

Malcolm Fraser

Guide to Archives of Australia's Prime Ministers

*by Elizabeth Masters and Katie Wood
includes biographies by Margaret Simons*

National Archives of Australia
and
University of Melbourne Archives

Other publications in the National Archives of Australia's *Guide to Archives of Australia's Prime Ministers* series

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This guide to archives of Malcolm and Tamie Fraser has been jointly produced by the National Archives of Australia and the University of Melbourne Archives. It includes selected archives on Malcolm and Tamie Fraser from the National Archives of Australia, University of Melbourne Archives and several other institutions, but it is not necessarily a complete or definitive listing of all relevant material. The assistance of those cultural institutions that compiled listings for this guide is gratefully acknowledged.

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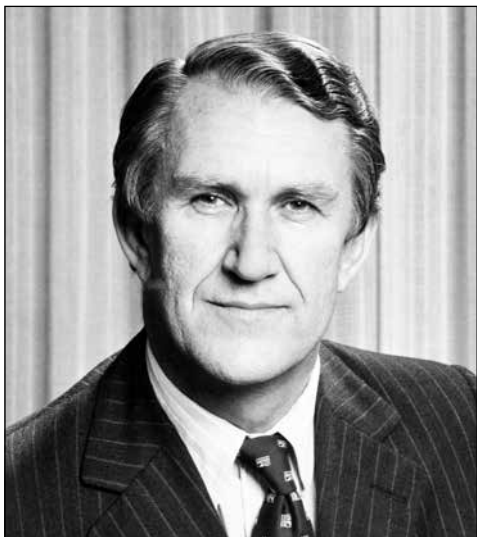
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Abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
AC	Companion of the Order of Australia
AK	Knight of the Order of Australia
ANU	Australian National University
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
CA	Commonwealth Agency
CH	Companion of Honour
CP	Commonwealth Person
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
EEC	European Economic Community
GCMC	The Order of St Michael and St George – Knight/Dame Grand Cross
GCVO	The Royal Victorian Order – Knight/Dame Grand Cross
GDP	Gross domestic product
KCMG	The Order of St Michael and St George – Knight Commander
KCVO	The Royal Victorian Order – Knight Commander
KStJ	Knight of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem
KT	The Order of the Thistle – Knight
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
MP	Member of Parliament
NAA	National Archives of Australia
OBE	The Order of the British Empire – Officer
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PC	Privy Councillor
PNG	Papua New Guinea
QC	Queen’s Councillor
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
UMA	University of Melbourne Archives
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VIP	Very important person

Introduction



Malcolm Fraser, 1978. NAA: A6180, 6/1/78/2

This guide to the archives of former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser has been jointly produced by the National Archives of Australia and the University of Melbourne Archives (UMA). It will assist researchers in finding records relating to both Malcolm and Tamie Fraser in the National Archives, UMA and other collections.

It is the sixth volume to be published in the National Archives' *Guides to Archives of Australia's Prime Ministers* series and is a companion publication to the *Australia's Prime Ministers* website (primeministers.naa.gov.au).

Malcolm Fraser

Malcolm Fraser was Australia's twenty-second Prime Minister, serving from 1975 until 1983. He began his term as caretaker Prime Minister on 11 November 1975, after Governor-General Sir John Kerr dismissed Gough Whitlam's Labor government.

The Fraser Coalition government was returned with the largest landslide of any federal election a month later, and remained in office until 1983. Despite this electoral success, the constitutional crisis of 1975 left a legacy of controversy that marred Fraser's prime ministership.

Fraser had an important influence on the changing relations of countries within the Commonwealth of Nations, and on shaping Australia's relations with the countries of East and South-East Asia. Although economic rationalism was introduced in policy debate during Fraser's term of office, his government reflected more traditional principles in financial management and fiscal policy.

Before becoming Prime Minister, Fraser had spent 10 years as a backbencher in the government of Robert Menzies. He then became Minister for the Army in 1966, under Harold Holt, and was also a minister in the governments of John Gorton and William McMahon.

Tamie Fraser



Malcolm and Tamie Fraser at a political event, c. 1958. UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24519

Tamara (Tamie) Fraser grew up in western Victoria, where her family had a grazing property. The couple married in 1956, and by the time Fraser became Prime Minister in 1975, they had four children aged between nine and 17 years.

Tamie Fraser undertook a number of political roles during her husband's prime ministership. When Malcolm was ill during the crucial election campaign in December 1975 after the dismissal of the Whitlam government, she deputised for him.

Although Tamie claimed she hated electioneering work, she was good at it and was regarded by Liberal Party campaign managers as an asset. Commenting on her role to an *Age* newspaper reporter on 5 December 1975, she said: 'The hardest thing to take is that you are public property'. She nevertheless played a prominent role in the 1975, 1977, 1980 and 1983 federal election campaigns.

National Archives of Australia

The National Archives preserves and cares for a diverse archival collection documenting the relationship between the Australian Government and the Australian population – a rich resource for the study of Australian history, society and people.

The collection spans almost 200 years of Australian history. Its main focus is material documenting federal government activities since Federation in 1901. However, the National Archives has significant holdings of nineteenth-century records relating to functions transferred by the colonies to the federal government at the time of Federation.

The National Archives also has a rich collection of records created by Australia's prime ministers, ministers, leaders of the Opposition and shadow ministers. Further information about these is available on the National Archives' website and RecordSearch collection database (naa.gov.au).

In addition, the *Australia's Prime Ministers* website, managed by the National Archives, has a wealth of information about Australia's prime ministers and their spouses (primeministers.naa.gov.au).

University of Melbourne Archives

The UMA was established in 1960 to collect and preserve the records of the University of Melbourne, as well as the records of Victorian businesses for the purpose of historical research. In the early 1970s, the UMA broadened its collecting scope to include the archives of trade union and other labour-related bodies, professional associations, and community, women's, peace and political organisations. Complementing these organisational collections are the personal papers of individuals prominent within these organisations and fields.

The UMA now holds more than 18 kilometres of records, dating as far back as the 1790s and reflecting a broad range of endeavour within the state. The collections are generally available for research by academics and the public. The UMA website allows researchers to search all of the collections, and view finding aids and digital images of collection items (lib.unimelb.edu.au/collections/archives).

The UMA is also recognised for its Malcolm Fraser Collection, which amounts to around 120 metres of personal and political records. The Malcolm Fraser Collection website contains photographs, speeches, articles, digitised documents, timelines and other information relating to Fraser and the UMA collection (unimelb.edu.au/malcolmfraser).

Records in two locations

In 2004, Fraser designated the University of Melbourne as the official custodian of his personal papers. Records that are designated as Commonwealth under the *Archives Act 1983* remain at the National Archives. The two collections are thus complementary – with the National Archives collection focused on Fraser's ministerial and prime ministerial functions, and the UMA collection on his pre and post-parliamentary career and his time in opposition – although there is integration between the two.

Structure of this guide

This guide is divided into two major parts, the first relating to Malcolm Fraser and the second to Tamie Fraser. Each contains a short biography written by journalist Margaret Simons, and is followed by descriptions of relevant archival records prepared by the authors – Elizabeth Masters and Katie Wood – and other contributors.

First listed are records in the National Archives collection, then those in the UMA collection and finally those in other institutions, including the National Library of Australia, museums, state archives, university archives and other collecting organisations.



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser at the Dispatch Boxes during Question Time, Parliament House, Canberra, 1979. NAA: A8746, KN5/6/79/11

The archival records of Fraser include official Commonwealth government records, correspondence and private papers. Records about him include photographs, memorabilia, oral histories, films and other audiovisual material.

This guide does not include listings of all extant archival records on Malcolm and Tamie Fraser. The National Archives collection alone contains more than 370 shelf kilometres of records, and therefore only a proportion of those likely to be of interest to readers have been identified and included. The guide is intended to direct researchers towards the types of series and documents where they might find relevant items.

Record descriptions

Each entry in the National Archives section of this guide describes a group of records maintained together as a series. A series consists of items, which are often individual files (or sometimes volumes, sets of cards or photographs, for example), received into custody by the National Archives from a creating government agency or person. Series usually consist of many items, but occasionally they may consist of just a few or even a single item.

The description for each series gives its content and function. The entry may conclude with a select list of items from the series. In some instances, particular series have been found to contain relevant material on multiple aspects of Fraser's career and have been referred to more than once.

Entries in the UMA section of this guide cite the UMA reference number, the item and box number where relevant, and a description of the item.

Sample descriptions of National Archives and UMA records appear on pages 4 and 5.

Sample description of National Archives of Australia entries

- | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET SUBMISSIONS (WITH DECISIONS), 1975–83 | A12909 |
| 2 | Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472) | |
| 3 | Quantity: 51 metres (Canberra) | |
| 4 | This series comprises Cabinet submissions received in the Cabinet Office during the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Fraser Ministries – from 23 December 1975 to 4 February 1983 – and decisions made by Cabinet in response. | |
| 5 | Implementation of party policy on Aboriginal Land Rights, 1976 | A12909, 265 |
| | Submission No. 265; Decisions 506 and 896 | |
| 6 | In April and May 1976, Cabinet decided the Commonwealth would have paramount control over Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory but would work with the NT Legislative Assembly to achieve its policy aims. It authorised the drafting of legislation to give Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory land rights, including establishing an Aboriginal Land Commissioner and land councils, protecting sacred sites, preserving existing non-Aboriginal rights on Crown land transferred to Aboriginal ownership, and collecting royalties for mineral rights. | |

Key

- 1** This line gives the series title and date range of the records that make up the series. The series number is shown on the right-hand side. A series is the organisational arrangement used by the National Archives to control and manage records. It may contain one or more items. Some series may contain hundreds or thousands of items.
- 2** This entry shows the agency or person that created the series, and the date range when the series was created or recorded. The CA (Commonwealth Agency) and CP (Commonwealth Person) numbers are unique identifiers allocated by the National Archives to each agency or person. This number can be used to retrieve more information about the agency or person and the records they created from the National Archives' RecordSearch collection database.
- 3** This line shows the total volume of records in the series. In some cases only a few items within a series will relate to the topic, but in other instances the entire series will be devoted to it. The location of the National Archives' office where the series is held is also shown.
- 4** This paragraph gives a brief description of the record series.
- 5** This entry shows the title given to an item within the series. The title is usually applied by the person or agency creating the record. The date of the item contents is included at the end of the title. The item's series number and identifying number appear on the right-hand side. These numbers must be quoted when requesting a copy of, or access to, a record.
- 6** Where included, this paragraph provides further information on the item.

Sample description of University of Melbourne Archives entries

1	MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION	2006.0001
2	Quantity: 1 metre	
3	This series comprises miscellaneous correspondence maintained by Fraser during his second term as Minister for Education and Science, and ceases shortly before he became Leader of the Opposition. It covers a range of subjects including the <i>Little Red Schoolbook</i> , the Protection Commission, education and abortion.	
4	Mr Fraser – personal correspondence, 13 October 1944 – 18 December 1974	item 25 part 1, box 4
5	Correspondence from Victorian MLA Ian Smith to Senator Don Jessop seeking support for Fraser's leadership bid, 20 November 1974.	
Key		
1	This information gives the collection title and reference number (on the right-hand side) for the particular set of records. The UMA Malcolm Fraser Collection includes private papers that were originally organised by, and held at, the National Archives. Where this is the case, the UMA has retained the order of the documents originally imposed by the National Archives, but has given each former series a distinct reference number. Material that was received from Fraser has been ordered according to the UMA's standards. The size of the sets of records varies from one item to thousands.	
2	This line shows the total volume of records in the set. In some cases only a few items within a set will relate to the topic, but in other instances the entire set will be devoted to it.	
3	This paragraph gives a brief overview of the record set.	
4	This line shows the title and date range of an item within a set. On the right is the item number and the box number, if relevant. The item numbering is not uniform among different sets of records. The UMA has sought to retain the original number of the item where the material was transferred from the National Archives or Fraser's office. When identifying material, the specific format of each item number should be observed.	
5	Where included, this paragraph provides further information on the item.	

Accessing records

National Archives of Australia

Access to records in the National Archives is open to all, subject to provisions of the Archives Act.

The National Archives records described in this guide are listed in the RecordSearch collection database. It is accessible online (naa.gov.au) and in all National Archives reading rooms in capital cities. Indexes and inventories of records, providing item lists for some series, are also available in National Archives reading rooms.

To view original records listed in this guide, a researcher will need to visit the National Archives reading room in the location where the records are held. However, much research can be undertaken online by using RecordSearch, where many digitised records can be viewed and requests to view other records can be submitted.

Access to archival records is governed by the Archives Act, which gives a right of access to most Commonwealth government records once they reach the open period. The open period was reduced from 30 to 20 years following amendments to the Act in 2010. This change to the open period took effect in January 2011 and is being phased in over 10 years.

Records in the open period are available for public access unless they contain information that falls into certain exemption categories defined in section 33 of the Archives Act. Before the National Archives releases records for public access, they are examined to ensure they do not contain exempt information. Most records (98 per cent) are wholly released for public access, while 1.75 per cent are released with some exempt information deleted. The information withheld from public access falls into two broad areas: sensitive personal information, and information about the security of the Commonwealth and its residents.

Most access examination is completed within a month but it may take up to 90 days to examine some files as consultation with other government agencies is often required. The National Archives will inform researchers if delays are expected.

More information on accessing records is available in Fact sheet 10 – Access to records under the Archives Act, and Fact sheet 11 – Viewing records in the reading room, available at naa.gov.au.

University of Melbourne Archives

Access to the records and reference service at the UMA is available to all researchers, not just university students and staff. Some material is restricted and the condition under which it is restricted varies. Some may be viewed once the researcher has sought permission, others are under embargo for a specified period of time. To inquire about access to restricted collections, contact the UMA reference service.

Most of the Malcolm Fraser Collection at the UMA is listed on the online database. For specific requests, it is necessary to include the reference number as well as the item and box number.

Other institutions

Inquiries about gaining access to records held by institutions other than the National Archives and the UMA should be directed to the institution concerned.



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser on a visit to the Torres Strait Islands, 1976. NAA: A8281, 25/11/76/51

Citing the records

The correct citation of archival records is important, both when requesting the records and when referring to them in published works. Using proper citations will help staff locate records more readily and will assist other researchers to find the material.

The correct form of citation for records held by the National Archives is: 'National Archives of Australia' followed by a colon and a space, the series number followed by a comma and a space, and then the item control symbol. An example is: *National Archives of Australia: A2443, 3*.

'National Archives of Australia' may be abbreviated to 'NAA', provided the full name has been used in the first citation. Further details about correctly citing records from the National Archives collection are available in Fact sheet 7 – Citing archival records, available at naa.gov.au.

The correct form of citation for records held by the UMA is: 'University of Melbourne Archives', followed by the collection name, accession number, item and box number, and a description of the item. For example: *University of Melbourne Archives, Malcolm Fraser Collection, 2006.0017, item 25 part 1, box 4, letter from Ian Smith to Don Jessop, 20 November 1974*. 'University of Melbourne Archives' may be abbreviated to 'UMA'.

Correct citations for other institutions should be checked with the relevant institution.

1 Malcolm Fraser



Malcolm Fraser, 1976.
NAA: A6180, 29/4/76/11

This short biographical essay was written by journalist Dr Margaret Simons who co-authored, with Malcolm Fraser, *Malcolm Fraser: the political memoirs* published by The Miegunyah Press in 2010.

Malcolm Fraser has been one of the most controversial and possibly most misunderstood of Australia's prime ministers. He was commissioned as caretaker Prime Minister on 11 November 1975 following the supply crisis and the dismissal of the Whitlam government. This was one of the most turbulent and divisive periods in Australian political history. Yet Fraser was elected weeks later, on 13 December, with a record majority and a 29-seat turnaround against the Australian Labor Party in the House of Representatives and a majority in the Senate.

Because of the way in which he came to power, and the causes he had until then championed, Fraser was seen at the time as a firm right-winger and Gough Whitlam's opposite. With the perspective of history, it is clear that in many ways Whitlam and Fraser were similar. Continuity

between their governments included concern for the rights of Indigenous Australians, including land rights, the pursuit of open government and human rights. On foreign policy, Fraser was a Cold War warrior and strong defender of the US alliance; yet like Whitlam he advocated an independent Australian foreign policy, and he made clear that the Whitlam initiatives bringing Australia closer to China and the Asian region were bipartisan. Fraser was one of our most active prime ministers on the world stage, making Australia a leader in the battle to end apartheid in South Africa – an agenda he continued to champion in his life after politics. It was also the Fraser government that brought the end of the White Australia Policy into practical effect.

Whitlam and Fraser differed most sharply on economic management, with Fraser advocating restraint and cuts after the big spending period of Whitlam. Even here, though, Fraser was not by today's standards an advocate of small government. He believed in a strong role for an interventionist government. Nor was he an economic conservative, as some have claimed. A reading of the archival record makes clear that he and his staff can take much of the credit for the groundwork of the financial deregulation pursued by the Hawke–Keating governments in the 1980s and 1990s.

Fraser the Prime Minister is perhaps best seen as a transitional figure between the Australian settlement¹ and the modern era. Another key to understanding his role in public life is as an activist – prepared to force a crisis when he believed it necessary, and rarely concluding that the right thing to do was nothing. The supply crisis of 1975 is the best known, but not the only, example.

The early part of Fraser's career was driven by anti-communism and his belief that an expansionist Soviet Union represented the main threat to individual liberty. These factors motivated his entry into politics, and later his vigorous support for Australia's role in the Vietnam War. Yet he was a classic liberal – on the liberal wing of a political party that combined liberal and conservative thinking – and this became clearer in his post-political career, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

From the 1990s onwards, Fraser has been associated with causes more commonly seen as left wing, including Aboriginal rights and a compassionate approach to asylum seekers. In 2009, this led him to

resign from the Liberal Party, claiming that it had betrayed its liberal ideals. Fraser himself has always claimed that he has not changed – that the concerns that have driven him have always been the classic liberal values of individual liberty and the rule of law. The archival record, from his earliest public statements as a young candidate to the inner workings of his Cabinet, largely supports his contention.

Family and early life

Malcolm Fraser was born on 21 May 1930 during the Great Depression and raised at Balpool-Nyang, a remote property on the Edward River in the NSW Riverina. In later life he attributed his shyness, abrasiveness and social awkwardness to this solitary, although reasonably happy, early childhood.

Balpool-Nyang came into the family as part of the legacy of Fraser's paternal grandfather, Sir Simon Fraser, to whom the family owed its wealth and social position among the establishment families of the nation. A Canadian Scot, Simon Fraser arrived in Australia in 1853 at the age of 21, and made his money contracting for roads, bridges and railways. He formed the Squatting Investment Company with others, and bought properties all over the west of Queensland and down into New South Wales. Simon Fraser was deeply involved in the politics of the time, first as a member of the Victorian Legislative Assembly and later as a participant in the Australasian Federal Convention of 1897–98. He ran for election to the first Senate and topped the state poll in Victoria. In 1906 he stood for re-election as an anti-socialist. He was knighted in 1918, shortly before his death as a result of bronchitis at the age of 86.²

Less well known is that Malcolm Fraser also had politics on his mother's side of the family, although this heritage played little part in his awareness. Una Fraser's father, Louis Arnold Woolf, was born in New Zealand and was at least partly Jewish – the son of a South African émigré. In Australia he married Amy Booth, a third-generation Australian whose grandparents had helped found the town of Milton on the NSW south coast. Una Woolf was raised in Perth, where her father worked as an accountant. In the elections for the first Senate in 1901 Louis Woolf ran as a candidate endorsed by the Australian Free Trade and Liberal Association, one of the many liberal organisations that was a precursor to the modern Liberal Party. He was unsuccessful.³ There is some evidence that Woolf suffered from anti-Semitism, and it seems that his daughter was sensitive to the issue.⁴ She suppressed the fact of her Jewish heritage, and Malcolm Fraser found out this aspect of his family history only in later life.⁵



Malcolm, Neville, Una and Lorraine Fraser at Balpool-Nyang station, c. 1943. UMA, 2007.0053, OSBA/637



Malcolm Fraser during his time at Oxford, c. 1951. UMA, 2007.0053, OSBA/648

Malcolm Fraser's father, John Neville (always known as Neville), was born in 1890, the youngest son of Simon Fraser's second marriage to Anna Bertha Collins, daughter of Queensland pioneer and squatter John Collins. Anna Fraser was also one of the best known and most progressive charity workers of her time. Neville Fraser was educated at Melbourne Grammar, Trinity College at the University of Melbourne, and then Magdalen College, Oxford. He fought in World War I, enlisting with the British, before returning to Australia and the life of a farmer.⁶

Neville Fraser was involved in local politics in the Riverina, serving on the local shire council at Wakool. Later, after moving to the Western District of Victoria in 1943, Neville Fraser was also involved in clandestine anti-communist movements that were a feature of the time. He did not involve his son in these activities, but Malcolm Fraser shared his father's deep suspicion and fear of communism.

Young Malcolm had a weak chest and nearly died of pneumonia at the age of eight, after which he was sent to Tudor House School in the Southern Highlands of New South Wales, known for its clean air. During this time, Fraser's parents sold Balpool-Nyang and bought the property at Nareen in the Western District, with which Fraser was identified throughout his prime ministership. The young Fraser was not told until after the sale that the Balpool-Nyang property was on the market. In later life, he described the day he heard about the sale as the worst of his life. He remained at Tudor House between the ages of 10 and 13, and was then educated at Melbourne Grammar before travelling to Oxford, and his father's old college of Magdalen.

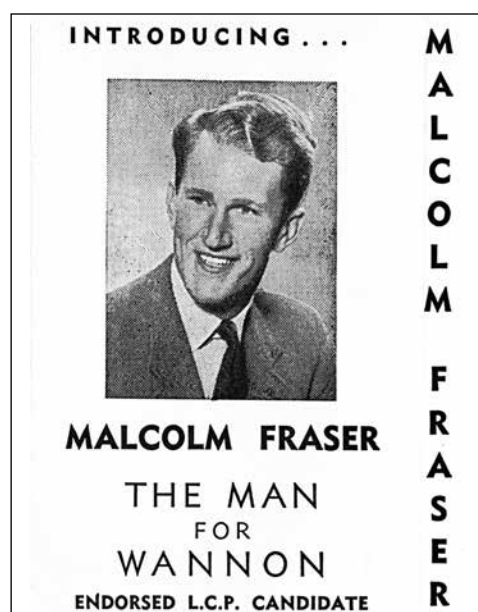
It was at Oxford, Fraser was later to say, where he learned to think. He completed a PPE – a degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics. His academic results were not notable, but his essays and university notebooks show that he engaged deeply with the works of the classic liberal philosophers.⁷ He also wrote an enthusiastic piece about the work of John Maynard Keynes, an economist he continued to admire throughout his career. It was also at Oxford that Fraser became aware of the post-war 'enlightenment' – the early years of the United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund. He returned to Australia in 1952 determined to do more than succeed his father as the owner and manager of Nareen.

Entry into politics

Malcolm Fraser's home electorate of Wannon was in 1952 held by Labor. The Liberal Party candidacy was about to be declared vacant. A Fraser family friend, Claude Austin, was a leading member of the local branch of the Liberal Party, and encouraged and coached Fraser to stand for pre-selection. In his speech to the pre-selectors, delivered on 11 November 1953, Fraser declared that anti-communism was his core motivation for wishing to enter politics. He asserted that to counter the working man's attraction to the 'false god' of communism, Liberals must not be Tories nor rely 'upon a negative' opposition to socialism, but must engage in:

... a liberal crusade ... converts can only be made by the example of their own actions ... I want to play some part in this. I am young and would like nothing better than to devote a lifetime to this end.⁸

To his own surprise, he won pre-selection against more experienced candidates. He went on to contest the 1954 election, in which the Menzies government suffered a small swing against it and lost five seats. He gained a regular spot on the local radio station, and began to give short Sunday night addresses under the title *Our Australia*. With very few breaks, he was to keep these up until his retirement from Parliament in 1983. The transcripts of the radio talks provide a close insight into the young man's political thinking, with many of the concerns of his later years also present in these early talks.⁹



Federal election publicity for Malcolm Fraser, 1955. UMA, 1985.0148, box 134

Fraser did not win Wannon in 1954, but the vote was extremely close – only 17 votes separated him from the winning candidate. He won the election of December 1955 with the redistribution of preferences, and subsequently converted Wannon into a safe Liberal seat, winning it at every election he stood for until retiring from Parliament in 1983.

Early parliamentary career

Fraser's early parliamentary speeches included further advocacy for high levels of immigration, admiration of Keynes, and pleas for western nations to open up trade barriers in the interests of the developing world. If the problems of world trade and global poverty were not solved, the Soviets and communism would take advantage of the resentment in poor nations and freedom would be imperilled, he said. The early speeches also reflect one of the big themes of his later career – faith in the British Commonwealth as a positive influence in the world. Australia, he said, should be a bridge between England and America.¹⁰

It was in 1959 that the first evidence of Fraser's abhorrence of racism – one of the abiding concerns of his public career – appeared on the public record in speeches dealing with the future of Papua New Guinea. Fraser spoke again on racism, and against apartheid in South Africa, in the wake of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Prime Minister Menzies' view was that apartheid was an internal matter for South Africa. Fraser thought differently, arguing in his radio addresses and in Parliament that 'the great principle of human rights, that all men are born equal and have an inalienable right to their place in the sun, no matter what their color, race or creed' outweighed concerns about interfering in another country's affairs, and justified international action.¹¹

A key event in Fraser's career was his trip to the United States in May 1964 as the recipient of a grant from the US Government intended to provide foreign parliamentarians with insights into US policy formation. He met and was briefed by the leading political figures of the time. The experience added to his conviction that Australia must play a role in the developing conflict in Vietnam.¹²

Fraser at this time was also involved in the establishment of the Australian Conservation Foundation. Through Claude Austin he had met a group of enthusiasts, chief among them the CSIRO scientist Francis Noble Ratcliffe. Fraser's main role was to persuade the Treasurer, Harold Holt, to grant the foundation tax exemption.

Ministerial career

It was just over a decade before Fraser left the backbench. When Harold Holt replaced Robert Menzies as Prime Minister, Fraser got his break. He was appointed Minister for the Army in January 1966, not long after the November 1964 re-introduction of conscription, a policy he strongly supported. Fraser's experience as Minister for the Army, and later Minister for Defence, led him to become disillusioned with the US alliance, in particular the way the superpower treated its Australian ally, often neglecting to inform it of key decisions. However, both as a Minister and Prime Minister, Fraser regarded unity with the United States in the face of the communist threat as essential. Much later, he came to regret the Vietnam War, declaring it a mistake.

A significant Fraser initiative – and one that was to have a big role in later events – was his establishment in April 1967 of the Australian Civil Affairs Unit to provide the South Vietnamese with welfare, building programs and medical assistance. In one of his radio addresses to his electorate,

Fraser spoke about 'the other war ... the fight against ignorance, sickness and poverty', which he said was as real as the casualties on the battlefield. The practical assistance being given by troops to enable the Vietnamese people to improve their standard of living 'may ultimately be the measure of the success of the Australian commitment'.¹³ Four years later, it was Fraser's commitment to Civic Action that formed the backdrop to the first major crisis of his political career.

Following Holt's drowning in December 1967, Fraser supported John Gorton for the prime ministership and was rewarded with his first Cabinet post as Minister for Education and Science. The two issues that dominated his time in the portfolio were state aid for independent schools and the growth of tertiary education. In August 1969 Fraser announced that rather than granting aid to independent schools on the basis of need, he would distribute the money across the board, with the grants being determined purely by the numbers of students. Fraser justified this on the basis of classic liberal notions of freedom of choice,¹⁴ although in later life he claimed that concern not to stir up anti-Catholic sectarianism was also a motivation.

A preoccupation of Fraser's time in this portfolio was promoting the teaching of Asian languages in schools. It was also during this time that he became the first politician to refer to Australia as a 'multiracial society' – probably the first time the notion of multiculturalism had been referred to in an Australian parliament. Fraser used the word 'multiculturalism' itself later that year in a speech where he argued that love of, and loyalty to, Australia were in no way incompatible with differences in culture and affection for the homeland.¹⁵

By 1969, Fraser was being written up by some journalists as a future prime minister.¹⁶ Meanwhile Gorton was vulnerable, having almost lost the October 1969 election. The relationship between Gorton and Fraser was strained. They disagreed fundamentally over issues to do with states' rights, with Fraser believing the states were a necessary check on federal power. One of the controversies that focused these disputes included disagreement over whether the states or the Commonwealth should control the continental shelf. Fraser also believed that Gorton expected uncritical support, which he was not prepared to give him. However, Gorton was re-elected as leader with Fraser's support after the 1969 election. Fraser was rewarded with the post of Minister for Defence.



Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, takes a close look at a Fifth Battalion Company outpost during his visit to the Australian Task Force in Vietnam, 1966. NAA: M1382, 5



John Gorton's Ministry on the steps of Parliament House, Canberra, with Malcolm Fraser at rear right, c. 1968. UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24556

By now public support for the Vietnam War had waned and the moratorium marches had begun. The US policy was now 'Vietnamisation' of the war. The emphasis was on training and encouraging the Vietnamese to defend themselves, so that the United States could extricate itself. Fraser had the task of trying to recalibrate Australia's defence policy to meet both the realities of what the United States was doing, and his own understanding of what was needed and what was right. He differed from Gorton in believing that 'forward defence' and engagement in the region were essential to Australia's long-term security interest. Gorton was less inclined to engage with the region on issues of defence, and this led to more disputes and differences with Fraser.

The relationship between the two men broke down in May 1970, after Gorton demanded support from his minister over states' rights issues. However, the final showdown between the two men came over Civic Action in Vietnam. A cable leaked to an ABC journalist appeared to suggest that the Army was winding up Civic Action without Fraser having been consulted. The result was a confrontation between Lieutenant-General Thomas Daly, Chief of the General Staff, and Fraser. The crisis came over a newspaper article that alleged Daly had told Gorton that Fraser was being disloyal to the Army.¹⁷ Gorton had been given the opportunity to deny the allegation, and had failed to do so. Fraser concluded he had no option but to resign. His resignation speech, on Tuesday 9 March 1971, was one of the most severe pastings ever delivered to an Australian Prime Minister by one of their own side:

The Prime Minister, because of his unreasoned drive to get his own way, his obstinacy, impetuous and emotional reactions, has imposed strains upon the Liberal Party, the Government and the Public Service. I do not believe he is fit to hold the great office of Prime Minister, and I cannot serve in his Government.¹⁸

Gorton was finished. The next day he called a Liberal Party meeting and there was a motion of confidence in his leadership. The vote was tied. Gorton resigned. William McMahon was elected the Liberal Party leader and became the new Prime Minister. Fraser had played a decisive role in bringing Gorton down, and made lasting political enemies.

Fraser went to the backbench and used his time to engage in reflection on his core political philosophy. Among other contacts, he met and corresponded with Bob Santamaria, the Catholic activist. He also worked on a new defence policy in collaboration with academics and other thinkers. Fraser made

speeches and wrote articles that stand out as statements of liberalism and its expression in the 1970s, including the Alfred Deakin Lecture of July 1971, delivered just five months after he had brought Gorton down, which contains the 'life wasn't meant to be easy' phrase that for the rest of his career many saw as summing up his character and political attitudes. Properly understood, though, the Deakin lecture was a speech about the pragmatic yet idealistic approach demanded by liberalism:

We must be particularly aware of the great weaknesses of man's idealism which is to forget the frailty of the human race, to believe that man is something that he is not and so construct a view of society that can only exist in the mind. We can only draw reality from our idealism when we can accept that while we strive for perfection, we will not reach it in this world nor our sons after us. Recognition of this truth should soften the radical, bring tolerance to the fanatic, temper the extremes of love and hate. But it will not make our vigilance or struggle any the less necessary.¹⁹

One of the most significant products of Fraser's reflections was a shift in his attitude to China. In his early speeches about Vietnam he had blamed China more than the Soviet Union for provoking and funding insurgency and war. He had seen China as a communist threat equivalent to that posed by the Soviet Union – and not really distinct from it. Now he had a quite different view. He said that Australians should ask themselves how much of China's policies were motivated by communist ideology, 'and how much of Chinese policies would be founded in China's past and often tragic history?' China had no cause to love any of the great powers, he said, 'least of all the Soviet Union'.²⁰ In his attitude to China, and in some other things, Fraser was closer to Gough Whitlam and the Labor Party than to his own side of politics, but because he still supported the Vietnam War he was seen as reactionary by both sides of politics.

On 20 August 1971, Fraser once again became Minister for Education and Science. This period saw him make big increases in expenditure for education. Meanwhile, the government was in trouble. Whitlam as Leader of the Opposition was dominating the popular imagination and the Parliament; and Prime Minister McMahon was increasingly a figure of ridicule.

On 2 December 1972, 23 years of Liberal–Country Party rule came to an end with the election of the Whitlam government. Billy Snedden replaced McMahon as Liberal leader. Fraser became Shadow Minister for Primary Industries, then Shadow Minister for Industrial Relations. He was unsuccessful in getting the post he would have preferred – Foreign Affairs.

Over the next two years, as Snedden struggled with the leadership and lost the snap election of 1974, Fraser began jockeying for the position. Following an unsuccessful challenge to Snedden's leadership in November 1974, on 21 March 1975 Fraser was elected Liberal Party leader by a convincing 37 to 27 votes.

Leader of the Opposition

Although Billy Snedden had already explored the option of blocking supply, Malcolm Fraser said at first he would not be holding the threat of an election over the government. The Senate was 'primarily a house of review – and apart from exceptional circumstances should not frustrate, certainly not on a purely obstructionist basis'. He left open the possibility that if the government became 'reprehensible' the Opposition might have to 'use whatever power is available to it'.²¹ After the death of a Labor Senator from Queensland and his replacement by an anti-Labor Senator, the Opposition had the numbers to block supply in the Senate.

The story of his time as Leader of the Opposition is largely about how Fraser came to believe that the government had indeed become so 'reprehensible' that the Opposition had a duty to act.

Fraser agreed with much of the Whitlam agenda, but there were parts to which he was implacably opposed. Most important, there was economic management – increases in taxation and a salary and wages policy that, Fraser said, had contributed to what was by early 1975 the highest levels of inflation ever known in Australia. There was runaway government spending, squeezing out private investment.

Key to the liberal idea of individual freedom, said Fraser, was the principle that so far as possible people should have a choice over how to spend their income. Free enterprise was inseparable from other kinds of freedom, and Gough Whitlam threatened free enterprise. When Bill Hayden delivered his Budget in August 1975, most commentators in the media were mildly congratulatory. Hayden had acknowledged a need to slow the growth in public expenditure. Fraser was less sanguine. He said in his radio address to his electorate:

... that [Hayden] should win the praise from commentators merely for identifying the problem while still failing to take steps to remedy it is a paradox easily explained by the low esteem in which this government is now held, and the low expectations people have of it.²²

Fraser also criticised Whitlam for his lack of compassion towards refugees from Vietnam following the fall of Saigon. With harrowing pictures of the invasion of Saigon filling the evening news, Fraser told his electorate that the Whitlam government had to act. Australia should be prepared to take 'some thousands of refugees, adults and children'.²³

It was the loans affair, in which the Whitlam government sought to borrow vast sums of money for infrastructure development through shady international intermediaries, that triggered Fraser's decision to block supply, with the final straw being the forced resignation of Minister Rex Connor – the latest in a recent string of ministerial resignations and sackings. Shadow Cabinet made the unanimous decision to block supply on 15 October 1975.²⁴

What followed was one of the most extraordinary periods in Australia's political history, with Whitlam exploring all avenues to hang on to government, and Fraser holding his senators to the line, although the archival record reveals that several of his colleagues had serious doubts about his tactics and tried to dissuade him from his course. Crucial was Fraser's reading of the character of Governor-General Sir John Kerr, whom Fraser was convinced, correctly, would act to resolve the crisis. Another critical factor was the strong alliance between Fraser and Doug Anthony, Leader of the National Country Party and a friend since both were elected to Parliament in their twenties.



Vietnamese refugees board a plane for Australia, 1979. NAA: A12111, 2/1979/46A/28

Kerr sacked the Whitlam government on 11 November 1975, and appointed Fraser as caretaker Prime Minister. An election was announced that day. On the day of the Dismissal an estimated 20,000 people rallied in capital cities. There were strikes in several states, and calls for a general strike. During the crisis leading to the Dismissal, the public opinion polls had shown that most Australians did not support the blocking of supply but, as Fraser had predicted to his colleagues, once the election campaign was called the figures changed. Fraser ran his campaign on economic issues. The election result on 13 December was the worst for Labor in the post-war period. The Coalition had a record majority, and became the first government since the 1961 election to hold a majority in the Senate.

Prime Minister

Malcolm Fraser was Prime Minister from December 1975 to March 1983. He won three elections – in 1975, 1977 and 1980. He took office before Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister of Britain and before Ronald Reagan became President of the United States. He spanned the years between unquestioning acceptance of big government and the rise of faith in free markets as an organising principle in human affairs. He spanned the years between faith in détente as a means of achieving world peace, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet Union. There were immense social changes.

In 1975, conservation of the environment was not a significant issue for the majority. By the time Fraser lost government, it was at the heart of politics. In 1975 the popular press was full of talk of hippies and the permissive society. By 1983 it was power dressing and the beginning of the decade that would become known for the phrase 'greed is good'. At the time he became Prime Minister, Fraser had been in politics for 20 years, serving under five different leaders of the Liberal Party, and had been a minister in four governments. He had also watched the Whitlam implosion. He had spent a long time thinking about how things should run. Now he put those ideas into practice.

The economy and financial system

With the luxury of hindsight, it is possible to divide the Fraser government's story into three periods – the early years when the emphasis was on rebuilding the economy after the first oil shock and the Whitlam years; the middle years when Fraser could claim success; and the final years when, beset with crises both political and economic, many of his achievements came undone.



Malcolm Fraser at the launch of the Liberal Party's election campaign at Dallas Brooks Hall, Melbourne, 1975.
NAA: A6180, 1/12/75/13

The early months of the Fraser government were dominated by the battle to cut government expenditure. The idea of limiting government's role owing to limited resources became commonplace over the next 30 years, part of public understanding of what can and cannot be expected from government. In Fraser's time this was a new theme. Placing economic management at the centre of politics was an important part of Fraser's legacy.

The Fraser government was the first in the western world after World War II to make the need for government restraint a dominant part of its narrative. Yet Fraser was a Keynesian, convinced of a role for interventionist government. During his time in government, the ideas that later became known as neo-liberalism were gaining their advocates. Fraser's adviser, David Kemp, was making sure Fraser was aware of them. He read articles by the Australian philosopher Lachlan Chipman and the US economist Milton Friedman, but he was guided chiefly by his understanding of what Keynes would have done in the environment of the 1970s and 1980s. Even as there were swingeing cuts, he initially struggled to retain Medibank – the universal health insurance scheme introduced by Whitlam – although it was gradually dismantled over subsequent years. He introduced family allowances by abolishing tax rebates for dependent children, which had previously benefited the rich the most, and introduced a new allowance paid to mothers.

A characteristic of Fraser's time in government was a battle with Treasury and its dominant secretary, John Stone. Stone wanted deeper cuts, and there was a continuing battle for policy dominance. It was against Treasury advice that Fraser, acting at the behest of his advisers, took key moves towards financial deregulation. When Treasury opposed the government's plan to devalue the Australian dollar, Fraser reorganised the department. On 18 November 1976, Treasury was divided into the Department of Finance, under permanent head Bill Cole, and the Department of Treasury, under Sir Frederick Wheeler. Ten days later, on 28 November 1976, Treasurer Phillip Lynch announced devaluation of the dollar by 17 per cent and introduced a flexibly administered exchange rate, or a 'managed float'.

The years 1979 to 1981 were the high point of the Fraser government's economic record. In 1980–81, the Budget was in surplus. Industry profitability was recovering. Unemployment dropped to below 6 per cent – the lowest level since the first oil shock of 1973 when OPEC placed an embargo on oil exports, severely impacting on western economies.



Pro and anti-Fraser protesters meet during the federal election campaign, c. 1980. UMA, 2007.0028, BWP/25627

At the time of his prime ministership, Fraser was criticised by many for lack of heart and making cuts that were too deep. Since then, some commentators have suggested he did not cut hard enough – that his was a timid, do-nothing government – and he lost the opportunity to shrink the size of government.

Fraser slowed the growth in government spending. Between 1976 and 1982, Federal Budget spending grew by an average of 2.7 per cent a year in real terms. This compared to an average of 11.9 per cent under the Whitlam government, and in the region of 4 per cent under the Holt, Gorton and McMahon governments. If the last year of the Fraser government was excluded – a period when the government faced international downturn and the worst drought in the country's history until that time – the average growth in government spending during the Fraser years would have been a comparatively modest 2.1 per cent per year.²⁵

Spending by the government as a percentage of GDP was 24.6 per cent in the first year of the Fraser government. It hit a low of 23.9 per cent in 1981–82, before climbing to 26.3 per cent in the context of the drought and recession of 1982–83. During the Howard years, government spending hit a high of 25.7 per cent of GDP in 2000–01. The lowest figure was 23.7 per cent in 1999–2000. When Howard left government in 2007 and the economy was booming, government spending was at 24.2 per cent of GDP. It was predicted to go to 28.6 per cent under Kevin Rudd's government in 2009–10. While never a hard-line advocate of small government, nor a radical economic reformer, the record shows the Fraser government delivered on its promise to restrain the size of government in proportion to the rest of the economy.

There were failures in the Fraser economic record. Tax indexation was promised, but fell by the wayside. Wages policy did not succeed. Plans to introduce the rule of law to the industrial realm completely failed. Nobody at the time was pushing for a fully deregulated labour market, and the Fraser record has little or nothing to claim on this issue.

Another key theme of the Fraser government was financial deregulation. Fraser has been depicted as resisting this. The archival record tells a different story. There were four main reforms in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They were the surrendering of controls over the exchange rate, deregulation of interest rates, foreign bank entry, and abolishing exchange control over movements of capital inside and outside Australia. All of these advanced under Fraser. The archival record shows key moves were made on the initiative of key advisers in Fraser's office and department, and with his support. At every stage, deregulation was resisted by both Treasury and the Reserve Bank. Vital was the establishment of the Campbell Inquiry into the Australian Financial System, which recommended comprehensive deregulation. Implementation of the Campbell recommendations under Fraser was not fast, with work bogged down and moving slowly at the time Fraser lost government. The Campbell agenda was picked up and acted on by the Hawke government that followed. The role of the Fraser government was one of transition and education at a time when the key financial institutions of government had not been convinced of the need for change.²⁶

Human rights and Aboriginal affairs

Under Whitlam, there had been big increases in spending on Aboriginal affairs. There had also been a Royal Commission that recommended the granting of land rights in the Northern Territory. The Whitlam government had introduced, but not yet passed, the necessary legislation. One of Fraser's achievements as Leader of the Opposition was to help push through a policy that was in line with the Whitlam land rights agenda – an unprecedented move for parties whose support base included the mining and pastoral industries.

