE CITY AND BIRTHPLACE OF EUREKA, I PROCLAIM THE CENTRAL AND ENDURING RELEVANCE OF THOSE EVENTS TO OUR OWN DAY, TO THE GREAT REFORMS IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON WHICH THIS COUNTRY IS EMBARKED, AND THE CREATION OF THE MORE JUST AND HUMANE SOCIETY TO WHICH MY GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED.

YOU HEAR MUCH THESE DAYS OF THE "NEW NATIONALISM". OF ALL THE SLOGANS APPLIED TO MY GOVERNMENT, I THINK IT IS THE ONLY ONE OF WHICH I CANNOT CLAIM THE AUTHORSHIP. LIKE A GREAT NUMBER OF THINGS, IT WAS INVENTED BY THE PRESS. YET I AM HAPPY TO ADOPT AND AFFIRM IT. THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO SEE SOMETHING SINISTER OR THREATENING IN THE IDEA OF A "NEW NATIONALISM", SOME DISTURBANCE TO OUR WAY OF LIFE, THE OVERTURNING OF RECEIVED IDEAS AND SETTLED TRADITIONS, THE BREAKING OFF OF OLD FRIENDSHIPS. THAT IS NOT WHAT WE INTEND THE NEW NATIONALISM TO MEAN.

RATHER THAN DISCARD OUR AUTHENTIC TRADITIONS, WE WANT TO RESTORE AND INVIGORATE THEM. RATHER THAN BREAK OFF OLD FRIENDSHIPS, WE WANT TO FORM NEW ONES - FRIENDSHIPS THAT WILL ENHANCE OUR NAME AND REPUTATION IN THE WORLD AS A GOOD FRIEND, A CONCERNED AND HELPFUL PARTNER IN OUR REGION AND BEYOND. RATHER THAN OVERTURN THE TRUE VALUES OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY, WE WANT TO RESURRECT AND FOSTER THOSE VALUES. THE LABOR PARTY, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, HAS NEVER HAD ANY DOUBT ABOUT WHAT THOSE VALUES WERE. THEY WERE, IN TRUTH, IDENTIFIED AND PROCLAIMED AT EUREKA - JUSTICE, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, FRATERNITY, THE INSTINCT FOR FAIR PLAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE. EGALITARIANISM - BY WHATEVER NAME WE CALL IT - IS AT THE HEART OF <sup>THE</sup> AUSTRALIAN TRADITION.

INTANGIBLE AS THESE VALUES ARE, THEY HAVE A VERY REAL MEANING FOR THE LABOR PARTY. THEY ARE CLEARLY EXPRESSED IN THE PLATFORM OF THE PARTY AND IN THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT. ANYONE READING THE PLATFORM WILL BE STRUCK BY THE EMPHASIS ON "AUSTRALIA", THE "AUSTRALIAN NATION", ON NATIONAL GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS. ALONE AMONG THE PARTIES WE AFFIRM THE SUPREMACY OF AUSTRALIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE WHOLE NATION AND ITS TERRITORIES. ANYONE WHO HAS STUDIED THE RECORD OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE COMING TO OFFICE WILL RECOGNISE THIS NATIONALIST SENTIMENT AS THE GREAT BINDING THEME OF ALL OUR MAJOR DECISIONS AND INITIATIVES.

AS A PHILOSOPHY, A MODUS VIVENDI FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT, THE "NEW NATIONALISM" BRINGS TOGETHER A GREAT NUMBER OF DIVERSE STRANDS AND ATTITUDES AND AMBITIONS. IT MEANS, THE GREATEST POSSIBLE MEASURE OF AUSTRALIAN CONTROL OVER OUR INDUSTRIES AND RESOURCES. IT MEANS AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY - NOT ONE WITHOUT ALLIES, BUT ONE WITHOUT OBSESSIONS, WITHOUT DISTORTIONS, WITHOUT SUBJECTION TO THE IDEOLOGIES OR FOLLIES OF OTHER POWERS. IT MEANS THE CREATION OF A ROBUST AND THRIVING ECONOMY BY WHICH THE TALENTS AND SKILLS OF ALL AUSTRALIANS CAN BE FULFILLED. IT MEANS STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPING AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRIES, INCLUDING RURAL INDUSTRIES, TO MAKE THEM MORE RESILIENT AND COMPETITIVE IN A CHANGING WORLD. IT MEANS THE FULLEST PARTICIPATION OF AUSTRALIANS IN DECISIONS INVOLVING THEIR OWN DESTINY. IT MEANS THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATIONAL ESTATE - OUR HISTORIC BUILDINGS, AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT. IT MEANS THE PROTECTION OF ABORIGINAL CULTURE AND TRADITIONS AS THE ORIGINAL AND MOST AUTHENTIC EXPRESSION OF AN AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY. IT MEANS THE CULTIVATION OF VITALITY AND CREATIVENESS IN THE ARTS, IN ORDER TO IMPART TO AUSTRALIAN LIFE A VIGOROUS AND DISTINCTIVE INTELLECTUAL IMPETUS.