In government, Fraser's continued support for comprehensive land rights saw the Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act become law in December 1976. In the years that followed, the Fraser government used all its powers of influence, example and persuasion to get state governments to follow suit with land rights. New South Wales and South Australia followed. Queensland and Western Australia were intransigent. A states' rights advocate throughout his career, Fraser was not prepared to over-rule the states.



Galarwuy Yunupingu with Prime Minister
Malcolm Fraser at Jabiru, Northern Territory, 1978.
NAA: A6180, 4/5/78/62

In later life, Fraser regretted that his government had not done more on Aboriginal affairs. He took the continued poverty, dysfunction and disadvantage in much of Aboriginal Australia as evidence that more government expenditure was needed. He continues his activism on Aboriginal issues to the present day.

For Fraser, Aboriginal affairs were part of a broader human rights agenda, which he shared with Whitlam. The Whitlam government had begun moves towards the establishment of a system of judicial review for administrative decisions, and the setting up of a human rights commission. Both initiatives were brought to completion by the Fraser government. The Administrative Decisions (Judicial Review) Act came into force in October 1980 and the Human

Rights Commission was established in 1981. The Fraser government also introduced freedom of information legislation, against the vehement opposition of the public service, in 1982 and completed a Whitlam initiative in the appointment of the first Commonwealth Ombudsman.

Immigration and refugees

The Whitlam government had swept away the last vestiges of the White Australia Policy – but had at the same time greatly reduced immigration. In 1975 Australia's total immigration was only 52,748, the lowest since World War II. The Fraser government continued an immigration policy that did not discriminate on the grounds of race, and at the same time increased immigration to an average of 90,000 a year over the term of the government. This, together with a compassionate approach to South-East Asian refugees, meant that it was Fraser's government that actually implemented a more open immigration policy after the White Australia Policy was scrapped by Whitlam. The Fraser government changed the ethnic mix of the Australian population, and its reform of policy concerning both refugees and immigration was arguably its most important legacy. Fraser also continued and gave practical effect to the policy of multiculturalism, which had been started in name under Whitlam.

Fraser, with the exception of a single speech early in his parliamentary career, had always advocated high immigration. By the end of his time as Prime Minister, immigration policy and the relevant machinery of government had been completely recast. The government set up a Population and Immigration Council with a broad membership to write a green paper, which was tabled on 17 March 1977. It estimated that Australia had the capacity to absorb an intake of about 100,000 migrants annually, and up to 200,000 in the future, with the aim of bringing the population to 19.3 million by 2001. The only constraint was the ability of the population to accept migrants, the report said.²⁷

Fraser believed that fostering such acceptance was the role of government and political leaders. The green paper was used to encourage Australians to think and talk about immigration. Seminars were held around the nation. By the time the new immigration policy was announced in mid-1978, it had already been the subject of a government-sponsored national conversation. The policy anticipated an annual intake of at least 70,000, and laid out nine principles governing who would be allowed into the country. Migrants must provide some benefit to Australia, 'although this will not always be a major consideration in the case of refugees and family members'; they should not jeopardise social cohesiveness and harmony; and while they were expected to integrate they would be 'given the opportunity to preserve and disseminate their ethnic heritage'. From now on immigration would be planned on a triennial basis with annual reviews and adjustments, and with targets linked to government programs for training and assistance.²⁸

Fraser believed that if Australia was to absorb more migrants harmoniously, it was essential that they had real equality of opportunity. 'If particular groups feel that they and their children are condemned, whether through legal or other arrangements to occupy the worst jobs and housing, to suffer the poorest health and education, then the societies in which they live are embarking on a path that will cost them dearly,' he said in 1981. Attitudes would harden. Strife would result. Multiculturalism required government action to ensure equality of opportunity, Fraser believed.

The less constructively a society responds to its own diversity the less capable it becomes of doing so. Its reluctance to respond, fuelled by the fear of encouraging division, becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy – the erosion of national cohesion is a result not of the fact of diversity but of its denial and suppression.²⁹

It was this agenda that led Fraser to establish a review of post-arrival programs and services for migrants. To head the review Fraser chose Frank Galbally – the former Catholic seminarian and leading barrister. The Galbally review resulted in a comprehensive suite of post-arrival services, including the establishment of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs and the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) as a specialist broadcaster promoting multiculturalism and reflecting Australia's diversity.

It was against the background of his belief in the role of political leadership in achieving harmonious migration that Fraser dealt with the influx of refugees from Vietnam and Indochina. Australia was coming under increasing pressure from Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries to step up its tardy response to the hundreds of thousands of desperate people in refugee camps across the region. The Fraser government's response marked the beginning of a dedicated humanitarian program backed by a system of settlement support. Fraser initiated the adoption of a 'comprehensive and consistent' policy to allow for a continued intake of refugees, which was adopted in May 1977. For the first time, the policy made it clear that Australia intended to be in the front line of international responses to refugee situations, and that it would take in large numbers. Indeed, it was the first time Australia had a refugee policy at all.



A Vietnamese migrant family and their hosts at a community function, Canberra, 1980. As part of the refugee resettlement program of the late 1970s, many Vietnamese families were hosted by local church or community groups. NAA: A12111, 2/1980/46A/22

Within months, a trickle of 'boat people' arriving from Vietnam had turned into continuous waves. By 1979, Vietnam seemed to be deliberately exporting its unwanted citizens – particularly ethnic Chinese and small businesspeople who were out of sympathy with the communist regime. South-East Asian countries were saying they could not accept any more boat people into the overcrowded camps. Towards the end of 1977 boats were arriving in Australia almost daily – sometimes several a day. The public service was alarmed. In May 1978, the Secretary of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, LWB Engeldow, told Cabinet the boat people threatened the orderly refugee program. There were only two options: stopping the boat movements in transit, or sending arrivals to a:

... reception centre to be established somewhere in Australia where they can be held pending further decisions
... these people are 'queue jumpers' who are virtually self-selecting themselves for migration to Australia.³⁰

Only a small minority of the refugees being settled in Australia had arrived by boat. Most were coming through proper processes, selected in the refugee camps of Thailand and Malaysia. Yet the boats were the focus of publicity and fear.

Suggestions for 'reception centres' and other harsh measures came to Cabinet several times, but were always rejected. Entry of refugees (most of whom were not boat people) together with family reunion programs meant that by 1995 there were 238,000 first and second-generation Indochinese living in Australia, more than 1 per cent of the population. The Fraser government had altered the ethnic composition of the Australian population forever. Its reform of policy concerning both refugees and immigration more generally remains one of its most important legacies.

Foreign policy

Fraser came to the prime ministership with firm ideas on foreign affairs. Unlike most western political leaders at the time, he was deeply sceptical about détente with the Soviet Union. This led to Whitlam describing him as a 'sabre rattler', and to leading foreign policy advisers seeing him as dangerously antagonistic to the Soviet Union and too critical of the United States' more conciliatory approach.

Fraser's foreign policy was articulated in the early months of his prime ministership with a major statement, known to his staff as the 'State of the world' speech. The speech, delivered on 1 June 1976, opened a new and original era in Australian foreign affairs. It was controversial – an announcement of Fraser's arrival on the world stage. A successful Australian foreign policy, said Fraser, must be 'flexible, alert and undogmatic', recognising that the superpowers were dominant but also that other major powers – China, Japan, Europe and groups of nations such as ASEAN – could influence events. 'Although our capacities to advance our interests are limited, we should be active and constructive in pursuit of a peaceful and favourable international environment.' His wording on détente, much softened from the original draft, was still scathing. Fraser, unlike most foreign policy leaders in the west, believed the Soviet Union was still aggressive and expansionary. China, Fraser said, was on the other hand a 'great unknown', but he argued this was all the more reason to seek good relationships. The picture Fraser painted of the world was one of multiple threats – from inequality, injustice and unfairness, from Soviet aggression and lack of will among the democracies. He wanted Australia to:

... be an example of the vital strength of the values of freedom and democracy ... in finding our way in such a world, the democracies must not lose their sense of purpose. There must be no failure of will or resolution ... let history not record that this was the time when the democracies abandoned their faith.³¹

Fraser went on to push Australia to the forefront of world developments where it need not have been involved – including opposition to apartheid in South Africa and advocacy for developing nations. Another dominant theme was Fraser's belief in the Commonwealth of Nations, and his commitment to what he saw as Australia's potentially leading role in the Pacific region. Fraser also made clear that Whitlam's policy of engagement with China would be continued and strengthened under his government.

Dominant narratives of the time were east–west relations, meaning those between the United States and the Soviet bloc, and north–south relations, meaning those between industrial and developing nations. The developing countries in the United Nations had proposed a New International Economic Order. Unlike the Bretton Woods system, which had benefited the industrial countries, the new order would improve the terms of trade and reduce the tariff barriers that prevented developing countries from fair access to the markets of Europe and the United States.

Fraser's original contribution was to frame Australia's interests as the same as those of the developing countries. Like them, Australia was an exporter mainly of commodities, rather than manufactured goods. Like the developing countries, Australia was locked out of world markets. Fraser therefore became a vigorous advocate of free trade – and pursued the agenda hard at every opportunity. On this, he was largely unsuccessful, defeated by the intransigence of Europe and the United States. Nevertheless, the fight absorbed an enormous amount of his time and energy.

Fraser also was a significant figure in promoting a strong and unified western alliance. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, Fraser saw it as vindication of his sceptical attitude to détente. He feared the Soviets would push on into the oil fields of the Middle East. He thought it essential that the west present a united face. He advocated sanctions on trade with the Soviet Union and pushed through a boycott of the Moscow Olympics, at immense cost to his political support and individual cost to the athletes.

Meanwhile, Fraser was involved in shuttle diplomacy between US President Jimmy Carter and European leaders who were annoyed with Carter's lack of consultation. In letters and in person Fraser argued for unity, convinced that, as he put it in one letter to Carter, the reverse might lead to a world war.



Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, with Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and Andrew Peacock at the White House, Washington, DC, 1980. NAA: A6180, 18/3/80/6



Malcolm Fraser and Secretary General Shridath ('Sonny') Ramphal at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Lusaka, Zambia, 1979. NAA: A8281, KN21/8/79/180

Fraser also had to deal with the complications of foreign affairs in our region, which often left little room for moral comfort. The Indonesian invasion of Timor, which was completed during the period of caretaker government in 1975, was a continuing sore. Fraser regretted the invasion, but took the path of not antagonising Indonesia. He fell out with his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Andrew Peacock, over the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in 1978 and the resulting question of whether Australia should continue to recognise the murderous regime of Pol Pot. Peacock thought the Pol Pot regime so abhorrent that Australia should withdraw its recognition. Fraser and the rest of Cabinet gave priority to supporting the countries of ASEAN, which did not want Australia to give de facto encouragement to the Vietnamese aggression. This led to a cascade of events that culminated in Peacock challenging, unsuccessfully, for the leadership. The government never recovered its stability.

Fraser welcomed Ronald Reagan's election as President of the United States. Reagan's views on the Soviet threat were close to Fraser's own, but Reagan soon disappointed Fraser in other ways. He had no interest in the continuing moves to begin serious world trade negotiations that so preoccupied Fraser.

Perhaps the most singular aspect of Fraser's foreign policy was his activism in the Commonwealth of Nations. In the 1970s there was the potential for schism between the 'old Commonwealth' of white, wealthy nations and the new nations, dominated by African black leaders shrugging off the colonial past. The issue was apartheid and the future of southern Africa. This came to a head at two Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings – the first in London in 1977, which dealt with sporting boycotts against South Africa, and the second in Lusaka in 1979, which dealt with Rhodesian independence and majority rule. Fraser was an important figure in the negotiations that led to effective sporting sanctions and, over a lengthy period of reasoned argument and strong-arm tactics, in persuading British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, largely against her will, to move Rhodesia towards majority rule. Australia took a leadership position on the issue of justice in southern Africa that was to persist through the years of the Hawke government.

Environment

It was during Fraser's prime ministership that environmental issues began to take a place at the forefront of Australian politics. Fraser's record was mixed. He was always reluctant to over-ride state governments pursuing development.

The Fraser government created Kakadu National Park and banned whaling. His actions, including tough negotiations with Queensland Premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, saved Fraser Island from sand mining and the Great Barrier Reef from oil drilling. Fraser also oversaw the mining and export of Australian uranium, establishing strict safeguards and royalty income for the traditional Indigenous owners.

Yet it is also true that if Fraser had remained in power, it is likely the last great wild river of south-western Tasmania would have been dammed. Fraser did not advocate the Franklin dam and took action to discourage it. He had pushed for the area to be listed on the World Heritage Register, which enabled the Hawke government to later establish its right to over-rule state governments when international obligations were at stake. Fraser offered the Tasmanian Government incentives not to dam the river, but would not over-rule state rights. The resulting battle – not resolved until a High Court decision during the years of the Hawke government – led to the birth of the modern environmental movement and was a factor in, although not the dominant reason for, Fraser's defeat.

Losing power

Malcolm Fraser lost power after calling an early election in 1983. There were a number of factors – the economy was in poor shape, having been hit hard by the second oil shock which followed the Iranian Revolution in 1979; the drought; and a wave of industrial disputes at home. The country seemed to be at war with itself, and in this Fraser, who had never developed the trick of being loved by the electorate, seemed to be a divisive figure, particularly when contrasted with the former head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Bob Hawke, who had entered politics amid enormous popularity and with the reputation of an industrial peacemaker.

Fraser thought he could beat Labor leader Bill Hayden, but he knew that Hawke was a different matter. This was part of the reason he called the election early – but on the same day that Fraser went to see the Governor-General, Hawke was made Labor leader. The campaign began with Fraser 11 per cent behind in the polls, and he was never ahead. His time as Prime Minister came to an end on election night, 5 March 1983.

A month later, he resigned from Parliament. He hoped that by leaving politics, he would make it possible for the Liberal Party to make a fresh start. He had advised leadership rivals John Howard and Andrew Peacock to work together – that the party needed them both. In fact, the Liberal Party was to enter a long period of division and leadership turmoil that would keep it from government until 1996.

Eminent person

Malcolm Fraser was only 52 when he lost power. He was not ready to retire and made a few abortive attempts at a corporate career, before turning to international affairs. He joined the American Enterprise Institute think tank, and was appointed a senior adjunct fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Later he became a Menzies scholar at, and a fellow of, the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. He was also active in the InterAction Council – an international organisation of progressively minded former heads of government. At home, he at first restrained himself from speaking out on politics.

Fraser was at Harvard when, in October 1985, he took a call from Prime Minister Bob Hawke who was attending the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau, the Bahamas. Once again there was a schism. Most Commonwealth countries wanted to impose tough sanctions on the racist regime in South Africa. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was alone in arguing for a policy of 'constructive engagement' with the South African Government. Hawke had brokered a compromise under which a group of eminent persons would seek to begin 'a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government'.³² Fraser became Co-chair of the Eminent Persons Group, with former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo. Most commentators dismissed this as an impossible mission, yet against the odds the group was able to establish that a peaceful change for South Africa was within grasp.



Olusegun Obasanjo, 'Sonny' Ramphal and Malcolm Fraser on tour with the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons against Apartheid in South Africa, 1985. UMA, 2005.0071, PA/221

The Eminent Persons were the first international figures to be allowed to meet imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela, who used them to send a message that he was prepared to negotiate with the South African Government. The group devised a 'possible negotiating concept' that they put to both black African leaders and the government. It laid out a map for negotiating the end of apartheid. It was rejected by the South African Government, and the attempt to open negotiations towards an end of apartheid foundered. Nevertheless, the Eminent Persons' report was influential in shifting international attitudes, not least because it proclaimed Mandela was not the violent terrorist portrayed in South African Government propaganda, but 'a man who had been driven to armed struggle only with the greatest reluctance'.³³

Of the seven countries that had commissioned the Eminent Persons Group, six agreed to adopt broad sanctions, including strict financial ones, but the United Kingdom agreed only to maintain existing bans on new investment and tourism promotions. Thatcher also frustrated attempts within the European Economic Community (EEC) to impose broad-ranging sanctions.

Fraser began a worldwide lobbying effort. In October 1986, partly as a result of his lobbying efforts, the US Congress voted to overturn Reagan's veto on sanctions. This was the biggest foreign policy defeat of Reagan's administration. Once the United States had moved, the EEC, Japan and other countries followed suit.

The imposition of sanctions was crucial in persuading the South African Government to begin negotiations – with the starting point being that laid out in the Eminent Persons' negotiating concept years before. In 1994 Mandela was elected President by an overwhelming majority in South Africa's first multiracial elections. Fraser undoubtedly played a role in helping to bring about an end to apartheid.

CARE Australia

With his work on South Africa completed, in 1987 Malcolm Fraser began a fresh career as founding Chairman of CARE Australia – the Australian arm of the international aid agency CARE International. He was to be Chair of CARE Australia from 1987 to 2002 – almost twice as long as he had been Prime Minister. For five of these years, between 1990 and 1995, he was also President of CARE International. CARE gave him 'another life's work'.³⁴

CARE Australia developed a particular reputation under Fraser for responding to emergencies – a very different kind of operation from the long-term developmental work for which CARE had been known. Fraser toured the CARE operations in the world's trouble spots frequently, and became closely involved in the sometimes gritty and acrimonious politics of international aid. His youngest daughter, Phoebe, became a CARE worker, and the father and daughter team became the faces of the organisation's fundraising effort. Under Fraser, CARE Australia achieved rapid growth, quickly becoming one of Australia's leading aid agencies responding to crises in Africa, Pakistan and Europe.

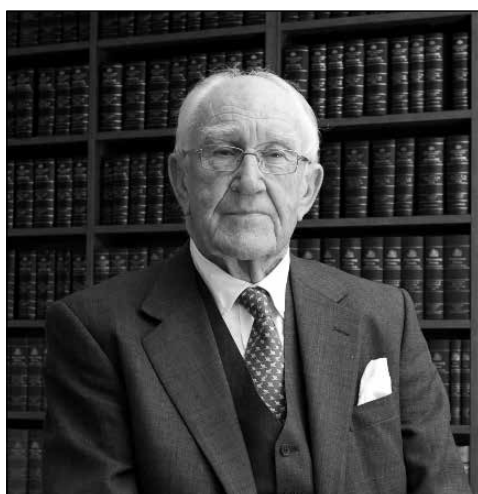
One of Fraser's particular contributions was in 1999, following the capture of one Yugoslav and two Australian aid workers in Yugoslavia. They were accused of being spies. Fraser was appointed as the Australian Government's special envoy. Over five extraordinary months in which he made copious use of his contacts with foreign heads of government, as well as trawling the darker side of the mafia-style network of state-sanctioned criminals that surrounded the Slobodan Milošević regime, Fraser successfully negotiated the men's release.

Relations with the Liberal Party

Fraser resigned from the Liberal Party shortly after Tony Abbott came to the leadership in late 2009. It was the end result of a gradual process of alienation from the party he had led, chiefly over issues to do with attitudes to asylum seekers and Aboriginal affairs. Fraser had been a critic of the party's adoption of economic rationalism in the 1990s. He sought the federal presidency of the Liberal Party in the mid-1990s but withdrew when it became clear he could not win.

A major point of strain came when the leader of the right-wing group One Nation, Pauline Hanson, delivered her maiden speech in Parliament which was widely viewed as racist and xenophobic, and Prime Minister John Howard failed to condemn her. In 1997, Fraser wrote to the party president, Tony Staley, urging him to use all his influence to prevent the Liberal Party from directing preferences to One Nation ahead of the Labor Party. He was unsuccessful. Over the next three years, Fraser criticised Howard's refusal to apologise to the stolen generations of Aboriginal children taken from their parents. Fraser almost resigned from the party during the *Tampa* crisis of 2001 and the adoption by Howard of off-shore processing of asylum-seeking boat people.

When the conservative Abbott attained the leadership, Fraser took it as the final confirmation that the party would not return to what he saw as true liberalism in his lifetime. He initially kept his resignation private, but the news leaked out shortly after the publication of his memoirs in early 2010.



Malcolm Fraser, 2010. Courtesy Office of Malcolm Fraser

Present day

Malcolm Fraser lives today on the Mornington Peninsula, Victoria, with his wife Tamie. In his eighties, he remains a regular commentator and activist, particularly on issues to do with asylum seekers, Indigenous affairs and Australian foreign policy.

Endnotes

- ¹ A strong set of broadly accepted policies and attitudes shared across much of the political spectrum, noted by various people including Paul Kelly in *The End of Certainty: power, politics and business in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1994.
- ² Obituary of Sir Simon Fraser, *The Age*, 31 July 1919 and *The Bulletin*, 2 August 1919.
- ³ Accounts of Woolf's campaign appearances can be found in the *Perth Morning Herald*, 6 February 1901, p. 2; 28 February 1901, p. 3; 2 March 1901, p. 6; 4 March 1901, p. 4; 6 March 1901, p. 2; 11 March 1901, p. 6; 15 March 1901, p. 10. Unless otherwise footnoted, details of Woolf's life are drawn from Una Woolf, 'A letter to you all' (written for her grandchildren in 1980), in the possession of the Fraser family.
- ⁴ See, for example, 'Truthful Thomas', *Through the Spy-glass: short sketches of well-known Westralians as others see them*, Praagh & Lloyd, Perth, 1905, p. 32.
- ⁵ Philip Jones, 'A woman for the times in an age of constant change', *The Australian*, 3 June 1998.
- ⁶ Neville Fraser's war diaries are in UMA, 2007.0069.
- ⁷ Malcolm Fraser's university notes and essays are in UMA, 2005.0082.
- ⁸ Both the draft and final notes for the pre-selection speech are in UMA, 2005.0082, item 1.
- ⁹ Fraser's talks for 1954 are in UMA, 2007.0023, item 231.
- ¹⁰ Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 March 1956, pp. 860–3.
- ¹¹ Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 1961, pp. 770–3.
- ¹² A transcript of Fraser's tape-recorded notes is in UMA, 2005.0078, item 59. His formal report on the trip 'A visit to the United States, Canada, South Vietnam and Malaysia from 5th May to July 21st 1964', dated 22 July 1964, is in UMA, 2007.0023, item 124. The relevant radio addresses were on 17, 20 and 30 May; 1, 5, 18, 22, 26 and 27 June; and 1, 6 and 21 July 1964, and are in UMA, 2007.0023, item 217.
- ¹³ Radio address, 13 April 1967. NAA: M13692, 38.
- ¹⁴ Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 13 August 1969, pp. 185–93.
- ¹⁵ Speech to State Zionist Council of New South Wales, 16 November 1969. NAA: M1374, 29. Most attribute the first use of the word 'multiculturalism' in politics to a speech by Immigration Minister Al Grassby in 1973. This is not correct. See Mark Lopez, *The Origins of Multiculturalism in Australian Politics 1945–1975*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2000.
- ¹⁶ Una Fraser Collection, 2008.0058, *Herald* (Melbourne), August 1969, copy in scrapbook, item 3/1 box 1.
- ¹⁷ Alan Ramsay, 'General says Fraser is disloyal to service', *The Australian*, 4 March 1971.
- ¹⁸ Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 9 March 1971, p. 684.
- ¹⁹ 'Towards 2000 challenge to Australia', Fifth Alfred Deakin Lecture, 20 July 1971.
- ²⁰ Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 22 April 1971, pp. 1928–33.
- ²¹ UMA, 2007.0008, item 146.
- ²² Radio address, 17 August 1975. UMA, 2007.0003, item 22 part 1.

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- ²³ Radio address, 13 April 1975. UMA, 2005.0072, item 9.
- ²⁴ Shadow Ministry Record, 15 October 1975. UMA, 2006.0022.
- ²⁵ The figures on which this assessment of the Fraser record is based are in 'Statement 10: historical Australian Government data', *Budget Paper No. 1: budget strategy and outlook 2009–2010*, budget.gov.au/2009-10/content/bp1/html/index.htm, accessed 22 May 2012.
- ²⁶ A more detailed explanation of the Fraser record on financial deregulation, with full references to the relevant Cabinet documents, can be found in chapters 10 and 16 of Malcolm Fraser and Margaret Simons, *Malcolm Fraser: the political memoirs*, The Miegunyah Press, Carlton, 2010.
- ²⁷ Australian Population and Immigration Council, *Immigration Policies and Australia's Population, Green Paper*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1977.
- ²⁸ MJR MacKellar, *Australia's Immigration Policy*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1978.
- ²⁹ Speech to inaugural meeting of the Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 30 November 1981.
- ³⁰ L Engledow, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Discussion paper, May 1978. NAA: A10756 LC 1366 (Part One).
- ³¹ Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 1 June 1976, pp. 2735–45.
- ³² 'The Commonwealth Accord on South Africa (The Nassau Accord), Lyfod Cay, Nassau, 20 October 1985', in Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, *Mission to South Africa: the Commonwealth report*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986.
- ³³ Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, *Mission to South Africa: the Commonwealth report*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986.
- ³⁴ Malcolm Fraser, Speech to CARE gala dinner, Melbourne, 2 May 2002, unimelb.edu.au/malcolmfraser/speeches/nonparliamentary/caregaladinner.html, accessed 22 May 2012.

2 Records about Malcolm Fraser in the National Archives of Australia

The National Archives of Australia holds significant records relating to Malcolm Fraser. Many of these records have been digitised and can be viewed online through the National Archives' RecordSearch collection database (naa.gov.au). The records for Fraser's time as Prime Minister (1975–83) have now reached the open period, although not all have yet been access examined.

In this guide, the records are listed under the following headings:

- Early career
- Minister for the Army, 1966–68
- Minister for Education and Science, 1968–69 and 1971–72
- Minister for Defence, 1969–71
- In Opposition
- The Dismissal, 1975
- Prime Minister, 1975–83
- After office
- Records in personal papers of Robert Menzies, Harold Holt and John Gorton
- Records of Simon Fraser
- Photographs.

Early career

Malcolm Fraser was an Oxford graduate and a grazier when he won the seat of Wannon. Aged 25, he became the youngest member of the 22nd Federal Parliament in 1955. For the next 10 years he was a backbencher in the government of Robert Menzies. He served as a member of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs from 1962 to 1966.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (FOREIGN AFFAIRS), 1948–89

A1838

Recorded by: 1948–70 Department of External Affairs (II), Central Office (CA 18)
1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)

Quantity: 3299 metres (Canberra), 0.18 metres (Brisbane)

This series comprises the main correspondence file series of the Department of External Affairs (II) from 1948 to 1970, the Department of Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987, and the Foreign Affairs section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.

Travel abroad – M Fraser, 1964–66

A1838, 1516/7/114

PARLIAMENTARY JOINT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIAL MINUTES, 1962-72

A13984

Recorded by: 1962-72 Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs (CA 716)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of the official minutes of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs during the life of the 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th parliaments, from 1962 to 1972. Fraser was a member of the committee from 1962 to 1966. Access to these joint committee records requires the approval of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. National Archives reference staff can advise on the process for obtaining approval.

24th Parliament – Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs – official minutes, 1962-63

A13984, 1

25th Parliament – Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs – official minutes, 1964-66

A13984, 2

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (TERRITORIES), 1951-75

A452

Recorded by: 1951-68 Department of Territories (I), Central Office (CA 60)

Quantity: 914 metres (Canberra)

The files in this series originally related to the administration (general policy and staffing) of both the internal and external Australian territories, excluding the ACT. They cover the Northern Territory, Papua New Guinea, Nauru, Christmas Island, Cocos Island, Norfolk Island, Coral Sea Islands, and relations with West Irian Jaya and the Philippines. Files from 1951 to 1956 deal only with the Northern Territory. From 1956 the series covers all territories, with files relating to the Northern Territory intermingled with those relating to other subjects.

Representations by Malcolm Fraser MP re equal wage rates for Aborigines in the Northern Territory, 1965

**A452,
NT1965/1955**

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET), 1956-

A463

Recorded by: 1971- Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Quantity: 962 metres (Canberra)

This series was raised to deal with the general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects vary considerably, reflecting the department's coordinating function. Political, social, cultural, economic, industrial and defence matters are all dealt with; other aspects include the administration of the Australian Government, immigration, honours, international conferences and diplomatic relations with other countries.

Australian Conservation Foundation – formation, 1963-65

Fraser was a founding member of the Australian Conservation Foundation.

**A463, 1965/4760
PART 1**

Minister for the Army, 1966–68

In 1966 Malcolm Fraser became a Minister for the first time when Harold Holt appointed him Minister for the Army. He remained in the position for two years under three prime ministers, Harold Holt, John McEwen and John Gorton. This period was the early stage of Australia's combat involvement in Vietnam. In his first year as Minister, Fraser visited the Australian troops in Vietnam.

During the Holt government of 1966–67, Cabinet submissions about Army matters were presented by the Minister for Defence, Allen Fairhall. As Minister for the Army, Fraser was not a member of Cabinet, but is likely to have had responsibility for the preparation of submissions and may have been present in the Cabinet room when they were discussed.

FIRST HOLT MINISTRY – COPIES OF CABINET SUBMISSIONS AND RELATED DECISIONS, 1966

A5841

Recorded by: 1983–85 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This is the series of submissions considered by the Holt Cabinet in 1966.

South Vietnam – possible Australian military assistance, 1966

A5841, 23

Campaign medal in recognition of service in Vietnam, 1966

A5841, 36

Army housing, Townsville, 1966

A5841, 376

SECOND HOLT MINISTRY – COPIES OF CABINET SUBMISSIONS AND RELATED DECISIONS, 1966–67

A5842

Recorded by: 1985 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This is the series of submissions considered by the Holt Cabinet following the election in 1966 and up until the time of Holt's death in 1967.



Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, inspects an outboard speedboat at the Australian Rest and Convalescent Centre, Vung Tau, Vietnam. 1966. With the Minister are Private Vin Coy of South Melbourne, Victoria (left), and Colonel Jim Lawrence of Newtown, New South Wales. NAA: M1382, 1

Australian force contribution to Vietnam, 1966	A5842, 5
Transport of military supplies to South Vietnam, 1967	A5842, 43
Possible increased Australian military contribution to Vietnam, 1967	A5842, 441
Army – major capital works, 1967	A5842, 549

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (FOREIGN AFFAIRS), 1948–89 **A1838**

Recorded by: 1948–70 Department of External Affairs (II), Central Office (CA 18)
1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)

Quantity: 3299 metres (Canberra), 0.18 metres (Brisbane)

This series comprises the main correspondence file series of the Department of External Affairs (II) from 1948 to 1970, the Department of Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987, and the Foreign Affairs section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.

Visit to South East Asia – Minister for the Army – A1838, 1516/7/137	Fraser, M MP, 1966
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CORRESPONDENCE FILES (DEFENCE), 1967–73 **A1946**

Recorded by: 1967–73 Department of Defence (III), Central Office (CA 46)

Quantity: 125 metres (Canberra)

This correspondence series documents policy and administration of the Department of Defence between 1967 and 1973. Its content reflects the main functions of the department including policy, joint service matters, finance, supply, production programs and capacity, disposition and organisation of the defence forces, weapons and equipment, and research and development. Subjects under these groupings include appointments, departmental facilities, civil defence, relations with other countries, conditions of service, disarmament, economic warfare, furniture and fittings, information, medical and dental, press and publicity, recruiting, repairs and maintenance, security, statistics, treaties and agreements, war crimes and welfare.

Use of non-lethal gases and phosphorus in Vietnam, 1967–73	A1946, 1967/1029
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**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'R'
(ARMY HEADQUARTERS, CANBERRA) INFIX, 1946–79** **A3688**

Recorded by: 1946–73 Department of the Army, Central Office (CA 36)

Quantity: 101 metres (Canberra)

This series is controlled by a multiple number system in which the first two number components indicate subject areas and the final number is the unique number allocated to each file created within a given subject. The files comprise two main divisions. The first is identified by primary numbers 1 to 950, and encompasses control symbols 1/R1/1 to 931/R72/1. The subject headings begin at 'Accidents, deaths and casualties' (1) through to 'YWCA' (933–950). With 950 subject headings, the series covers a broad range of subjects.

Allegations concerning atrocities in Vietnam, 1966–71	A3688, 247/R1/5/P1
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MENZIES AND HOLT MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, ‘C’ SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1958–67	A4940
Recorded by: 1958–67 Secretary to Cabinet/Cabinet Secretariat (I) (CA 3)	
Quantity: 78 metres (Canberra)	
This is the main series maintained by the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business between 1958 and 1967.	
National service – policy, 1964–67	A4940, C162 PART 2
Australian military aid to South Vietnam, 1965–66	A4940, C4643 PART 3
CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL ‘C’ (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–	A1209
Recorded by: 1957–71 Prime Minister’s Department (CA 12)	
Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)	
This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.	
The Right Honourable Malcolm Fraser, Minister for the Army – overseas visits, 1966–67	A1209, 1968/8824
SPEECHES AND PRESS STATEMENTS, 1966–68	M1373
Recorded by: 1966–68 Department of the Army, Central Office – Minister’s Office (CA 36)	
1966–68 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)	
Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)	
This series consists of five files of speeches and press statements made by Fraser as Minister for the Army (1966–68). The papers mainly relate to Australia’s involvement in Vietnam – including conscription, an official visit to Australian troops in South-East Asia and Australian Army civic action in Vietnam – but also include addresses on other matters including ‘A politician’s view of the press’ and ‘Australian Government policy’.	
Television interviews, 1965–66	M1373, 1
Interview as Minister for the Army, relating to ATN Channel 7 debate ‘White Paper on Conscription’ (16 April 1966); includes background notes on Vietnam.	
The Australian Army today, 1966	M1373, 2
Includes statements as Minister for the Army relating to Australian involvement in South-East Asia and Vietnam.	
Press statements and radio talks, 1965–66	M1373, 3
Contains statements and talks as Minister for the Army, including national development, 1966 Budget, national servicemen in Vietnam, and official visits to Eastern Command, Western Command and troops in South-East Asia.	

Speeches and articles, 1966–68

M1373, 4

Contains speeches made as Member for Wannon and Minister for the Army relating to wool growers, the Australian Army, Vietnam and liberalism; includes Monash University speech 'Australian Government policy', address to South Australian Young Liberals seminar 'A politician's view of the press', and address to Sydney University symposium 'Vietnam: justified or crucified?'

Birchip address, 1966–67

M1373, 5

Consists of an address made as Minister for the Army relating to Australian Army civic action in Vietnam; includes statement 'The Army and South East Asia'.

FILMS OF SYNDICATED ABC TELEVISION NEWS SEGMENTS, 1957–78

J2729

Recorded by: 1959–78 Australian Broadcasting Commission, Queensland Branch – Film Library (CA 2920)

Quantity: 95 metres (Sydney)

This series contains both colour and black-and-white 16mm films of varying lengths. They relate to syndicated ABC interstate and international television news segments.

Fraser in South Vietnam, 1967

J2729, SK1450

Format: motion picture film; quantity: 1 of 1 reels; type: 16mm; status: preservation material.

Minister for Education and Science, 1968–69

With 14 years experience as a member of the House of Representatives and having served in the Ministry since 1966, Malcolm Fraser finally entered Cabinet in February 1968 when Prime Minister John Gorton appointed him Minister for Education and Science.

He held the portfolio until October of the following year, when he was appointed Minister for Defence. He subsequently held the Education and Science portfolio for a second time in 1971–72 in the government of William McMahon.

Records relating to Fraser's periods as Minister for Education and Science are described on pages 42 to 45.

Minister for Defence, 1969–71

Following the October 1969 federal election, John Gorton appointed Malcolm Fraser Minister for Defence. However, after disagreements with Gorton, Fraser resigned his portfolio on 8 March 1971.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (DEFENCE), 1957–74

A1945

Recorded by: 1957–74 Department of Defence (III), Central Office (CA 46)

Quantity: 125 metres (Canberra)

This correspondence file series documents the policy and administration of the Department of Defence. Its content reflects the main functions of the department including policy, joint service matters, finance, supply, production programs and capacity, disposition and organisation of the defence forces, weapons and equipment, and research and development. Subjects under these groupings include appointments, departmental facilities, civil defence, relations with other countries,

conditions of service, courts martial, disarmament, economic warfare, furniture and fittings, guided weapons, grants, information, medical and dental, press and publicity, recruiting, repairs and maintenance, security, statistics, treaties and agreements, war crimes and welfare.

Department of Defence – personal file – Sir Arthur Harold Tange, 1969–74

**A1945, 258/20/71
PART 8**

Includes appointment of Arthur Tange as Secretary of Defence while Fraser was Minister.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (DEFENCE), 1967–73

A1946

Recorded by: 1967–73 Department of Defence (III), Central Office (CA 46)

Quantity: 125 metres (Canberra)

This correspondence file series documents the policy and administration of the Department of Defence between 1967 and 1973. Its content reflects the main functions of the department including policy, joint service matters, finance, supply, production programs and capacity, disposition and organisation of the defence forces, weapons and equipment, and research and development. Subjects under these groupings include appointments, departmental facilities, civil defence, relations with other countries, conditions of service, disarmament, economic warfare, furniture and fittings, information, medical and dental, press and publicity, recruiting, repairs and maintenance, security, statistics, treaties and agreements, war crimes and welfare.

Appointment of Commander Australian Force Vietnam, 1967–72

A1946, 1967/1531

Requests for exemption from national service training, 1965–70

A1946, 1967/3391

Possible withdrawal of Australian forces from Vietnam, 1969

**A1946, 1969/2185
PART 1**

Regular meetings between Minister for Defence and service ministers, 1969–70

**A1946, 1969/2269
PART 1**

United States request for use of Australian forces in South Vietnam, 1970–72

A1946, 1970/453

GORTON AND MCMAHON MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, ‘CO’ SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1968–72

A5882

Recorded by: 1968 Secretary to Cabinet/Cabinet Secretariat (I) (CA 3)
1968–71 Department of the Cabinet Office (CA 1285)
1971–72 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 32 metres (Canberra)

This series of files was maintained by the Secretary to Cabinet/Cabinet Secretariat and successor agencies during the period of the Gorton and McMahon ministries. It contains copies of the submissions placed before Cabinet, the decisions made by Cabinet, and related correspondence and papers. Fraser was a Minister in the cabinets of both Gorton and McMahon.

F111 aircraft for the Royal Australian Air Force, 1969–70

**A5882, CO10
PART 2**

F111 aircraft for the Royal Australian Air Force, 1971–72

**A5882, CO10
PART 3**

Vietnam peace proposals, 1968–70	A5882, CO60 PART 1
Vietnam peace proposals, 1970–72	A5882, CO60 PART 2
Australian forces – Vietnam, 1967–71 – Report of Inquiry, 1968–69	A5882, CO77
Australian defence aid to Singapore/Malaysia, 1968–70	A5882, CO133 PART 1
Strategic basis of Australian defence policy, 1968–70	A5882, CO344

**CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH ‘C’ (CABINET)
PREFIX, 1968–72**

A5619

Recorded by: 1968–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)
 1971–72 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
 Quantity: 18 metres (Canberra)

These files were created in the Prime Minister's Department following the separation of the Prime Minister's Department and the Cabinet Office in March 1968. As the Prime Minister's Department retained the function of advising the Prime Minister on Cabinet business, it was supplied by the Cabinet Office with copies of all current Cabinet documents and, where requested, photocopies of documents of earlier Liberal governments commencing in December 1949.

Purchase of F111 aircraft for the Royal Australian Air Force, 1970 **A5619, C40 PART 1**

THIRD GORTON MINISTRY – FOLDERS OF CABINET SUBMISSIONS, 1969–71 **A5869**

Recorded by: 1969–71 Department of the Cabinet Office (CA 1285)
 Quantity: 3 metres (Canberra)

This is the series of submissions considered by the Gorton Cabinet following the federal election of 1969 until Gorton was replaced by William McMahon as Prime Minister in March 1971. Fraser was Minister for Defence for most of the period of this Ministry.

Withdrawal from Vietnam, 1969	A5869, 38
Uniform disciplinary legislation for the Australian Defence Force, 1970	A5869, 94
F111C Project – Minister for Defence, April 1970	A5869, 248
Defence aid for Malaysia and Singapore, 1970	A5869, 599

**SECRETARY'S COPY OF SECRETARIAT PAPERS AND RELATED MATERIAL
OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO SERVICES PAY, 1971–72**

A3209

Recorded by: 1971–72 Committee of Inquiry into Services Pay (CA 1522)
 Quantity: 0.03 metres (Canberra)

This plastic arch file contains the Secretary's (presumably PJ Fogarty's) copy of some of the Secretariat's papers and other related material.

**Secretary's copy of Secretariat papers and related material of
the Committee of Inquiry into Services Pay, 1971–72** **A3209, 1**

THE SHEDDEN COLLECTION, 1937-71

A5954

Recorded by: 1942-71 Department of Defence (III), Central Office (CA 46)
 1937-71 Sir Frederick Geoffrey Shedden KCMG, OBE (CP 320)
 Quantity: 204 metres (Canberra), 1 metre (Brisbane), 0.54 metres (Hobart), 0.72 metres (Victoria), 0.54 metres (Perth), 95 metres (Sydney)

This series contains records collected by Sir Frederick Shedden during his career within the Department of Defence. It also consists of material collated after his retirement while researching and writing a book on the history of Australian defence policy. The manuscript of this book was not published at the time of his death on 8 July 1971.

Statement on defence by the Hon Malcolm Fraser MP, Minister for Defence, House of Representatives, 10 March 1970

A5954, 99/7

The Hon Malcolm Fraser – resignation as Minister for Defence (press cuttings), 1971

A5954, 1201/34

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MINISTERS MAINTAINED AS MINISTER FOR DEFENCE, 1969-71

M62

Recorded by: 1969-71 Department of Defence (III), Central Office – Minister's Office (CA 46)
 1969- The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
 Quantity: 0.63 metres (Canberra)

This series of correspondence with ministerial colleagues was maintained by Fraser as Minister for Defence in the Gorton government (1969-71).

Correspondence – The Rt Hon JG Gorton (Prime Minister), 1970

M62, 16

Includes papers relating to Fraser's official visit to Vietnam and the United States (April 1970).



An Iroquois helicopter of 9 Squadron hovers over a Centurion tank patrol during the Vietnam War, 1968. As Minister for Defence, Malcolm Fraser was involved in the acquisition of equipment for the war.
 NAA: A1200, L71193

Correspondence – The Rt Hon JG Gorton (Prime Minister), 1970 **M62, 11 PART 1**
Includes papers relating to the helicopter-manufacturing industry, military **M62, 11 PART 2**
cemeteries, an interdepartmental committee to review service housing,
aid to Cambodia and Vietnam, a government policy speech for the
Senate election campaign, and Australian troops in Vietnam.

Correspondence – The Hon WC Wentworth (Minister for Social **M62, 38**
Services and Aboriginal Affairs), 1969–71
Includes papers relating to nuclear weapons.

CORRESPONDENCE MAINTAINED AS MINISTER FOR DEFENCE, 1969–71 **M64**

Recorded by: 1969–71 Department of Defence (III), Central Office –
Minister's Office (CA 46)
1969– The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 0.54 metres (Canberra)

The folders of correspondence in this series were maintained by Fraser as Minister for Defence in the Gorton government (1969–71). The correspondence is mainly copies of outgoing letters to various companies, organisations, diplomatic representatives, professional contacts and other individuals. The subject matter closely relates to defence interests at both policy and personal case levels, including the acquisition of aircraft carriers, armed forces pay conditions, Australian Peace Corps, defence equipment, RAAF provisioning bases, rifle clubs and Vietnam.

Correspondence – The Rt Hon Lord Casey, 1969–70 **M64, 5**
Relates to the proposed acquisition of British aircraft carriers and a visit to the Rand Corporation; includes speeches 'The Commonwealth and its future' and 'The future of the Commonwealth'.

Correspondence 'H', 1969–70 **M64, 11 PART 1**
Includes correspondence with Sir Lawrence Hartnett, Bob Hawke **M64, 11 PART 2**
(President, Australian Council of Trade Unions), *The Herald* (Melbourne) and Hughes Tool Company (Aircraft Division).

Correspondence 'K', 1970–71 **M64, 14 PART 1**
Includes correspondence with Mr Justice John Kerr relating to the **M64, PART 2**
committee of inquiry into armed forces pay conditions, AGW Keys (National Secretary, Returned Services League), R Kingsford-Smith (Hawker de Havilland Australia Pty Ltd), and R Krygier relating to the Vietnam issue of *Quadrant*.

PRESS RELEASES (SPEECHES, STATEMENTS, RADIO TALKS AND **M1229**
INTERVIEWS), 1970–83
(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1970–71 Department of Defence (III), Central Office –
Minister's Office (CA 46)
1970–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series of press releases was accumulated in Fraser's office mainly during his time as Minister for Defence (1970–71) and as Prime Minister (1975–83). Some papers, however, relate directly to his electorate

interests as Member for Wannon, his second term as Minister for Education and Science (1971–72), and the eight months he was Leader of the Opposition (1975).

Press releases (electorate), 1970–71

M1229, 1

Contains press releases sent by Fraser as Member for Wannon and Minister for Defence; includes address notes.

Speeches, addresses, 1970–71

M1229, 54

Contains addresses made by Fraser as Minister for Defence; includes a statement relating to Royal Australian Air Force strike bomber capacity.

ELECTORATE CORRESPONDENCE, LEXOGRAPHICAL SERIES, 1955–83

M1274

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2005 AND 2006)

Recorded by: 1969–71 Department of Defence (III), Central Office –
Minister's Office (CA 46)

1955–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This is one of two series of Fraser's correspondence relating primarily to representations from individuals or interest groups associated with his constituency (the electorate of Wannon in Victoria's Western District). However, a significant number of the representations originated from elsewhere and are not, strictly speaking, 'electorate'. The series covers Fraser's entire 28 years in federal politics (1955–83), although most records date from the early 1960s.

US (F111) mission – papers relating to official visit to Washington DC, April 1970

M1274, 67

RADIO ARCHIVES LIBRARY RECORDINGS, RADIO AUDIO PRODUCTION MATERIAL, 1973–

C100

Recorded by: 1973–83 Australian Broadcasting Commission,
Head Office (CA 251)

1983– Australian Broadcasting Commission –
Radio National Archives (CA 6879)

Quantity: 1712 metres (Sydney)

This series consists of master tapes kept by the Australian Broadcasting Commission's Radio Archives of programs considered to merit permanent retention due to their historical and/or artistic value.

AM current affairs program – Gorton crisis (dispute between the Prime Minister John Gorton and the former Defence Minister Malcolm Fraser), 1971

C100, 73/7/134M

Includes comments by Tom Uren MP and the Queensland Young Liberals Greg Vickery (March 1971).

Minister for Education and Science, 1968–69 and 1971–72

Malcolm Fraser held the post of Minister for Education and Science on two occasions, the first from 1968 to 1969 under John Gorton. This was a period of expanding departmental responsibilities, with the growth in tertiary education and increased government funding to private schools. When William McMahon succeeded Gorton as Prime Minister, he appointed Fraser Minister for Education and Science in August 1971. Fraser retained the position until 2 December 1972 when the McMahon government lost office.

GORTON AND MCMAHON MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, ‘CO’ SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1968–72

A5882

Recorded by: 1968 Secretary to Cabinet/Cabinet Secretariat (I) (CA 3)
1969–71 Department of the Cabinet Office (CA 1285)
1971–72 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 32 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises files maintained by the Secretary to Cabinet/ Cabinet Secretariat and successor agencies during the period of the Gorton and McMahon ministries. The files contain copies of the submissions placed before Cabinet, the decisions made by Cabinet, and related correspondence and papers. Fraser was a minister in the cabinets of both Gorton and McMahon.

Education of handicapped children, 1969

A5882, CO542

Academic salaries in colleges of advanced education – Report of Inquiry, 1968–69

A5882, CO663

Migrant education program, 1970–72

A5882, CO843



Minister for Science and Education
Malcolm Fraser and Country Party MP
John England visit the radio telescope,
Parkes, 1969. Courtesy CSIRO: AR1392

SECOND GORTON MINISTRY – FOLDERS OF CABINET SUBMISSIONS, 1968–69**A5868**

Recorded by: 1968– Secretary to Cabinet/Cabinet Secretariat (I) (CA 3)
1969– Department of the Cabinet Office (CA 1285)

Quantity: 3 metres (Canberra)

This is the series of submissions considered by the Gorton Cabinet between February 1968 and the election in October 1969 when Fraser was Minister for Education and Science. The items listed below are examples of the types of submissions on education matters that were brought to the Cabinet by Fraser.

Commonwealth program for primary and secondary school libraries, 1968 **A5868, 3**

Commonwealth assistance for the training of pre-school teachers, 1968 **A5868, 136**

Commonwealth expenditure on education, 1968 **A5868, 187**

Major school projects for Darwin and Alice Springs, 1969 **A5868, 594**

Commonwealth university and advanced education scholarship schemes, 1969 **A5868, 641**

MCMAHON MINISTRY – CABINET SUBMISSIONS, 1971–72**A5908**

Recorded by: 1971–72 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

This is the series of submissions considered by Cabinet from March 1971, when McMahon became Prime Minister, until the defeat of the government at the federal election of December 1972. Fraser joined the Ministry as Minister for Education and Science in August 1971, a position he retained until the defeat of the government. The items listed below are examples of the types of submissions on education matters that were brought to the Cabinet by Fraser.

Additional assistance to government and independent schools, 1971 **A5908, 425**

Operation of schools in the Australian Capital Territory, 1972 **A5908, 684**

Teacher education policy, 1972 **A5908, 765**

PRESS RELEASES – SPEECHES, STATEMENTS, RADIO TALKS AND INTERVIEWS, 1970–83**M1229**

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1971–72 Department of Education and Science, Central Office – Minister's Office (CA 1196)

1970–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series of press releases was accumulated in Fraser's office mainly during his time as Minister for Defence (1970–71) and as Prime Minister (1975–83). Some papers, however, relate directly to his electorate interests as Member for Wannon, his second term as Minister for Education and Science (1971–72), and the eight months he was Leader of the Opposition (1975).

Speeches as Minister for Education and Science – includes press statements, 1967–72 **M1229, 10 PART 1**

Speeches as Member for Wannon and Minister for Education and Science, 1972–75 **M1229, 10 PART 2**

Includes a draft chapter 'Principles, policy and manner'.

CORRESPONDENCE MAINTAINED AS MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, 1971–72

M1365

Recorded by: 1971–72 Department of Education and Science, Central Office – Minister's Office (CA 1196)

1971–72 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

The folders of correspondence in this series were maintained by Fraser during his second term as Minister for Education and Science (1971–72). The subject matter closely relates to the portfolio interests, including Commonwealth policy, universities, colleges of advanced education, technical institutions, Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) projects, financial assistance to education in remote areas, and grants to independent schools and other bodies.

Correspondence 'C', 1972

M1365, 8 PART 2

Comprises correspondence maintained as Minister for Education and Science; includes Community Standards Organisation representation relating to the controversial *Little Red Schoolbook*.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH FEDERAL AND STATE PARLIAMENTARIANS MAINTAINED AS MINISTER FOR EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, 1971–72

M1368

Recorded by: 1971–72 Department of Education and Science, Central Office – Minister's Office (CA 1196)

1971–72 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

The files of correspondence in this series were maintained by Fraser during his second term as Minister for Education and Science in the McMahon government (1971–72). The correspondence mainly relates to matters dealt with by the Education and Science portfolio at a policy level and in respect of individual cases. Some papers specific to Liberal Party issues, parliamentary procedures and to Fraser's electorate interests can also be found in the files.

Correspondence – DL Chipp (Minister for Customs and Excise), 1971–72

M1368, 11

Includes papers relating to the *Little Red Schoolbook*.

Correspondence 'F' – includes WC Fife, J FitzPatrick, AJ Forbes, EMC Fox, AD Fraser, 1969–72

M1368, 21 PART 1

Includes a paper relating to wildlife conservation by Dr EL Kozicky.

Correspondence – Prime Minister (William McMahon), 1971–72

M1368, 51 PART 3

SPEECHES, SPEECH NOTES AND MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS, 1968–69**M1375**

Recorded by: 1968–69 Department of Education and Science, Central Office –
Minister's Office (CA 1196)

1968–69 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.09 metres (Canberra)

This series contains speeches, speech notes and statements made by Fraser during his first term as Minister for Education and Science (1968–69). The papers mainly concern tertiary education funding, universities, colleges of advanced education, rural industries research and the government approach to science. Also included in the series, however, is a set of documents tabled in the House of Representatives in September 1968 concerning the RAAF's controversial purchase of F111 aircraft.

Speeches and speech notes as Minister for Education and Science, 1968**M1375, 1**

Relates to tertiary education, Commonwealth Universities Congress, rural industries research and Australia's role in Asia; includes documents tabled in the House of Representatives relating to the purchase of F111 aircraft (26 September 1968).

Speeches, speech notes and statements as Minister for Education and Science, 1961–69**M1375, 2**

Relates to government approaches to science, the Great Barrier Reef, external study facilities, government–university relations, and the 1970–72 triennium tertiary education and research grants program.

MOTION PICTURE FILM DUPLICATING COPIES OF M1339, AUDIO TAPE REELS AND CASSETTES, 2003–**M4389**

Recorded by: 2003 National Archives of Australia, Sydney Office (CA 8559)
2003 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.23 metres (Sydney)

This series contains audiovisual reference copies of M1339, audio tape reels and cassettes. These reference copies were created to ensure the preservation of the original records. They are to be used for reference purposes only.

Malcolm Fraser, Minister for Education and Science (moving images), 1966–75**M4389, 23SOUND**

Vote Liberal advertisement. Format: black and white, sound;
quantity: 1 of 1 film reels (110 feet); type: 16mm.

In Opposition

When the Labor government of Gough Whitlam gained power in the 1972 election, Liberal Party leader Billy Snedden appointed Malcolm Fraser Shadow Minister for Industrial Relations. On 21 March 1975 Fraser challenged and defeated Snedden for the leadership. He remained Leader of the Opposition until 11 November 1975, when the Governor-General dismissed the Whitlam government and Fraser was installed as caretaker Prime Minister.

PRESS RELEASES (SPEECHES, STATEMENTS, RADIO TALKS AND INTERVIEWS), 1970–83

M1229

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1970–83 Department of the House of Representatives –
Member for Wannon (CA 692)
1970–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series of press releases was accumulated in Fraser's office mainly during his time as Minister for Defence (1970–71) and as Prime Minister (1975–83). Some papers, however, relate to his second term as Minister for Education and Science (1971–72) and the eight months he was Leader of the Opposition in 1975. The files appear to have been a master set of press statements, speeches, speech notes, radio talks and transcripts of interviews maintained by Fraser's press staff, including David Barnett (Press Secretary, 1975–82).

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – press releases as Leader of the Opposition and Prime Minister, November 1975

M1229, 23 PART 3

The Dismissal, 1975

The controversial dismissal of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam by Governor-General Sir John Kerr on 11 November 1975 changed the course of Australian history. Although the Coalition won strong majorities in both the 1975 and 1977 elections, and won a third term in 1980, the controversy continued.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1929–

A432

Recorded by: 1929– Attorney-General's Department, Central Office (CA 5)
Quantity: 2182 metres (Canberra), 291 metres (Sydney)

This is the Attorney-General's Department's main correspondence files series.

Whether the Governor-General has the power to dismiss a prime minister, 1975

A432, A1975/7778

Dismissal of Prime Minister by Governor-General, 1975–78

**A432, A1975/7853
PART 1**

Double dissolution, 1975–76

**A432,
GCD1975/7906**

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'G' (GENERAL REPRESENTATIONS) INFIX, 1956–

A463

Recorded by: 1971– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
Quantity: 962 metres (Canberra)

This series was raised to deal with the general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects vary considerably, reflecting the coordinating function of the department. Political, social, cultural, economic, industrial and defence matters are all dealt with; other aspects include the administration of the Australian Government, immigration, honours, international conferences and diplomatic relations with other countries.

House of Representatives motions, 1960–77

A463, 1975/4000

Includes want of confidence and censure motions against the government and individual ministers as at 16 October 1975.

Failure of supply – government employees, 1975

A463, 1975/4276

Includes reaction to the delay of Appropriation Bills.

Caretaker and administrative arrangements, 1974–75

A463, 1975/4375

Contains arrangements for the caretaker Fraser Ministry, 11 November to 13 December 1975.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (TREASURY), 1901–76

A571

Recorded by: 1901–76 Department of the Treasury (I), Central Office (CA 11)

Quantity: 50 metres (Canberra), 22 metres (Sydney)

This is the main correspondence series of Treasury files. Items listed below are a small example of items that contain Fraser-related material.

Caretaker government – guidance and background, 1974–75

A571, 1975/6607

Deferral of supply, 1974–75

A571, 1975/9083

Includes details of a scheme to facilitate access to finance for employees of, and suppliers to, the Australian Government.

PART 1



Malcolm Fraser walks down the steps of Parliament House, Canberra, 11 November 1975. Courtesy National Library of Australia: nla.pic-an24355074

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–

A1209

Recorded by: 1971– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Powers of the Senate in relation to supply and constitutional conventions – policy papers, 1975

A1209, 1975/1910

The role of the Governor-General in the passage of Supply Bills, 1975–76

A1209, 1975/1912

Double dissolution of Parliament, 1975

A1209, 1975/2448

Includes a detailed timeline of events.

Specific complaints to the Governor-General regarding the caretaker government, 1975

A1209, 1975/2964

PRESS CLIPPINGS AND COPIES OF ARTICLES RELATING TO THE DISMISSAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER, GOUGH WHITLAM, IN NOVEMBER 1975, 1975–77

A11473

Recorded by: 1975–77 Governor-General (CA 1)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

These records have been arranged in series and control symbols imposed, where necessary, by the National Archives.

The Dismissal – list of press clippings included in this series, alphabetical by publication order, 1975–77

A11473, 1

The Dismissal – list of journal articles included in this series, alphabetical by author order, 1975–76

A11473, 11

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1975–77

A10926

Recorded by: 1975–77 Governor-General (CA 1)

1975–77 The Rt Hon Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises correspondence (letters, telegrams and cards) addressed to His Excellency Sir John Kerr as Governor-General of Australia. It covers the period 1975 to 1977 and is in two distinct alphabetical sequences. Correspondence in the first sequence mainly relates to the dismissal of the Whitlam government in November 1975 (items 1–21). The second sequence consists of letters and telegrams of support addressed to Sir John Kerr following the announcement of his resignation from office on 14 July 1977. A small number of news cuttings and publications are also in the series.

Letters and telegrams of criticism addressed to the Governor-General Sir John Kerr, 1975–77

A10926, 3

PRESS OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE, 1975-78**M1280**

Recorded by: 1975-78 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
 1975-78 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.54 metres (Canberra)

This series was primarily maintained in the Prime Minister's Press Office during Fraser's prime ministership. The series covers the period November 1975 to early January 1979, with several papers dating from mid-1975 when Fraser was Leader of the Opposition. The correspondence relates to a wide range of local, national and international issues.

Press and media relations, 1976**M1280, 16 PART 2**

Relates to interview requests; includes Federal Capital Press report (1976), *Heritage* magazine with feature articles on the Dismissal and Sir John Kerr (nos 1-2, 1976), and an article for the *Pacific Defence Reporter*.

TELEXES RECEIVED AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION AND AS PRIME MINISTER, 1975-79**M1341**

Recorded by: 1975-79 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
 1975 Department of the House of Representatives – Leader of the Opposition (CA 692)
 1975-79 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.30 metres (Canberra)

This series contains copies of telexes retained by Fraser. The first binder covers the last three months of his time as Leader of the Opposition (August to November 1975) and then caretaker Prime Minister (November to December 1975). The telexes in the second binder are copies forwarded to Fraser at his property Nareen in the Western District of Victoria. They cover the period April 1976 to August 1979 when he was Prime Minister.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – telexes received as Leader of the Opposition and caretaker Prime Minister, August-December 1975**M1341, 1****PERSONAL PAPERS OF SIR CLARENCE HARDERS (SECRETARY, ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT), 1965-97****M4081**

Recorded by: 1965-80 Attorney-General's Department, Central Office – Deputy Secretary/Secretary's Office (CA 5)
 1965-97 Sir Clarence Waldemar Harders OBE (CP 686)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

Sir Clarence (Clarrie) Harders largely accumulated this series during his career in the service of the Commonwealth, including as Secretary of the Attorney-General's Department (1970-79). Topics include the 1974-75 Loans Affair, dismissal of the Whitlam government and the subsequent Sankey versus Whitlam legal proceedings.

The Dismissal – advice, 1975

M4081, 2/2

Includes advice compelling the states to act regarding issuing of writs for a half Senate election.

The Dismissal – advice, 1975

M4081, 2/6

Includes opinions of the Solicitor-General and Attorney-General regarding the exercise of the Governor-General's powers in constitutional crises.

The Dismissal – Governor-General – position where the Senate rejects supply, 1975

M4081, 2/16

SIR JOHN KERR'S PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE 1975 CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, 1974–91

M4523

Recorded by: 1974–77 Governor-General (CA 1)
1974–81 The Rt Hon Sir John Robert Kerr AK, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, QC (CP 266)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

Documents in this series were packaged together in an envelope marked 'Private and confidential'. Notes by Sir John Kerr relating to the constitutional crisis of 1975 are included. A number are handwritten by Kerr with typescript copies attached. A personal journal for 1980 is also included.

Notes on a conversation with Malcolm Fraser on the occasion of a dinner for the Prime Minister of Malaysia, 1975

M4523, 1 PART 2

Notes relating to Maurice Byers' opinion on RJ Ellicott's press statement on reserve powers, 1975

M4523, 1 PART 11

Prime Minister, 1975–83

Malcolm Fraser was Australia's 22nd Prime Minister, from 1975 until 1983, when Labor (led by Bob Hawke) gained power. In economic policy, the Fraser government worked to reduce expenditure and provide responsible economic management. Fraser supported strong defence spending, and reinforced Australia's diplomatic and trade relations with the countries of East and South-East Asia. He had an important influence on the changing relations of countries within the British Commonwealth.

This section begins with a list of records that cover Fraser's term as Prime Minister, including the key correspondence series of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (A1209) and Cabinet records. Keyword searches within A1209 on the National Archives' collection database, RecordSearch, are an efficient way of locating material of interest (naa.gov.au).

As well as listing general records from Fraser's time as Prime Minister, this section includes details of records on the following key issues of the Fraser government:

- Aboriginal affairs
- Apartheid and sport
- Cabinet
- Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings
- Environment
- Foreign affairs
- Immigration and refugees
- Zimbabwe/Rhodesia.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957-**A1209**

Recorded by: 1957-71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Messages of congratulations to Prime Minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser following the 1975 election, 1975-76**A1209, 1975/3130****Significant policy commitments, 1977 election, 1980 election - follow up 1981****A1209, 1981/647
PART 3****FRASER MINISTRIES - CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'LC' PREFIX, 1975-83****A10756**

Recorded by: 1975-83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 105 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises the main correspondence files of the Cabinet Office for administering Cabinet business during the Fraser government, from November 1975 to March 1983. It covers the full range of Cabinet-related activities including procedural matters on the operation of the Cabinet.

Use of the term 'Commonwealth', 1975-82**A10756, LC55****The Australian national anthem, 1976-82**

Submission Nos 1825, 1898, 2495 and 5271 refer.

**A10756, LC91
PART 1****Monetary policy external aspects, 1976-78**

Submission No. 990 refers.

**A10756, LC1791
PART 1****Monetary policy internal aspects, 1977-78****A10756, LC1792
PART 2****Committee of Inquiry into Australian Financial System - Campbell Report, 1978-82**

Submission Nos 4970, 4971, 5207 and 5299 refer.

**A10756, LC2525
PART 1****FRASER MINISTRIES - FOLDERS OF CABINET AND CABINET COMMITTEE MEETINGS ATTENDANCE SHEETS, 1975-82****A12575**

Recorded by: 1975-82 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 0.60 metres (Canberra)

This series includes sheets recording the attendance of ministers at meetings of Cabinet and Cabinet committees, from the beginning of the Fraser government in November 1975 to the end of 1979.

Fraser ministries - Cabinet and Cabinet committee meetings attendance sheets - Folder No. 1 (meetings held in 1975 and 1976), November 1975 - December 1976**A12575, 1**

PRIME MINISTER'S VISITORS BOOKS, THE LODGE, CANBERRA, 1966–

A2443

Recorded by: 1971– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

Quantity: 0.45 metres (Canberra)

This series records official visitors to The Lodge, the Prime Minister's residence in Canberra.

Prime Minister's visitors book, 1976–80

A2443, 3

Includes the signatures of the Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea Michael Somare, West Indies cricket team, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and other members of the Royal Family, Governor-General Sir John Kerr, those attending the first meeting of the Australiana Fund and the International Year of the Child breakfast, and prominent Australian and overseas visitors.

RADIO ARCHIVES LIBRARY RECORDINGS, RADIO AUDIO PRODUCTION MATERIAL, 1973–

C100

Recorded by: 1973–83 Australian Broadcasting Commission,
Head Office (CA 251)
1983– Australian Broadcasting Commission – Radio Archives
(CA 6879)

Quantity: 1712 metres (Sydney)

This series consists of master tapes kept by the Australian Broadcasting Commission Radio Archives of programs considered to merit permanent retention due to their historical and/or artistic value.

***This Day Tonight*, talk back with Malcolm Fraser,
29 November 1977**

C100, 78/7/87

Format: sound recording; quantity: 1 audio tape reel.

**SUBJECT FILES MAINTAINED AS PRIME MINISTER, 1975–83
(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)**

M1268

Recorded by: 1975–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1975–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 8 metres (Canberra)

This series of subject files was maintained in the Prime Minister's Office during Fraser's prime ministership. It covers the entire period of his term in office with the exception of the final six weeks (February–March 1983). The files are titled according to their subject, a particular person or an institution.

**Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser, ABC 'Monday
Conference' transcripts, 1976**

M1268, 234

Includes interviews with Fraser, Gough Whitlam (Leader of the Opposition), Lee Kuan Yew (Prime Minister of Singapore), and Bob Hawke (President of the Australian Labor Party and Australian Council of Trade Unions).

VIDEO CASSETTES, 1975–82**M1338**

Recorded by: 1975–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
 1975–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 6 metres (Sydney)

This series is an assorted collection of video cassettes mainly relating to Fraser as Prime Minister (1975–83). Many of the cassettes contain interviews with Fraser or coverage of him for Australian television programs, including *ABC News*, *This Day Tonight*, *60 Minutes*, *A Current Affair*, *Mike Walsh Show*, *Willesee at Seven*, *Nationwide* and *This Week in Canberra*.

ABC News, This Day Tonight – personal papers of Prime Minister John Malcolm Fraser, 1976 **M1338, 45**

Quantity: 1 videotape; duration: 57 minutes.

ABC News – 18 February; This Day Tonight – 17 March; ABC News – 25 March; CP policy speech – 7 April; Willesee at Seven – 19 November – personal papers of Prime Minister John Malcolm Fraser, 1976 **M1338, 118**

Quantity: 1 videotape; duration: 31 minutes, 41 seconds.

VIDEO REFERENCE COPIES OF M1338, VIDEO CASSETTES, 2004**M4382**

Recorded by: 2004 National Archives of Australia, Sydney Office (CA 8559)
 2004 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 3 metres (Sydney)

This series contains audiovisual reference copies of M1338, video cassettes. They were created to ensure the preservation of the original records. The format of these copies may differ from the format of the original item. They are to be used for reference purposes only.

ABC News, This Day Tonight – personal papers of Prime Minister John Malcolm Fraser, 1976 **M4382, 45**

Quantity: 1 videotape; duration: 57 minutes.

Aboriginal affairs

Perhaps the most notable legislation relating to Indigenous people during Fraser's time in government was the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–**A1209**

Recorded by: 1957–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Aurukun bauxite project – Aboriginal interests, 1976

**A1209, 1976/421,
PART 1**

Aurukun bauxite project – Aboriginal interests, 1976–80

**A1209, 1976/421,
PART 2**

Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Bill, 1976	A1209, 1976/1902, PART 1
Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Bill, 1976–77	A1209, 1976/1902, PART 2
Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Bill, 1977–78	A1209, 1976/1902, PART 3
Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Bill, 1978	A1209, 1976/1902, PART 4

**FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES
WITH ‘LC’ PREFIX, 1975–83**

A10756

Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 105 metres (Canberra)

This is the main series of correspondence files maintained in the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business during the period of the Fraser government (1975–83). It covers the full range of Cabinet-related activities, including procedural matters concerning the operation of the Cabinet system itself.

Aboriginal land rights (Aurukun mining), 1976–78

A10756, LC180

Submission No. 141 refers.

Government’s Aboriginal policy, 1976–78

**A10756, LC793
PART 1**

Submission Nos 438, 439, 448, 563, 654, 667, 685, 687, 704, 705 and 706 refer.

National Employment Strategy for Aboriginals, 1977–79

**A10756, LC1381
PART 1**

Submission Nos 1185, 2540 and 2688 refer.

**SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET
SUBMISSIONS (WITH DECISIONS), 1975–83**

A12909

Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 51 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of submissions received by the Cabinet Office during the terms of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Fraser ministries (1975–83).

Implementation of party policy on Aboriginal land rights, 1976

A12909, 265

Submission No. 265; Decisions 506 and 896.

Aboriginal land rights, 1976

A12909, 287

Submission No. 287; Decisions 506 and 896.

National Employment Strategy for Aboriginals, 1977

A12909, 1841

Immediate action proposed by the Department of Education for the Northern Territory. Submission No 1841; Decision 4393 (Ad Hoc).

**Proposed Queensland Government takeover of management
of Aurukun and Mornington Island Reserves, 1978**

A12909, 2046

Submission No. 2046; Decision 4909.

Self-management for Queensland Aboriginal reserves, 1978

A12909, 2080

Submission No. 2080; Decision 4935.

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET PAPERS (SOME WITH DECISIONS), 1976–79 A12933

Recorded by: 1976–79 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of registered papers that were introduced at meetings of Cabinet or Cabinet committees by a minister to support a proposal or matter under discussion where no formal submission had been made.

Coordination of negotiations between the Commonwealth and the Northern Land Council, 1978 A12933, 263

Cabinet Paper No. 263: Minister responsible: Mr Viner (Aboriginal Affairs) – presented at Ad Hoc Committee meeting, 15 March 1978 – Decision No. 4871.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 1979–83 M1266

Recorded by: 1979–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1979–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.90 metres (Canberra)

The series contains correspondence with government ministers and other members of Parliament. Files for individual ministers mostly focus on issues specific to their portfolio, whereas the files for other members of Parliament tend to cover a broader range of subjects.

Correspondence 'R', 1979–82 M1266, 40

Includes correspondence with Philip Ruddock, Margaret Reid and AC Rocher, and papers relating to Aboriginal land rights and the Tasmanian Transport Workers' Union strike.

Correspondence with the Hon Ian Viner, 1980–82 M1266, 46

Contains correspondence with Ian Viner as Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs, Leader of the House of Representatives, Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister for Defence Support; includes papers relating to unemployment, employment of disabled people, national employment strategy for Aborigines, and talk-back radio programs.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH NON-MINISTERIAL GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 1976–79 M1334

Recorded by: 1976–79 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–79 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

Various government and parliamentary matters are discussed in the correspondence in this series, including parliamentary reform, Party Room ballots and leaks, requests from backbenchers for more participation in the formulation of government policy, electoral tactics and election campaigns. Other papers relate to public service matters. Non-parliamentary matters include the Medibank levy, Aboriginal welfare, racial discrimination in Ceduna (South Australia), Ayers Rock Tourist Village, immigration, East Timor, subsidies for farmers, live sheep

exports, whaling industry, uranium mining in the Northern Territory, wool growing, management of national parks, and funding for political strikes, youth employment and the Dandenong Sewerage Authority.

Correspondence – government members of Parliament, 1976–77 M1334, 22

Contains correspondence with the Hon WC Wentworth, including papers relating to the Budget, interest rates, Senate election, Aboriginal land rights legislation, funeral benefits, vulnerability of large ships and the booklet *What's Wrong with Socialism?*

ELECTORATE SECRETARY'S MINISTRY FILES, 1978–81

M1371

Recorded by: 1978–81 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1978–81 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

This small series consists of 18 folders maintained by Fraser's Electorate Secretary while he was Prime Minister. The papers were generated by his ministers, however, and are not electorate records. Rather, they are information papers (or copies) received in the Prime Minister's Office, stamped as such and passed to the Electorate Secretary apparently on a 'need-to-know' basis.

Aboriginal affairs, 1979–80

M1371, 1

Includes papers relating to the National Aboriginal Conference, government funding 1980–81, and an address by F Chaney to the first meeting of the Aboriginal Development Commission.



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs Ian Viner at the opening of the Bakandji Housing Co-op, Wilcannia, New South Wales, 1980. NAA: A8598, AK27/2/80/81

Apartheid and sport

A strong opponent of apartheid, Fraser supported reform in South Africa. At the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Scotland, he argued strongly for widespread opposition to apartheid. The Gleneagles Agreement against apartheid in sport resulted from this meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–

A1209

Recorded by: 1957–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Apartheid in sport in South Africa, 1973–76

A1209, 1973/6671

South African Apartheid Policy – general, 1973–77

**A1209, 1977/881,
PART 1**

South African Apartheid Policy – general, 1977–78

**A1209, 1977/881,
PART 2**

South African Apartheid Policy – general, 1977–78

**A1209, 1977/881,
PART 3**

South African Apartheid Policy – general, 1979

**A1209, 1977/881,
PART 4**

CORRESPONDENCE FILES (FOREIGN AFFAIRS), 1948–89

A1838

Recorded by: 1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)

Quantity: 3372 metres (Canberra), 0.18 metres (Brisbane)

This series comprises the main correspondence files of the Department of External Affairs (II) from 1948 to 1970, the Department of Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987, and the Foreign Affairs section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.

South Africa – cultural – sport (including visits to and from other countries except Australia), 1977

**A1838, 201/5/4
PART 12**

South Africa – visit to Australia – sporting teams from South Africa, 1976–77

**A1838,
201/10/10/3 PART 9**

South Africa – visit to Australia – sporting teams from South Africa, 1977–78

**A1838, 201/10/10/3
PART 10**

Political subjects of United Nations concern – Africa – apartheid and sport, 1977

**A1838, 916/1/8
PART 7**

MASTER SET OF DEPARTMENTAL BRIEFS FOR, AND REPORTS ON, INTERNATIONAL OFFICIAL TALKS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, 1945–

A2539

Recorded by: 1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)

Quantity: 85 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of a master set of briefs and briefing notes prepared by the Department of Foreign Affairs for ministers and senior officials on official visits to foreign countries when representing Australia at meetings and conferences of international organisations, partaking in official talks with other governments, or preparing official reports on the meetings.

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, 1977

Includes minutes of sessions and memoranda, London (8–15 June 1977).

**A2539,
B77/000062**

SPEECH NOTES AND RELATED PAPERS, 1972–83

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

M1263

Recorded by: 1975–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1972–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 10 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of Fraser's speech notes, addresses, articles and related papers. They date from early March 1972, when Fraser was Minister for Education and Science in the McMahon government, to February 1983, shortly before the end of his own government. It includes the period when he was an Opposition spokesman (1973–75) and Leader of the Opposition (March to November 1975) during the Whitlam government.

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, 1977

Includes a statement on apartheid in sport (14 June 1977).

M1263, 463

SUBJECT FILES MAINTAINED AS PRIME MINISTER, 1975–83

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

M1268

Recorded by: 1975–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1975–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 8 metres (Canberra)

This series of subject files was maintained in the Prime Minister's Office during Fraser's prime ministership (1975–83). It covers the entire period of his term in office with the exception of the final six weeks (February to March 1983).

Heads of Government correspondence, 1977

M1268, 292

SENIOR ADVISERS' RESEARCH MATERIAL, SECOND SERIES, 1977–80

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

M1277

Recorded by: 1977–80 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1977–80 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of folders of research material accumulated and used by Fraser's senior advisers during the middle period of his prime ministership (1977–80). The advisory staff at the time included Petro Georgiou, Alan Jones and Ian Renard. A series of similar research material (M1276) covers the years 1975 and 1976.

Apartheid – Southern Africa (relates to sport), 1977

M1277, 12

Cabinet

There were five Fraser ministries (and five cabinets) between 1975 and 1983. The first was the caretaker government formed between the dismissal of the Whitlam government on 11 November 1975 and the swearing in of the new Fraser government on 22 December 1975.

The key Cabinet records of the Fraser government are submissions, decisions and Cabinet Office files (known as LC files). An additional type of Cabinet record – Cabinet papers (later replaced by Cabinet memorandums) – was introduced during the Fraser years.

Related records for the Fraser Cabinet held by the National Archives include the personal collections of Malcolm Fraser, as well as those of key members of his Cabinet (including Doug Anthony, Philip Lynch, Andrew Peacock, John Howard, Ian Macphee and Ian Sinclair).

Detailed information about Cabinet records, including digitised copies of documents, is available on the National Archives' website (naa.gov.au).

FIRST FRASER MINISTRY – FOLDER OF CABINET DECISIONS, 1975

A13050

Recorded by: 1975 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 0.09 metres (Canberra)

This series contains a copy of all decisions made at Cabinet meetings during the term of the First Fraser Ministry, filed by decision number. The First Fraser Ministry was in effect an interim ministry of 15 members, sworn in as a caretaker government on 11 November 1975, following the dismissal of the Whitlam government. It remained in place for six weeks while the outcome of the election, set for 13 December 1975, was determined. During this time there were two meetings of Cabinet.

Cabinet Minute – Cabinet procedures – without submission 12 November 1975, Decision 1, 1975

A13050, 1

Cabinet Minute – ministerial staff and staff of office holders and former office holders during the caretaker period – without submission, 1975

A13050, 9

Cabinet Minute – complaints to the Governor-General regarding the caretaker government – without submission 1975

A13050, 28

FRASER MINISTRIES – FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE COMMITTEE PAPERS (WITH DECISIONS), 1976

A12934

Recorded by: 1976 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 0.36 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of registered papers that were considered at meetings of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee (of Cabinet) between February and December 1976, and in relation to which a Cabinet decision was made by the committee.

Recent trends in United States foreign policy, 1976

A12934, FAD3

FAD Paper No. 3: Minister responsible: Mr Peacock (Foreign Affairs) – presented at FAD Committee meeting, 6 February 1976 – Decision 201 (FAD).

Policy and organisation to counter international terrorism, 1976

A12934, FAD23

FAD Paper No. 23: Ministers responsible: Mr Ellicott (Attorney-General) and Mr Withers (Administrative Services) – presented at FAD Committee meeting, 27 September 1976 – Decision 1657 (FAD).

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy No. ²⁹.....

C A B I N E T M I N U T E


Canberra, 23 March 1976

Decision No. 367

- Submission No. 181 - Prohibition of Cigarette and
(and Addendum) Cigarette Tobacco Advertising on
Television and Radio
- Submission No. 185 - Restriction of Cigarette and Cigarette
(and Addendum) Tobacco Advertising on Television and
Radio

The Cabinet :-

- (a) re-affirmed that as from 1 September 1976 there will be a ban on the advertising of cigarettes and cigarette tobacco on television and radio;
- (b) authorised the preparation of appropriate amending legislation to the Broadcasting and Television Act to ensure the effectiveness of this decision (see paragraphs 17 and 18 of Submission No. 181); and
- (c) agreed that the Minister for Health should pursue with the State Health Ministers their proposals to work towards uniform legislation to control cigarette advertising in areas where the Commonwealth has no constitutional power.


Secretary to Cabinet

CONFIDENTIAL

The front page of a Cabinet submission to restrict cigarette advertising on television, 1976. NAA: A12909, 185

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH ‘LC’ PREFIX, 1975–83**A10756**

Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 105 metres (Canberra)

When a new government takes office, the Cabinet Office will close off the current main correspondence file series documenting Cabinet business and begin a new series for the incoming government. This series is the main series of correspondence files maintained in the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business for the period of the Fraser government (1975–83).

Establishment of the Family Court of Australia, 1976**A10756, LC19****Moscow Olympic Games, 1977–80****A10756, LC2803**

Submission Nos 2763, 2884 and 3748 refer.

PART 1**SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET SUBMISSIONS (WITH DECISIONS), 1975–83****A12909**

Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 51 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of submissions received in the Cabinet Office during the terms of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Fraser ministries (1975–83).

Restriction of cigarette and cigarette tobacco advertising on television and radio, 1976**A12909, 185**

Submission No. 185; Decision 367.

Torres Strait – state of negotiations with Papua New Guinea, 1976 **A12909, 813**

Submission No. 813; Decision 1895 (FAD).

Review of health insurance arrangements, 1978**A12909, 2083**Submission No. 2083 – amendment to *Health Insurance Act 1973* – Decisions 5093 and 5125.**Characteristics of unemployment benefit recipients, 1978****A12909, 2085**

Submission No. 2085; Decision 5112.

Australian Royal Commission of Inquiry into Drugs, 1981**A12909, 5158**

Submission No. 5158 – uniform legislation proposals in Book ‘F’ of the Australian Royal Commission of Inquiry into Drugs Report – related to Decision No. 16987.

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET PAPERS (SOME WITH DECISIONS), 1976–79 **A12933**

Recorded by: 1976–79 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of registered papers that were introduced at meetings of Cabinet or Cabinet committees by a minister to support a proposal or matter under discussion where no formal submission had been made.



The Fourth Fraser Ministry on the steps of Government House, Canberra, 1980. NAA: A6180, 3/11/80/9

Ananda Marga – supplementary comment, 1978 **A12933, 212**

Cabinet Paper No. 212: Minister responsible: Mr Mackellar (Immigration and Ethnic Affairs) – presented at Cabinet meeting, 17 January 1978.

Report of Interdepartmental Committee on Economic Strategy, 1978 **A12933, 249**

Cabinet Paper No. 249: Ministers responsible: Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet), Mr Robinson (Finance), Mr Howard (Treasury) and Reserve Bank – presented at Cabinet meeting, 23 February 1978.

Sydney Futures Exchange regarding the establishment of a currency futures market, 1978 **A12933, 250**

Cabinet Paper No. 250: Minister responsible: Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet) – presented at Cabinet meeting, 23 February 1978 – Decision 4706.

Management of the exchange rate, 1978 **A12933, 261**

Cabinet Paper No. 261: Ministers responsible: Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet), Mr Howard (Treasury) and Reserve Bank (and Messrs Carmody, Knight and Wheeler – 'The Group of Three') – presented at Cabinet meeting, 8 March 1978.

Parliamentary privilege, 1978 **A12933, 282**

Cabinet Paper No. 282: Minister responsible: Mr Fraser (Prime Minister) – presented at Cabinet meeting, 9 April 1978 – Decision 5029.

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET MEMORANDA (WITH DECISIONS), 1979–83 **A12930**

Recorded by: 1979–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 18 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of accumulated master copies of Cabinet memorandums – papers that were submitted for consideration at Cabinet or Cabinet committee meetings which were normally supplementary to an earlier submission and often in response to a specific request contained in a

Cabinet decision. Memorandums were intended to further elaborate on and support a proposal or matter under discussion. They may complement an earlier submission or may be a paper supporting a matter introduced to a meeting where no formal submission had been made.

Kurnell refinery dispute, 1979

A12930, 329

Memorandum No. 329: Ministers responsible: Mr Nixon (Transport), Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet) and Mr Newman (National Development) – circulated 19 June 1979 – Decision 9015.

Possible courses of action in Telecom dispute, 1979

A12930, 348

Memorandum No. 348: Ministers responsible: Mr Staley (Post and Telecommunications), Mr Street (Industrial Relations), Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet) and Telecom – circulated 29 June 1979 – Decision 9080 (Ad Hoc).

Report of the Standing Committee on Industrial Disputes, 1979

A12930, 391

Memorandum No. 391: Ministers responsible: Mr Street (Industrial Relations), Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet), Mr Durack (Attorney-General) and Mr Staley (Post and Telecommunications) – circulated 12 July 1979.

Australia and the Iran crisis, 1979

A12930, 564

Minister responsible: Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet) – circulated 11 December 1979 – Decision 10451 (FAD).

**SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES –
FOLDERS OF CABINET DECISIONS, 1975–82**

A13075

Recorded by: 1975–82 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

A Cabinet decision authorises the government to act in matters of significance – high-level policy issues, major expenditure or significant appointments. All matters discussed in a Cabinet meeting result in a Cabinet decision (even if the decision is merely that the matter was noted).

Second Fraser Ministry Cabinet decisions 2391 to 2727, 1977

**A13075,
VOLUME 9**

Third Fraser Ministry Cabinet decisions 8441 to 8889, 1979

**A13075,
VOLUME 26**

**Fourth Fraser Ministry Cabinet decisions 13157 to
13599, 1980–81**

**A13075,
VOLUME 39**

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings

Fraser attended and hosted Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings during his term as Prime Minister. He also had an important influence on the changing relations of countries within the British Commonwealth. In August 1979 Fraser attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, where his influence was a key factor in the progress towards independence for Zimbabwe. He also hosted a Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting in Melbourne in 1981.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES (CLASSIFIED) WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957-

A1209

Recorded by: 1957-71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, London – briefing notes, 1976	A1209, 1976/2618, PART 1
Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, 1978 – general administrative arrangements, 1977-78	A1209, 1977/1871, PART 1
Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting – general administrative arrangements, 1978	A1209, 1977/1871, PART 2
Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Lusaka, 1979 – Commonwealth secretariat arrangements, 1973-80	A1209, 1979/1443, PART 1
Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, Meeting Two – New Delhi, 1980 – functional cooperation, 1980-82	A1209, 1980/1158, PART 1
Commonwealth Policy Briefing Group – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, 1981 – agenda, 1980-81	A1209, 1980/1462, PART 1
Commonwealth Policy Briefing Group – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting – agenda, 1981	A1209, 1980/1462, PART 2



Secretary General Shridath Ramphal and Chairman Malcolm Fraser at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Melbourne, 1981. NAA: A7735, KCM5/4

- COMMANDER'S DIARY OF HEADQUARTERS FIELD FORCE COMMAND FOR 'PLAN ALBACORE', 1978** **A6928**
- Recorded by: 1978– Department of Defence (III), Central Office (CA 46)
- Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)
- Commanders' diaries were prepared by commanders of all Army formations during non-operational periods. In this case, the series comprises one special diary only, which was submitted to the Army Office by Headquarters Field Force Command on the execution of Plan Albacore. This was the name given to the support and security operations undertaken by the Army in connection with the Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting held in Australia from 13 to 17 February 1978.
- COPIES OF BRIEFS FOR THE PRIME MINISTER, 1977–** **A9491**
- Recorded by: 1977– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
- Quantity: 4 metres (Canberra)
- This series consists of briefs prepared by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet for the Prime Minister on various topics from 1977 onwards.
- Prime Minister's brief, 1980** **A9491, 7**
- Includes notes on member countries – Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, New Delhi (4 to 8 September 1980).
- Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 1981 –
communique brief – Department of Foreign Affairs, 1981** **A9491, 24**
- RECORDS OF MEETINGS OF SENIOR COMMONWEALTH OFFICIALS, 1972–** **A9494**
- Recorded by: 1972– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)
- Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)
- This series consists of copies of records and background papers of the meetings of senior Commonwealth officials from 1972 onwards. Information includes a list of participants, a record of proceedings, a report of the meeting of Commonwealth governments on procedures at Heads of Government Meetings, and recommendations for discussion including procedures adopted at these meetings.
- Commonwealth senior officials meeting, Nicosia –
5–7 November 1980 – Australian delegation brief, 1980** **A9494, 5**
- SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET
SUBMISSIONS (WITH DECISIONS), 1975–83** **A12909**
- Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)
- Quantity: 51 metres (Canberra)
- This series consists of submissions received by the Cabinet Office during the terms of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Fraser ministries (1975–83).
- Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting location, 1978** **A12909, 2100**
- Submission No. 2100; Decision 5107.