THERE IS NOTHING COARSE OR INTOLERANT OR XENOPHOBIC ABOUT THIS KIND OF NATIONALISM. IT DOES NOT MEAN CLOSING OUR SOCIETY TO BENEFICIAL IDEAS FROM ABROAD. AN AUTHENTIC AUSTRALIANSIM CAN READILY ACCOMMODATE FOREIGN INFLUENCES AND FOREIGN CULTURES, JUST AS WE HAVE PROSPERED FROM THE POST-WAR PROGRAM OF IMMIGRATION. THEY WERE MIGRANTS, AFTER ALL - IRISH, EUROPEAN, AMERICAN - WHO PROVIDED THE BACKBONE OF THE EUREKA RISING. NOR DO I CARE FOR THE ARGUMENT THAT A "NEW NATIONALISM" IS OUTMODED OR EVEN DANGEROUS IN A WORLD THAT HAS SUFFERED TOO MUCH FROM NATIONALISTIC HATREDS AND PASSIONS AND STRIVES ONLY FOR PEACE AND SECURITY BASED ON

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. NO GOVERNMENT IS MORE COMMITTED THAN MINE TO INTERNATIONALISM IN THIS HIGHEST SENSE. YET IF WE LOOK AT THE NATIONS, EXCLUDING THE MAJOR POWERS, THAT HAVE ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION THE MOST - INDIA, CANADA, THE SCANDANAVIAN COUNTRIES - WE FIND THEY ARE NATIONS WITH A SECURE AND DISTINCTIVE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF THEIR OWN. ECHOES AND SHADOWS, SATELLITES AND VASSALS ARE NOT FORCES FOR PEACE AND CO-OPERATION: THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE THE FIRST VICTIMS WHEN PEACE AND CO-OPERATION ARE OVERTHROWN.

DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN LAST YEAR, I ANNOUNCED THAT A LABOR GOVERNMENT WOULD OFFICIALLY PROCLAIM A NEW AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM. THIS YEAR A COMPETITION WAS HELD TO SEE IF ANYONE COULD PRODUCE BETTER WORDS AND MUSIC THAN THE SONGS WE HAVE ALREADY. THE INTERESTING THING ABOUT THAT EXERCISE WAS NOT THE QUALITY OF THE ENTRIES - THERE ARE VERY FEW PEOPLE WHO CAN COMPOSE GOOD WORDS AND MUSIC - BUT THE QUANTITY. THERE WERE MORE THAN 1300 ANTHEMS. GIVEN THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED, THAT WAS A CONSIDERABLE AND HEARTENING RESPONSE. THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE WANT A NATIONAL ANTHEM OF THEIR OWN - AN ANTHEM THAT TRULY REFLECTS THE CHARACTER AND TRADITIONS OF OUR PEOPLE. NEXT YEAR WE SHALL HAVE SUCH AN ANTHEM. THERE IS NOTHING EXCESSIVE OR JINGOISTIC IN THE PROPOSITION THAT AUSTRALIA SHOULD NO LONGER BE WILLING TO SHARE A NATIONAL ANTHEM WITH ANOTHER COUNTRY.

I CONGRATULATE THOSE WHO HAVE PRESERVED AND RESTORED THIS HISTORIC FLAG. IT IS FITTING THAT IT SHOULD REMAIN HERE IN BALLARAT, IN THIS GALLERY, AS A RELIC OF EUREKA. OUR PAST IS DEFICIENT IN TURBULENT EVENTS, IN THE CIVIL CONVULSIONS AND UPHEAVALS THAT PROVIDE FOR OLDER CIVILISATIONS A FOCUS FOR NATIONALISTIC FERVOUR AND POPULAR EMOTION. THOSE SYMBOLS AND RITUALS WE HAVE, LIKE OUR PARLIAMENTARY AND CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM ITSELF, DERIVE FROM A QUIESCENT COLONIAL PAST. I AM NOT ONE TO ARGUE, AS SOME ROMANTICS DO, THAT TRUE NATIONHOOD MUST SPRING FROM THE AGONY AND SUFFERING ENDURED BY FORMER GENERATIONS. YET <sup>IT</sup> IS IN THE NATURE OF THINGS THAT AN EVENT LIKE EUREKA WITH ALL ITS ASSOCIATIONS, WITH ALL ITS POTENT SYMBOLISM, WILL ACQUIRE AN AURA OF EXCITEMENT AND ROMANCE, AND STIR THE IMAGINATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE.

DR. JOHNSON REMARKED THAT PATRIOTISM IS THE LAST REFUGE OF A SCOUNDREL. HE WAS WELL AWARE THAT PATRIOTISM CAN BE CARRIED TO EXTREMES, AND THAT NATIONALISM CAN BE CARRIED TO EXCESS. THERE IS NEVERTHELESS A KIND OF NATIONALISM THAT EVERY COUNTRY NEEDS. IT IS A BENIGN AND CONSTRUCTIVE NATIONALISM. IT HAS TO DO WITH SELF-CONFIDENCE, WITH MATURITY, WITH ORIGINALITY, WITH INDEPENDENCE, OF MIND. IF AUSTRALIA IS TO REMAIN IN THE FOREFRONT OF NATIONS, IF <sup>IT IS</sup> TO RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO BE A SECOND-RATE OR IMITATIVE SOCIETY, <sup>IT IS</sup> DETERMINED TO BE A TRUE SOURCE OF POWER AND IDEAS IN THE WORLD, <sup>IT IS</sup> GENEROUS AND TOLERANT AS A NATION RESPECTED FOR OUR GENEROSITY AND TOLERANCE THEN I BELIEVE THAT SOMETHING LIKE THE "NEW NATIONALISM" MUST PLAY A PART IN OUR GOVERNMENT AND IN THE LIVES OF US ALL.