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET MEMORANDA (WITH DECISIONS), 1979–83 **A12930**

Recorded by: 1979–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 18 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of accumulated master copies of Cabinet memorandums – papers that were submitted for consideration at Cabinet or Cabinet committee meetings which were normally supplementary to an earlier submission and often in response to a specific request contained in a Cabinet decision.

Draft speech for Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting opening, 1979 **A12930, 350**

Memorandum No. 350: Minister responsible: Mr Fraser (Prime Minister and Cabinet) – circulated 3 July 1979 – Decision 9159 (FAD).

PRIME MINISTER'S PARLIAMENTARY STATEMENTS, 1981–82 **M1264**

Recorded by: 1981–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1981–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

This series contains parliamentary statements maintained by the Prime Minister's Office between September 1981 and September 1982.

Prime Minister's parliamentary statements, 1981–82 **M1264, 1**

Includes statements relating to Gordon Pike's farewell, the Sinai Peacekeeping Force, Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 1981, and the new River Murray Waters Agreement.

PRESS CLIPPINGS, OVERSEAS VISITS, 1976–82 **M1343**

Recorded by: 1976–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

The clippings in this series report on various aspects of official visits to the United States, United Kingdom, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Fiji, New Zealand, Zimbabwe and Papua New Guinea; ASEAN and Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings; high-level talks with other heads of state (for example, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt from Germany); and the funeral of Tun Abdul Razak (Malaysia, January 1976).

Overseas visit – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, 1977 **M1343, 7**

Includes press clippings from the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (London, June 1977).

TRANSCRIPTS AND PRESS RELEASES – COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REGIONAL MEETING 1978 AND COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1981, 1978–81 **M1345**

Recorded by: 1978–81 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.30 metres (Canberra)

This series contains papers relating to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting in Sydney (13 to 16 February 1978), and the Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting in Melbourne (30 September to 7 October 1981).

**Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting
1978, 1977–78** **M1345, 1**

Media kit includes communique, briefings, biographical details of participants and background information on their countries, opening speech by Sir Zelman Cowen (Governor-General), and photographs of Sir Zelman Cowen and Shridath Ramphal (Secretary General).

**Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting,
Australia, 1977–78** **M1345, 2**

Media kit includes biographical details of participants and background information on their countries, and two booklets *The Commonwealth Today* (1977) and *The Commonwealth Secretariat* (1977).

Environment

During the Fraser government's time in office, sand mining on Fraser Island ended, Kakadu National Park was proclaimed, the first stage of a protected Great Barrier Reef marine park was declared, and whaling in Australia came to an end. On the other hand, the mining and export of uranium were permitted, including from controversial areas such as the Jabiru region.

**CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH
OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–**

A1209

Recorded by: 1957–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.



Kakadu National Park, Northern Territory, 1985. During Malcolm Fraser's prime ministership, Kakadu National Park was proclaimed. NAA: A6135, K29/7/85/68

Antarctic – resources and environment policy, 1975–83	A1209, 1976/1768
Uranium development – environment protection Alligator River region, Northern Territory, 1977–81	A1209, 1977/1762 PART 1
Uranium development – environment protection Alligator River region, Northern Territory, 1981	A1209, 1977/1762 PART 2
Uranium development – environment protection Alligator River region, Northern Territory, 1982	A1209, 1977/1762 PART 3

SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET SUBMISSIONS (WITH DECISIONS), 1975–83

A12909

Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 51 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of submissions received by the Cabinet Office during the terms of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Fraser ministries (1975–83).

Law of the Sea – the Great Barrier Reef, 1976 **A12909, 207**

Submission No. 207; Decision 412.

The Commonwealth role in environmental impact assessment, 1976 **A12909, 282**

Submission No. 282; Decision 1008.

Uranium Task Force Paper on First Report of the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, 1976 **A12909, 797**

Submission No. 797; Decisions 1751, 1768, 1798 and 1799.

Fraser Island Environment Inquiry, 1976 **A12909, 822**

Submission No. 822; Decision 1794.

Commonwealth control of stage 2 of the proposed Kakadu National Park, 1978 **A12909, 1972**

Submission No. 1972; Decision 4695 (Ad Hoc) and 4820.

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET PAPERS (SOME WITH DECISIONS), 1976–79 **A12933**

Recorded by: 1976–79 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of registered papers that were introduced at meetings of Cabinet or Cabinet committees by a minister to support a proposal or matter under discussion where no formal submission had been made.

Development of mining township – Kakadu National Park (Uranium Task Force), 1978 **A12933, 413**

Cabinet Paper No. 413: presented at Cabinet meeting, 22 May 1978 – Decision 5516 (Ad Hoc).

SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH FRASER MINISTRIES – FOLDERS OF CABINET DECISIONS, 1975–82**A13075**

Recorded by: 1975–82 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 6 metres (Canberra)

A Cabinet decision (traditionally called a Cabinet minute) authorises the government to act in matters of significance – high-level policy issues, major expenditure or significant appointments. All matters discussed in a Cabinet meeting result in a Cabinet decision (even if the decision is merely that the matter was noted).

Economic Committee – Cabinet Minute – Fraser Island Environmental Inquiry – without submission, 1976**A13075, 1881/EC****Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Amendment Bill, 1978****A13075, 4827/LEG****POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, ANNUAL ALPHABETICAL SERIES, 1976–83****M1256**

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1976–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 11 metres (Canberra)

This series was maintained in the Prime Minister's Office while Fraser was Prime Minister. It contains correspondence relating primarily to representations from members of the public; the Wannon electorate; business, church and other community interest groups; Liberal Party branches; and some Liberal Party colleagues.

Correspondence 'H', 1975–76**M1256, 1976H PART 4**

Includes correspondence relating to Australian currency, the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry (Commissioner: Justice RW Fox), and the wool industry; also includes a speech on Australia–US relations by Ambassador James W Hargrove (September 1976).

NOTES FROM THE PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY, 1976–83**M1272**

Recorded by: 1976–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.27 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of notes maintained in the Prime Minister's Office by the Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister Fraser. The notes cover a wide range of issues.

Principal Private Secretary's notes, 1965–78**M1272, 1**

Includes notes relating to handling of constituent correspondence, environmental impact of sand mining on Fraser Island, Northern Territory self-government and postgraduate research awards.

**SUBJECT INDEX CARDS TO CRS M1332, ELECTORATE CORRESPONDENCE,
ALPHA-NUMERIC SERIES, 1980-83**

M1412

Recorded by: 1980-83 Department of the House of Representatives –
Member for Wannon (CA 692)

1976-83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

This subject index was maintained by the electorate staff of
Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser.

**Subject file (subject index cards to CRS M1332: Abortions –
[anti-whaling]), 1980-83**

M1412, 1 Whales

Foreign affairs

In the Australasian region, the policies of the Fraser government were directed towards reducing the threat posed by communism and developing favourable trade relations with Asia. The Fraser government supported the role of ASEAN in maintaining the stability of Australia's neighbourhood and, in June 1976, Fraser visited the People's Republic of China. Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975 and moved to self-government during the Fraser years. Andrew Peacock played a prominent role as Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1975 until 1980.

**PERSONAL PAPERS RELATING TO GOVERNMENT CEREMONIAL AND
HOSPITALITY, 1952-80**

AA1980/735

Recorded by: 1952-80 Sir James Henry Scholtens KCVO (CP 238)

1971-80 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Quantity: 17 metres (Canberra)

This series was compiled by Sir James Scholtens during his long and distinguished career in the Government Ceremonial and Hospitality Branch of the Prime Minister's Department. It contains correspondence between his office and the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, other Australian Government departments, state governments and governors, Buckingham Palace, Australia House in London, and private organisations and individuals. The correspondence relates to visits to Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea by members of the Royal family, other royals, presidents and heads of state. It also contains records relating to visits abroad by Australian prime ministers, particularly Whitlam and Fraser.

**Visit to Australia by the Hon Walter F Mondale, Vice-president
of the United States, 1978**

AA1980/735, 69

**Royal visits – staffing arrangements – The Queen, March 1977,
the Prince of Wales, November 1977, 1975-77**

AA1980/735, 181

**Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's visit to Japan and China,
June 1976**

AA1980/735, 215

**Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's visit to Japan and China,
May-June 1976**

AA1980/735, 216

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'G' (GENERAL REPRESENTATIONS) INFIX, 1956–**A463**

Recorded by: 1971– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Quantity: 962 metres (Canberra)

This series was raised to deal with the general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects vary considerably, reflecting the coordinating function of the department. Political, social, cultural, economic, industrial and defence matters are all dealt with in this series; other aspects include the administration of the Australian Government, immigration, honours, international conferences and diplomatic relations with other countries.

Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser – speeches on foreign policy, 1975–79**A463, 1977/1660
PART 1****UNREGISTERED PAPERS ON EAST TIMOR ACCUMULATED IN SOUTH EAST ASIA BRANCH, 1999****A11443**Recorded by: 1999 Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade,
Central Office (CA 5987)

Quantity: 0.54 metres (Canberra)

This series was compiled in 1999 by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from papers originally retained by the area of the Department of Foreign Affairs responsible for South-East Asia and subsequently held by the Indonesia Section. It comprises mainly highly classified documents that were not filed, and correspondence marked 'personal' (but discussing official business) to and from senior Foreign Affairs officers, including Richard Woolcott as Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Graham Feakes as Head of the South East Asia Division and Alan Renouf as Secretary of the department.

East Timor – Prime Minister's visit to Indonesia, 1976**A11443, 9****Timor – caveat material – documents, 1974–76****A11443, 14****CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–****A1209**Recorded by: 1957–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)
1971– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Prime Minister's visit to China – media coverage, 1976**A1209, 1976/1482
PART 1**



The arrival ceremony at Akasaka Palace during the official visit to Japan by Malcolm Fraser, 16 June 1976.
NAA: A13302, 1

FRASER MINISTRIES – FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE COMMITTEE PAPERS (WITH DECISIONS), 1976

A12934

Recorded by: 1976 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 0.36 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of registered papers that were considered at meetings of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee of Cabinet between February and December 1976, and in relation to which a Cabinet decision was made by the committee.

East Timor, 1976

A12934, FAD1

FAD Paper No. 1: Minister responsible: Mr Peacock (Foreign Affairs) – presented at FAD Committee meeting, 6 February 1976 – Decision 200 (FAD) and 285 (FAD).

Torres Strait – negotiations with Papua New Guinea, 1976

A12934, FAD5A

FAD Paper No. 5: Minister responsible: Mr Peacock (Foreign Affairs) – presented at FAD Committee meeting, 19 February 1976 – Decisions 282 (FAD).

Papua New Guinea aid relationship, 1976

A12934, FAD8

FAD Paper No. 8: Minister responsible: Mr Peacock (Foreign Affairs) presented at FAD Committee meeting, 25 February 1976 – Decision 281 (FAD).

Prime Minister's visit to Japan and China, 1976

A12934, FAD22

FAD Paper No. 22: Minister responsible: Mr Peacock (Foreign Affairs) – presented at FAD Committee meeting, 9 July 1976 – Decision 1134 (FAD).

COPIES OF BRIEFS FOR THE PRIME MINISTER, 1977–**A9491**

Recorded by: 1977– Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

Quantity: 4 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of briefs prepared by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet for the Prime Minister on various topics from 1977.

Brief for the Australian delegation to the sixth ASEAN–Australia forum, Canberra, 1981**A9491, 10****Prime Minister's brief – visit to Mexico, Canada and the United States, 1981****A9491, 13****CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO OVERSEAS VISITS, 1976–82****M1269**

Recorded by: 1976–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

This series relates to overseas visits made by Fraser as Prime Minister from January 1976 to October 1982. The visits included several to the United States, United Kingdom and Europe; also Indonesia (1976), Malaysia and Singapore (1976–77), China (1976 and 1982), Japan (1976, 1978 and 1982), New Zealand (1976, 1980 and 1982), Papua New Guinea (1977–78), Nieu and Jamaica (1978), India and the Philippines (1979), Rhodesia and Kiribati (1980), Mexico (1981) and Korea (1982). It also relates to Fraser's attendance at Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (Lusaka, 1979), Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meetings (India, 1980 and Suva, 1982), 12th South Pacific Forum (Vanuatu) and the Royal wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer (London, 1981).

Visit to Japan/China, June 1976**M1269, 3****Prime Minister's press statements, discussions, 1980****M1269, 48**

Covers the visit to the United States and United Kingdom, including records of conversations with Margaret Thatcher and Jimmy Carter.

RECORDS OF OFFICIAL MEETINGS, DISCUSSIONS AND CONVERSATIONS, 1980–83**M1282**

Recorded by: 1980–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1980–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.27 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of high-level meetings conducted by Prime Minister Fraser with domestic and overseas leaders. The folders contain typed records of group discussions and conversations with individuals. The discussions and conversations were with Australians, members and representatives of foreign and Commonwealth governments, and representatives of international organisations.

Records of discussions, April–November 1980**M1282, 1 PART 3**

Includes discussions with ministers for Health and Aboriginal Affairs, Australian Council of Local Government Associations, Reubin Askew and Philip H Alston (US ambassadors), Australian Greek Welfare Society, and the Victorian Chamber of Manufacturers.

Records of discussions, August–December 1981

M1282, 1 PART 7

Includes discussions with Abdul Aziz Rasool Khan (Director of Afghan Mujahideen), Mr Carraud (French Ambassador), Jeremy Hearder (Australia's High Commissioner to Zimbabwe), Confederation of Australian Industry, Australian Council of Trade Unions and Senator Don Chipp.

Records of discussions, 1980

M1282, 3

Includes discussions with Margaret Thatcher, Jimmy Carter and other UK and US representatives; relates to US operations in Iran, Moscow Olympics boycott, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Rhodesia.

SCRAPBOOKS OF NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, 1978–81

M1283

Recorded by: 1978–81 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (CA 1401)

1978–81 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

Some of these scrapbooks relate to a particular event including various overseas visits made by Fraser to the United States, Europe and India, and Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings in Lusaka and Melbourne. Other scrapbooks focus on domestic issues in general or a more specific matter of political interest.

Book 1: domestic issues and Prime Minister's visit to Singapore, Malaysia and Europe, 13 May – 18 June 1978

M1283, 1

Includes articles by A Guatelli (Milan).

Book 2: Prime Minister's visit to United States of America and Europe, 24 May – 13 June 1978

M1283, 2

LETTERS FROM HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, 1979–83

M1333

Recorded by: 1979–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1979–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.27 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of letters from heads of government of various foreign countries received by Prime Minister Fraser from January 1979 to February 1983.

Heads of government letters A–F, 1978–82

M1333, 1

Includes President Zia and HM Ershad (Bangladesh), Q Masire (Botswana), Pierre Trudeau (Canada), Z Ziyang (China), S Kyprianou (Cyprus), O Mbasogo (Equatorial Guinea), G d'Estaing and F Mitterand (France), and Sir Kamisese Mara (Fiji).

Heads of government letters G–I, 1979–82

M1333, 2

Includes O Bongo (Gabon), Helmut Schmidt (Germany), Mrs Indira Ghandi (India), President Soeharto (Indonesia), and M Begin (Israel).

Heads of government letters U–Z, 1978–82

M1333, 6

Includes presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan (United States), Walter Lini (Vanuatu), V Djuranovic (Yugoslavia), KD Kaunda (Zambia), and RG Mugabe (Zimbabwe).

PRESS CLIPPINGS, OVERSEAS VISITS, 1976–82**M1343**

Recorded by: 1976–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1976–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

These clippings report on various aspects of official visits to the United States, United Kingdom, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Fiji, New Zealand, Zimbabwe and Papua New Guinea; ASEAN and Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings; includes high-level talks with heads of state (for example, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of Germany), and the funeral of Tun Abdul Razak (Malaysia, January 1976).

Hong Kong – cables, China/Japan relating to official visit, June 1976**M1343, 4****Overseas visit – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, 1977****M1343, 7****Overseas visit – general, June 1977 – press clippings, 1977****M1343, 11**

Includes Indian press reaction to Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London.

Immigration and refugees

The Fraser government's revitalised immigration program resulted in 200,000 migrants arriving in Australia from Asian countries between 1975 and 1982, including 56,000 Vietnamese people who arrived as refugees.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957–**A1209**

Recorded by: 1957–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)
Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Assisted migration agreements and arrangements – policy, 1969–80**A1209, 1975/2127****Disposal of Vietnamese refugee boats, 1978****A1209, 1978/924
PART 1****Disposal of Vietnamese refugee boats, 1978–80****A1209, 1978/924
PART 2****CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES, 1948–89****A1838**

Recorded by: 1970–87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)
Quantity: 3372 metres (Canberra), 0.18 metres (Brisbane)

This series comprises the main correspondence file series of the Department of External Affairs (II) from 1948 to 1970, the Department of Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987, and the Foreign Affairs section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser at an immigration conference, 1981. NAA: A12111, 2/1981/30A/1

Australian refugee policy – relations with other countries – Indonesian Timor – Timor refugees reimbursement of costs, 1975–77 **A1838, 1690/1/6/2 PART 1**

South Vietnam – Australian aid – political refugees, 1975 **A1838, 3014/10/15/4 PART 10**

North Vietnam – relations with Australia – Vietnamese refugee boats policy, 1977–78 **A1838, 3020/10/4 PART 1**

FRASER MINISTRIES – CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'LC' PREFIX, 1975–83

A10756

Recorded by: 1975–83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 105 metres (Canberra)

This is the main series of correspondence files maintained in the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business for the period of the Fraser government (1975–83).

Lebanese migration, 1976–77 **A10756, LC1013**

Submission Nos 702 and 860 refer.

Refugee policy, 1977–78 **A10756, LC1366 PART 1**

Submission Nos 1160, 1916, 2014, 2173 and 2572 refer.

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, ANNUAL ALPHABETICAL SERIES, 1976–83

M1256

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY in 2006)

Recorded by: 1976–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 11 metres (Canberra)

This series was maintained by the Prime Minister's Office while Fraser was Prime Minister. It contains correspondence relating primarily to representations from members of the public; the Wannon electorate; business, church and other community interest groups; Liberal Party branches; and some Liberal Party colleagues.

Correspondence 'C', 1977

**M1256, 1977C
PART 6**

Includes correspondence relating to Vietnamese refugee boats arriving in Darwin, Australian Conservation Foundation, manufacturing and commerce sectors, whale protection, ministers' policy advice for the 1977 election campaign, Cattlemen's Union and primary industry.

Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

Fraser played a prominent role in the Commonwealth's efforts to establish an independent Zimbabwe. At the 1979 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Lusaka and the follow-up in London, Fraser's influence was a key factor in the progress towards independence for Zimbabwe. At the independence celebrations in Salisbury in 1980, his contribution was acknowledged.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ANNUAL SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH OCCASIONAL 'C' (CLASSIFIED) SUFFIX, 1957-

A1209

Recorded by: 1957-71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)

Quantity: 1207 metres (Canberra)

This series contains the classified files relating to general and policy matters handled by the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Subjects range from departmental and domestic matters to foreign affairs, and reflect the functions of the department in the political, cultural, economic, industrial and defence fields.

Prime Minister's visit to Zimbabwe - April 1980, 1980-81

**A1209, 1980/521
PART 1**

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SERIES, 1948-89

A1838

Recorded by: 1970-87 Department of Foreign Affairs, Central Office (CA 1382)

Quantity: 3372 metres (Canberra), 0.18 metres (Brisbane)

This series comprises the main correspondence file series of the Department of External Affairs (II) from 1948 to 1970, the Department of Foreign Affairs from 1970 to 1987, and the Foreign Affairs section of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade from mid-1987 to the end of 1989.

Zimbabwe - political - chronology of events, 1978-79

**A1838, 190/2/1/1
PART 1**

FRASER MINISTRIES - CABINET FILES, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'LC' PREFIX, 1975-83

A10756

Recorded by: 1975-83 Cabinet Office (CA 1472)

Quantity: 105 metres (Canberra)

This is the main series of correspondence files maintained by the Cabinet Office for the administration of Cabinet business for the period of the Fraser government (1975-83).

Rhodesia - recent developments, 1978-80

**A10756, LC2172
PART 1**

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO OVERSEAS VISITS, 1976–82

M1269

Recorded by: 1976–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1976–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

This series relates to overseas visits made by Fraser as Prime Minister from January 1976 to October 1982. The visits included several to the United States, United Kingdom and Europe; also Indonesia (1976), Malaysia and Singapore (1976–77), China (1976 and 1982), Japan (1976, 1978 and 1982), New Zealand (1976, 1980 and 1982), Papua New Guinea (1977–78), Nieu and Jamaica (1978), India and the Philippines (1979), Rhodesia and Kiribati (1980), Mexico (1981) and Korea (1982); Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (Lusaka, 1979), Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meetings (India, 1980 and Suva, 1982) 12th South Pacific Forum (Vanuatu) and the Royal wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer (London, 1981).

Visit to Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, 15 April 1980

M1269, 23

Relates to independence celebration; includes briefs on political figures.

Briefing notes and talking points, 1980

M1269, 43

Covers the visit to the United States and United Kingdom (January–February 1980), relating to Rhodesia and Moscow Olympic Games.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH NON-MINISTERIAL GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 1976–79

M1334

Recorded by: 1976–79 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1976–79 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

Correspondence covers parliamentary reform (for example, sitting hours, voting methods, legislation procedure and the committee system), Party Room ballots and leaks, requests from backbenchers for more participation in the formulation of government policy, and electoral tactics and campaigns. Other papers relate to public service matters such as re-organisation of the Department of Defence, Commonwealth Public Service Superannuation Scheme and the retirement age of public servants. It also includes non-parliamentary matters.

Correspondence – government members of Parliament 'L', 1976–79

M1334, 13

Includes Austin Lewis, Condor Laucke, Bruce Lloyd and Stephen Lusher; also includes papers relating to Rhodesia and the closure of SKF ball-bearing factory in Echuca, Victoria.

PRESS CLIPPINGS, OVERSEAS VISITS, 1976–82

M1343

Recorded by: 1976–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1976–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

These clippings report on various aspects of official visits to the United States, United Kingdom, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Fiji, New Zealand, Zimbabwe and Papua New Guinea; ASEAN and Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings; high-level talks with heads of state (for example, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of Germany); and the funeral of Tun Abdul Razak (Malaysia, January 1976).

Mr Mugabe's press conference, 16 April 1980

M1343, 32

Relates to Fraser's official visit to Zimbabwe; includes an issue of *The Herald* (Salisbury).

SUBJECT FILES HELD BY THE PRINCIPAL PRIVATE SECRETARY, 1975–81

M1356

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1975–81 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1975–81 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.54 metres (Canberra)

This series was maintained by the Office of the Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister Fraser. It covers the period from November 1975 to July 1981, although most of the papers date between 1976 and 1979. The Principal Private Secretary at the time was Dale Budd.

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Lusaka, 1979

M1356, 11

Includes papers relating to administrative arrangements, record of conversations with DA Moi (President, Kenya), Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister, United Kingdom), Lord Carrington (Foreign Secretary, United Kingdom), General Obasanjo (President, Nigeria) and Ben Mkapa (Foreign Minister, Nigeria); also includes programs for visits to Seychelles, Nigeria and Mauritius.

After office

At the time of publication of this research guide, many Commonwealth records about Malcolm Fraser after he resigned from Parliament were still in the closed period and not accessible. Most will become accessible in due course.

PAPERS AND REFERENCE MATERIAL RELATING TO SOUTH AFRICA MAINTAINED AS CHAIRPERSON OF THE UNITED NATIONS PANEL OF EMINENT PERSONS AND AS CO-CHAIRPERSON OF THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF EMINENT PERSONS, 1985–89

M2186

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2005)

Recorded by: 1985–89 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.27 metres (Canberra)

This series was accumulated in the period 1985–89 by Fraser in his capacity as, firstly, Chairman of the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa; and, secondly, as Co-chair of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons.

Miscellaneous material relating to the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, 1980–86

M2186, 49

Includes Department of Foreign Affairs research paper 'A survey of proposals for the constitutional development of South Africa' (September 1980), cables and briefing notes.

Records in personal papers of Robert Menzies, Harold Holt and John Gorton

The papers of Commonwealth persons (which have CP numbers) sometimes contain items that are pertinent to Malcolm Fraser. Examples are the papers of three of the prime ministers under whom he served – Robert Menzies, Harold Holt and John Gorton.

FOLDERS OF PAPERS MAINTAINED BY ROBERT GORDON MENZIES AS PRIME MINISTER, 1949–66

M2576

Recorded by: 1949–66 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)
1949–66 The Rt Hon Sir Robert Gordon Menzies PC, KT, CH, QC (CP 54)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of folders of papers maintained by Menzies as Prime Minister (1949–66). Most of the papers cover the period 1950 to 1965, although a small number are dated earlier (essentially from 1945) or are from the months following Menzies' retirement.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Menzies – correspondence with members of Parliament, 1947–66

M2576, 60

Includes report by Fraser of his visit to the United States, Canada, South Vietnam and Malaysia in July 1964.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES MAINTAINED BY HAROLD EDWARD HOLT AS PRIME MINISTER, 1966–67

M2684

Recorded by: 1966–67 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)
1966–67 The Rt Hon Harold Edward Holt CH, PC (CP 27)

Quantity: 3 metres (Canberra)

This series consists primarily of correspondence files maintained in the Prime Minister's Office during Holt's prime ministership.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Holt – correspondence with ministers, 1966–67

M2684, 129

Includes Doug Anthony, CE Barnes, Don Chipp, David Fairbairn, AJ Forbes, Malcolm Fraser, Gordon Freeth and John Grey Gorton.

SPEECHES AND RELATED PAPERS OF HAROLD EDWARD HOLT AS PRIME MINISTER, 1967

M4249

Recorded by: 1967 The Rt Hon Harold Edward Holt CH, PC (CP 27)

Quantity: 0.09 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of speeches given by Holt during the second year of his prime ministership. They relate to motor vehicle production, tariff policy, mining and development in Queensland and Western Australia. The series also includes comments made by Fraser as Minister for the Army about Australia's commitment to the Vietnam War.

Australia's commitment to Vietnam, comments by Malcolm Fraser, 1967

M4249, 2

Includes comments Fraser made on Creighton Burns' article in *The Age* relating to Australia's commitment to the Vietnam War.

SUBJECT FILES OF THE RT HON JOHN GREY GORTON AS PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR DEFENCE, 1968–71**M3787**

Recorded by: 1968–71 Prime Minister's Department (CA 12)
 1968–71 The Rt Hon Sir John Grey Gorton GCMG, AC, CH,
 PC (CP 136)

Quantity: 4 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of subject files maintained by Gorton while he was Prime Minister (1968–71) and subsequently Minister for Defence (1971–72). The files mainly relate to the Vietnam War, the Second Voyager Royal Commission, the Five Power defence arrangements, provision of training facilities for Singapore in Australia, purchase of F111 aircraft, journalist Maxwell Newton, and civil disturbance in New Guinea (and the background to self-government).

Personal papers of Prime Minister Gorton – correspondence with ministers, 1968–70**M3787, 38**

Includes correspondence with Don Chipp, Senator RC Cotton, Senator TC Drake-Brockman, D Fairbairn, A Fairhall, AJ Forbes, Malcolm Fraser, TEF Hughes, AS Hulme, CR Kelly and DJ Killen.

Records of Simon Fraser

Malcolm Fraser's grandfather, Sir Simon Fraser, played a key role in Australian politics, in the colony of Victoria and federally. The National Archives has some files related to his work.

RECORDS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL MACHINERY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS AND POWERS, 1897**R213**

Recorded by: 1897 Australasian Federal Convention, Committee for the Consideration of Constitutional Machinery and the Distribution of Functions and Powers (CA 5591)

Quantity: 0.09 metres (Canberra)

The series consists of one item – a bound volume containing the manuscript minutes of the proceedings of the Constitutional Committee, together with printed reports of all three main committees (Constitutional, Judiciary and Finance), and a copy of the draft Bill.

Australian Federal Convention, Constitutional Committee, report and minutes, 1897**R213, 1**

Simon Fraser was a member of the Finance Committee.

HONOURS FILES, 'H' SERIES, 1914–22**A2923**

Recorded by: 1914–21 Governor-General (CA 1)

Quantity: 0.36 metres (Canberra)

The policy files of this system start in 1914. Only a few files still exist but they include the 1918 new year honours.

Honours – new year, 1918**A2923, H21**

Includes a recommendation for a Knight Bachelor for Simon Fraser.

Photographs

The National Archives holds photographs of Malcolm Fraser relating to his entire parliamentary career – as a backbencher, Minister, Opposition member and Prime Minister – as well as after his time in office. Many were taken by government photographers at formal occasions of state, events and launches, and VIP visits including royalty.

The Department of Information was created in 1947 to promote the Australian lifestyle and events overseas, particularly to intending post-war migrants. In 1950 the agency was renamed the Australian News and Information Bureau, the title under which it was known until 1973 when it became the Australian Information Service. In 1986 it was renamed Promotion Australia and in 1987 it became the Australian Overseas Information Service. In 1994 the Australian Overseas Information Service was renamed the International Public Affairs Branch, a branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Government photographers travelled to all parts of the country to take photographs of everyday Australian life. They include subjects such as people, places, events, festivals, fauna, flora, health, agriculture and industry. The majority of these photographs are now held in the National Archives' repository in Canberra.

PHOTOGRAPHIC NEGATIVES AND PRINTS, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'L' (LIBRARY) PREFIX, 1945–71

A1200

Recorded by: 1945–50 Department of Information, Central Office (CA 34)
1950–71 Australian News and Information Bureau,
Canberra (CA 219)

Quantity: 100 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises photographic negatives and prints taken by the government photographers in the Australian News and Information Bureau. They were taken to capture Australian society and to promote



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and the first Chief Minister of the Northern Territory Paul Everingham sign documents giving self-government to the Northern Territory, 1978. NAA: A6180, 29/6/78/41

Australia overseas. The diverse subjects covered include the Australian Government's post-war initiatives (such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme) and developments in industry including engineering, mining, manufacturing, farming, forestry, agriculture, fisheries and food production. Other subjects include Australian flora, fauna, a wide range of indigenous aspects (both Papua New Guinean and Aboriginal), cities and towns, sporting events and recreational activities. Official content includes Parliament in session, diplomatic visits of foreign dignitaries and officials, the Queen's visit to Australia, and the Prime Minister, Governor-General and other ministers attending various events.

John Malcolm Fraser – Liberal Party – Member of the House of Representatives, 1956 **A1200, L21656**

Mr Malcolm Fraser MP, 1964 **A1200, L46917**

PHOTOGRAPHIC COLOUR TRANSPARENCIES POSITIVES, DAILY SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'K' (COLOUR TRANSPARENCIES) PREFIX, 1971 **A6135**

Recorded by: 1971–73 Australian News and Information Bureau, Canberra – Pictorial Library Section (CA 219)

1973–87 Australian Information Service, Canberra (CA 1578)

1987–94 Australian Overseas Information Service (CA 6785)

1994– Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Central Office (CA 5987)

Quantity: 34 metres (Canberra)

The transparencies in this series, taken by government photographers in the Australian News and Information Bureau (and its successors), cover a wide range of subjects and assignments on the political, economic and social life of Australia. Among the many images are agricultural shows, geographical sites, educational institutions and migrant activities.

Malcolm Fraser, CARE Australia, 1993 **A6135, K25/5/93/109**

PHOTOGRAPHIC NEGATIVES AND PRINTS, DAILY SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1971 **A6180**

Recorded by: 1973–87 Australian Information Service (CA 1578)

1987–94 Australian Overseas Information Service (CA 6785)

1994– Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Central Office (CA 5987)

Quantity: 44 metres (Canberra)

These negatives and prints cover a wide range of subjects and assignments on the political, economic and social life of Australia. Among them are images of agricultural shows, geographical sites, educational institutions and migrant activities.

Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister – official portrait, 1976 **A6180, 29/4/76/11**

Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister – official portrait, 1978 **A6180, 6/1/78/2**

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser with senators and members in his office, 1979 **A6180, 1/3/79/20**

Malcolm Fraser at the launch of the Liberal Party's election campaign, 1975 **A6180, 1/12/75/13**



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser views an electric car designed by the Italian firm Zagato, Motor Show, Sydney, 1978. NAA: A6180, 21/3/78/6

The Fourth Fraser Ministry, 1980

A6180, 3/11/80/9

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and Paul Everingham sign documents giving self-government to the Northern Territory, 1978

A6180, 29/6/78/42

Galarrwuy Yunupingu with Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser at Jabiru, 1978

A6180, 4/5/78/62

COLOUR NEGATIVES, TWO NUMBER SERIES WITH 'KCM' (COLOUR, COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, MELBOURNE) PREFIX, 1981

A7735

Recorded by: 1981– Australian Information Service, Canberra (CA 1578)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

These colour negatives are a photographic record of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne in 1981. Also included are images of meetings and activities of delegates and their spouses during the meeting and receptions for the Queen. The series also includes some negatives taken in Canberra.

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting conference, Melbourne, 1981

A7735, KCM3/88

Secretary General with the Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and staff, Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Melbourne, 1981

A7735, KCM5/4

CONTACT PRINT ALBUMS FOR VIP VISITS AND OTHER IMPORTANT OCCASIONS, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1954–

A8281

Recorded by: 1973–87 Australian Information Service, Canberra (CA 1578)

Quantity: 35 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises contact print albums of photographs. The albums form an easily accessible visual record of visits to Australia by foreign officials and heads of government, as well as important events in Australia. Substantial numbers of photographs were taken and a quick means of viewing them was needed, which is why the album format was adopted.

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser – visit to Torres Strait Islands, 1976 **A8281, 25/11/76/51**

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser – visit to Torres Strait Islands, 1976 **A8281, 25/11/76/75**

PHOTOGRAPHIC COLOUR NEGATIVES, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES WITH 'KN' OR 'RKN' PREFIX AND A SINGLE NUMBER SUFFIX, 1971 **A8746**

Recorded by: 1973–87 Australian Information Service, Canberra (CA 1578)

Quantity: 28 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises a collection of colour negatives that vary in size. Some are 35mm, 6cm x 6cm or 5' x 4'; there are others which are odd sizes.

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser with his wife Tamie at Robert Menzies' funeral, Melbourne, 1978 **A8746, KN24/5/78/8**

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser at The Lodge, 1978 **A8746, KN30/3/78/8**

The Queen and Duke of Edinburgh at Government House, Canberra, 1982 **A8746, KN14/10/82/682**



The Queen and Prince Phillip with Malcolm and Tamie Fraser at The Lodge, Canberra, 1977.
NAA: A6180, 16/3/77/21

IMMIGRATION PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, 1946–

A12111

Recorded by 1946–74 Department of Immigration, Central Office (CA 51)
1974–75 Department of Labor and Immigration (CA 1769)
1975–87 Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (I),
Central Office (CA 1955)

Quantity: 32 metres (Canberra)

This series of more than 26,000 photographs taken by photographers employed by the Department of Immigration record the arrival and resettlement of thousands of post-World War II migrants and their integration into the Australian community. The series also contains photographs of Immigration Department activities and officials.

**Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser at Immigration
Conference, 1981**

**A12111,
2/1981/30A/1**

**PHOTOGRAPHS MAINLY RELATING TO MALCOLM FRASER'S POLITICAL
CAREER, 1966–82**

M1382

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1966–68 Department of the Army, Central Office –
Minister's Office (CA 36)
1966–82 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 2 metres

This collection of about 500 photographs relates mainly to the ministerial and, particularly, the prime ministerial period of Fraser's career. Few photographs date earlier than 1966 or relate to Fraser's Opposition period, and there are none for the final three months of the Fraser government prior to its defeat in March 1983.

**Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, inspects a gift to the
diggers, an outboard speedboat, at the Australian Rest and
Convalescent Centre, Vung Tau, Vietnam, 1966**

M1382, 1

Pictured with Fraser are Private Vin Coy of South Melbourne and
Colonel Jim Lawrence of Newton, New South Wales.

**Folding bayonets on a captured Chinese manufactured rifle
are explained to the Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, 1966**

M1382, 4

With the Secretary of the Department of the Army, Bruce White and
Captain Mike Heenan (Australian Task Force weapons and
interrogation expert in Vietnam).

**First ride in a helicopter for the Minister for the Army,
Malcolm Fraser, 1966**

M1382, 13

Preparing for a flight from Amberley Air Force Base to Eagle Farm
Airport, Brisbane.

3 Records about Malcolm Fraser in the University of Melbourne Archives

Malcolm Fraser designated the University of Melbourne as the official custodian of his personal papers in 2004. Since that time, the collection has grown to around 120 metres of personal and political records. Fraser's personal library is now housed in the Malcolm Fraser Room at the University of Melbourne Law School.

The Malcolm Fraser Collection at the University of Melbourne Archives contains a wealth of resources on Fraser's personal and family history, as well as his political career during and after his parliamentary terms. The records are listed under the following headings:

- Early life
- Early career
- Minister for the Army, Education and Science, and Defence, 1966–71
- Opposition and the Dismissal
- Prime Minister, 1975–83
- After office
- Family papers
- Records in other University of Melbourne Archives collections
- Photographs.



Malcolm Fraser as a young boy, c. 1939. UMA, 2007.0069, PA/119

Early life

Malcolm Fraser was born in Toorak, Melbourne, on 21 May 1930. His father, John Neville Fraser, studied law at Oxford University, but on his return to Australia focused on pastoral work. He married Una Woolf in 1926, with whom he had two children, Lorraine (1926–) and Malcolm. The family lived at Balpool-Nyang in New South Wales before moving to Nareen station in western Victoria in 1943. Malcolm Fraser attended Tudor House School in New South Wales followed by Melbourne Grammar, after which he was admitted to Oxford University (Magdalen College) to study politics, philosophy and economics.

UNA FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0053

Quantity: 0.57 metres

This collection is the first accession of the personal papers of Malcolm Fraser's mother, Una. She was born to Louis and Amy Woolf in Albany, Western Australia, on 10 July 1902. Along with papers representing the personal interests and friendships of Una Fraser, are writings from Malcolm Fraser from his time at Tudor House School, news clippings of items relating to Malcolm and Lorraine, and family photographs.

Malcolm Fraser's school days, 1937–83

item 1/1, box 1

Includes correspondence, news cuttings of plays in which Fraser participated, and a short piece of prose written by Fraser in 1942.

UNA FRASER COLLECTION

2008.0058

Quantity: 0.18 metres

This collection is the second accession of the personal papers of Malcolm Fraser's mother, Una. It includes more correspondence from Fraser at Tudor House School, school reports, news cuttings and photographs.

Letters from JM Fraser at Tudor House, 1940–43

item 1/1, box 1

Includes correspondence from Fraser to his parents from his first days at Tudor House to his days at Melbourne Grammar.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2008.0063

Quantity: 0.18 metres

This series consists of one diary written by Fraser during a road trip undertaken with his friend Gavin Casey (a nephew of the former Governor-General Richard Casey) in 1949. The two travelled through western Victoria to Broken Hill and Bourke, and then to Canberra before returning to Victoria.

Diary, trip through New South Wales with Gavin Casey, March 1949

item 1, box 1

Includes a 16-page essay titled 'Two thousand miles in a month', in which Fraser reflects on the trip and his feelings for Australia more generally.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0082

Quantity: 0.50 metres

This series contains textbook notes, essays and examination papers created by Fraser when he was an undergraduate student at Magdalen College, Oxford University (1949–52).

Oxford – notebook – political theorists (1) Hobbes, (2) Rousseau, c1952

item 5, box 1

Contains several notebooks of Fraser's writings on classic philosophers, including Locke and Machiavelli. They provide an interesting insight into the formation of the young Fraser's political philosophy.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2010.0013**

Quantity: 9 metres

This series contains material that was originally housed in Fraser's office and covers a diverse range of subjects, from university notes and documents relating to the Dismissal, to CARE Australia files from the 2000s.

University notes from Oxford, 1950s**item 8/1, box 43**

Comprises essays on topics such as the Australian labour movement in 1890–93, tariff policies, the French revolution, philosophy and economic organisation.

Early career

After graduating with a degree in philosophy, politics and economics from Oxford University, Malcolm Fraser stood for and won pre-selection as a Liberal candidate for his local seat of Wannon in Victoria on 11 November 1953. He narrowly lost the May 1954 election to the incumbent, Donald McLeod of the Australian Labor Party, but won the December 1955 election by a large margin. In his 11 years as a backbencher, Fraser was outspoken on many fronts, in particular rural issues and the dispute with the Victorian Government over Portland wool sales.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2005.0082**

Quantity: 0.18 metres

This series consists primarily of notes from Fraser's time as a student at Oxford University. It also contains drafts of his first pre-selection speech to the Wannon Electorate Convention of the Liberal and Country Party Branch at the Hamilton Temperance Hall.

Notes for pre-selection speech, 1953**item 1, box 1**

Comprises various drafts of Fraser's pre-selection speech of 11 November 1953, including a typed version with annotations and a final handwritten version. The first draft also contains comments by John Medley, former Vice-chancellor of the University of Melbourne.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA (VICTORIAN DIVISION) COLLECTION**1972.0032**

Quantity: 19 metres

This series contains Liberal Party Federal Council and State Executive files, as well as election and electorate files, and Rural Committee papers from 1939 to 1970.

Wannon election file, federal electorates, 1954**item 6/2/4/3,
box 147**

Includes original numbers sheet from the 1953 Wannon pre-selection showing votes in the first and second round for Fraser, M Cormack and GH Robinson; also includes the Returning Officer's notice of pre-selection for Fraser, and correspondence relating to the pre-selection and subsequent election campaign.

**Federal representatives electoral campaign papers,
Wannon, 1949–58****item 6/2/27,
box 134**

Includes news cuttings, election material, Fraser's letters to electors, and correspondence and reports relating to election campaigns.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0023

Quantity: 4 metres

This series consists of subject files maintained by Fraser from 1954 to 1972. The files cover a broad range of topics and vary in format from news cuttings and reports to speech notes and correspondence.

Radio talks, 1954

item 231, box 13

Includes the first radio speech campaign conducted by Fraser during the 1954 federal election campaign, broadcast over radio station 3HA and titled *Our Australia*; includes speeches called 'Beef from the north', 'This matter of wages', 'Where is the woman's place?' and 'A vision of Australia'.

Portland wool sales, 1959–61

item 183, box 10

Includes initial correspondence to and from Fraser regarding the state government's sale of the wool-appraisal centre at Portland and the escalation of the issue. There are numerous files of correspondence and background notes regarding this issue in the series.

Australian Conservation Foundation, 1964–67

item 19, box 1

Includes the first progress report of the Australian Conservation Foundation for Members of Council, correspondence regarding Fraser's representations to give the Foundation a tax-deductible status, final draft of the constitution and Fraser's membership card (1966–67).

Defence – national service debate, 1964–65

item 63, box 4

Includes speech, background notes and press statements on the national service debate, including Fraser's second reading speech.



Malcolm and Tamie Fraser with Robert Menzies, Portland, Victoria, c. 1958. UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24520

Election and referendum papers, 1966–67 **item 15, box 2**

Includes a Liberal Party position paper on the 1967 referendum and a press statement on Vietnam produced by Fraser.

Personal, 1962 **item 22, box 2**

Contains personal letters to Fraser on the death of his father, Neville Fraser; includes notes from Robert Menzies, William McMahon, and other colleagues and friends.

Personal, 1962–65 **item 25, box 2**

Contains a letter to Alan Renouf, Charge d'Affairs at the Australian Embassy in Washington, DC (9 March 1965), relating to rumours of US withdrawal from Vietnam and Fraser's thoughts on such an eventuality.

Trip to USA, Canada, Saigon and Malaysia, May 1964 **item 59, box 5**

Contains notes on the trip, partly made under a United States Government Leader Grant; includes itinerary, report, correspondence and a list of people met during the trip.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0023

Quantity: 0.90 metres

This series consists of subject files maintained by Fraser from 1954 through to 1972. They contain briefing and background notes, as well as speech notes and correspondence on a range of subjects.

Wool – speeches, press statements and other publications, 1967–70 **item 427, box 28**

Includes speech notes and information relating to Fraser's representations with, and on behalf of, the wool industry.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0012

Quantity: 4 metres

This series consists of electorate correspondence, but also covers Fraser's interests in a wide variety of issues, including conservation, rural affairs and economic policy.

Australian Conservation Foundation, 1966–69 **item 3, box 1**

Includes an article titled 'Commonwealth involvement in conservation' and correspondence with Garfield Barwick relating to the Australian Conservation Foundation; also includes first annual general meeting papers.

Minister for the Army, Education and Science, and Defence, 1966–71

After some years on the backbench, in 1966 Malcolm Fraser was appointed Minister for the Army by Harold Holt, a post he held until 1969 when he was made Minister for Education and Science under John Gorton. He was appointed Minister for Defence in 1969, but resigned in March 1971 after a dispute with Gorton. He was reappointed Minister for Education and Science in August 1971, but the Liberal government lost office in December the following year.

During his ministerial posts, Fraser was involved in a number of important policies, including conscription for the Vietnam War, increasing government funding to private schools, and the rise in prominence of conservation issues following the establishment of the Australian Conservation Foundation.



Minister for the Army Malcolm Fraser with Australian troops in Vietnam, 2 August 1966. UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24584

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0107

Quantity: 17 metres

This series comprises correspondence to and from Fraser. Most was sent to and from constituents and relates to electorate issues, but not entirely. The series covers the 38 years of Fraser's parliamentary career, although most of the records date from the early 1960s.

Private and personal correspondence – general, 1968–69

item 3020, box 82

Includes a letter from the managing editor of the *Canberra Times* regarding Fraser's 'Phuoc Tuy policy' (Civic Action).

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0078

Quantity: 4 metres

This series consists of subject files maintained by Fraser from his election in 1955 through to 1969. The files include correspondence and some speeches relating to personal and political matters.

Correspondence on Education and Science appointment, February–April 1968

item 4, box 1

Includes correspondence from members of the public and colleagues on Fraser's appointment as Minister for Education and Science.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0001

Quantity: 0.08 metres

This series contains subject files maintained by Fraser during his time as Minister for Education and Science in the McMahon government. The UMA holds those files from the series that are not specifically related to the portfolio.

Liberal Party Campaign Committee, first meeting, 18 August 1972

item 38, box 1

Includes a statement of Liberal principles in the lead-up to the federal election of 1972 and Fraser's comments on the statement.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0003

Quantity: 0.53 metres

This series consists of press releases and other material maintained by Fraser during his time as Minister for Defence, in Opposition and as Prime Minister.

Letters on defence and foreign policy, 6–18 May 1971

item 3, box 1

Contains letters to and from Professor JDB Miller of the Australian National University relating to defence and foreign policy matters.

Radio talks – rural matters, 9–27 May 1971

item 4, box 1

Includes a *Hansard* extract of Fraser's resignation speech as Minister for Defence.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0008

Quantity: 1 metre

This series contains speech notes, addresses, articles and related papers from March 1972 through to the beginning of 1983. The speeches cover a wide range of subjects.

KK Club notes and proposed speech, 19 May 1972

item 15, box 1

Includes a humorous speech delivered to the Melbourne KK Club, a little-known gentlemen's dinner and speech club founded in 1919. The speech gives amusing anecdotes about campaigning in Wannon.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0025

Quantity: 0.17 metres

This series contains speech notes, addresses, articles and related papers from March 1972 through to the beginning of 1983. The speeches cover a wide range of subjects.

Speech notes – state aid, 1968

item 19, box 1

Includes handwritten speech notes on state aid to private schools, written as Minister for Education and Science.

Opposition and the Dismissal

When the Liberal government lost office in December 1972 it was the first time that Malcolm Fraser would experience life in Opposition after 17 years in Parliament. Following the defeat, Fraser was appointed Shadow Minister for Primary Industry, then Shadow Minister for Industrial Relations in August the following year.

The Australian Labor Party won office again in 1974, prompting Fraser to begin outlining his vision of a strong opposition. He challenged successfully for the Liberal leadership in March 1975, defeating Billy Snedden and precipitating one of the most dramatic years in Australian parliamentary politics. The Whitlam government was plagued by a number of scandals, the most prominent being the Loans Affair. In October the Shadow Cabinet decided to block supply in the Senate, attempting to force Gough Whitlam to an early election. This culminated in the dismissal of Whitlam by the Governor-General Sir John Kerr and a subsequent election in December, in which Fraser was elected by a landslide.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2005.0072**

Quantity: 0.54 metres

This series contains electorate talks and press releases by Fraser as Member for Wannon, from his time as Minister for Education and Science through to the later years of his prime ministership. Fraser began regular radio talks early and continued them throughout his parliamentary career. He used them to cover many topics, not simply electorate issues, and as such they represent an invaluable source on the development of his political opinion.

Material for radio talks as Member for Wannon, 1973–74**item 7, box 2**

Includes the first radio talk as Leader of the Opposition (4 and 5 April 1973). Topics covered include rural reconstruction, the 35-hour week and wage increases under the Labor government.

Radio broadcasts, 1974**item 8, box 2**

Contains radio broadcasts and electoral statements.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0011**

Quantity: 0.53 metres

This series contains material relating to the Whitlam government's proposed legislation to establish an Australian Government Insurance Office and amend the Commonwealth Superannuation Scheme. This Bill was introduced into the House of Representatives in April 1975 but lapsed in August in the Senate. There was considerable pressure from the Liberal Party and other sections of society against the proposal.

Insurance and Whitlam, 27 April – 27 May 1975**item 1, box 1**

Includes letters to Fraser from the public and organisations opposing the Whitlam government's insurance changes, and some replies.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0012**

Quantity: 0.17 metres

This series consists of personal correspondence maintained by Fraser from late 1971 to 1973 mostly as Opposition spokesperson on rural matters.

Correspondence as rural spokesman, 1971–73**item 3, box 1**

Includes correspondence between Fraser and representatives of rural organisations, including president of the Australian Farmers' Federation, Mr Hogan, on the establishment of a rural policy committee under Fraser's chairmanship; also contains rural groups' responses to a statement from Fraser about the Whitlam government's proposed protection commission.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0014**

Quantity: 2 metres

This series consists of subject files maintained by Fraser during his time as Opposition spokesperson on labour matters, mainly covering the period August 1973 to March 1975. Fraser was outspoken in this position, during which time the Liberal Party developed its industrial relations policy. The series also contains

files on the Australian Council of Trade Unions and Bob Hawke, the Builders Labourers' Federation and green bans, conciliation and arbitration, and the maritime industry.

Industrial relations, 1974

items 68–69, box 8

Includes notes, correspondence and background reports on the Liberal Party's industrial relations platform; also includes correspondence from the managers of BHP and Rio Tinto, as well as Fraser's own notes on the subject.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0003

Quantity: 0.53 metres

This series consists of press releases and other material maintained by Fraser during his time as Minister for Defence, in Opposition and as Prime Minister.

Press statements, 7 January – 23 December 1973

item 11, box 1

Includes press statements as Opposition spokesperson on primary industry, labour and immigration.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0005

Quantity: 0.26 metres

This series contains correspondence primarily relating to representations from Fraser's constituents, but also members of the broader public. Most of the material dates from Fraser's time as Prime Minister, but there is earlier material. A huge range of topics are covered, including Medibank, housing, Rhodesia, Afghanistan, conservation, land rights, boycott of the Moscow Olympics, and the national anthem and flag. The series reflects public opinion and debates, and contains both the original correspondence and Fraser's reply.

Correspondence 1976V, 19 April – 27 October 1975

item 1976V part 1, box 2

Includes correspondence from the public and constituents relating to Vietnamese refugees, especially on the policy of family reunions for Vietnamese students already in Australia; contains correspondence between Fraser and Whitlam on the issue.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0008

Quantity: 1 metre

This series consists of Fraser's speech notes, articles and related papers from early 1972 through to early 1983. The speeches were given to various bodies and cover a wide range of subjects. The files are arranged in chronological order and occasionally contain transcripts of interviews, journal articles and other types of material.

Immigration, 1973–74

item 70, box 3

Includes speech notes, policy statements and other papers on immigration reforms.

Press speech notes on rural industry, 14 February – 22 April 1974

item 71, box 3

Includes speech notes on the rural industry and a press statement on attendance at a rural protest meeting in Warrnambool against Whitlam.

<p>'Hallmarks of liberalism', Queensland State Liberals, 1975</p> <p>Contains a speech titled 'Opportunity and concern: the hallmarks of liberalism', delivered at the Queensland State Liberal conference in Townsville.</p>	<p>item 86, box 4</p>
<p>Press conference (Canberra), 20 May 1975</p> <p>Includes speech notes relating to uranium mining, the age pension and the Family Law Bill.</p>	<p>item 99, box 5</p>
<p>Reply to the Budget, 26 August 1975</p> <p>Contains Fraser's reply to the 1975 Budget, including the final draft as well as handwritten notes.</p>	<p>item 144, box 6</p>
<p>Speech notes, August 1975</p> <p>Includes Fraser's first speech as Opposition leader. The speech contains a statement that the Liberals will not oppose funds for Medicare and that the Senate should 'primarily be a house of review', and covers issues of philosophy and the future role of Snedden.</p>	<p>item 146, box 6</p>
<p>MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION</p> <p>Quantity: 1 metre</p> <p>This series consists of general correspondence maintained by Fraser during his time as Leader of the Opposition. The correspondence includes representations from companies, small businesses, professional associations, church and other community organisations, and the related replies. Some personal letters from friends and colleagues are also included. They cover a wide range of subjects, in particular the Whitlam government.</p>	<p>2006.0015</p>
<p>Correspondence 'U', 11 March – 8 July 1975</p> <p>Contains correspondence from Sir Zelman Cowen (then Vice-chancellor of Queensland University) congratulating Fraser on the Liberal leadership and includes the text of a speech Cowen gave on 'Problems facing the Australian Government' (4 May 1975).</p>	<p>item 22, box 8</p>
<p>Correspondence 'M', 23 August – 15 October 1975</p> <p>Includes correspondence from the Master Builders' Association containing newsletters relating to the industrial situation in 1975.</p>	<p>item 14 part 1, box 6</p>
<p>Correspondence 'C', 18 June – 19 August 1975</p> <p>Includes correspondence from Professor Manning Clark (30 July 1975) congratulating Fraser on the Liberal leadership and describing him as a 'man who CARES'.</p>	<p>item 3 part 2, box 2</p>
<p>Correspondence 'R', 21–22 August 1975</p> <p>Includes correspondence from Roy Morgan of the Gallup Poll, describing Fraser as the 'right man in the right place ... [who] will soon become a great Prime Minister,' and suggesting means to keep in touch.</p>	<p>item 19 part 2, box 7</p>
<p>MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION</p> <p>Quantity: 1 metre</p> <p>This series comprises miscellaneous correspondence maintained by Fraser during his second term as Minister for Education and Science, and ceases shortly before he became Leader of the</p>	<p>2006.0017</p>

Opposition. It covers a range of subjects including the *Little Red Schoolbook*, the Protection Commission, education and abortion. Some of the correspondence is more personal, for instance the file of correspondence with his sister Mrs B Whiting.

Abortion – Right to Life Association, 29 March – 19 April 1973 **item 2, box 1**

Contains correspondence from individual members of the Right to Life Association and Fraser's standard reply to such correspondence, opposing the Private Members' Bill that would decriminalise abortion.

Mr Fraser – personal correspondence, 1944–74 **item 25 part 1, box 4**

Includes correspondence from Victorian MLA Ian Smith to Senator Don Jessop seeking support for Fraser's leadership bid (20 November 1974).

Miscellaneous correspondence 'K', 1972–75 **item 33 part 1, box 4**

Includes correspondence from Sir John Kerr, including a letter reminiscing about the time they worked together on the services pay inquiry (3 February 1974).

Correspondence as rural spokesman (re Protection Commission), 15 March – 21 May 1973 **item 45 part 1, box 6**

Includes correspondence between Fraser and the Australian Farmers' Federation relating to the Protection Commission.

Mrs BR Whiting, 1970–73 **item 52, box 7**

Includes correspondence from Fraser's sister Lorraine (nee Fraser), mostly relating to family and property matters, but also contains some interesting comments about the political situation.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0013

Quantity: 0.70 metres

This series contains material relating to the election of Fraser to the leadership of the Liberal Party and Opposition, the Bass by-election (June 1975), and Opposition strategy to bring about an early election. Much of this series consists of letters of support or protest relating to the blocking of supply. The items listed below are particular examples of larger groups of records of a similar nature.

Congratulations (leadership), 18 March – 23 April 1975 **item 10, box 2**

Contains correspondence from the public, colleagues and important figures congratulating Fraser on the successful leadership challenge; includes a letter from Kerry Packer containing an offer of support and expressing a wish that Fraser become Prime Minister in the 'not too distant future'.

Letters of support (relating to political crisis), 14 October – 13 November 1975 **item 15 part 1, box 3**

Includes correspondence from the public, colleagues and important figures supporting Fraser's stand against the Whitlam government.

Letters of protest (relating to political crisis), 8 October – 24 November 1975 **item 21, box 4**

Includes correspondence from the public and organisations opposing Fraser's stand against the Whitlam government.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0019**

Quantity: 0.09 metres

This small series comprises correspondence between Fraser, Whitlam and members of the Whitlam Cabinet on various matters including the Budget, the state of the economy and public service superannuation. The files also contain speeches and articles about the minister in question.

Senator the Hon KS Wriedt, 1975**item 9, box 1**

Contains correspondence between Fraser and the Minister for Agriculture KS Wriedt regarding a proposed debate on rural policy, initially to be held in April or May 1975.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0020**

Quantity: 0.17 metres

This series contains correspondence with members of the Opposition during Fraser's time as Leader of the Opposition. The papers relate to the political situation, but also other issues such as defence policy, the public service and economic policy.

'D', 22 April – 17 November 1975**item 3, box 1**

Includes correspondence with South Australian Senator Gordon Davidson relating to concern over public pressure on the question of blocking supply.

'M', 21 January 1974 – 12 December 1975**item 12, box 1**

Includes interesting correspondence from MHR Ian Macphee (2 November 1975), outlining his thoughts on the forcing of an early election.

'W', 27 March – 27 October 1975**item 17, box 1**

Includes correspondence from WC Wentworth following his canvassing of various people regarding Opposition tactics. Responses are broken down into groups such as merchant bankers, industrialists, real estate agents, small shopkeepers and people in the street.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0021**

Quantity: 0.26 metres

This series consists of questions on notice asked by the Opposition in the House of Representatives during the months prior to the Dismissal. The items are arranged according to the Whitlam ministry to which the questions were addressed.

Prime Minister, 9 April – 4 November 1975**item 19, box 1**

Includes questions on notice in the House of Representatives from Opposition MPs to Whitlam in the lead-up to the Dismissal.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2006.0022**

Quantity: 0.70 metres

This series contains correspondence between Fraser as Leader of the Opposition and members of his Shadow Ministry, as well as Shadow Cabinet and joint party meeting papers in the lead-up to the Dismissal. Along with correspondence and papers about the political situation, a range of other subjects are covered including rural matters, social welfare, conservation and defence.

**Rt Hon JD Anthony, Leader of the Australian Country Party,
19 February – 8 October 1975** **item 2, box 1**

Contains correspondence between Fraser and Doug Anthony, Leader of the Country Party and Deputy Leader of the Opposition. Matters include crude oil pricing and others relating to his shadow portfolio of Trade, Resources and Decentralised Development. The correspondence provides a sense of the working relationship between the two leaders.

Snedden Shadow Cabinet – meetings, 1973–74 **item 40, box 2**

Includes material relating to the National Parks and Wildlife Conservation Bill (1974).

Federal Campaign Committee, 1975 **item 14, box 1**

Includes drafts of the want of confidence motion against Whitlam put to Parliament on 23 October, and Opposition policy drafts on consumer affairs and trade practices, Aboriginal affairs, science and technology, and foreign investment.

Shadow Cabinet – meeting no. 24, 13 October 1975 **item 48, box 3**

Contains a draft statement on the decision to vote against the Appropriation Bills (13 October); also includes a record of the special Shadow Cabinet meeting to consider the blocking of the Budget on 15 October 1975. The minutes note: 'Mr Fraser put the question to all members of the Shadow Ministry. There was a unanimous decision to delay passage of the Appropriation Bills in order to force the Whitlam Govt to a general election. R Fraser went around the table, and all "ministers" indicated their support for the move.'

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0023

Quantity: 0.61 metres

This series contains material relating to the Loans Affair from Fraser's time as Leader of the Opposition. Most of the material consists of news clippings, transcripts of interviews and copies of documents such as statutory declarations, affidavits and other background notes on the affair.

Papers relating to the Loans Affair, 1973–75 **item 12, box 2**

Includes copies of the statutory declarations made by Tirath Khemlani on the Loans Affair, other statements, correspondence and questions on notice.

RFX Connor documents – spares, 1974–75 **item 20, box 4**

Contains general notes and speech notes created by Fraser about the Loans Affair.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0024

Quantity: 0.35 metres

This series consists of correspondence, reports and other papers maintained by Fraser during his time as Leader of the Opposition, in particular material relating to Coalition policy. Most of the correspondence is from colleagues, and covers subjects such as conservation, Medibank, the Family Law Bill, Soviet incorporation of the Baltic states and rural matters.

<p>Economy, 1974–75</p> <p>Includes correspondence from BA Santamaria regarding tax indexation and its relation to wage indexation in the light of the impending Australian Council of Trade Unions Congress.</p>	<p>item 12, box 1</p>
<p>Dr JA Forbes, 24 March – 2 April 1975</p> <p>Includes a resignation letter from Dr JA Forbes (a Snedden supporter).</p>	<p>item 18, box 2</p>
<p>Fraser Island, 5 February – 2 April 1975</p> <p>Includes correspondence to and from Fraser regarding sand mining on Fraser Island, an early conservation issue; also includes material from the Fraser Island Defence Organisation asking ‘where Fraser stands on Fraser?’.</p>	<p>item 20, box 2</p>
<p>Medibank, 22 March – 23 May 1975</p> <p>Includes a Liberal statement on Medibank, and Fraser’s replies to public correspondence outlining the Liberal Party’s stance on the issue.</p>	<p>item 26, box 2</p>
<p>Sir Robert Menzies, 17 March – 22 October 1975</p> <p>Includes correspondence, a press statement and telegrams from Menzies to Fraser. The press statement (21 October 1975) is Menzies’ statement of support on blocking supply – a statement that Fraser had sought.</p>	<p>item 28, box 2</p>
<p>Correspondence with Mr Snedden, 25–28 March 1975</p> <p>Includes correspondence relating to Fraser’s offer of a position in the Shadow Cabinet as Minister for Federalism, Commonwealth–state relations, local government and tax sharing arrangements, and Snedden’s rejection of the offer.</p>	<p>item 40, box 2</p>
<p>Whaling, 1973–75</p> <p>Contains correspondence and papers relating to the Opposition’s position on whaling.</p>	<p>item 45, box 2</p>
<p>MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION</p> <p>Quantity: 0.08 metres</p> <p>This series contains two items – a transcript of a media conference and a transcript of an interview with Richard Carleton on the day that the Liberal Party voted to block supply. All other material from the original series extending into the period of Fraser’s prime ministership has been retained by the National Archives.</p>	<p>2007.0011</p>
<p>Interview with Richard Carleton, <i>This Day Tonight</i>, 15 October 1975</p> <p>Includes a transcript of a lengthy interview conducted by Richard Carleton on the day that Shadow Cabinet voted to block supply.</p>	<p>item 3, box 1</p>
<p>MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION</p> <p>Quantity: 3 metres</p> <p>This series largely consists of research material collated by Fraser’s two senior advisers – David Kemp and Petro Georgiou – between March and December 1976, although there is some material outside that period. Material collected during Fraser’s time as Prime Minister has been retained by the National Archives.</p>	<p>2007.0013</p>

Medibank, 25 March – 27 October 1975

Contains research material, including published and unpublished sources, on Medibank.

**item 147 part 1,
box 8**

Vietnam 1975 – censure motion, 17 January – 13 May 1975

Includes background material, speech notes, correspondence and censure motion put by the Opposition over cables sent to Hanoi and Saigon by Whitlam.

**item 241 part 2,
box 16**

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0016

Quantity: 0.35 metres

This series consists of correspondence between Fraser and the Liberal Party, including the Executive, state divisions and branches. It covers the period March 1975 to December 1982.

NSW branches, 1975

Contains correspondence to and from NSW branches, including varied views on the blocking of supply (see other branches for similar files).

**item 14 part 1,
box 1**

Party organisation – Federal Director, 1975

Contains correspondence with the Federal Director and others relating to Liberal Party organisation; also includes a report on the establishment of Liberal clubs on campuses.

item 24, box 1

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0019

Quantity: 7 metres

This series consists of correspondence and published material, largely from Fraser's time in Opposition. Most files deal with the development of Liberal Party policy in Opposition.

1974–75 Budget, 1974–75

Includes a memo from Garland to Snedden (24 January 1975) outlining arguments for, and ways and consequences of, blocking supply.

item 43, box 3

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2010.0013

Quantity: 9 metres

This series contains material that was housed in Fraser's office and covers a whole range of subjects from university notes and documents relating to the Dismissal, to CARE Australia files from the 2000s.

Correspondence with Bill Stack, 1973–75

Contains correspondence from Bill Stack relating to the defeat of William McMahon.

item 1/21, box 1

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0022

Quantity: 0.17 metres

This series is related to 2006.0022, and contains correspondence between Fraser as Leader of the Opposition and members of the Shadow Ministry, as well as Shadow Cabinet and joint party meeting papers in the lead-up to the Dismissal. Along with correspondence and papers about the political situation, a range of other subjects are covered including rural matters, social welfare, conservation and defence matters.

Hon DJ Killen, 1975

item 23, box 5

Includes correspondence relating to the question of blocking supply and other matters.

Shadow Ministry meetings, 9–12 November 1975

item 52, box 5

Includes joint party meeting minutes from 10.30am, 11 November 1975. The notes from the item on the political situation state: 'Fraser: Government may bring on censure motion today but be ready for questions – asked parties not to press him further on current events.'

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0013

Quantity: 0.34 metres

This series is related to 2007.0013 and consists of research material collated by Fraser's two senior advisers – David Kemp and Petro Georgiou – between March and December 1976, although there is some material outside that period.

Migrant policy, 1975

item 152, box 19

Includes papers relating to the Ethnic Communities Council of New South Wales, Group for Rational Advancement of Progressive Liberalism, and Greek migrants; also includes the Liberal Party's immigration and ethnic affairs policy from August 1975.

Prime Minister, 1975–83

Malcolm Fraser was Australia's 22nd Prime Minister, from 1975 until 1983. Most records created during his prime ministership are Australian Government records and are in the custody of the National Archives. The UMA holds private, electorate and political correspondence from the period.



Malcolm Fraser's Third Ministry with Governor-General Sir Zelman Cowen, Government House, Canberra, 20 December 1977. UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24574

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0103

Quantity: 4 metres

This series contains photograph albums of official overseas visits made by Fraser during his term as Prime Minister. Many of the albums were gifts presented to Fraser by the host nations, although some are his personal albums, reflecting his keen interest in photography.

Visit by Prime Minister JM Fraser and Mrs Fraser to China, 1976

PA/147

Includes 50 colour and black-and-white photographs in an archival album (photographer unknown).

Official visit by Malcolm Fraser and Tamie Fraser to India, 1979

PA/158

Album contains 119 colour photographs taken by Fraser and his family.

Award of Honorary Doctorate at the University of South Carolina, 1981

PA/172

Album contains 32 colour and black-and-white photographs taken by the University of South Carolina Photographic Division.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0104

Quantity: 2 metres

This series contains photograph albums documenting official domestic visits and events during Fraser's prime ministership. The photographs were taken by official government photographers or Fraser and his family.

Visit to Australia of Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh, 1977

PA/129

Album contains 82 colour photographs taken by the Australian Information Service.

Northern Territory, 1978

PA/133

Album contains 106 colour photographs documenting Fraser's visit to the Northern Territory, accompanied by his family.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0014

Quantity: 0.70 metres

This series consists of files of research material accumulated by Fraser's senior advisers during the period 1977 to 1980. It is a continuation of 2007.0013. The files are arranged by subject order and include topics such as the public service, the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services to Migrants (better known as the Galbally Report), industrial relations and trade. Much of the material from this original series has been retained by the National Archives.

Immigration and ethnic affairs – Jewish community, 1978–79

item 39, box 4

Contains published material concerning relations with the Jewish community.



Malcolm Fraser speaking at a Liberal Party campaign meeting, c. 1980. UMA, 2007.0028, BWP/25625

Sir John Kerr, 10 April – 11 May 1978

item 131, box 3

Includes news cuttings, transcripts of interviews and annotations relating to Kerr's autobiography.

Liberal Party platform, 1978

item 134, box 3

Contains drafts of the Liberal Party platform; also includes Fraser's handwritten and typed comments on the drafts.

Lusaka, 1979

item 139, box 3

Includes the Report of the Australian Parliamentary Observer Group on the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia common roll elections (14–28 April 1979).

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2010.0013

Quantity: 9 metres

This series contains material that was housed in Fraser's office and covers a whole range of subjects from university notes and documents relating to the Dismissal, to CARE Australia files from the 2000s.

Correspondence between JM Fraser and Premier of QLD Joh Bjelke-Petersen, 1980

item 1/76, box 5

Contains correspondence between Fraser and Bjelke-Petersen regarding David Thomson's seat and the Cairns section of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park.

Private notes regarding Andrew Peacock, March 1981

item 1/96, box 6

Contains correspondence and background notes on the Peacock leadership bid (1981–82); includes correspondence with Robert Creighton-Brown and his thoughts on an early election in 1982.

Internal memo from David Kemp and Petro Georgiou regarding outcome of a 1983 election, 1982

item 1/117, box 7

Contains a report prepared by Fraser's senior advisers – Petro Georgiou and David Kemp – on arguments for and against holding an election in 1983.

Correspondence between Sir Phillip Lynch and the Prime Minister, 6 April 1982

item 1/123, box 8

Contains correspondence regarding Phillip Lynch's decision to resign as Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Party after 10 years in the position, and Fraser's reply.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0018

Quantity: 2 metres

This series is related to 2006.0018 and mostly contains general correspondence to Fraser during his time as Leader of the Opposition. However there is some material from his time as caretaker Prime Minister.

Correspondence 'P', 1975

item 17 part 1, box 7

Contains general correspondence, including a telegram from Kerry Packer congratulating Fraser on his election win, saying 'thank god you had the guts to stick it out'.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0016

Quantity: 0.85 metres

This series consists of correspondence between Fraser and the Liberal Party, including the Executive, state divisions and branches. It is related to 2007.0016 and covers the period March 1975 to December 1982.

Liberal Party of Australia – Victorian division, 1976–79

items 40–42, box 4

Includes correspondence to Fraser from individual members and branches of the Victorian Division of the Liberal Party.

After office

The Liberal Party lost office in March 1983 to the Australian Labor Party led by Bob Hawke, former President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Following the defeat, Malcolm Fraser resigned from the leadership of the Liberal Party and by the end of the month had resigned from Parliament, stating that his continued presence would hinder the ability of the party to regroup under a new leader.

Almost immediately, Fraser became involved in various initiatives on the international stage. In the same year he was appointed distinguished fellow of the American Enterprise Institute and senior adjunct fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. In 1985 Fraser was made Chair of the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Co-chair of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons campaigning for an end to apartheid in South Africa.

In 1987 Fraser founded CARE Australia as part of the international CARE group and was President of CARE International from 1990 to 1995. In 1997 he led a Commonwealth Observer Mission to Pakistan to monitor the national elections.

During the period of the Howard Liberal government (1996–2007), Fraser became increasingly publicly critical of the Liberal Party in office, in particular of its record on human rights, civil liberties, the Iraq war and the treatment of refugees. Fraser left the Liberal Party in late 2009.

This section is divided into the following topics:

- General
- Liberal Party
- South Africa
- CARE Australia.

General

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0083

Quantity: 16 metres

This series consists of general correspondence files maintained by Fraser's office following his resignation from Parliament, and records the full range of his post-parliamentary activities. They document Fraser's ongoing relationship with the Liberal Party and media, and his public speaking roles.

***Quadrant* correspondence, 1983–85**

item 340, box 50

Includes correspondence between Fraser and Richard Krygier, founder and editor of *Quadrant* magazine.

American Enterprise Institute general, 1982–88

item 106, box 12

Includes a letter from Gerald Ford thanking Fraser for his work at the American Enterprise Institute, also correspondence with Bill Baroody, president of the Institute.

Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, 1987–89

**items 167-169,
boxes 23-24**

Includes correspondence and papers relating to Fraser's unsuccessful bid to become Secretary-General of the Commonwealth.



Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, Marlborough House, London, c. 1986.
UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24573

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0085

Quantity: 1 metre

This series consists of Fraser's personal correspondence from the time of his resignation from Parliament to 1995. Much of the correspondence contains letters of support from the public following his resignation. The rest is of a more personal nature, including social events and visits.

Ayres biography, 1987

item 37, box 5

Includes a letter from Tim Everard (former British Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, 1984–88) describing Fraser during their time at Oxford together; also includes other correspondence relating to the preparation of Phillip Ayres' 1987 biography.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0080

Quantity: 4 metres

This series consists of files of travel arrangements made on behalf of Fraser following his resignation from Parliament. The files include correspondence, maps, itineraries, lists of appointments and schedules. The travel was often undertaken for organisations such as the American Enterprise Institute, United Nations and the InterAction Council.

CARE/government visit for inauguration of President of South Africa – Pretoria/Nairobi/Tanzania, May 1994

**item 32,
box 18**

Contains travel files for a 1994 visit to South Africa for Nelson Mandela's inauguration as the first black President.

American Enterprise Institute – World Forum, Vaile, 1983

items 1–9, box 1

Contains travel files for the American Enterprise Institute's World Forum in Vaile.

Trip file – InterAction Council Meeting – Zimbabwe, March 1988

item 77, box 10

Contains the travel file for the InterAction Council meeting in Zimbabwe.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0088

Quantity: 0.45 metres

This series consists of records relating to Fraser's role as a member of the Commonwealth Observer Group during the Pakistan elections in early 1997.

Commonwealth Observer Group – Pakistan – notes and papers, 1997

item 7, box 1

Includes a code of conduct for the ethical and professional discharge of election observation activities supplied by the Australian Electoral Commission, as well as Fraser's personal notes and papers on his observations on the election.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0029

Quantity: 2 metres

This series consists of records collated by Fraser's office relating to the patronage of various organisations and some subject files from 1986 to 2004.

National Sorry Day Committee – Journey of Healing – patronage, 1999–2002**item 9, box 3**

Contains correspondence relating to the National Sorry Day Committee's Journey of Healing, of which Fraser was joint patron with Lowitja O'Donoghue.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION**2010.0013**

Quantity: 9 metres

This series contains material that was housed in Fraser's office and covers a whole range of subjects from university notes and documents relating to the Dismissal, to CARE Australia files from the 2000s.

Australians for Just Refugee Programs, 2001–02**item 3/4, box 12**

Includes correspondence with refugee advocacy groups regarding the treatment of refugees by the Howard Liberal government; also relates to the establishment of Australians for Just Refugee Programs. The material includes correspondence, meeting reports and other papers, and provides a good sense of the various refugee advocacy groups at the time.

International Crisis Group, 1994–2006**item 3/7, box 13**

Includes correspondence and papers relating to the establishment of the International Crisis Group.

Liberal Party**MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION****2007.0029**

Quantity: 2 metres

This series consists of correspondence received by Fraser and his wife, Tamie, following the defeat of the Liberal government in March 1983. The correspondence is from members of the public as well as colleagues, and business and community leaders.

Post-election – personal – correspondence 'A-C', 3 March – 27 April 1983**item 1, box 1**

Includes correspondence with Sir Garfield Barwick relating to reasons for the defeat. Barwick lists three reasons: the general desire for change, rising prices and unemployment, and hysteria over Hawke.

Post-election – Liberal Party material, 10–23 March 1983**item 12, box 2**

Contains a Liberal Party preliminary report on the 1983 election, written by Tony Eggleton (sent to Fraser on 10 March 1983).

Post-election – correspondence – federal and state Parliamentarians, 1982–83**item 18, box 3**

Includes correspondence with John Howard regarding the tasks ahead for the party; Fraser mentions the need for unity and the adherence to liberal philosophy.

Post-election – correspondence 'F', 6 March – 8 April 1983**item 30, box 5**

Includes a letter from Jim Forbes on behalf of the Federal Executive of the Liberal Party after the loss, in which he writes: 'I have no doubt that, in retrospect, your seven years of Prime Ministership will be seen in a positive and constructive light'.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0030

Quantity: 0.17 metres

This series consists of papers relating to Fraser's electoral expenses during his prime ministership. There are also some congratulatory messages from constituents, campaign programs and poll booth lists.

Post-election Liberal Party clips, 1983

item 6, box 1

Contains news cuttings of articles following the March 1983 defeat. This file is a good source of information on the commentary on the defeat.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0083

Quantity: 16 metres

This series consists of general correspondence files maintained by Fraser's office following his resignation from Parliament, and records the full range of his post-parliamentary activities. It documents his ongoing relationship with the Liberal Party and the media, and public speaking roles.

Liberal Party correspondence, 1997–98

item 447, box 73

Includes correspondence to Liberal Party figures opposing the prospect of the Liberal Party giving preferences to Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party.

Aboriginal affairs/Northern Land Council, 15 January 1998 – 16 December 1999

item 468, box 78

Includes correspondence to the Liberal Party opposing suggested changes to the Land Rights Act (14 July 1999); also includes papers relating to Ambassadors for Reconciliation.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2010.0013

Quantity: 9 metres

This series contains material that was housed in Fraser's office and covers a whole range of subjects from university notes and documents relating to the Dismissal, to CARE Australia files from the 2000s.

Liberal Party general, 1999–2009

item 3/37, box 27

Includes correspondence and press statements on Fraser's view of the Liberal Party-endorsed history of the party, *Liberalism*, in which the record of prime ministership was disputed; also includes correspondence with the Liberal Party regarding Guantanamo Bay detainee David Hicks and the treatment of refugees.

South Africa

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0071

Quantity: 3 metres

This series was maintained by Fraser during his time on the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons on the Role of Transnational Corporations in South Africa, and as Co-chair of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons. The series consists of reports,



Malcolm Fraser, General Obasanjo and Archbishop Desmond Tutu during the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons tour of South Africa, 1985. UMA, 2005.0071, PA/221

correspondence, photographs and other papers, and provides a rich source of information on the workings of these bodies and Fraser's role within them.

Mission to South Africa – the findings of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa, 1986 **item 22, box 3**

Includes two copies of the final report, signed by members of the Group of Eminent Persons.

Correspondence, Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, 1985–86 **item 29, box 5**

Includes drafts of the final Eminent Persons Group report, including Fraser's annotations, plus correspondence and other papers.

Kennedy/Schultz letters, 1986 **item 105, box 13**

Includes letters to Secretary of State George Schultz regarding the Eminent Persons Group report and to Senator Edward Kennedy regarding his anti-apartheid Bill being presented to Congress.

Oliver Tambo – visit to Nareen, 1987 **item 152, box 18**

Includes correspondence, reports and articles regarding Oliver Tambo's (former Secretary-General of the African National Congress) visit to Fraser's station, Nareen.

South Africa letters, 1985–89 **items 148–50, box 17**

Includes correspondence from the public and some of Fraser's colleagues about his work against apartheid, both supportive and oppositional.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION **2005.0086**

Quantity: 3 metres

This series consists of Fraser's papers created in his capacity as Chairman of the United Nations Committee on African Commodity Problems. It includes drafts and final reports, minutes, correspondence and background papers.

Country reports – comments on final draft, 1987–90

item 2, box 2

Contains Fraser's comments on the draft report of the Committee on African Commodity Problems, including correspondence.

CARE Australia

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0087

Quantity: 0.90 metres

This series consists of the records gathered by Fraser in his capacity as Chair of CARE Australia and President of CARE International.

CARE International – executive correspondence, April 1996

item 61, box 12

Includes correspondence between Fraser and the CARE International executive.

CARE Australia – correspondence, 1999–2000

item 39, box 7

Includes general correspondence relating to CARE Australia.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2006.0048

Quantity: 2 metres

This series consists of records relating to CARE Australia and CARE International, held in Fraser's office.

CARE Australia – general, 2001

item 8, box 3

Includes correspondence with Sir William Deane (former Governor-General and Chair of CARE Australia from 2002), and general correspondence.

CARE Australia – general, 1999

item 4, box 2

Includes correspondence and material relating to the CARE Australia aid workers charged with espionage in Yugoslavia.

CARE Australia – general, 1998

item 1, box 1

Includes correspondence and media releases on CARE Australia's response to the floods in Papua New Guinea.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2010.0013

Quantity: 9 metres

This series contains material that was housed in Fraser's office and covers a whole range of subjects from university notes and documents relating to the Dismissal, to CARE Australia files from the 2000s.

CARE Australia, 1987–93

item 7/4, box 38

Comprises early material on CARE Australia, including reports, as well as correspondence and papers relating to other issues and organisations.

Family papers

The UMA holds papers relating to Malcolm Fraser's family. In particular, the collections of John Neville and Una Fraser (Malcolm's parents) are a rich source of family history. John Neville Fraser was born in Toorak in 1890 to Sir Simon Fraser and his second wife, Anna Bertha Fraser (nee Collins). He was educated at Melbourne Grammar School, the University of Melbourne and Magdalen College, Oxford University. He was a member of King Edward's Horse Brigade and then the Royal Field Artillery in World War I, serving at the Somme, Ypres and Messines Ridge.

Neville and Una met in 1923 and married in 1926. They had two children, Lorraine (born 1927) and John Malcolm (born 1930). Una Arnold Fraser (nee Woolf) was born to Louis and Amy Woolf in 1902 in Albany, Western Australia, the younger of two daughters. She was active in the Alexandra Club and a benefactor of the National Gallery of Victoria, reflecting her keenness for collecting art.

JOHN NEVILLE FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0069

Quantity: 2 metres

This collection contains numerous papers relating to Neville Fraser's military career and personal life. It includes diaries written from just before and during World War I, and photograph albums showing his time at Magdalen College and numerous exploits, including early car travel. There is a small amount of correspondence.

Diary, 1 January 1916 – 7 January 1917

item 1/6, box 1

Contains a diary written during military service; includes an account of experiences at the Somme in July 1916.

Letter from Bertram Stevens, 22 July 1937

item 2/5, box 1

Contains correspondence from Bertram Stevens, Premier of New South Wales, with accompanying coronation medal and certificate.

Photographs of New South Wales, England and Europe, 1911–13

PA/117

Includes approximately 300 black-and-white photographs taken by John Neville Fraser and others.

Photographs of car trip from Oodnadatta to Katherine, July – August 1924

PA/118

Includes 200 black-and-white photographs of a car trip undertaken by Neville Fraser, Lord and Lady Stradbroke (Lord Stradbroke was Governor of Victoria), Vilhjalmur Stefansson, TGB Osborn and others.

UNA FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0053

Quantity: 0.57 metres

This series contains newspaper cuttings of Malcolm Fraser's political career, and material relating to Una Fraser's personal life. This includes photographs of the Woolf and Fraser families, and correspondence with figures in the art world, including Professor Joseph Burke and Sir Daryl Lindsay.

Una Fraser's investigations into the Booth family tree, 1962–81

item 1/5, box 1

Includes family history from Una Fraser's maternal family line.

Una Fraser's friends, 1930–71

item 1/8, box 1

Contains correspondence addressed to Una Fraser from figures such as Joseph Burke (Herald Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Melbourne), and one self-illustrated notecard from Sir Daryl Lindsay.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0035

Quantity: 2 metres

This series contains family and personal material transferred from Fraser's office to the UMA.

Genealogical record of the Fraser family, presented by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, no date

box 1

Contains a bound volume of notes and copies of original papers relating to the Fraser family history, including a family tree.

Records in other University of Melbourne Archives collections

The UMA holds collections that relate to Malcolm Fraser's political career. These include the papers of Patrick Weller, author of *Malcolm Fraser PM: a study in prime ministerial power* (1989), Phillip Ayres, author of the first biography of Fraser, *Malcolm Fraser: a biography* (1987) and the Liberal Party of Australia (Victorian Division). There is also a large number of collections that relate to protests against Fraser's policies from his period as Minister for the Army during the Vietnam War, through the Dismissal, to the implementation of the 'Razor Gang'. These collections are not listed here, but a search on community or political organisations, or trade unions involved in protests and strikes can be conducted through the UMA online database (lib.unimelb.edu.au/collections/archives).

PATRICK MORAY WELLER COLLECTION

2007.0051

Quantity: 2 metres

This collection comprises research material accumulated by Professor Weller during the development of his book on Fraser. It includes interviews and transcripts with Fraser government ministers, staff and friends, copies of Fraser's personal papers and extensive notes on the Cabinet papers during Fraser's prime ministership. The papers are organised according to the structure of Weller's book, with interviews and transcripts included at the end of the collection.

Whales, 1970s

item 1/48, box 4

Includes material relating to the Australian banning of whaling and the import of whale products.

Interview: Charles Court, 1982–88

item 2/17, box 5

Includes address by Court to the National Construction Industry Conference, 'What are we waiting for?' (28 October 1982).

Interview: Robert (Bob) Ellicott, 1977–88

item 2/23, box 5

Interview: John Howard, 1 December 1986

item 2/43, box 6

Interview: Andrew Peacock, 19 November 1986

item 2/57, box 6

Interview: Shridath (Sonny) Ramphal, 20 March 1987

item 2/59, box 7

PHILIP AYRES COLLECTION

2011.0080

Quantity: 0.34 metres

This collection contains digital copies of 42 cassette tapes of interviews conducted by Ayres during the preparation of his 1987 biography on Fraser.

Sir Tony Eggleton, 16 December 1985	item 29
BA Santamaria, 11 July 1985	item 21
Billy Snedden, 2 September 1985	item 17
Sir Arthur Tange, 3 April 1985	item 4

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA (VICTORIAN DIVISION) COLLECTION **2001.0071**

Quantity: 20 metres

This collection contains records of the State Executive and Administrative Committee, Policy Committees, State Council, Young Liberal Movement and other administrative bodies of the Victorian Division of the Liberal Party from 1946 to 1993.

1975 Federal Election **item 6/3/3, box 80**

Contains policy speeches, campaign material, reports, telexes regarding the campaign during the December 1975 federal election.

PHILLIP REGINALD LYNCH COLLECTION **1983.0110**

Quantity: 18 metres

Lynch was the first Treasurer in Fraser's Cabinet, from 1975 to November 1977. He was also Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party from 1972 until his retirement in 1982. This collection includes correspondence, press releases, speech notes, Liberal Party material, electoral files and subject files dating from 1940 through to 1983. Access to the collection is restricted.

Opposition briefing papers on 1975 Budget **box 13**

Economic briefing material papers on consultations with Treasury, economic policy issues in government, 1975 **box 13**

Resignation, 1977 **boxes 10, 22 and 41**

Includes correspondence, reports, statements and publications relating to Lynch's resignation from his position as Treasurer in 1977.



Malcolm Fraser as a young man at Nareen station, c. 1958, UMA, 2007.0053, BWP/24554

Photographs

The UMA holds an extensive collection of photographs relating to Malcolm Fraser. They range from family photographs of his parents and grandparents, his early life at Balpool-Nyang and Nareen, through the rest of his career. Many photograph albums were presented to Fraser on official visits, but they also include many photographs taken by Fraser himself, reflecting his keen interest in photography.

UNA FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0053

Quantity: 0.57 metres

This series contains newspaper cuttings of Malcolm Fraser's political career, and material relating to Una Fraser's personal life. This includes photographs of the Woolf and Fraser families, and correspondence with figures in the art world, including Professor Joseph Burke and Sir Daryl Lindsay.

Malcolm Fraser at Declaration of Wannon Poll, 1955

BWP/24516

Malcolm and Tamie Fraser with Robert Menzies, c. 1958

BWP/24520

Malcolm Fraser as Minister for the Army, c. 1966

BWP/24522

John Gorton's Ministry, 1968

BWP/24556

Harold Holt's Ministry, 1966

BWP/24558

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0036

Quantity: 1 metre

This series includes family photographs of the Frasers over two generations.

Malcolm Fraser at Tudor House and Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, 1941–50

PA/122

Contains an album of 275 black-and-white photographs taken by the Fraser family and others.

Oxford and London, 1949–52

PA/124

Contains an album of 19 colour photographs taken by Malcolm Fraser and others during his time as a student at Oxford University.

Award of Honorary Doctorate to JM Fraser, Deakin University, 1989

PA/128

Contains an album of 22 colour photographs by an unknown photographer.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0028

Quantity: 0.10 metres

This series consists of one album of photographs, mostly relating to Fraser's political career. They include press conferences, election rallies and press photo events.

Portland Wool Exchange, c. 1980

BWP/25635

View of Nareen from the driveway, c. 1980

BWP/25636

Malcolm Fraser seated with Alan Moffat in an Alfa Romeo, c. 1980

BWP/25712

Malcolm and Tamie Fraser campaigning in Brisbane, 1983

CP/2272–2276

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0104

Quantity: 2 metres

This series consists of photograph albums documenting official domestic visits and events during Fraser's prime ministership. Many are official gift albums associated with the visits, while others are albums of photographs taken by Malcolm or Tamie Fraser, or other family members.

Visit to Mt Isa by Malcolm Fraser and Tamie Fraser, 1977

PA/130

Contains an album of 20 black-and-white photographs by an unknown photographer.

Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, February 1978

PA/132

Contains an album of 64 colour and black-and-white photographs taken by the Australian Information Service.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0103

Quantity: 4 metres

This series consists of photograph albums documenting official overseas visits during Fraser's time as Prime Minister. Some photographs are taken by Fraser, while others are taken by official bodies such as the Australian Information Service. Many of the albums were a gift to Fraser from the host nation.

Photographs of wildlife taken during visit to Nigeria, 1979

PA/164

Contains an album of 88 colour photographs taken by Fraser.

Overseas visit by the Right Honourable Malcolm Fraser and Mrs Fraser, Nigeria and Zambia, includes CHOGM in Lusaka, 1979

PA/163

Contains an album of 65 colour photographs taken by the Australian Information Service.



Malcolm and Tamie Fraser on a visit to Nigeria and Zambia, 1979. UMA, 2005.0103, PA/163

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0032

Quantity: 13 framed items

This series consists of framed cartoons, photographs and certificates presented to Fraser from 1970 to 1984.

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser turning the first sod at the new Parliament House site, Canberra, 1980

item 5, box 1

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0034

Quantity: 0.50 metres

This series comprises photograph albums of overseas visits undertaken by Fraser after his parliamentary career.

South Africa, 1985

PA/192

Contains an album of 206 colour photographs taken by Fraser on his visit to South Africa with the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons.

Malcolm Fraser's visit to the former Yugoslavia, 1999

PA/196

Contains an album of 84 colour photographs of Fraser's visit to the former Yugoslavia with CARE Australia by an unknown photographer.

4 Records about Malcolm Fraser in other collections

Records about Malcolm Fraser can be found in a number of libraries, archives and other collections, which are listed in this chapter. Addresses and contact details for these institutions are at Appendix 5.

Australian Capital Territory

ACT Heritage Library

The collection of the ACT Heritage Library focuses on the lives of Canberrans. It holds various Canberra and region newspapers, and the *Canberra Times* Photographic Archive. Articles about, and photographs of, Malcolm Fraser are held in the collection.

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE CANBERRA TIMES COLLECTION

Demonstrators jeer Prime Minister and Mrs Fraser, 28 June 1977 006506

Photographer: Jim Green.

Malcolm Fraser opens the National Indoor Sports Centre, Australian Institute of Sport, Canberra, 26 January 1981 996338

Photographer Heide Smith.

Malcolm Fraser opens the National Indoor Sports Centre, Australian Institute of Sport, Canberra, 26 January 1981 003235

Photographer Heide Smith.

Australian National University Archives and Noel Butlin Archives Centre

Archives related to Fraser can be found in both the Australian National University Archives and the Noel Butlin Archives Centre collection of business and union records. The list that follows has been adapted from *Prime Ministers at the Australian National University: an archival guide* by Michael Piggott and Maggie Shapley (ANU eView, 2011).

AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS' UNION, NATIONAL OFFICE

Subject files – 'various speeches', 1975–91 NBAC 102/990

Includes a seven-page pamphlet published in September 1976 written by Lew Gibson, 'Milton Friedman alias Malcolm Fraser'.

HEINZ ARNDT PAPERS

Diary, 1980 ANUA 80/13

'Diary of round-the-world trip with Malcolm Fraser' (30 August to 10 September 1980).

AUSTRALIA COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS RECORDS

Subject files – 'C'th Minister – Prime Minister', 1976–79 NBAC N68/713

Includes press statements, Australian Council of Trade Unions correspondence, extracts from *Hansard*, and correspondence between Fraser, ACTU secretaries and president Bob Hawke on various issues.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY CORRESPONDENCE FILES

National fellowships, 1980–97

Fraser's name was canvassed as an ANU National Fellow following his loss in the 1983 federal election.

**ANUA
53/4.2.0.213**

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY COUNCIL MINUTES

Minutes, 1964–66

The minutes of 13 March 1964 record the attendance of Fraser at his first meeting as a member of the council. His resignation is noted in the minutes of 11 March 1966 'upon his appointment as Minister for the Army'.

ANUA 198/12

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY STAFF FILES

Professor Heinz Arndt, 1915–2002

Part 5 of this seven-part file complements the diary Heinz Arndt kept when travelling overseas with Fraser (30 August to 10 September 1980).

**ANUA 19/1922
PARTS 1–6 & C**

WENDY BRAZIL COLLECTION

Research files, 1980–90

Consists of files accumulated by Wendy Brazil while a research officer with DJ Hamer, Liberal Senator for Victoria (1980–89); includes a small folder on Fraser (1981–86) comprising original and photocopied clippings. Most relate to press reaction to his speech at the launch of a book of his speeches in mid-1986.

NBAC Z372/23

COLIN CAMPBELL COLLECTION

Transcripts and cassette tapes of interviews, 1988–2005

Includes transcripts and cassette tapes of interviews with Australian Government public servants by Professor Colin Campbell. Interviewees were senior officials who worked directly to Fraser, Hawke and Keating.

ANUA 316

FEDERATED ENGINE DRIVERS' AND FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALASIA RECORDS

Photographs and posters, 1980–82

In 1980 Fraser visited the construction site for the new Parliament House and was photographed being handed his OK card by a union official. The collection also includes a poster for the 1982 May Day parade, 'Unite against Fraser'.

**NBAC N72/706,
1775**

GOLDSBROUGH MORT AND COMPANY LTD RECORDS

Maps of pastoral properties, 1909–57

Includes two maps from the Goldsbrough Mort collection relating to the subdivision of the original Nyang station 'by the trustees of the late Sir Simon Fraser' in 1926.

**NBAC 2/145/262
NBAC 2/859/116,
D282**

SEAMEN'S UNION OF AUSTRALIA RECORDS

Cartoons, 1977–81

Cartoons by Mick Gresham and Platton include caricatures of Fraser, particularly in relation to the Utah mining dispute.

**NBAC N38/1079–
80**

WATERSIDE WORKERS' FEDERATION RECORDS**Photographs, 1872–1992****NBAC Z432/86**

Includes photographs of protests against Fraser, such as the Labour Day protest in Brisbane in 1982.

SERGE ZORINO COLLECTION**Publications, 1959–85****NBAC N177**

Publications and other material used in anti-Fraser campaigns are found in the records of Federated Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Association union official Serge Zorino.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PHOTOGRAPHS

This wide collection includes an envelope of photographs portraying people and events from 1948 to 2005, and has images of Fraser as Minister for Education and Science and Prime Minister taken on various occasions.

At the opening of the Research School of Chemistry, 1968**ANUA 15/183
ANUA 225/83****At the installation of Dr HC Coombs as Chancellor, September 1968****ANUA 225/248,
ANUA 226/221****Presenting a \$10,000 contribution to the Florey Memorial Fund to Vice-chancellor John Crawford, September 1969****ANUA 225/405****At the *Genesis of a Gallery* exhibition on campus with protesting students waiting outside, 1977****ANUA 225/414
ANUA 226/303****Malcolm Fraser and his wife Tamie with Dr Stephen FitzGerald on the Great Wall of China, 1976****ANUA 225/414****On the Great Wall of China with John Shaw, 1976****ANUA 226/677****Malcolm Fraser with his 1980 Cabinet on the steps of Government House****ANUA 225/414****Australian War Memorial**

The collection of the Australian War Memorial includes records from Fraser's periods as Minister for the Army (1966–68) and Minister for Defence (1969–71), as well as his term as Prime Minister. The collection includes audio, film, photographic and paper files.

RECORDS OF HEADQUARTERS, AUSTRALIAN FORCE VIETNAM (ARMY COMPONENT)**AWM98**

Recorded by: 1956–78 Headquarters, Australian Force Vietnam (CA5959)

Headquarters, Australian Force Vietnam – visits – particular 1970 – visit by Minister for Defence (Fraser) (cancelled)**AWM98,
R875/270/30
PART 1****RECORDS OF CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF****AWM101**

Recorded by: 1959–72 Department of the Army, Central Office (CA36)

Brief for minister on re-introduction of military training, July 1966**AWM101, 11**

Includes press statements by Fraser as Minister for the Army (1966), *Command Comment* publication prepared by US Army Command Information Unit (no. 32, 19 October 1966; no. 35, 27 January 1967;

no. 36, 24 February 1967; no. 37, 29 March 1967; no. 39, 31 May 1967; no. 40, 30 June 1967), notes and photocopies of newspaper articles on the Australian Army (1966).

CGS papers – civic action controversy General Daley/Fraser/Peacock/Gorton Affair, February–March 1971 **AWM101, 21A**

RECORDS OF HEADQUARTERS, FARELF (FAR EAST LAND FORCES) AND ANZUK FORCE (AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, UNITED KINGDOM) **AWM200**

Recorded by: 1955–71 Department of the Army, Central Office – British Commonwealth Far East Strategic Reserve

Headquarters, Far East Land Forces (FARELF) – visit – Minister for Defence Mr Fraser, June 1970 **AWM200, R875-1-289**

ADMINISTRATION FILE **AWM315**

Visit to Australian War Memorial – Prime Minister of Australia Malcolm Fraser, October 1977 **AWM315, 864/002/082**

Audio

John Malcolm Fraser as Minister for the Army, interviewed by Captain Murray Taylor, 1967 **SO354**

Fraser, on a visit to South Vietnam in 1967, speaks of the reasons for Australia's involvement in the war in South Vietnam and improvements in conditions, particularly in the northern provinces.

Films

Minister visits Army advisers, DPR/TV/413, 1966 **F03796**

During his visit to Vietnam, Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, inspected elements of the Australian Training Team at Da Nang. He arrived at Da Nang by Caribou aircraft, and after conferring with the Vietnamese Commanding Officer, General Hoang Xuan Lam, boarded a Chinook helicopter. Following a briefing with US senior officers, Fraser visited Australian Army advisers at their centre in suburban Da Nang. He met some of the warrant officers who were advising regional and popular forces in the area, including Noel Stockwell of Puckapunyal, Victoria; Laurie Morrison of Blacktown, New South Wales; and Tom Dolan of Fairfield, New South Wales. Not far from Da Nang, Fraser saw loyal Montagnard tribesmen being trained by Australian Army advisers. After talking to the senior officer, Captain Vin Murphy of Perth, Western Australia, the Minister tried his hand with an M79 grenade launcher before flying back to Saigon.

Format: black and white, silent; duration: 3 minutes, 22 seconds; type: 16mm.

Army Minister visits Kapooka, DPR/TV/345, 1966 **F03751**

Recruits at the Army's 1st Recruit Training Battalion at Kapooka, near Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, received two distinguished visitors on 11 February 1966. A visit to the establishment by the new Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, happened to coincide with a visit by Miss Australia, Sue Gallie.

Format: black and white, silent; duration: 3 minutes, 31 seconds; type: 16mm.

Army Minister Malcolm Fraser visits Da Nang, DPR/TV/413, 1966 F10102

Minister for the Army Malcolm Fraser visits elements of the Australian Army Training Team in Da Nang. He arrived at Da Nang by Caribou aircraft and at the Vietnamese headquarters took the salute as the local Vietnamese regimental colours were dipped in his honour. After conferring with Vietnamese Commanding Officer, General Hoang Xuan Lam, the Minister boarded a US Chinook helicopter to visit Australian Army advisers at their centre in suburban Da Nang. Mr Fraser saw Montagnard tribesmen under training, and also examined and fired an M79 grenade launcher before flying back to Saigon.

Format: black and white, silent; duration: 1 minute, 20 seconds;
type: 16mm.

Fraser arrives PNG, DPR/TV/604, 1967 F03865

During a tour of Army establishments in Papua New Guinea, Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, stopped off at Goroka, in the Eastern Highlands, to meet members of a local detachment of the PNG Volunteer Rifles.

Format: black and white, silent; duration: 21 minutes, 12 seconds;
type: 16mm.

Army Minister visits New Guinea, DPR/TV/785, 1968 F03972

At Taurama Barracks, Port Moresby, home of the 1st Battalion of the Pacific Islands Regiment, Minister for the Army Malcolm Fraser presented a pipe banner as a personal gift to the pipes and drums of the Battalion.

Format: black and white, silent; duration: 7 minutes, 30 seconds;
type: 16mm.

Photographs

The Australian War Memorial holds a selection of photographs of Fraser as Minister for the Army, including the following:

Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, visits the 1st Australian Task Force, Nui Dat, South Vietnam, 1967	MISC/68/0019/VN
Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, during his five-day tour of Australian bases, South Vietnam, 1967	MISC/68/0041/VN
Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, speaks with a Vietnamese woman nursing her child at Hoa Long, 1967	CAM/67/0609/VN
Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, lifts up a young Vietnamese boy to see a carton of toys donated by the Returned and Services League's Civic Action Program, 1967	CAM/67/0609/VN
Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, holds a young Vietnamese boy at the Hoa Long village, about three miles from the Australian Task Force base at Nui Dat, Vietnam, 1967	CAM/67/0612/VN
Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, 1966	MAR/66/0025/HQ
Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, inspects a new well at Hoa Long village, about three miles from the Australian Task Force base at Nui Dat, Vietnam, 1967	CAM/67/0611/VN



Minister for the Army Malcolm Fraser during his five-day tour of Australian bases, South Vietnam, 1967. With him is the Chairman of the Free World Military Assistance Organisation, General Lam (right). Photographer: Michael Coleridge. Australian War Memorial: MISC/68/0041/VN

Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, on his arrival at Saigon Airport, Vietnam, 1967 COL/67/0592/VN

Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, on his arrival at Saigon Airport, Vietnam, 1967 COL/67/0593/VN

Minister for the Army, Malcolm Fraser, with Lieutenant General Hoang-Xuan Lam, Commanding General of the 1st Corps and the 1st Tactical Zone covering northern province, South Vietnam, 1968 MISC/68/0044/VN

Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House

The list that follows includes selected items from the library and museum collections of the Museum of Australian Democracy. The types of records held include publications, manuscripts, political ephemera, oral history recordings, images, objects and artwork.

Library collection

PUBLICATIONS

The Museum of Australian Democracy's research library has a comprehensive collection of publications by and about Fraser, as well as a complete run of *Hansard*. The collection can be searched via Trove (trove.nla.gov.au), with 'Australian Prime Ministers Centre' selected as 'my library'.

Common Ground: issues that should bind and not divide us
by Malcolm Fraser (Penguin Books Australia, 2002).

Signed by Malcolm Fraser.

Barcode: 08354

**Killen collection
0923**

It Wasn't Meant to Be Easy: Tamie Fraser in Canberra**RB 324.092 FRA**

by Christina Hindhaugh (Lothian Publishing Company, 1986). Signed by Tamie Fraser and Malcolm Fraser.

Barcode: 07342

ORAL HISTORY RECORDINGS**Jeff Brecht oral history recording****OHI 50**

House of Representatives staffer 1969–88; includes recollections of 11 November 1975 and appointment of Fraser as the caretaker Prime Minister.

Barcode: 05500; quantity: 2 CDs; duration: 2 hours, 10 minutes.

Wallace Brown oral history recording**OHI 52**

Journalist in the Press Gallery; includes recollections of 11 November 1975 and appointment of Fraser as the caretaker Prime Minister.

Barcode: 05858; quantity: 2 CDs; duration: 1 hour, 33 minutes.

Dale Budd oral history recording**OHI 221/1/6**

Private Secretary to Fraser 1970–71 (as Minister for Defence) and 1975–78 (as Leader of the Opposition and Prime Minister).

Quantity: 6 CDs; duration: 5 hours, 30 minutes.

Permission required.

OHI 221/2/6**OHI 221/3/6****OHI 221/4/6****OHI 221/5/6****OHI 221/6/6****Cheryl Cartwright oral history recording****OHI 161/1/4**

Staffer for Fraser.

Quantity: 4 CDs; duration: 4 hours, 3 minutes.

OHI 161/2/4**OHI 161/3/4****OHI 161/4/4****Murray Hanson oral history recording****OHI 274/1/1**

Liaison Officer for the Leader of the Government in the Senate, August 1975 – June 1978.

Quantity: 1 CD; duration: 51 minutes.

Sir David Smith oral history recording**OHI 126**

Official Secretary to five governors-general 1973–1990.

Quantity: 4 CDs.

Caroline Cooper oral history recording**OHI 216/1/1**

Worked in Fraser's office 1976–79 (as Private Secretary to the Press Secretary and later the Chief of Staff); also Private Secretary to Tamie Fraser 1980–83, and worked in Fraser's Melbourne office.

Quantity: 2 CDs duration: 1 hour, 47 minutes.

OHI 216/2/2**Margaret Gaffey (Underwood), Margaret Kelly, Margaret Purcell (Hyslop) oral history recording****OPH OHI 5**

Stenographers/switchboard operators during the Menzies era; includes reference to working for Tamie Fraser.

Barcode: 02689; quantity: 1 sound cassette; duration: 1 hour, 15 minutes.

Roger Martindale oral history recording

Member of Fraser's security team in 1978.

Quantity: 4 CDs; duration: 4 hours, 15 minutes.

OHI 160/1/4

OHI 160/2/4

OHI 160/3/4

OHI 160/4/4

Liberal Rule: The Rt Hon Malcolm Fraser

Audio recordings and associated full transcripts of interviews conducted as part of the SBS series *Liberal Rule* broadcast in 2009. Recorded by Garry Sturgess and later acquired by the Museum of Australian Democracy.

OHI 182/1/1

Sir David Smith, address in Senate Chamber, 7 November 2004

Includes several references to Fraser and the Dismissal.

Barcode: 05888; quantity: 1 CD; duration: 1 hour, 3 minutes.

OPH OHI 83

TRANSCRIPT

Prime ministers on prime ministers: Malcolm Fraser

Lecture presented by Fraser on 22 October 1997 at Old Parliament House as part of the 70th anniversary lecture series; includes images taken at the event and text of the address.

Barcode: 02404

Image binder

EPHEMERA

For the man who said life wasn't meant to be easy, make life impossible (poster)

1980 election poster for the Communist Party of Australia with caricature of Fraser.

Barcode: 13260

Political ephemera
Large Format Box 1

Harpoon Fraser, not whales (poster)

Poster from 1980; the Fraser Cabinet passed a draft Bill for the Whale Protection Act in January 1980.

Barcode: 12261

Political ephemera
Large Format Box 1

National Party (Queensland) (how to vote card)

How to vote card for 1977 election; includes Fraser.

Barcode: 13380

Political ephemera
Large Format Box 1

***Time* magazine, 22 December 1975**

Features Fraser on the cover; signed by Fraser.

Barcode: 13251

Political ephemera
Magazines Box 2

Vote Labor – get Australia working again (bank notes)

From 1980 election, bank notes feature image and text relating to Fraser.

Barcode: 13257

Political ephemera
Election &
Referendum
Material Box 1

PERSONAL COLLECTIONS

Bayly, Brett, personal collection

Includes two photographs of Malcolm Fraser and Steel Hall (South Australian Premier) at a function in Adelaide, a photograph of Brett Bayly in Indonesia with Prime Minister Fraser, and an audio cassette tape recording of Whitlam and Fraser press conferences.

Personal collection:
Ba-Br

Ewart, Heather, personal collection

Includes a black-and-white photograph of Fraser getting into a car with Heather Ewart, and other journalists and crews door-stopping him regarding the Colour TV Affair when Fraser sacked Michael MacKellar and John Moore.

Barcode: 03996

**Personal
collection:
Heather Ewart**

Frost, Joan, personal collection

Includes images of Fraser at his 50th birthday party in 1980.

Barcode: 03996

**Personal
collection:
Joan Frost.
Folder 1**

FILES

Numerous copies of House of Representatives departmental files include references to the fit-out of offices that Fraser worked in while at Old Parliament House.

Museum collection

These items are held in secure storage. A minimum of two days notice is required to view these items.

CARTOONS AND ARTWORKS**Cartoon entitled *Travel***

Hand-drawn cartoon of Fraser by Norm Mitchell, 1970s.

**Accession no:
2010-0490**

Cartoon of the Dismissal

Signed and dated cartoon by Norm Mitchell of Whitlam and Fraser; depicts Fraser painting Kerr as an angel while Whitlam paints him as the devil.

**Accession no:
2008-0017**

Cartoon of Malcolm Fraser

By John Frith, c. 1980.

**Accession no:
2006-1463**

Cartoon *Red Nose Day*

Cartoon by Geoff Pryor depicting five Australian prime ministers – Fraser, Hawke, Keating, Howard and Rudd – as marble busts wearing 'red noses', while Pryor is shown waving goodbye to the viewer. This was Pryor's last cartoon for the *Canberra Times* before his retirement in 2009.

**Accession no:
Prov2008-000F**

Four drawings by Tom Thompson

From a portfolio of 30 loose drawings made by Tom Thompson while the House of Representatives was in session from 26 to 28 October 1982; drawings are titled: 'Mr Hayden speaking on his no-confidence motion against Mr Fraser', 'Mr Fraser and Sir Billy Snedden', 'Mr Fraser, the Prime Minister' and 'Anthony and Fraser'.

**Accession nos:
2010-0363-4
2010-0363-14
2010-0363-21
2010-0363-29**

Portrait sketch of Malcolm Fraser

Crayon or ochre drawing, done in Montmartre (Paris) by Gauthier (? signature is undecipherable) in 1950.

**Accession no:
2010-0415**

Screen print of Malcolm Fraser

The Right Honourable JM Fraser by Michael Kempson and Matthew Tome, Sydney, 1999. One of 14 in a folio of screen prints based on the life and times of 14 Australian prime ministers.

**Accession no:
2002-1-6**

PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES

- The Fraser Cabinet with HRH Elizabeth II at Government House** Accession no:
Framed colour photograph, 1981. **2008-0061**
- Christmas cards, 1976, 1979, 1980 and 1981** Accession nos:
Cards from Tamie and Malcolm Fraser to Brett Bayly (press journalist); **2006-2318**
includes images of Tamie and Malcolm Fraser. **2006-2317**
2006-2319
2006-2320
- Magdalen College freshmen, Oxford, 1949** Accession no:
Black-and-white photograph; includes Fraser. **2010-0414**

OBJECTS

- Fraser cushion** Accession no:
Brown and cream fabric soft toy made to resemble Fraser; image of **2007-2402**
Fraser silk-screened onto the fabric, possibly a pin cushion.
- Fraser statuette** Accession no:
Resin statuette of Fraser with a ball and chain; inscription on base **2009-0012**
reads 'Cos life wasn't meant to be easy'.
- Marionette theatre puppet** Accession no:
Rod puppet in the form of Fraser; the Great Orlando (Sir John Kerr) **2008-0015**
and Morton Batman (Fraser) were part of the Marionette Theatre
of Australia's collection. The two characters were designed by
Patrick Cook for the puppet production, *Captain Lazar and His*
Earthbound Circus.
- Pickering Dismissal chess set** Accession no:
Chess set by Larry Pickering in metal, wood and leather depicting **2007-0216**
the 1975 Dismissal.
- Sculpture of Fraser, Kerr and Whitlam** Accession no:
The Dismissal created by John Shakespeare; caricatures of (king) **2003-61**
Fraser sitting on a throne, Kerr sits on the armrest holding Fraser's
crown, and Whitlam lies on the steps in front with a raised clenched fist.
An open copy of the Australian Constitution lies beside Whitlam's hand.
The sculpture was commissioned by Old Parliament House for display
in an exhibition on the Dismissal in 2000.
- Telephone used by Malcolm Fraser as Prime Minister** Accession no:
Small light-brown plastic phone with attached angular handset, **2006-0359**
12 keypad buttons above five settings keys.

<i>The Greatest Advertising Campaign this Country's Ever Known, 1976</i>	16180
A documentary on the sacking of Whitlam; footage includes interviews with Fraser and Whitlam. The documentary starts with interviews with the public and coverage of speeches made outside the Sydney Town Hall.	
<i>Beyond Mabo Special with Ray Martin, 1993</i>	247249
A current affairs television program in which Fraser is interviewed.	
<i>Malcolm Fraser Makes Leadership Challenge, 1974</i>	109821
An animated political satire by Peter Nicholson.	
<i>Fraser at his first news conference after his appointment by Sir John Kerr as Prime Minister in the caretaker government, 1975</i>	183306
Fraser makes a speech on the double dissolution, then answers questions from the press.	
<i>Life at the Top: a week with Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, 1977</i>	510170
A documentary-style program covering a week (7 to 13 October 1977) in the life of Prime Minister Fraser. It features a trip to Kalgoorlie and Wollongong, and a lunch held in honour of the Crown Prince and Princess of Jordan. It also features scenes showing the Prime Minister and his advisers during a briefing for Question Time, and an evening meeting with some of Fraser's ministers.	
<i>The Dismissal, episodes 1–6, 1983</i>	62515
A six-part miniseries dramatising the events surrounding the sacking by Governor-General Sir John Kerr of the Whitlam Labor government and replacing it with the Coalition government led by Fraser.	
<i>2SM news material – Malcolm Fraser tape – covers 6 years – 26 cuts, c. 1975</i>	548340
This series of 26 cuts contains audio by or about Fraser and covers various issues, including Fraser on the election campaign, the boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games and the assassination of Lord Mountbatten.	
<i>The Big Broadcast, 1932–1982, 1982</i>	203493
A montage of sounds (music, interviews, speeches, advertisements, comedy, political, historical and sporting moments, Australian prime ministers) broadcast between 1932 and 1982, celebrating Australia's broadcasting history. Compiled from source material from ABC Radio.	
<i>Former Liberal Prime Minister Fraser speaks on public debate issues of race and discrimination, 1996</i>	408117
Footage from a current affairs television show broadcast on SBS.	
<i>Liberal Party films – Malcolm Fraser</i>	517226
<i>Fraser delivering the Liberal and National Party's election policy speech, 1975</i>	183237
<i>Malcolm Fraser interview, 1982</i>	568659
<i>Opening of 31st Parliamentary Session – speech, 1978</i>	295512

- Punished not Protected, 2004*** 599316
An educational documentary series featuring the views of leading Australians and concerned citizens on the effects of government policy on asylum seekers and temporary protection visa holders. Interviewees include Julian Burnside QC, Rev Tim Costello, Father Frank Brennan and Fraser.
- Talk to the Giants, 1975–83*** 782876
School children interviewing Prime Minister Fraser from 1975 to 1983.
- This Is Your Life, episode 97/15, George Negus, 1997*** 330867
Journalist, author and television presenter George Negus is greeted by presenter Mike Munro. Archival footage shown includes an interview excerpt from *This Day Tonight* with Fraser, an excerpt from *60 Minutes* with Margaret Thatcher, and excerpts of Negus presenting *Foreign Correspondent*.
- TCN 9 News, Election '80, Fraser Policy Speech** 13045
- TCN 9 News, Election '83, Fraser Policy Speech** 13046
- SBS Opening Program, 24 October 1980** 425075
Opening half-hour broadcast of Australia's multicultural television station Channel 0/28 (SBS). Introduced by Bruce Gyngell, the program features excerpts from a variety of programs to be broadcast on the channel and an address by Prime Minister Fraser to officially open the station.
- 3LO Radio broadcast – Malcolm Fraser addresses the House of Representatives following Whitlam's dismissal (off-air recording), 11 November 1975** 301205
Fraser addresses the House of Representatives after the dismissal of Whitlam on 11 November 1975. His speech provides details of how he came to be the 'interim' Prime Minister and his government's plans to call a general election.
- Australian National Animal Health Laboratory Project – official opening – first sod turned, 1978** 478465
The official opening by Prime Minister Fraser of the Australian National Animal Health Laboratory Project in Geelong, Victoria.
- Australian involvement in world politics, the Middle East, c. 1980** 317753
A discussion about Fraser's proposals to stop USSR aggression along its southern borders and influence in the Middle East; argues that Fraser's proposals will increase the likelihood of war.
- Australian Labor Party election campaign – Question–Answer No. 1 – advertisement, 1975** 382951
Whitlam criticises caretaker Prime Minister Fraser for his role in the Dismissal, claiming Fraser has broken the rules of parliamentary democracy. The advertisement ends with the slogan: 'Right the wrong. Reinstate Gough'.
- Australian Information Service TV news footage – Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, Sydney, 1978** 57787
Eleven heads of government from Commonwealth countries in Asia and the Pacific attended the first regional conference of Commonwealth leaders from 13 to 16 February 1978. This meeting was an initiative of

Prime Minister Fraser, and covered world and regional issues. Shows views of Sydney from the newly built Hilton, and surrounding vistas at Berida Manor.

Crisis in Canberra, 1975 **15171**

A political current affairs special presentation combining the resources of News Centre 9, *A Current Affair* and *Federal File*. The main issue discussed is the government loans scandal. Several people are interviewed: Gough Whitlam (Prime Minister) Malcolm Fraser (Leader of the Opposition), Phil Lynch (Deputy Leader of the Opposition), and Graham Perkin (editor of *The Age*).

Exits, 1980 **15581**

A short fictional film about the sacking of the Whitlam government in 1975. 'On the morning of November 11th, 1975, newspaper headlines promised a "way out" of the ten-week old constitutional crisis brought on by the Senate's refusal to pass government money bills. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and Opposition leader Malcolm Fraser were at last going to sit down and talk. Journalists now believed there would be a half-Senate election. Instead, at 1pm Governor-General Kerr sacked Whitlam and appointed Fraser as the federal Prime Minister.'

Election '75, 28 November 1975 **15486**

A nightly update of the 1975 federal election campaign; includes a discussion about what Fraser and Whitlam state is the best way to run the economy.

Federal Election, 1983, 1983 **50530**

A short film including Queensland Press Club footage with Warwick Beutler from the Macquarie Network, campaign advertisements for the Liberal Party and the Australian Labor Party, and Hawke's 'Bringing Australia together' and Fraser's 'We're not waiting for the world' speeches.

Interview with Malcolm Fraser, National Press Club, 1983 **527252**

Fraser responds to questions at the National Press Club in Canberra.

Australian Biography – Malcolm Fraser, 1994 **279248**

'My pal Mal' (with introduction), c. 1982 **204149**

A satirical song about Prime Minister Fraser, introduced by Eric Bogle.

Parkinson in Australia, Network Ten series, episode 82/01, 1982 **465384**

The first episode of *Parkinson in Australia*, interviewees include Malcolm Fraser.

Waltzing Matilda, 1975 **8964**

An animation depicting the fall of the Whitlam government to Fraser, sung to the tune of 'Waltzing matilda'. Title at the beginning of the film reads: 'On November 11th 1975 the Governor-General Sir John Kerr sacks Labor Prime Minister and installs Malcolm Fraser as caretaker to hold an election'.

Unveiling of plaque, CSIRO headquarters, 1976 **478456**

Prime Minister Fraser unveils a plaque on the occasion of the CSIRO's 50th anniversary.

Telecom Tower, 1980 565807

A documentary film showing the engineers and workers building the telecommunications tower on Black Mountain in Canberra, and outlining the services it provides for all Australians. It was opened on 5 May 1980 by Prime Minister Fraser. Also highlights various points of interest in Canberra.

Song of Australia: a unique musical extravaganza by Barry Humphries and Carl Davis, 1983 744997

A recording of the Melbourne performance of a musical history of Australia, as seen through the eyes of Dame Edna Everage. Described as an 'educational sonorama' crafted by Barry Humphries and Carl Davis. Track 3: 'Summoned by Malcolm Fraser'.

Sheet Dip – performance of a selection of songs from the sheet music collection of the National Library of Australia, 1998 470717

A musical variety show using National Film and Sound Archive footage and songs selected from the sheet music collection at the National Library of Australia, by John Shortis and Moya Simpson. Performed in the Senate Chamber of Old Parliament House, Canberra, on 14 March 1998.

Rubbery Figures, 1988 57017

The *Rubbery Figures* programs were made in a small film and puppet studio in Melbourne by Peter Nicholson. They were designed to be the equivalent of a political cartoon on television – funny, topical, quick, biting and informed. The puppets were glove-sized latex puppets generally operated by one person per puppet.

The Secret Country, 1987 47222

A special report by John Pilger of *The Daily Mirror* examining the treatment of Aboriginal Australians from the time of white settlement to the mid-1980s, in the context of the lead-up to the Australian bicentennial year (1988).

The 1975 Gloomshow, 1975 314879

A spoof of the British comedy program *The Goon Show*. It follows the events surrounding the dismissal of the Whitlam government in 1975. (This is an amateur recording.)

SBS News – Fraser talks about plans for \$166m for the Bicentenary and First Fleet re-enactment, 26 January 1983 102951**National Library of Australia****Personal papers and organisational records****ARNDT, HEINZ, PAPERS, 1933–2002** MS 6641

Quantity: 61 metres (360 boxes)

Heinz Arndt was an economist who emigrated to Australia in 1946 and was Professor of Economics at Canberra University College (1950–63), and Professor of Economics, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University (1963–80). His extensive papers include correspondence, lecture notes, working papers, conference papers, publications and a long series of diaries. In 1980 he was asked by

Prime Minister Fraser to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at New Delhi and one of his diaries records his 'Round-the world trip with Malcolm Fraser'.
Partly restricted.

AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY NATIONAL SECRETARIAT, RECORDS, 1917-93 **MS 4985**

Quantity: 116 metres (577 boxes + 103 cartons)

The records of the Australian Labor Party National Secretariat mostly date from the appointment of Cyril Wyndham as the full-time federal secretary in 1963. They contain a great deal of material on the federal elections of 1975, 1977, 1980 and 1983, and many files on such subjects as 'Fraser federalism' (1976) and 'Fraser's broken promises' (1976).
Restricted access.

CAMERON, CLYDE, PAPERS, 1924-2007 **MS 4614**

Quantity: 32 metres (155 boxes + 114 vols)

Clyde Cameron was a shearer, trade union official, Labor MHR for Hindmarsh (1949-80), Minister for Labour (1972-74), and Minister for Labour and Immigration (1974-75). In later years, he undertook a number of oral history interviews for the National Library of Australia, including one with Fraser. His papers comprise an extensive private correspondence, diaries, speeches, press releases and material relating to the Australian Workers' Union and the Australian Labor Party. There are many letters to and from Fraser, or referring to Fraser, mostly written in the period 1975-96.
Partly closed.

COWEN, SIR ZELMAN, PAPERS, 1950-88 **MS 6736**

Quantity: 41 metres (253 boxes + 6 cartons)

On the recommendation of Fraser, the lawyer and academic Sir Zelman Cowen was appointed Governor-General of Australia in 1977 and held the office until 1982. His papers cover his academic career as well as his time as Governor-General. They include speeches, addresses, congratulatory messages, correspondence, programs and visitors' books.
Partly restricted.

ENNOR, SIR HUGH, PAPERS, 1959-77 **MS 5837**

Quantity: 1 metre (49 folders)

Sir Hugh Ennor was a biochemist, academic, Secretary of the Department of Education and Science (1967-73), and Secretary of the Department of Science (1973-77). His papers consist of diaries, letters, addresses and publications, mainly dating from the time when Fraser, Nigel Bowen and David Fairbairn were successively ministers for Education and Science.
Partly restricted.

FIFE, WAL, PAPERS, 1942–85**MS 7626**

Quantity: 76 metres (476 boxes + 4 cartons)

Wal Fife served in the NSW Parliament from 1957 to 1975 before becoming Liberal MHR for Farrer, New South Wales (1976–84), Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs (1977–79), Minister for Education (1979–82), and Minister for Aviation (1982–83). His papers document his long career in both state and federal politics, including his work in the Fraser government.

Restricted access.

FORBES, AJ, PAPERS, 1942–93**MS 9875**

Quantity: 7 metres (47 boxes)

AJ (Jim) Forbes was a soldier, academic, Liberal MHR for Barker, South Australia (1956–75), Minister for Health (1966–71), Minister for Immigration (1971–72), President of the South Australian Division of the Liberal Party (1979–82), and Federal President of the Liberal Party (1982–85). His correspondence includes letters from Fraser, and there are also memorandums, minutes, circulars, correspondence, speeches and published material relating to the Liberal Party, mainly in the period 1979–85.

Restricted access.

FRASER, MALCOLM, LETTER, 1976**MS 5138**

A letter from Fraser to George Chandler, Director-General of the National Library of Australia, concerning the launching of the Library's US Bicentenary celebration in July 1976.

GARLAND, SIR VICTOR, PAPERS, 1943–93**MS 4989**

Quantity: 57 metres (377 boxes)

Sir Ransley Victor (Vic) Garland was Liberal MHR for Curtin, Western Australia (1969–81), Minister for Supply (1971–72), Minister for Posts and Telecommunications (1975–76), Minister for Veterans' Affairs (1977–78), Minister for Trade Representations (1977–79), Minister for Business Affairs (1979–80), and Australian High Commissioner in London (1981–83). His papers mainly relate to his work as a minister in the Fraser government and include correspondence, speeches, electorate papers and printed material.

Restricted access.

GORTON, SIR JOHN, PAPERS, 1959–2003**MS 7984**

Quantity: 12 metres (60 boxes + 3 cartons)

Sir John Gorton was a farmer, Liberal Senator for Victoria (1949–68), Liberal MHR for Higgins, Victoria (1968–75), Minister for the Interior (1963–64), Minister for Works (1963–67), Minister for Education and Science (1966–68), and Prime Minister (1968–71). His papers mainly relate to his prime ministership and his later political and literary activities. They include files on defence (1971), the resignation of Fraser from Gorton's government in March 1971, and Fraser's challenge for the leadership of the Liberal Party in 1975.



Ministers Doug Anthony, Andrew Peacock and Jim Killen at the Liberal Party campaign launch, Moorabbin Town Hall, Melbourne, September 1980. Photographer: Andrew Chapman. National Library of Australia: nla.pic-vn4228293

GRIFFITH, ALLAN, PAPERS, 1935–98

MS Acc. 01/114

Quantity: 4 metres (12 cartons)

MS Acc. 08/77

Allan Griffith was a public servant, consultant and writer. He spent much of his career in the Prime Minister's Department, where he was First Assistant Secretary (1970–78), and subsequently was a foreign policy adviser to Fraser. He was involved in the Zimbabwe peace negotiations and later wrote a book *Conflict and Resolution: peace-building through the ballot box in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Cambodia* (1998). His papers cover both his official career and his later research and writings on foreign policy.

Restricted access.

HAWKINS, MAX, PAPERS, 1960–83

MS 7696

Quantity: 2 metres (13 boxes)

Max Hawkins was a journalist and for many years the Canberra correspondent of the Brisbane newspaper *The Telegraph*. His papers consist of files of newspaper cuttings, printed material, notes of interviews and telexes sent to his Brisbane office. There are two files on Fraser (1969–83).

Restricted access.

HAYDEN, BILL, PAPERS, 1922–96

MS 7624

Quantity: 58 metres (417 boxes)

Bill Hayden was Labor MHR for Oxley, Queensland (1961–88), Minister for Social Security (1972–75), Treasurer (1975), Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party (1977–83), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1983–88), and Governor-General (1989–96). He was the author of

Hayden: an autobiography (1996). The bulk of his papers relate to the period in which he was Leader of the Opposition and comprise general correspondence, policy documents, briefing papers and speeches. There is a great deal on the Fraser government, including correspondence between Fraser and Hayden (1978–83), ‘broken promises’ files, and papers on the resignation of Andrew Peacock from the Ministry in 1981. Partly closed.

HOLT, HAROLD, PAPERS, 1959–65**MS 9692**

Quantity: 0.17 metres (11 folders)

Harold Holt was Liberal MHR for Fawkner, Victoria (1937–68), Minister for Immigration (1949–56), Minister for Labour and National Service (1949–58), Treasurer (1958–66), and Prime Minister (1966–67). This small collection of papers, dating from his time as Treasurer, includes correspondence with Fraser.

HONE, SIR BRIAN, PAPERS, 1930–80**MS 6823**

Quantity: 5 metres (185 folders)

Sir Brian Hone was the Headmaster of Melbourne Church of England Grammar School (1950–70). He subsequently served on several public bodies, such as the Schools Commission, and was Chairman of the Commonwealth Secondary Schools Libraries Committee (1971–74). Most of his papers relate to this committee and include personal correspondence with the ministers for education, Malcolm Fraser and Kim Beazley. Restricted access.

HOWSON, PETER, PAPERS, 1956–90**MS 4697**

Quantity: 16 metres (101 boxes)

Peter Howson was Liberal MHR for Fawkner, Victoria (1955–69) and Casey, Victoria (1969–72), Minister for Air (1964–68), and Minister for the Environment, Aborigines and the Arts (1971–72). His papers include correspondence, material on his portfolios, and a long series of diaries (1963–82). The diaries contain many references to Fraser. Selected entries were reproduced in *The Howson Diaries: the life of politics* (1984).

KELLY, CHARLES ROBERT, DIARIES, 1959–82**MS 7424**

Quantity: 0.28 metres (2 boxes)

Charles Robert (Bert) Kelly was a farmer, Liberal MHR for Wakefield (1958–77), Minister for Works (1967–68), and Minister for the Navy (1968–69). His diaries record his activities as a parliamentarian, party meetings, travels in Australia and overseas, and his passionate interest in free trade and Australia’s primary industries. In particular, they describe in considerable detail the events leading to the downfall of Gorton in March 1971, the election of Fraser as Leader of the Liberal Party in March 1975, and the dismissal of the Whitlam government in November 1975.

KILLEN, SIR JAMES, PAPERS, 1933–2006

MS Acc. 07/01

Quantity: 28 metres (186 boxes)

Sir James Killen was a lawyer, Liberal MHR for Moreton, Queensland (1955–83), Minister for the Navy (1969–71), and Minister for Defence in the Fraser government (1975–82). His extensive papers include political and personal correspondence, diaries and journals, speeches, files relating to the Navy and Defence portfolios, subject files, drafts of his books and other writings, files on horse-racing and other outside interests, and scrapbooks and newspaper cuttings. There is a file on Fraser as Minister for Defence (1969–71), and an extensive correspondence between Fraser and Killen (1975–83).

Partly closed and partly restricted access.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA FEDERAL SECRETARIAT, RECORDS, 1945–90

MS 5000

Quantity: 624 metres (1425 boxes)

Comprises minutes, correspondence, subject files and other records of the Federal Executive, Federal Director, Senior Research Officer and other staff of the Federal Secretariat of the Liberal Party. The papers include material on the 1977, 1980 and 1983 elections, press statements and speeches of Fraser, and correspondence between Fraser and the Federal Director.

Restricted access.

MCMAHON, SIR WILLIAM, PAPERS, 1949–87

MS 3926

Quantity: 85 metres (611 boxes)

Sir William McMahon was a lawyer and Liberal MHR for Lowe, New South Wales (1949–82). He held ministerial posts continuously from 1951 to 1972, including Minister for Labour and National Service (1958–66), Treasurer (1966–68), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1968–71), and Prime Minister (1971–72). His papers relate mostly to these four portfolios and to his later years as a backbencher. They include correspondence with Fraser, mostly in his capacity as Minister for Education and Science.

Partly closed.

MENZIES, SIR ROBERT, PAPERS, 1905–78

MS 4936

Quantity: 82 metres (687 boxes)

Sir Robert Menzies was a lawyer, Victorian parliamentarian and minister, MHR for Kooyong, Victoria (1934–66), Attorney-General (1934–39), Prime Minister (1939–41 and 1949–66), and Leader of the Opposition (1943–49). There are relatively few official records in his papers, but he maintained an extensive personal correspondence and also kept diaries, speeches, cutting books, photographs and other papers. In his last years (1971–77) he corresponded with Fraser.

Partly closed.

REID, ALAN, PAPERS, 1942–85**MS 7796**

Quantity: 6 metres (45 boxes)

Alan Reid was a journalist, the Canberra correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Bulletin*, and the author of *The Power Struggle* (1969), *The Gorton Experiment* (1971) and other books. His papers contain 12 files of newspaper cuttings and telexes on Fraser (1975–81) and seven files on the 1975 constitutional crisis.

RUXTON, BRUCE, PAPERS, 1950–2003**MS Acc. 04/152**

Quantity: 28 metres (186 boxes)

Bruce Ruxton was an outspoken official of the Returned Services League of Australia, and was President of the Victorian branch from 1979 to 2002. His papers consist of correspondence, invitations, programs, newspaper cuttings, printed material and photographs. They include letters from Fraser.

Restricted access.

MS Acc. 04/260**SAMUEL, PETER, PAPERS, 1962–80****MS 3863**

Quantity: 16 metres (100 boxes)

Peter Samuel was a journalist and political commentator, and was the Canberra correspondent of *The Bulletin* (1966–80). His papers comprise press cuttings, printed material, and drafts of articles, notes and correspondence. They include a box of cuttings, speeches, press statements and drafts of speeches on the downfall of the Whitlam government and the early years of the Fraser government.

SNEDDEN, SIR BILLY, PAPERS, 1941–83**MS 6216**

Quantity: 37 metres (281 boxes)

Sir Billy Snedden was a lawyer, Liberal MHR for Bruce, Victoria (1955–83), Attorney-General (1963–66), Minister for Immigration (1966–69), Minister for Labour and National Service (1969–71), Treasurer (1971–72), Leader of the Opposition (1972–75), and Speaker of the House of Representatives (1976–83). His papers contain a great deal of material on the 1972–75 period, including records of Shadow Cabinet meetings and correspondence with Fraser.

SOUTHEY, SIR ROBERT, PAPERS, 1962–94**MS 9901**

Quantity: 5 metres (38 boxes)

Sir Robert Southey was a Melbourne businessman with strong cultural and political interests. He held a number of positions in the Liberal Party of Australia, and was President of the Victorian Division (1966–70) and Federal President (1970–75). His papers contain many files of correspondence, minutes and other records of the Liberal Party, mainly from the years 1970–77, including correspondence with John Gorton, William McMahon and Malcolm Fraser.

TANGE, SIR ARTHUR, PAPERS, 1929–2001

MS 9847

Quantity: 6 metres (35 boxes)

Sir Arthur Tange was an economist and public servant, and held the positions of Secretary of the Department of External Affairs (1954–65), Australian High Commissioner to India (1965–70), and Secretary of the Department of Defence (1970–79). His papers cover both his official career, and writings and other activities in his retirement. They include papers on the resignation of Fraser as Minister for Defence in March 1971 and the subsequent downfall of Prime Minister John Gorton.

WARNER, DENIS, PAPERS, 1949–97

MS 9489

Quantity: 10 metres (71 boxes)

Denis Warner was for many years a freelance reporter and commentator on Asian affairs and the author of books on military history and South-East Asia. He also wrote two volumes of autobiography: *Wake Me if There's Trouble* (1995) and *Not Always on Horseback* (1997). His papers comprise correspondence, notebooks, reviews, drafts of his books, newspaper cuttings and other research material. There is a file of correspondence with Fraser (1973–79).

WHEELER, SIR FREDERICK, PAPERS, 1924–94

MS 8096

Quantity: 10 metres (42 boxes)

Sir Frederick Wheeler was a public servant, Chairman of the Commonwealth Public Service Board (1960–71) and Secretary of the Treasury (1971–79). His papers consist of correspondence, memorandums, diaries, speeches, and biographical and subject files. The bulk of the papers relate to his time on the Public Service Board and include some letters to Fraser. There are also papers on the 1974–75 Loans Affair, and memorandums and other documents on the creation of the Department of Finance in 1976.

Partly closed.

WHITING, BERTRAM, PAPERS, 1939–96

MS 8715

Quantity: 2 metres (14 boxes)

Bertram Whiting was a soldier, beekeeper and poet. In 1948 he married Lorraine Fraser, the sister of Malcolm, and they settled in Italy in 1955. His papers consist of a very long series of diaries and also correspondence, book reviews, art catalogues and photographs. Among the correspondents are Malcolm and Tamie Fraser.

Restricted access.

Oral history interviews and other sound recordings

The National Library of Australia has a large oral history collection. It is currently undertaking a project with the Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House to interview a significant number of former parliamentarians. At the time of writing, 58 interviews had been completed and more were under way. A search on the National Library of Australia catalogue for interviews from the 'Old Parliament House Political and Parliamentary Oral History Project' will reveal a number of interviews with parliamentarians, party leaders and activists from the Fraser era.

ANTHONY, DOUG – INTERVIEW WITH MICHAEL RICHARDS, 2010**TRC 6100/19**

Duration: 15 hours, 25 minutes

Doug Anthony was a farmer, Country Party (later National Party) MHR for Richmond, New South Wales (1957–84), Minister for the Interior (1964–67), Minister for Primary Industry (1967–71), Minister for Trade and Industry (1971–72), Minister for Overseas Trade and National Resources (1975–77), and Minister for Trade and Resources (1977–83). He was the Leader of the Country Party (later the National Country Party) (1971–84) and Deputy Prime Minister in the Fraser government. In this interview, Anthony speaks about his early life, his years as a young backbencher, his relations with Robert Menzies and his long career as a minister. He refers frequently to Fraser, including his abilities as Opposition leader, the 1975 election, his style as a Cabinet manager and tendency to interfere with the work of other ministers, his relations with Sir John Kerr and National Party ministers after 1975, the influx of Vietnamese refugees, his attitude to the Treasury and economic reform, the new Parliament House and the 1983 election.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

AYERS, TONY – INTERVIEW WITH JOHN FARQUHARSON, 1998**TRC 3697**

Duration: c. 3 hours

Tony Ayers spent many years in the Australian Public Service and was secretary of three departments: Aboriginal Affairs (1979–81), Social Security (1981–86) and Defence (1988–98). He speaks of his early life and work in the Prime Minister's Department and other departments. He comments on the leadership and political acumen of Fraser and the different administrative styles of Fraser, Bob Hawke and Paul Keating.

Open for research; written permission required for public use or personal copies during the lifetime of the interviewee.

BLAND, SIR HENRY – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1975**TRC 121/60**

Duration: 11 hours, 48 minutes

Sir Henry Bland was a public servant, Secretary of the Department of Labour and National Service (1952–67), and Secretary of the Department of Defence (1967–70). He talks about his early life, post-war reconstruction, the Commonwealth Employment Service, industrial relations, the National Service Act, industrial disputes, the restructuring of the Department of Defence, defence policy, relations with his ministers Allen Fairhall and Fraser, and his activities after he left the public service in 1970.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

BOLTE, SIR HENRY – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1976**TRC 121/73**

Duration: 3 hours, 27 minutes

Sir Henry Bolte was a farmer, Liberal Member of the Victorian Legislative Assembly (1947–72), and Premier of Victoria (1955–72). He recalls his early life, war service, entry into politics and election as Opposition leader, and his association with prime ministers, premiers, ministerial colleagues and other political leaders over his long career. He refers to the replacement of Billy Snedden as Opposition leader in March 1975 and gives his views on Fraser's future as Prime Minister.

Open for research, personal copies and public use (online).

CARRICK, SIR JOHN – INTERVIEW WITH RON HURST, 1987–90

TRC 4900/87

Duration: 42 hours

Sir John Carrick was General Secretary of the New South Wales Division of the Liberal Party (1948–71), Liberal Senator for New South Wales (1971–87), Minister for Education (1975–79), and Minister for National Development and Energy (1979–83). In these very lengthy interviews, Carrick speaks about his childhood, experience as a prisoner of war during World War II, his long career in the Liberal Party organisation, the 1972 election, the dismissal of the Whitlam government, his work as Minister of Education and Leader of the Government in the Senate, and his recollections of Robert Menzies, Harold Holt and Malcolm Fraser.

Written permission required for research, personal copies and public use during the lifetime of the interviewee.

CASTLES, IAN – INTERVIEW WITH NIKKI HENNINGHAM, 2007

TRC 5790

Duration: 2 hours, 15 minutes

Ian Castles was an economist and public servant, and held the positions of Deputy Secretary, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (1975–78), Secretary, Department of Finance (1979–86), and Australian Statistician (1986–94). In this interview he discusses his early life, his work in the Treasury and the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, his assessment of Sir Frederick Wheeler, Sir John Bunting, Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser, and his later involvement in the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.

Open for research and personal copies; written permission required for public use within 10 years of the interview.

CHIPP, DON – INTERVIEW WITH BERNADETTE SCHEDVIN, 1987

TRC 4900/73

Duration: 13 hours

Don Chipp was a management consultant, Liberal MHR for Higinbotham, Victoria (1960–68) and Hotham, Victoria (1969–77), Minister for the Navy (1968–69), Minister for Customs and Excise (1969–72), Leader of the Australian Democrats (1978–86), and Senator for Victoria (1978–86). He speaks of his early life, business career, entry into politics, work as a minister, his relations with Harold Holt, John Gorton, William McMahon and Malcolm Fraser, his resignation from the Liberal Party in 1977 and the formation of the Australian Democrats.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

COTTON, SIR ROBERT – INTERVIEWS WITH RON HURST, 1987–90

TRC 4900/86

Duration: 15 hours

Sir Robert Cotton was Liberal Senator for New South Wales (1965–78), Minister for Civil Aviation (1969–72), Minister for Industry and Commerce (1975–77), and Ambassador to the United States (1982–85). In these interviews he speaks of his family background, his involvement in the timber industry, his work as Minister for Civil Aviation, the Opposition tactics in 1975, and issues he faced as Minister for Industry and Commerce in the Fraser government.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

DEXTER, BARRIE – INTERVIEW WITH STEWART HARRIS, 1993–94

TRC 2909

Duration: 18 hours, 45 minutes

Barrie Dexter was a diplomat and public servant, Director of the Office of Aboriginal Affairs (1968–72), Secretary of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (1972–77), and the Australian High Commissioner to Canada (1980–83). In this interview he discusses his early life, his diplomatic career, the difficulties of administering the new Department of Aboriginal Affairs and his later involvement in CARE Australia. He refers to Gough Whitlam, Gordon Bryant, Charles Perkins, Malcolm Fraser and other political leaders and officials.

Open for research; written permission required for personal copies and public use during the lifetime of the interviewee.

EGGLETON, TONY – INTERVIEWS BY TERRY COLHOUN, 1998–2003

TRC 3755

Duration: 14 hours, 39 minutes

Tony Eggleton was press secretary for Robert Menzies, Harold Holt and John Gorton (1965–71), chief of staff for Malcolm Fraser (1975), Federal Director of the Liberal Party (1975–90), Secretary-General of CARE International (1991–95), and National Director of CARE Australia (1995–96). In these interviews he speaks of his early life in England, his emigration to Australia, and his close association with various Liberal prime ministers, particularly his relations with Fraser.

Written permission required for research and public use during the lifetime of the interviewee.

ELLICOTT, ROBERT JAMES – INTERVIEW WITH JOHN FARQUHARSON, 2002

TRC 4842

Duration: 15 hours, 28 minutes

Robert James (Bob) Ellicott was a lawyer, Commonwealth Solicitor-General (1969–73), Liberal MHR for Wentworth, New South Wales (1974–81), Attorney-General (1975–77), Minister for Home Affairs and the Australian Capital Territory (1977–80), and Minister for Home Affairs and the Environment (1980–81). He speaks about his legal career, events leading up to the dismissal of the Whitlam government, his relations with Fraser and resignation as Attorney-General in 1977, and his work as the Minister for Home Affairs and the Australian Capital Territory.

Access to be determined.

FORBES, ANTHONY JAMES – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1978

TRC 121/94

Duration: 6 hours

In this interview, Anthony James (Jim) Forbes speaks of his service in the Army in World War II; his early interest in politics; his work as a federal parliamentarian, Minister for the Army and Minister for Immigration; Fraser's performance as Minister for the Army; his time in Opposition as Shadow Minister for Defence; and the deposing of Billy Snedden as Opposition leader by Fraser in March 1975.

Written permission required for research, public use and personal copies during the lifetime of the interviewee.

FRASER, ALLAN – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1975

TRC 121/66

Duration: 1 hour, 49 minutes

Allan Fraser was a journalist and Labor MHR for Eden–Monaro, New South Wales (1943–66 and 1969–72). He talks about events and people in his long political career, including John Curtin, HV Evatt, JB Chifley, Arthur Calwell and Harold Holt, and compares Robert Menzies and Malcolm Fraser as political leaders.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

FRASER, MALCOLM – ADDRESSES, 1975–91

Various locations

Recordings of 10 addresses by Fraser at National Press Club lunches in Canberra. They mostly date from his time as Prime Minister, but one was made while Leader of the Opposition and the final one in his capacity as President of CARE International.

Open for research and personal copies; written permission from the National Press Club required for public use.

FRASER, MALCOLM – INTERVIEW WITH CLYDE CAMERON, 1987

TRC 2162

Duration: c. 32 hours

In this lengthy interview, Fraser and his old political adversary Clyde Cameron talk about Fraser's career and their recollections of political events and personalities.

Closed access until the end of 2012.

FRASER, MALCOLM – INTERVIEWS WITH JOHN FARQUHARSON, 1999–2000

TRC 3823,

Duration: 6 hours, 30 minutes; 95 minutes

TRC 4639

In the second of these interviews, Fraser discusses his involvement in the negotiations concerning two CARE Australia workers, Steve Pratt and Peter Wallace, who were imprisoned in Belgrade in 1999. He also refers to the situation in East Timor.

TRC 3823: Written permission required for research.

TRC 4639: Closed during the lifetime of the interviewee.

FRASER, MALCOLM – INTERVIEW WITH JOHN EDWARDS, 1972

TRC 168/4

Duration: 3 hours

Fraser was interviewed by the economist and journalist John Edwards for an article in the *Australian Financial Review*. He speaks of his early interest in politics, his views on a number of economic questions, and Commonwealth–state relations in education and other fields.

Open for research; written permission required for personal copies and public use during the lifetime of the interviewee.

FRASER, MALCOLM – SPEECH, 1977

TRC 545

Speeches by Condor Laucke, Billy Snedden, Malcolm Fraser and Gough Whitlam on the 50th anniversary of the opening of Parliament House in Canberra, 5 May 1977.

Open for research; closed for public use.

GORTON, SIR JOHN – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1976

TRC 121/78

Duration: 9 hours, 10 minutes

Sir John Gorton talks about his childhood, service during World War II, election to the Senate, work as Minister for the Navy and Minister for Education and Science, election as Leader of the Liberal Party in 1968, issues that he faced as Prime Minister, resignation of Fraser as Minister for Defence in 1971 and the subsequent election of William McMahon as Leader, and the defeat at the 1972 election.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

GUILFOYLE, DAME MARGARET – INTERVIEW WITH BARRY YORK, 2009

TRC 6100/16

Duration: 2 hours, 58 minutes

Dame Margaret Guilfoyle was an accountant, Liberal Senator for Victoria (1971–87), Minister for Education (1975), Minister for Social Security (1975–80), and Minister for Finance (1980–83). In this interview she speaks of her experiences as a minister in the Fraser government.

Closed during the lifetime of the interviewee.

HARDERS, SIR CLARRIE – INTERVIEW WITH JOHN FARQUHARSON, 1996–97

TRC 3537

Duration: c. 13 hours

Sir Clarrie Harders joined the Attorney-General's Department in 1947 and was Secretary of the department from 1970 to 1979. He talks about his family background and education, and experiences working under nine attorneys-general. In particular, he deals with the 1974–75 Loans Affair and the 1975 constitutional crisis, including discussions between Sir John Kerr and Gough Whitlam, and between Kerr and Fraser. He also refers to the resignation of Bob Ellicott as Attorney-General in the Fraser government in September 1977.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

HAYDEN, BILL – INTERVIEW WITH DANIEL CONNELL, 2009

TRC 6100/3

Duration: 2 hours, 46 minutes

In this wide-ranging interview, Bill Hayden speaks about his early life in Queensland, work in the Queensland Police Force, early experiences as a backbencher in the federal Parliament, internal workings of the Labor Party, achievements as Minister for Social Security and Treasurer in the Whitlam government, the consequences of the election of the Fraser government in 1975, and the role of the Governor-General after 1975. There are references to Robert Menzies, Arthur Calwell, Gough Whitlam, Rex Connor, Malcolm Fraser and Bob Hawke.

Open for research, personal copies and public use (online).

Recorded as part of the Old Parliament House Political and Parliamentary Oral History Project.

HENDERSON, PETER – INTERVIEW WITH MICHAEL WILSON, 1994

TRC 2981/12

Duration: 4 hours, 7 minutes

Peter Henderson had a long career as a diplomat and public servant, ultimately becoming Deputy Secretary (1976–78) and Secretary (1979–84) of the Department of Foreign Affairs. He recalls his experiences in his

various posts, particularly in Jakarta and Manila, administrative problems faced by the department, colleagues such as Sir Arthur Tange and Alan Renouf, his dealings as Secretary with Andrew Peacock and Bill Hayden, and the relationship between Peacock and Fraser.

Open for research; closed for personal copies and public use until 2020; not available for inter-library loan.

HOFFMAN, NORMAN – INTERVIEW WITH ANN-MARI JORDENS, 2008

TRC 5930/9

Duration: c. 3 hours, 40 minutes

Norman Hoffman joined the Department of Immigration as a journalist in 1960 and remained associated with the department until 1992. He speaks about his work in the various positions he held and, in particular, his time as Director of the Indo-Chinese Refugee Program in 1977–80. There are references to Ian Macphee, Andrew Peacock, and the attitude of Fraser to the great influx of Vietnamese and other Asian refugees in this period.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

JONES, BARRY – INTERVIEW WITH GARRY STURGESS, 2011

TRC 6100/39

Duration: 16 hours, 8 minutes

Barry Jones was a schoolteacher, lecturer, quiz champion, Labor MHR for Lalor, Victoria (1977–98), Minister for Science (1983–90), Minister for Small Business (1987–90), and Minister for Customs (1988–90). In this interview he talks about his childhood, early interest in politics and politicians, his assessment of JB Chifley and Robert Menzies, experiences as a quiz champion, his attempts to enter the federal Parliament, the 1975 constitutional crisis, Bill Hayden and the years in Opposition, the Hawke government, factions within the Australian Labor Party, and the various portfolios that he held. There are references to market reform, the political values of Malcolm Fraser, Fraser's autobiography, and relations between Fraser and Whitlam in later years.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

MACKELLAR, MICHAEL – INTERVIEW WITH BARRY YORK, 2008–10

TRC 6100/30

Duration: 7 hours, 46 minutes

Michael MacKellar was an agricultural scientist, Liberal MHR for Warringah, New South Wales (1969–94), Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1975–79), and Minister for Health (1979–82). In this interview he speaks about his work as a minister in the Fraser government.

Written permission required for research, personal copies and public use.

OPPERMAN, SIR HUBERT – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1975

TRC 121/61

Duration: 9 hours, 45 minutes

Sir Hubert Opperman was a champion cyclist, Liberal MHR for Corio, Victoria (1949–67), Minister for Shipping and Transport (1960–63), Minister for Immigration (1963–66), and Australian High Commissioner to Malta (1967–72). He talks of his career as a cyclist, his election to the federal Parliament, his experiences as Government Whip (including recollections of Fraser as a young backbencher), and his work as a Cabinet minister.

Open for research, personal copies and public use (online).

POLITES, GEORGE – INTERVIEW WITH ROB LINN, 2005**TRC 5442**

Duration: 2 hours, 10 minutes

George Polites was an industrial advocate, Executive Director of the Australian Council of Employers Federations (1959–78), and Director-General of the Confederation of Australian Industry (1978–83). He speaks about his early life and involvement in industrial relations; his relations with industrial and trade union leaders and various governments; the strengths and weaknesses of the Australian industrial relations system; recollections of Arthur Calwell, Clyde Cameron, Bob Hawke and Bryan Noakes; the approach of Fraser to industrial relations problems; and the rise of a 'new conservatism' hostile to industrial regulation.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

REID, MARGARET – INTERVIEW WITH BARRY YORK, 2009–19**TRC 6100/15**

Duration: 4 hours, 16 minutes

Margaret Reid was a barrister, Liberal Senator for the ACT (1981–2003) and President of the Senate (1996–2002). Her interview contains many references to Fraser.

Written permission required for research, personal copies and public use until 2020.

RENOUF, ALAN – INTERVIEW WITH MICHAEL WILSON, 1993**TRC 2981/6**

Duration: 4 hours, 57 minutes

Alan Renouf was a diplomat and public servant, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs (1974–77), and Australian Ambassador to the United States (1977–79). He talks of his long diplomatic career; his association with HV Evatt, Percy Spender, Paul Hasluck, Robert Menzies and other political leaders; the role of the secretary in the department; Fraser's visit to China and Japan in 1976; and Renouf's move to Washington in 1977.

Open for research, personal copies and public use (online).

SAMUEL, PETER – INTERVIEW WITH MEL PRATT, 1973**TRC 121/47**

Duration: 4 hours, 16 minutes

Peter Samuel, the political correspondent of *The Bulletin*, speaks in this interview of his involvement in student politics; his work on the *Canberra Times*, *The Bulletin* and *The Observer*; the Vietnam War and Australian defence issues; the Gorton government and the resignation of Fraser in March 1971; and the McMahon government.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

SNEDDEN, SIR BILLY – INTERVIEWS WITH BERNADETTE SCHEDVIN, 1983–87 TRC 4900/57

Duration: c. 61 hours

In this series of 54 interviews recorded over four years, Sir Billy Snedden discusses his entire political career, from his election to the House of Representatives in 1955 until his retirement in 1983. There are numerous references to Fraser and his government. Some examples are the changing relationship between Fraser and John Gorton in 1968–71, his attitude to William McMahon, Fraser's challenge to Snedden as Leader of

the Opposition in March 1975, the Opposition's tactics in 1975, Fraser's role in the blocking of supply, Snedden's views on the role of Speaker, his assessment of the Fraser Ministry, Fraser's relations with his ministers and senators, the resignation of Phillip Lynch as Treasurer in 1977, Fraser's new federalism, and the defeat of the government at the 1983 election.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

SNEDDEN, SIR BILLY – INTERVIEW WITH CATHERINE SANTAMARIA, 1976 TRC 455

Duration: 14 hours, 8 minutes

Sir Billy Snedden speaks of his family background, his early interest in politics, and his work as Attorney-General, Minister for Labour and National Service, Treasurer and Leader of the Opposition. He discusses his relationship with Robert Menzies and subsequent prime ministers, and also his relations with public servants such as Frederick Wheeler and John Stone. There are many references to Fraser, including his relationship with John Gorton.

Open for research, personal copies and public use.

STREET, TONY – INTERVIEW WITH ROB LINN, 2009 TRC 6100/7

Duration: 2 hours, 13 minutes

Tony Street was a farmer, Liberal MHR for Corangamite, Victoria (1966–84), Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations (1975–78), Minister for Industrial Relations (1978–80), and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1980–83). He speaks of his early life, his life in politics, his work as a minister in dealing with industrial and later international problems, and the defeat of the Fraser government in 1983.

Closed during the lifetime of the interviewee.

Recorded as part of the Old Parliament House Political and Parliamentary Oral History Project.

TURNBULL, REGINALD JOHN DAVID – INTERVIEW WITH TONY HANNAN, 1983 TRC 4900/4

Duration: 3 hours, 49 minutes

Dr Reginald Turnbull was a medical practitioner, Member of the Tasmanian Legislative Assembly (1946–61), and Independent Senator for Tasmania (1962–74). He recalls his career in local, state and federal politics, and his association with various political leaders including Fraser.

Open for research, public copies and personal use.

WILSON, IAN – INTERVIEW WITH SUSAN MARSDEN, 2009 TRC 6100/1

Duration: 4 hours, 54 minutes

Ian Wilson was a lawyer, company director, Liberal MHR for Sturt (1966–69 and 1972–93), Minister for Home Affairs and the Environment (1981–82), and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs (1982–83). He speaks about his family background; recollections of Robert Menzies, Harold Holt, Hubert Opperman and Gough Whitlam; his work as a minister in the final years of the Fraser government; how decisions were reached by the Prime Minister and Cabinet; and his strong interest in heritage issues.

Open for research, personal copies and public use (online).

Recorded as part of the Old Parliament House Political and Parliamentary Oral History Project.

WOOD, IAN – INTERVIEW WITH RON HURST, 1984

TRC 4900/84

Duration: 12 hours

Ian Wood was a travel agent and Liberal Senator for Queensland (1950–78). He talks about his early life, his travel business, elections, the role of the Senate, John Gorton, William McMahon, Lionel Murphy, Gough Whitlam, the election of Fraser as Leader of the Liberal Party in March 1975, and events leading to the dismissal of the Whitlam government.
Open for research, personal copies and public use.

WRAN, NEVILLE – INTERVIEW WITH DIANA GIESE, 2000

TRC 4628

Duration: c. 4 hours, 20 minutes

Neville Wran was a lawyer, Australian Labor Party Member of the New South Wales Legislative Council (1970–73), Labor Party Member of the Legislative Assembly (1973–86), and Premier of New South Wales (1976–86). He speaks about his early life and education, his relations with notable legal figures in Sydney, Labor Party factions, challenges that he faced as Premier, litigation and his later appointment as Chairman of CSIRO. He refers briefly to his relations with Fraser – ‘a thorn in each other’s side’ – and negotiations with Fraser to hold the World Expo in Sydney.
Open for research, personal copies and public use.

YEEND, SIR GEOFFREY – INTERVIEW WITH ROBERT HYSLOP, 1990

TRC 2595/6

Duration: 3 hours

Sir Geoffrey Yeend was an officer in the Prime Minister’s Department from 1950 to 1986, becoming Deputy Secretary in 1972 and Secretary in 1978. He discusses his early career in the public service, his time as Private Secretary of Robert Menzies and the role of the Prime Minister’s Department, and refers to the different styles of Malcolm Fraser and Bob Hawke in conducting Cabinet business.
Open for research, personal copies and public use.

YOUNG, SIR HAROLD – INTERVIEW WITH KEN TAYLOR, 1987

TRC 4900/97

Duration: 6 hours

Sir Harold Young was a pastoralist, Liberal Senator for South Australia (1968–83), and President of the Senate (1981–83). He speaks of his early life, his work with rural organisations, his political career, the role of the Senate, and the contribution of Fraser to the establishment of the Australian Defence Force Academy. He also refers to John Gorton, Gough Whitlam, Lionel Murphy and Bert Kelly.
Open for research, personal copies and public use.

Cartoons and other pictorial records

MCCRAE, STEWART, CARTOONS, 1975–80

PIC 3994

Quantity: 684 cartoons and cartoon strips

Stewart McCrae was a cartoonist who had a long association with the *Courier-Mail* and *The Bulletin*. His collection contains many original cartoons depicting Fraser, mostly in the period 1975–80, of which 35 are currently available online.

MATILDA COLLECTION, 1981–93

PIC 3663

Quantity: 250 cartoons and sketches, and 350 photographs

Matilda was a satirical magazine, edited by Robbie Swan and published in Canberra in 1985–86. The *Matilda* archive contains four photographs and one cartoon of Fraser.

MOIR, ALAN, CARTOONS AND DRAWINGS, 1973–2006

Various locations

Quantity: c. 2000 drawings

Alan Moir is a caricaturist and cartoonist who worked for *The Bulletin*, *Courier-Mail* and *Sydney Morning Herald*. His collection contains several original cartoons featuring Fraser, dating from 1974 to 1976.

MOLNAR, GEORGE, CARTOONS, 1955–82

PIC 7345

Quantity: 2472 drawings and cartoons

George Molnar was a Hungarian architect who emigrated to Australia in 1939. In 1945 he began to contribute his distinctive fine-line drawings to the *Daily Telegraph*, and from 1952 to 1984 he was employed as a cartoonist by the *Sydney Morning Herald*. His collection contains several cartoons of Fraser.

O'NEILL, WARD, CARTOONS, 1977–2007

PIC 9251

Quantity: 716 drawings

PIC 11359

Ward O'Neill has contributed cartoons to several Australian and British newspapers, in particular the *Sydney Morning Herald* (where they often accompanied the political commentaries of Alan Ramsey) and the *Australian Financial Review*. His collection contains a caricature of Fraser (c. 1977) and a cartoon depicting Fraser and Whitlam (2000).

PRYOR, GEOFF, CARTOONS, 1978–2002

Various locations

Quantity: c. 7290 drawings and cartoons

Geoff Pryor was the cartoonist for the *Canberra Times* from 1978 to 2008. His archive contains hundreds of his original cartoons featuring Fraser, 320 of which are currently available online.



Born-again Keynesians, a cartoon by Geoff Pryor, 1982. National Library of Australia: nla.pic-an23098353

New South Wales

Powerhouse Museum

- CALENDARS AND POSTERS, LUCIFOIL POSTER COLLECTIVE, 1980-81** **2000/69/2**
- A series of nine posters designed by the Lucifoil Poster Collective, University of Sydney. Includes 'Australia will enter the eighties with enormous confidence – J.M. Fraser' (photographic screen print on paper showing an image of Fraser holding a knife), and 'March against Fraser, put people first' (screen print on paper showing an Aboriginal girl on the left and a procession in the background).
- SKIPPY CLUB MAGAZINE, VOL. 1, NO. 2, 1969** **2003/111/44-1/1**
- Licensed from the television show *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo*; contains a letter from Fraser.
- TELEGRAM TO EILEEN BOWKER FROM FRASER CONGRATULATING HER ON THE AWARD OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE MEDAL, CANBERRA, 15 JUNE 1977** **2005/12/1-2/31**
- 'SECOND TRIENNIAL MAY DAY PALACE REVOLUTION BALL' POSTER, 1977** **2007/56/54**
- Styled on the *Les Miserable* stage show poster, set during the French Revolution and featuring an image of a woman clothed in blue overalls holding a rifle and raised red flag bearing the caption, 'Come as your favourite faction' and a young boy holding a gun in each hand, one outstretched and one pointing to the prone image of Prime Minister Fraser.
- 'MALCOLM FRASER', POSTER, c. 1970S** **2007/56/92**
- Features a black-and-white caricature of Prime Minister Fraser clothed in a suit featuring a tie patterned in a dollar sign motif, squashing an ice-cream cone against his forehead. The lapel of the suit jacket has six buttons with ribbons attached. Each button features the caricature of former Liberal politicians with ice-cream cones stuck to their foreheads.

State Library of New South Wales

- MARGEL HINDER – GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE FILES, 1942-95** **MLMSS 6088/5-7**
- Animal welfare and environmental issues; includes letters from Fraser, Tim Moore and other politicians (1977-87).
Restricted until the deaths of the writers in question.
- DAVID MCNICOLL – PAPERS, 1907-2000, TOGETHER WITH ASSOCIATED PAPERS, 1894-2000** **MLMSS 7419**
- Includes letters received from Ranald McDonald, Geoffrey Dutton, Malcolm Fraser, George Molnar, Col Allison and Charles Court; also includes autograph menus of a dinner of the Single Bottle Club, given by Fraser at The Lodge (22 June 1982), and a dinner held at the Two Faces Restaurant in Melbourne (17 August 1984).

NOREEN MCDONALD – FURTHER PAPERS, 1939, 1962–87, MAINLY CONCERNING CATHOLICS FOR PEACE (AUSTRALIA)

**MLMSS 3853
ADD-ON 2111**

Contains personal papers concerning conscientious objection and National Service relating to the Vietnam War, including letters received from Arthur Calwell and Malcolm Fraser.

SOUTHERN AFRICA DEFENCE AND AID FUND IN AUSTRALIA – RECORDS, 1961–81 TOGETHER WITH THE RECORDS OF COMMUNITY AID ABROAD (AUSTRALIA), SOUTHERN AFRICA GROUP, 1981–87

MLMSS 6630

Correspondents include Frank W Coaldrake, DN Everingham, Malcolm Fraser, Joan Maclagan, John Wheeldon and Patrick White (1963–70).

RODERICK SHAW – PAPERS, c. 1916–92 TOGETHER WITH THE PAPERS OF FRANCES SHAW, 1941–81, CHRISSIE SHAW, 1992–93 AND HARRY STEIN, 1927–94

MLMSS 6695/1-20

Includes letters from Dawn Fraser, Malcolm Fraser, Margaret Throsby, Gough Whitlam and Judith Wright.

Permission is required from the donors to access.

CAPTIVE NATIONS COUNCIL OF NEW SOUTH WALES – RECORDS, 1953–98 TOGETHER WITH THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED COUNCIL OF MIGRANTS FROM COMMUNIST DOMINATED EUROPE IN AUSTRALIA, 1953–66

MLMSS 7171

Includes correspondence with Prime Minister Fraser.

JAMES MCAULEY CORRESPONDENCE AND SUBJECT FILES, 1932–97

MLMSS 7920/4-20

Includes correspondence with Malcolm Fraser (1975–76).

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION RECORDS, 1945–72

MLMSS 2385

Includes correspondence and publicity files, election material, tape recordings, press cuttings and papers relating to the federal, state and branch organisation of the Liberal Party from 1945 to 1972.

In addition, the Mitchell Library holds the records of the New South Wales Division of the Liberal Party of Australia, some of which may refer to Fraser.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, c. 1945–1998

MLMSS 7205

Include agendas and minutes, internal review documents, state director files, state president files, operations manager files, finance records, membership, branch and conference records, redistribution files, statistics, campaign manuals, ephemera, federal election files, state election files, polling records and coalition relations.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, 1974–77

MLMSS 3340

Includes news cuttings.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, 1941–82

MLMSS 3340

Includes election campaign and subject files, ethnic magazines and newspapers, and ephemeral material.



Malcolm Fraser speaks at the Chamber of Manufactures Annual Dinner, University of New South Wales, Sydney, September 1977. Photographer: Jack Hickson. State Library of New South Wales

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, 1947-81

MLMSS 3340

Includes ballot papers, branch records, records concerning federal and state electorates, subject files and confidential files of JJ Carlton.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, 1957-83

MLMSS 3340

Contains mainly subject files.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION

H2616-H2624

Copies of 'Guide to the records of the New South Wales Division of the Liberal Party of Australia, 1945-1970 (including some earlier and later records)', held in the Mitchell Library of Sydney, prepared by Marie Manning and Ken Turner (1976).

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – RECORDS, 1945-72

MLMSS 2385

Includes correspondence, publicity and subject files, federal and state election material, papers relating to the organisation of the Liberal Party, tape recordings and newspaper cuttings.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS

ACCESSION RECORD

Includes films and videos; press releases, 1980-81, 1983-84; minute books, 1945-71; and printed material (add on for mlmss 4659).

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, 1922–79

MLMSS 3340

Includes reports, subject files, papers relating to redistribution of electoral boundaries, policy speeches, election pamphlets, policy statements, printed material and election posters.

LIBERAL PARTY OF AUSTRALIA, NEW SOUTH WALES DIVISION – FURTHER RECORDS, 1935–86

MLMSS 4659

Includes Ethnic Council, Federal Council of the Liberal Party of Australia, State Executive and Federal Executive papers, conference papers, committee papers, correspondence, policy papers, reports, speeches, news cuttings, candidates' profiles, election and financial material, miscellaneous papers and printed material.

Queensland

Queensland State Archives

REGISTERS OF LETTERS RECEIVED, 1963–81

Series ID 5401

Recorded by: Premier's Department, 1963–81

Total items: 86

These registers provide access to the correspondence contained within two separate series of correspondence and batch files, received by the Chief Secretary's Department and subsequent agencies of the Premier.

INWARDS AND GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1898–1983

Series ID 5402

Recorded by: Premier's Department, 1898–1983

Total items: 2551

This series consists of correspondence received and sent by the Queensland Premier's Department. The correspondence includes letters from premiers of other states, prime ministers, other departmental heads, governors, defence commanders, local government, various commercial, industrial and community organisations, and individuals. Subjects include government appointments and administration, protocol, state development, trade and contracts, New Guinea, immigration, military affairs and premiers' conferences.

Letter 2869 of 1976 from the Prime Minister's Principal Private Secretary to acknowledge the letter from the Queensland Premier which listed items the Premier hoped to discuss with the Prime Minister

**Item ID440633,
Correspondence**

Letter 10571 of 1977, includes a letter of thanks from Fraser's office about the uranium debate

**Item ID440676,
Correspondence**

Photographic material

Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser at the Expo 88 opening day, Brisbane City, 30 April 1988

Item ID 1102506

State Library of Queensland

HUGH ALEXANDER DUNN PAPERS

Acc: 27400

This collection of diplomat Hugh Dunn's papers includes a photograph of him with the President of the Republic of China, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xian Nian, Malcolm Fraser and Andrew Peacock.

South Australia

State Library of South Australia

Vietnam the Long Road Home, 1989

959.7043394 V666

This film, produced by a Vietnam war veteran, tells the story of ordinary Australians in the Vietnam War mainly from the point of view of conscripts, Channel Nine cameraman Reg Boulter, a doctor, Michael Martin and two former political antagonists, Malcolm Fraser and Jim Cairns.

Format: colour with black-and-white sequences; quantity: 1 videocassette (VHS); duration: 46 minutes; includes teacher notes (2 pages).

Public lecture, 'What kind of Australia?', 2001

OH 627/37

A sound recording of a session of the Adelaide Festival of Ideas, held on 15 July 2001, featuring Fraser.

Duration: 1 hour, 12 minutes

'Wanted! The real job killers', 1983

ZPS 8039

Vote communist poster for Port Adelaide; features photographs of Fraser and Sir James McNeill, BHP and the slogan 'CPA make '83 Fraser-free'

'Australia's future axed', 1981

ZPS 0088

Poster promoting a rally opposing the 'Razor Gang', 7 May 1981; includes caricatures of Prime Minister Fraser drawn by Kenton Miller.

'Defend and extend women's services and rights: mobilize now!', 1981

ZPS 0947

Poster promoting a rally in Rundle Mall, Adelaide, Friday 30 June 1981; includes a slightly amended photograph of Prime Minister Fraser.

'Wipe the smile off his face on Oct 18', 1980

ZPS 0259

Poster issued by Flinders University Students Association; includes two photographs of Prime Minister Fraser, both with slight alterations.

'On the dole, teeth rot: but Fraser's fangs work!', c. 1980

ZPS 0887

Poster issued by the Unemployed Workers Union; includes a caricature of Prime Minister Fraser as a vampire.

'Hitler burnt the books ... Fraser just closes libraries', c. 1980

ZPS 0926

Poster produced by the Adelaide University Union designed by Peter Mumford; includes a cartoon of Fraser.

'Would you buy a used car from this man?'

ZPS 6663

Poster 'March for democracy', Saturday 25 October, Elder Park; features a photograph of Fraser.

'Women strike out Fraser', 1980

ZPS 7953

Poster 'Mobilise: to strike out Fraser' 1–21 September 1980, and attend 'Women under attack' a feminist conference on 6 and 7 September 1980.

'Picket Fraser', 1979

ZPS 8016

Poster by Suzanne Jones, Megan Schlunke and the Anarchist Feminist Poster Collective.

State Records of South Australia

Agencies with records relating to Fraser include:

- Premier's Department, 1973–81 (GA31)
- Department of Premier and Cabinet, 1981 (GA32/GRG75)
- Justice Robin Rhodes Millhouse, 1929 (GA1061).

CORRESPONDENCE FILES – PREMIER'S DEPARTMENT AND SUCCESSORS, 1950–2008

GRS/1684

Consignments 1–69: restricted public access

Consignments 70 onwards: unrestricted public access after 20 years

Responsible agency: Department of Premier and Cabinet (GA32)

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS – PREMIER'S DEPARTMENT, 1971–84

GRS/620

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING MEMOS AND MINUTES 1970–85

GRG75/7

ARTICLES AND PUBLISHED MATERIAL FILES – JUSTICE ROBIN RHODES MILLHOUSE, 1950–82

GRS/7132

PREMIER BANNON'S SUBJECT FILES, SUBJECT SERIES, 1979–83

GRS/850

Responsible agency: John Bannon MP (GA344)

Restricted public access.

PREMIER'S PAPERS, 1982–92

GRS/2281

Responsible agency: John Bannon MP (GA344)

Restricted public access.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, THREE TIERED NUMERIC SERIES – DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SUCCESSOR AGENCIES

GRS/809

Darwin Community College Advisory Planning Group Reporting to Rep, 1969

File 7/2/1

Planning Department to help Aborigines make better use of community schools, 1969

File 7/4/4

Deficiencies at Alice Springs High, 1969**File 954/1/4**

Consignments 1–5:	unrestricted public access after 60 years
Consignments 6–10:	unrestricted public access after 20 years
Responsible agency:	Department of Education and Children's Services

Victoria**State Library of Victoria**

The State Library of Victoria's Australian Manuscripts Collection holds correspondence and audiovisual material relating to Fraser in the series listed below.

BA SANTAMARIA PAPERS**MS 13492****Series 5, correspondence****Box 43/4; 66/3;
66/4; 66/5; 66/6;
67/1; 2/14****Series 3, audio tapes****Box 4; Box 16****RE MCGARVIE PAPERS****MS 13605****Box 2/10 and a single sound recording****ONE NATION – DIVIDED NATION?, 1998 (SOUND RECORDING)****MS 13259**

Edited version of a public forum recorded at the State Library of Victoria, 21 July 1998 (panel members included Fraser).

Public Record Office Victoria

The Public Record Office Victoria holds correspondence to a variety of Victorian Government agencies sent by Fraser as a private individual, a federal Member of Parliament, a federal Minister and as Prime Minister. These items are dispersed throughout the Public Record Office Victoria collection in the series created by the agencies that received them. They can be located by researchers provided they know when the item was received, it is available on open access and the relevant filing system has been transferred to the Public Record Office Victoria. In most cases researchers will need to consult a controlling series such as a register and/or index to inwards correspondence at Public Record Office Victoria reading rooms. Index headings will vary among agencies.

During Fraser's term as Prime Minister, a significant quantity of items was sent from his office to the Premier of Victoria. The files of the Premier's Department (VA 2717) for the period of Fraser's prime ministership are available for public inspection. The two main series are described below.

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SYSTEM I**VPRS 7614**

This series was created by the Premier's Department between 1972 and 1976. There is an item-specific listing on the Public Record Office Victoria website for the series, but it identifies only file numbers and does not include file titles. To determine file numbers, researchers will need to consult VPRS 7612, 7613, 7614, 9893 or 9894. Refer to the series descriptive entry for further information.



Sir Simon Fraser and John Neville Fraser holidaying in Ayr, Scotland, 1911. UMA, John Neville Fraser Collection, 2007.0069, PA/117

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE FILES, MULTIPLE NUMBER SYSTEM II VPRS 8197

This series was created between 1976 and 1994. The P1 consignment of this series contains files with the primary number 931 (refer to unit 1032 in particular) for Prime Minister and Cabinet, which includes files on a variety of policy issues. The secondary term 'Commonwealth' is also used for a number of other primary classifications. Files for this consignment are identified only from a hardcopy listing, which can be consulted in the North Melbourne Reading Room.

Fraser family history

The Fraser family roots in Victoria can be explored using various series in the Public Record Office Victoria collection most frequently used by genealogists. Researchers can refer to the relevant guides on the Public Record Office Victoria website, especially those relating to wills and probates; births deaths and marriages; and immigration.

A good starting point for family research are the wills and probate files for Malcolm Fraser's paternal grandfather, Sir Simon Fraser, and father, John Neville Fraser. All wills and probate files at Public Record Office Victoria to 1925 are being progressively digitised.

WILLS

Probate file/will number 167/939

The will of Sir Simon Fraser, paternal grandfather of Malcolm Fraser.

VPRS 7591/P2,

unit 612

PROBATE AND ADMINISTRATION FILES

Probate file/will number 167/939

The probate file of Sir Simon Fraser, paternal grandfather of Malcolm Fraser.

VPRS 28/P3,

unit 981

WILLS**VPRS 7591/P3****Probate file/will number 581/896**

The will of John Neville Fraser, father of Malcolm Fraser.

PROBATE AND ADMINISTRATION FILES**VPRS 28/P4,
unit 2575****Probate file/will number 581/896**

The probate file of Neville Fraser, father of Malcolm Fraser.

Western Australia**State Library of Western Australia****March against Fraser, Perth Esplanade, 10.30am, Saturday
11 October 1980****PR10887*****A Mal for all Seasons: a book of Mal*, by Allan Langouant****741.599 LAN****Photograph of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and Mrs Fraser
on a visit to Broome, 1 July 1980****297331PD–
297333PD****Photograph of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, state premiers
and other politicians on the steps of Parliament House, Perth****221001PD****Prime Minister the Right Honourable Malcolm Fraser, CH, MP,
address to the Western Australia State Conference of the
Liberal Party****PR7770/70****State Records Office of Western Australia**

Individual record items in each of the following series can be viewed on the State Records Office of Western Australia online catalogue AEON. All items are subject to a 30-year access restriction.

PREMIER'S DEPARTMENT, 1898–1983**WAA 26****Premier's Department – administrative and functional
files, 1898–1983****WAS 36****Premier's Department – Cabinet minutes and decisions,
1948–83****WAS 1228****HON IAN GEORGE MEDCALF MLC****WAA 1024****Files – ministerial – federal affairs, 1975–82****WAS 2834****Files – ministerial – Attorney-General, 1975–82****WAS 2835****HON PETER VERNON JONES MLA****WAA 1248****Ministerial files, 1975–83****WAS 3121**

Peter Vernon Jones held a number of ministries in the government of Charles Court between 1975 and 1983. These included a period as Minister for Fuel and Energy, Mines, and Resources Development between March 1980 and February 1983.

Records in overseas collections

Pacific

Secretariat of the Pacific Community

Formerly the South Pacific Commission; includes records of the meeting on the South Pacific Forum attended by Malcolm Fraser from 1976 to 1980.

spc.int/

United Kingdom

Commonwealth Secretariat

Archives of the Commonwealth Secretariat, London. The official repository for records of permanent value created by the Commonwealth Secretariat dating from its establishment in the 1960s. The Secretariat releases Commonwealth shared records into the public domain under a 30-year rule.

Includes material on Fraser and his part in the struggle for independence for Zimbabwe and his support of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, plus records of discussion at Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings.

thecommonwealth.org/Internal/191529/157082/archives/

Magdalen College, Libraries and Archives, Oxford University

Records of Fraser as a student (1949–52). Access is restricted; most material on former members of the college is closed during their lifetimes.

magd.ox.ac.uk/libraries-and-archives

United States

National Archives and Records Administration

FOREIGN LEADERS VISITS FILES, 1973–1976

604344

Creator: President (1974–1977: Ford) Office of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Series from Collection GFR-0377: National Security Council East Asian and Pacific Affairs Staff Files. Fraser is one of the subjects represented in state visits.

6/9/77–6/21/77, 06/09/1977–06/21/1977

5726468

Creator: President (1977–1981: Carter) Office of the Staff Secretary (1977–1981)

Part of series: Staff scheduling memoranda, compiled 1977–78; includes Fraser among the subjects.

STATE DINNER IN HONOR OF PRIME MINISTER JOHN MALCOLM FRASER OF AUSTRALIA, 6/22/77

607448

Creator: President (1977–1981: Carter) Office of the First Lady, Press Office (1977–1981)

Part of series: Mary Hoyt's state dinners files, compiled 1977–81.

**STATE VISIT - PRIME MINISTER MALCOLM FRASER, AUSTRALIA GS,
06/22/1977-06/22/1977**

163910

Creator: President (1977-1981: Carter) Speechwriter's Office (1977-81)
Part of series: Chronological file compiled 1976-1981

**PHOTOGRAPH: JIMMY CARTER - DEPARTURE OF AUSTRALIAN PRIME
MINISTER JOHN MALCOLM FRASER**

843501

Creator: President (1977-1981: Carter) White House Staff Photographers
(01/20/1977-01/20/1981)
Part of series: Carter White House photographs: Presidential,
compiled 01/20/1977-01/22/1981

5 Tamie Fraser



Tamie Fraser, 1964. NAA: A1200, L46918

This short biographical essay was written by journalist Margaret Simons who co-authored, with Malcolm Fraser, *Malcolm Fraser: the political memoirs* published by The Miegunyah Press in 2010.

Tamara Margaret Beggs, known as Tamie or Tam to her family, was born in 1936. She was the eldest child of an established and well-off family of farmers from the Western District of Victoria. On her father's side, the Beggs were descended from Irish free settlers who arrived during the torrent of migration in the 1850s. By the time Tamie was born, they were large landholders. Her mother was the youngest child of an aristocratic Russian émigré father and an Australian mother.

Tamie was brought up at the foot of the Grampians, her childhood skyline dominated by mountains and lake. Her childhood left her with an abiding attachment to country life and a strong sense of duty. 'In the country everyone is someone. In the city no-one is anyone,' she would say.¹ Within the family she was regarded as the rebel – the one

most likely to do unconventional things. Yet she was also notoriously shy and due to the sense of duty instilled by her grandmother and mother, understood this to be a failing that she should overcome. 'Mum would say, well it's no use being shy. Shy people are dull. Shy people are boring.'

The tenets of the Beggs' family values were strong, and clearly and frequently stated. First, one should be loyal to one's family. Second, one should contribute to one's community. After that, there was loyalty to one's country. These were the values that Tamie internalised and which she carried into her highly influential, although often understated, role as a political spouse.

Outwardly, Tamie's life has been that of the classic supportive spouse, mother and charming Liberal lady. She has been all of these things, but there is more. Her partnership with Malcolm Fraser is one of equals. He valued her advice. Due to his social awkwardness, she was vital in smoothing the way for him. She edited his speeches and articles, and argued with him vigorously when she felt it necessary to do so. Theirs has been a combative, respectful and dynamic relationship. Fraser said of her in his later years that she was stronger than him, and 'If she had been Prime Minister in 1983, we would have won'.

Tamie was educated first by governesses, then by correspondence, and then sent to board at the Geelong Church of England Girls' Grammar School, The Hermitage, at the age of nine. Her academic results were creditable rather than excellent, but in every other way her school career marked her out as a leader. She was a school and house prefect, house captain, music captain, sports captain, tennis captain and baseball captain. She won a prize for being the girl who contributed most to the school in work, sport and 'general leadership'.

Tamie first heard of Malcolm Fraser when she saw his picture in *The Sun* newspaper in the days following the 1954 election, in which Fraser had contested the seat of Wannon as the surprise candidate for the Liberal Party. At the time the article was published, the election result was not known. It was thought that the 24-year-old might be about to become the youngest member of Federal Parliament. The article, accompanied by a picture of the lanky Fraser leaning against a mantelpiece, described him as an 'Edmund Hillary look-alike ... lean and rugged' and mentioned the fact that he



Malcolm Fraser and Tamie Begg on their wedding day, Willaura, 9 December 1956. UMA, 2007.0053

was neither married nor engaged.² Tamie was clearly intrigued enough to read the piece and she remembered it, but she claimed in later life that her initial thoughts were that he must be a fool. Why would anyone want to go into politics so young?

Malcolm and Tamie met face-to-face at a New Year's Eve party as 1955 turned into 1956, held in a woolshed by neighbours of the Beggs. She was 19 years old, and he was 25. Their engagement was announced in May 1956, and they were married seven months later on 9 December in a tiny weatherboard Anglican church in the town of Willaura, near Tamie's home. Fraser had promised Tamie that he would not ask her to take part in public life, but the promise was broken almost as soon as they returned from their honeymoon. Fraser lost his voice to laryngitis, which meant that Tamie had to stand in for him at a naturalisation ceremony in the Wimmera town of Edenhope, where refugees from the Soviet crackdown in Hungary were becoming Australians. From that day on, she was intimately involved in public life as Fraser's partner, sounding board and support.

The first years of their marriage were often lonely for Tamie. The young couple divided their time between a new house on the Fraser family property at Nareen and Canberra, where the young Tamie spent many sad hours in a town that seemed full of 'grey, bald men'. She spent her 21st birthday, in February 1957, wandering around the Australian War Memorial in tears. Her loneliness was assuaged when the Frasers formed a strong friendship with another young couple fresh to Canberra – the Country Party MP Doug Anthony and his wife Margot. It was an enduring friendship, with the two women giving birth to their first children within days of each other, in 1958. Tamie and Malcolm had four children: Mark (1958), Angela (1959), Hugh (1963) and Phoebe (1966).

By the time Fraser became Minister for the Army in 1966, Tamie, now entering her thirties, had developed a keen political sense. Fraser always consulted widely, and Tamie's advice did not always hold sway, but she was nearly always one of those he consulted. She supported him in his decision to resign from the Gorton Ministry in 1971 and through the crucial political decisions he made in the supply crisis of 1975, leading up to the dismissal of the Whitlam government. In a letter written on 10 December 1975, in the week before the election that would bring Fraser to the prime ministership with a record majority, former Prime Minister Robert Menzies wrote a personal note to Tamie that reveals both her acumen, the respect she commanded as a campaigner, and the way in which she was used as a conduit to her sometimes aloof and difficult to reach husband:

My very dear Tamie,

May an old campaigner tell you how much he admires what you have been doing in the course of this campaign. You have not only handled your interviews with great charm and skill, but you have been of tremendous assistance to Malcolm. I am now convinced that he will win on Saturday. I would like to convey to him my belief that this will be a great personal triumph, a complete vindication of his character and attainments. I notice that some people have been promoting themselves

for future consideration in a rather curious way. Do get Malcolm to believe, as is the truth, that his personal prestige will be so great that he can exercise his choice of Ministers without feeling that he must please anybody but himself.³

The turbulence of 1975 left a mark on Fraser's family. There were real fears for their security. The children were sent to boarding school because the only option was to have them accompanied each day by body guards. Tamie recalled frequently fearing that her husband would be attacked or shot as he gave speeches.

As wife of the Prime Minister, Tamie felt that more than ever it was her duty to overcome her reluctance to be a public figure. She continued to campaign and take a public role, but perhaps her most enduring contribution in her own right was the founding of the Australiana Fund. On tours overseas, Tamie was struck by the official residences of other countries, and how they were living museums of their country. By comparison, Australia's official establishments were bare. She founded the Australiana Fund to collect money from the private sector to buy major pieces of Australian furniture, paintings and sculpture for The Lodge, Government House, Kirribilli and Admiralty House in Sydney. The fund survives to this day. The current value of the collection is estimated to be in excess of \$4 million.⁴

Tamie was later to remember the years of the prime ministership as 'really hard work. I did a lot of stuff on my own account, and then I attended the things with Malcolm as well. So it was full on.'

As well, the couple would 'thrash things out' until the small hours. Her counsel was particularly important in those areas where Fraser's party colleagues were inevitably partisan – the occasions on which a minister was in trouble, and Fraser had to consider whether to ask him to resign. 'Mine was a layperson's point of view. I would have to say what message people would take from it if they resigned, or if they didn't,' Tamie said later.

To his regret, Fraser did not take Tamie's advice in 1983, when deciding on an election date. She would have advised waiting, particularly once Bob Hawke replaced Bill Hayden. She saw clearly that her husband could not beat the popular Hawke, but felt that over time he might wear him down in parliamentary debate.

Tamie supported Fraser's post-political work on the world stage. While they sometimes disagreed on matters of strategy, she instinctively agreed on the core of his political commitment – liberalism, human rights and freedom of the individual.

Nevertheless she counselled him against his unsuccessful attempt to become Secretary General of the Commonwealth of Nations in 1989, and his aborted attempt to become federal president of the Liberal Party in 1993. He was later to admit that she had been right on both occasions. Meanwhile Tamie kept up her charitable work for the Red Cross and in 1992 also became president of the Open Garden Scheme. She regularly opened the gardens at their Nareen home to the public.

In 1998 the couple made the difficult decision to move from the Western District to a property on the Mornington Peninsula. Their new location was a compromise between Malcolm's preference for a city life (they also owned a flat in South Yarra) and Tamie's love of rural communities. They were joined on the Peninsula by their daughter, Phoebe, and her family, who lived next door.



Tamie Fraser at The Lodge, Canberra, 1978. NAA: A8746, 30/3/78/4



Tamie Fraser, 2012.

From the early 1990s onwards, Tamie and Malcolm's disenchantment with the political direction of the Liberal Party grew. In 2001, during the Howard government's *Tampa* affair, they considered resigning from the party. It was Tamie's sense of loyalty to friends who shared their views and who were still in politics that helped them make their mutual decision to hang on as members.

In 2004 Tamie was made an Officer of the Order of Australia for service to the community through fostering the recognition and preservation of Australian artistic achievement, for initiating and promoting a range of activities to support people with disabilities, and for support of charitable, health and service groups.

In late 2009, shortly after Tony Abbott became leader of the Liberal Party, Tamie and Malcolm Fraser finally decided to resign from the party. Fraser at first wanted to make their resignation public as a protest against what they saw as the party's betrayal of its core liberal values. It was Tamie who dissuaded him. To her, the breach with former colleagues and friends was painful and should be a private matter. In deference to her views, Fraser kept the matter confidential until the news leaked out from Liberal Party circles, becoming public in May 2010, shortly after the release of Fraser's memoirs.

Tamie Fraser continues as an active charity worker for the Red Cross and Stroke Australia. She plays golf regularly, is a keen gardener, an editor of her husband's articles and speeches, and a crucial influence in her grandchildren's lives.

Endnotes

- 1 Unless otherwise referenced, quotations from Tamie and Malcolm Fraser are drawn from the author's interviews with them conducted in 2007–09, during the preparation of *Malcolm Fraser: the political memoirs*, The Miegunyah Press, Carlton, 2010.
- 2 'Youngest ever?', *The Sun*, 3 June 1954, held in UMA, Malcolm Fraser Collection, 2008.0058.
- 3 Robert Menzies, letter to Tamie Fraser, 10 December 1975, in the possession of the Fraser family.
- 4 The Australiana Fund, theaustralianafund.org.au/australian-historical-art-fund-history.html, accessed 22 May 2012.

Records about Tamie Fraser in the National Archives of Australia

POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, ANNUAL ALPHABETICAL SERIES 1976–83

M1256

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1976–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1976–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 11 metres (Canberra)

This series was maintained in the Prime Minister's Office while Fraser was Prime Minister. It contains correspondence relating primarily to representations from members of the public; the Wannon electorate; business, church and other community interest groups; Liberal Party branches; and some Liberal Party colleagues.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – correspondence 'R', 1981

**M1256, 1981R
PART 1**

Includes papers relating to the resignation of Andrew Peacock, review of Commonwealth functions, Royal United Services Institute of Australia, Rothmans' 25th year in Australia (brochure), and the Victorian Farmers and Graziers Association; also includes photographs of Malcolm and Tamie Fraser's visit to the Journalists' Club (Sydney, December 1980).

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – correspondence 'S', 1981

**M1256, 1981S
PART 2**

Includes papers relating to Save the Children's Fund, live sheep exports to the Middle East, parliamentary salaries, resignation of WR Withers and the World Vision 40 Hour Famine Appeal; also includes photographs of Malcolm and Tamie Fraser's visit to the State Rail Authority of NSW Exhibit at the Easter Show in Sydney.

SPEECH NOTES AND RELATED PAPERS, 1972–83

M1263

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1975–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1975 Department of the House of Representatives –
Leader of the Opposition (CA 692)
1972–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 11 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of speech notes, addresses, articles and related papers of Fraser dating from early March 1972, when he was Minister for Education and Science in the McMahon government, to February 1983 (shortly before the end of his own government).

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – speech by Mrs Tamie Fraser, Canberra International Motor Inn, 2 April 1981

M1263, 1150

SENIOR ADVISER'S RESEARCH MATERIAL, FIRST SERIES, 1975-76
(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

M1276

Recorded by: 1975 Department of the House of Representatives –
Leader of the Opposition (CA 692)
1975-76 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
1975-76 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office – Senior Adviser (CA 1401)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series consists of folders of research material accumulated and used by two senior advisers – Dr David Kemp and Petro Georgiou – in the period Fraser was Leader of the Opposition (March–November 1975) and in his first year as Prime Minister (November 1975 – December 1976).

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – papers on the arts, 1970-76

M1276, 16

Includes speech notes and catalogues for sculptor Guy Boyd exhibitions and Tamie Fraser's speech notes for the opening of the new Old Tote Theatre premises.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO INTERSTATE VISITS, 1978-81

M1279

Recorded by: 1978-81 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1978-81 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.18 metres (Canberra)

This series relates to official interstate visits made by Malcolm Fraser, often accompanied by Tamie, during his prime ministership. The files were maintained in the Prime Minister's Office and cover the period April 1978 to September 1982.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – background papers on Cairns trip, 1980

M1279, 2

Includes papers relating to the launch of the patrol boat HMAS *Warrnambool* by Tamie Fraser on 25 October 1980; also includes brief, guest list and program.

PRESS OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE, 1975-78

M1280

Recorded by: 1975-78 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)
1975-78 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 0.54 metres (Canberra)

This series was primarily maintained by the Prime Minister's Press Office. It covers the period November 1975 to early January 1979, with several papers dating from mid-1975 when Fraser was Leader of the Opposition. The correspondence relates to a wide range of local, national and international issues.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – press and media relations, 1976-78

**M1280,
16 PART 3**

Includes newspaper articles on Tamie Fraser.

PRIVATE OFFICE ADMINISTRATIVE FILES, 1975–83**M1281**

(PARTIALLY TRANSFERRED TO UMA CUSTODY IN 2006)

Recorded by: 1975–83 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1975–83 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

The series was created by the Prime Minister's Office during Fraser's prime ministership and covers a range of administrative functions and events. It includes job applications and staff appointments (for example, Press Secretary, Electorate Secretary, Economic Adviser and office secretaries), office accommodation, furniture and equipment, air conditioning, telephones, security, travel arrangements, and Commonwealth car use by the Prime Minister, ministers and ministerial staff. Several papers concern Fraser's Melbourne Office, The Lodge, Kirribilli, official visits overseas (for example, Japan), his appointment to the Privy Council, the family property, Nareen, and other personal matters.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – relating to family matters, Nareen, Bolaro Station, stamp collection etc., 1970–82

**M1281,
20 PART 1****CORRESPONDENCE WITH NON-MINISTERIAL GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, 1976–79****M1334**

Recorded by: 1976–79 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet –
Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–79 The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

Correspondence covers parliamentary reform (for example, sitting hours, voting methods, legislation procedure and the committee system), Party Room ballots and leaks, requests from backbenchers for more participation in the formulation of government policy, and electoral tactics and campaigns. Other papers relate to public service matters such as re-organisation of the Department of Defence, Commonwealth Public Service Superannuation Scheme and the retirement age of public servants. It also includes non-parliamentary matters.

Personal papers of Prime Minister Fraser – correspondence – government members of Parliament 'R', 1976–79

M1334, 18

Includes Philip Ruddock, Peter Richardson and Peter Rae; also includes papers relating to Medibank, Amnesty International, appointment of Sir John Kerr as Australian Ambassador to UNESCO, and photographs of Malcolm and Tamie Fraser attending a Liberal Party picnic at Castle Hill, New South Wales.

CORRESPONDENCE FILES, ALPHABETICAL SERIES, 1975–83**M1383**

Recorded by: 1975–83 Tamara Margaret Fraser AO (CP 308)

Quantity: 2 metres (Canberra)

This series contains correspondence addressed to Tamie Fraser and was maintained by her personal secretary during the prime ministership of her husband, Malcolm. It covers the period from November 1975 to February 1983, but also includes some papers with an earlier date.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – correspondence ‘E’, 1976–83 **M1383, 5 PART 2**

Includes correspondence relating to cruelty to animals, immigration, income tax, employment, import duties and adoption of Thai children.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – correspondence ‘K’, 1976–82 **M1383, 11 PART 1**

Includes correspondence relating to taxation, Australia–Middle East relations, immigration, adoption laws, uranium mining and fees for overseas students.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – correspondence ‘miscellaneous letters’, 1975–82 **M1383, 15**

Includes correspondence relating to sex education in schools, irrigation, laryngitis remedy, invasion of Afghanistan, ban on smoking advertisements, water fluoridation and the national anthem.

Mrs Tamie Fraser– correspondence, 1981 **M1383, 16 PART 3**

Includes correspondence relating to media reports concerning Malcolm Fraser's state of health; also includes ABC TV interview by Richard Carleton (2 October 1981).

Mrs Tamie Fraser – correspondence ‘W’, 1976–83 **M1383, 25 PART 3**

Includes correspondence relating to the Tasmanian Family Planning Association, Housing Commission accommodation, adoption of Vietnamese and Kampuchean children, invitation to participate in *Women's Weekly* feature, Girl Guides Association (NSW) bridal fashion parade, muscular dystrophy research in England, personal income tax, Kangaroo Island (South Australia) soldier settlement scheme and immigration.

INVITATIONS ACCEPTED AND DECLINED, 1975–83 **M1384**

Recorded by: 1975–83 Tamara Margaret Fraser AO (CP 308)

Quantity: 1 metre (Canberra)

The invitations in this series are from a diverse range of sources such as social welfare organisations, church and other community groups, professional associations, Liberal Party branches, the media, and representatives from business and commercial interests. As well as the invitations and related correspondence, the files also contain exhibition catalogues, theatre programs, brochures and booklets detailing sporting events, agricultural shows and fashion awards.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – invitations declined, October–December 1977 **M1384, 8**

Includes correspondence relating to the Lawn Tennis Association of Australia, Wesley Church (Colac, Victoria), Women's Aglow Fellowship, Executives Association of Australia (brochure), Women of the Year luncheon, Australian Opera Auditions Committee (NSW), Metal Trades Industries Association, Parents without Partners (ACT), Royal Commonwealth Society (Geelong), and the Australian Jockey Club (Randwick).

Mrs Tamie Fraser – invitations accepted, September–December 1979 **M1384, 15**

Includes correspondence relating to the Australian Club (Melbourne), *La Traviata* (opera) and *Patience* (operetta), Embassy of Portugal, Canberra Youth Orchestra, Canberra Grammar School, Roche Research

Institute of Marine Pharmacology (NSW), Quest of Quests Beauty Pageant (Albert Hall, Canberra), Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria, Liberal Party functions and the Royal Melbourne Show.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR OVERSEAS VISITS AND AUSTRALIAN STATE OCCASIONS, 1976–82

M1385

Recorded by: 1976–82 Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet – Prime Minister's Office (CA 1401)

1976–82 Tamara Margaret Fraser AO (CP 308)

Quantity: 0.36 metres (Canberra)

This series contains papers relating to overseas visits made by Malcolm and Tamie Fraser, and to state occasions in Australia during Fraser's prime ministership. The series covers the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (London 1977, Sydney 1978 and Melbourne 1981), the Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting (Suva 1982), royal visits to Australia (1977, 1980–82) and visits by the Frasers to New Zealand, Fiji, India, China, Japan, Canada, United States, Mexico, Indonesia, Germany, United Kingdom, Lusaka and Mauritius (1976–82). In addition to the travel arrangements and detailed daily itineraries for Tamie Fraser, the series contains ladies' programs, luncheon guest lists, lists of gifts given and received, brochures of places visited and thank you letters.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, London, June 1977

M1385, 1

Includes papers relating to travel arrangements, Mansion House luncheon, and itineraries for London, Brussels and Washington.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Sydney, February 1978

M1385, 2

Includes papers relating to the opening ceremony; gifts for delegates' spouses; ladies' program; and schedules for luncheons, dinners and visits to the Opera House, the Rocks and West Pennant Hills Koala Park.



Tamie Fraser on a cruise in Lake Ashino-ko, Hakone, during the Frasers' official visit to Japan, 17 June 1976.
NAA: A13302, 1

Mrs Tamie Fraser – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Melbourne, September–October 1981 **M1385, 3 PART 1**

Includes papers relating to the opening ceremony, banquet, ballet, dinner at the Hilton, Rippon Lea luncheon in honour of the wives of heads of government and ministers, and press clippings.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – overseas visit – Canada, United States of America, July 1976 **M1385, 8**

Includes papers relating to the itinerary, protocol for Washington and official program.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – overseas visit January–February 1979 – India, 1978–81 **M1385, 13**

Includes papers relating to travel; opening of Australian tapestry exhibition (and catalogues); shopping; itineraries for Taj Mahal (Agra), Bombay, Ramnagar, Chandigarh; official programs; and 'Notes for official visitors' (for the visit of the Governor-General and Prime Minister, August 1981).

Mrs Tamie Fraser – royal visits to Australia 1977, 1980, 1981 and 1982, 1976–82 **M1385, 16**

Includes papers relating to itineraries, parliamentary receptions, luncheons at The Lodge, dinner at Government House, guest lists, Her Majesty the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh attending the opening of the High Court of Australia building (26 May 1980), and official programs.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – royal wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer, London, July 1981 **M1385, 17**

Includes papers relating to the itinerary, list of royalty, Commonwealth heads of state and other guests, list of guests attending ladies' luncheon at Stoke Lodge (Hyde Park), and official programs.

VIDEO REFERENCE COPIES OF M1338, VIDEO CASSETTES, 2004 **M4382**

Recorded by: 2004– National Archives of Australia, Sydney Office (CA 8559)
2004– The Rt Hon John Malcolm Fraser AC, CH (CP 51)
Quantity: 3 metres (Sydney)

This series contains audiovisual reference copies of M1338, video cassettes. They were created to ensure the preservation of the original records. The format of these copies may differ from the format of the original item. They are to be used for reference purposes only.

Personal papers of Prime Minister John Malcolm Fraser – interview 'Off Air' variety Italian style – The Right Honourable M Fraser, The Honourable M Mackellar, Mrs Tamie Fraser, 1977 **M4382, 32**

Format: videotape; quantity: 1 of 1 tapes; duration: 15 minutes, 10 seconds; type: colour VHS.

Personal papers of Prime Minister John Malcolm Fraser – Malcolm Fraser and Mrs Tamie Fraser at Telethon, 1978 **M4382, 43**

Format: videotape; quantity: 1 of 1 tapes; duration: 4 minutes, 44 seconds; type: colour VHS.

Photographs

PHOTOGRAPHIC NEGATIVES AND PRINTS, SINGLE NUMBER SERIES WITH 'L' (LIBRARY) PREFIX, 1945-71

A1200

Recorded by: 1945-50 Department of Information, Central Office (CA 34)
 1950-71 Australian News and Information Bureau,
 Canberra (CA 219)

Quantity: 100 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises photographic negatives and prints taken by the government photographers in the Australian News and Information Bureau. The photos were taken to capture Australian society from a specific perspective and promote the country overseas. A diverse range of subjects are covered including the Australian Government's post-war initiatives (such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme) and developments in industry including engineering, mining, manufacturing, farming, forestry, agriculture, fisheries and food production. Other subjects include Australian flora, fauna, a wide range of indigenous aspects (both Papua New Guinean and Aboriginal), cities and towns, sporting events and recreational activities. Official content includes Parliament in session, diplomatic visits of foreign dignitaries and officials, the Queen's visit to Australia, and the Prime Minister, Governor-General and other ministers attending various events.

Mrs Malcolm Fraser, 1964

A1200, L46918

PHOTOGRAPHIC NEGATIVES AND PRINTS, DAILY SINGLE NUMBER SERIES, 1971-

A6180

Recorded by: 1973-87 Australian Information Service (CA 1578)
 1987-94 Australian Overseas Information Service (CA 6785)
 1994- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade,
 Central Office (CA 5987)

Quantity: 44 metres (Canberra)

These photographic negatives and prints cover a wide range of subjects and assignments on the political, economic and social life of Australia. Among them are images of agricultural shows, geographical sites, educational institutions and migrant activities.

Mrs Tamie Fraser at the site of the new Darwin Anglican Cathedral, 1976

A6180, 9/8/76/2

Mrs Tamie Fraser at the site of the new Darwin Anglican Cathedral cementing the time capsule in the wall, 1976

A6180, 9/8/76/3

Mrs Tamie Fraser accepts a painting for the Australiana Fund, 1981

A6180, 24/2/81/6

PHOTOGRAPHIC COLOUR NEGATIVES, CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES WITH 'KN' OR 'RKN' PREFIX AND A SINGLE NUMBER SUFFIX, 1971-

A8746

Recorded by: 1973-87 Australian Information Service, Canberra (CA 1578)

Quantity: 26 metres (Canberra)

This series comprises a collection of colour negatives that vary in size. Some are 35mm, 6cm x 6cm or 5' x 4'; others are odd sizes in between.

Tamara Fraser at The Lodge, 1978

A8746, 30/3/78/1

Tamara Fraser at The Lodge, 1978

A8746, 30/3/78/3

Records about Tamie Fraser in the University of Melbourne Archives

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0017

Quantity: 0.26 metres

This series contains biographical information relating mostly to Malcolm Fraser, accumulated by his press secretary and other office staff during his time as Prime Minister.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – biographical notes, 1979–82

item 9, box 2

Contains a short biographical note on Tamie Fraser, prepared by the Press Office.

Mrs Tamie Fraser – news cuttings etc, 1976–79

item 10, box 2

Contains news cuttings relating to Tamie Fraser and her role as the Prime Minister's wife.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION 2011.0061

Quantity: 0.24 metres

This series relates to series 2007.0008 and contains speech notes and related papers from 1965 through to 1983.

Mrs Tamie Fraser, Lake Bolac Primary School, 7 November 1979

item 925, box 1

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2011.0067

Quantity: 0.17 metres

This series relates to series 2007.0015 and contains records from Malcolm Fraser's private office administrative files, mostly during the period of his prime ministership.

Interview with Tamie Fraser, 1 September 1981

**item 20 part 3,
box 1**

Transcript of an interview with Tamie Fraser conducted by Bert Newton for 3UZ.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2007.0029

Quantity: 2 metres

This series contains correspondence to Malcolm and Tamie Fraser following the defeat of the Liberal government at the 1983 federal election.

Post-election – Mrs Fraser – personal letters, February–April 1983

**item 10 part 1
and 2, box 2**

Includes personal letters from friends and members of the public following Malcolm Fraser's defeat at the 1983 election.

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0103

Quantity: 4 metres

This series contains photograph albums of Malcolm and Tamie Fraser's official overseas visits during Fraser's term as Prime Minister. The albums were often presented by representatives of the host nation.

Gift to Mrs Fraser on visit to Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, 8 October 1976

PA/150



Tamie Fraser at the Blohm & Voss AG Shipyard and launch of the bulk carrier *Australian Progress*, Hamburg, 5 April 1977. UMA, 2005.0103, pa/153

MALCOLM FRASER COLLECTION

2005.0083

Quantity: 16 metres

This series consists of general correspondence files maintained by the office of Malcolm Fraser following his resignation from Parliament in March 1983. As Tamie Fraser's public activities were also handled by her husband's office, this series contains invitations for her attendance at various social functions and responses to media interview requests.

Mrs Fraser – correspondence – invitations accepted/declined, 1984

item 19

Records about Tamie Fraser in other collections

ACT Heritage Library

Mrs Tamie Fraser looks over construction at The Lodge Demonstrators jeer Prime Minister and Mrs Fraser, 1977

006034

006506

Photographer: Jim Green.

Mrs Tamie Fraser turning the first sod, marking commencement of work on the Garden for the Disabled at the National Botanic Gardens, April 1981

004433

With Tamie Fraser are Dr Robert Boden, Director, and Mr John Wrigley, former Curator. Photographer: M Fagg.

Tamie Fraser opens the Canberra International Motor Inn, Northbourne Avenue, Dickson, 1981

001937

Photographer: Martin Jones.

Australian National University Archives

Malcolm Fraser with his wife Tamie and Dr Stephen FitzGerald on the Great Wall of China, 1976

ANUA 225/414

Appendix 1 Timeline

1930	21 May	John Malcolm Fraser is born in Melbourne, the younger of two children of John Neville and Una (Woolf) Fraser.
1936	28 February	Tamara (Tamie) Beggs is born.
1940		Fraser becomes a boarder at Tudor House School in Moss Vale, NSW.
1944		Fraser begins secondary school at Melbourne Grammar School.
1952		Fraser graduates from Oxford University with a degree in philosophy, politics and economics.
1953	11 November	Fraser is preselected as Liberal Party candidate for Wannon district.
1954	May	Fraser stands unsuccessfully for the seat of Wannon.
1955	December	Fraser wins the seat of Wannon, becoming the youngest member of the new Parliament.
1956	22 February	Fraser makes his maiden speech in Parliament.
	9 December	Fraser marries Tamie Beggs.
1964		Fraser is the co-recipient (with Gough Whitlam) of a US Government Leader Grant to travel to the United States; also travels to Vietnam.
1966	26 January	Fraser is appointed Minister for the Army by Prime Minister Harold Holt.
1968	28 February	Fraser becomes Minister for Education and Science under Prime Minister John Gorton.
1969	November	Gorton allocates the Defence portfolio to Fraser.
1971	8 March	Fraser resigns from the Defence portfolio after disagreements with Gorton.
	August	Fraser is appointed Minister for Education and Science by Prime Minister William McMahon.
1972	December	Fraser is appointed Shadow Minister for Primary Industry.
1973	3 August	Fraser is appointed Shadow Minister for Industrial Relations.
1975	21 March	Fraser replaces Billy Snedden as Leader of the Liberal Party and becomes Leader of the Opposition.
	15 October	Fraser announces the Shadow Cabinet has voted to block supply.
	11 November	After the Governor-General Sir John Kerr dismisses the Labor government, Fraser becomes caretaker Prime Minister pending a general election.
	13 December	In the 30th federal election, the Coalition wins government with a resounding majority, following a double dissolution.
1976	16 December	<i>The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976</i> is enacted.
1977	15 June	The Gleneagles Agreement among Commonwealth countries affirms opposition to racial discrimination in sport.

1977	1 July	The first Commonwealth Ombudsman takes office, with responsibility to investigate complaints about administrative decisions.
	23 August	The Fraser government approves the mining and export of uranium.
	31 August	Fraser announces the Galbally report on migrant services.
	8 December	Sir Zelman Cowen becomes Governor-General after Sir John Kerr's resignation.
	10 December	In the 31st federal election, the Coalition is returned to government, maintaining a strong majority.
1978	1 January	The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) comes into operation under the Broadcasting and Television Amendment Act.
	1 July	The Northern Territory achieves limited self-government, with a fully elected Legislative Assembly.
1979	5 April	The Kakadu National Park is proclaimed; in October, the first stage of the Great Barrier Reef marine park is proclaimed.
	1–8 August	Fraser attends the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Lusaka, Zambia.
1980	6 June	The Whale Protection Act is enacted.
	18 October	In the 32nd federal election, the Coalition is returned with a reduced majority.
	3 November	A committee is created to undertake a review of the functions of Commonwealth departments and authorities; headed by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Philip Lynch, the committee becomes commonly known as the Lynch Committee or the Razor Gang.
1981	14 April	The Human Rights Commission Act is enacted.
	30 April	Cabinet approves the final report of the Lynch Committee.
	8 July	Fraser is awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law by the University of South Carolina.
	30 September – 7 October	Fraser hosts the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne.
1982	9 March	The Fraser government passes the Freedom of Information Act.
1983	3 February	Fraser announces a double dissolution of Parliament; the same day Bob Hawke is elected Leader of the Australian Labor Party.
	5 March	In the 33rd federal election, the Australian Labor Party wins government by a landslide. Bob Hawke becomes Prime Minister. Fraser retains the seat of Wannon but resigns as Leader of the Liberal Party.
	31 March	Fraser resigns from Parliament. Fraser is appointed Distinguished International Fellow of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and Senior Adjunct Fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies.
1985	September	Fraser is appointed Fellow of the Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University.

1985	October	Fraser is appointed Co-chair of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons seeking an end to apartheid in South Africa and Chair of the United Nations Panel of Eminent Persons on the Activities of Transnational Corporations in South Africa and Namibia.
1987		Fraser forms CARE Australia as part of the International CARE network of humanitarian aid organisations. He is Chair from 1987 until 2002.
1988	13 June	Fraser is appointed a Companion of the Order of Australia.
1989		Fraser is appointed Chair of the UN Secretary-General's Expert Group on African Commodity Issues.
	October	Fraser is awarded an Honorary Doctorate by Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria.
1990		Fraser is appointed President of CARE International until 1995.
1993		Fraser joins the Commonwealth observers group in Pakistan for the October election.
1997		Fraser leads the observer mission in the Pakistan election on 3 February.
1999	19 April	Fraser is appointed the Australian Government's special envoy to Yugoslavia to seek the release from prison of CARE Australia workers Steve Pratt and Peter Wallace.
2000	November	Fraser is awarded Australia's Human Rights Medal for his contribution to the advancement of human rights in Australia and internationally.
2002	29 April	Fraser is awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws by the University of Technology, Sydney.
	17 September	Fraser is awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws by Murdoch University, Western Australia.
2003	20 May	Fraser is awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws by the University of New South Wales.
2006	March	Fraser establishes Australians All to oppose racism and discrimination.
2010	4 March	<i>Malcolm Fraser: the political memoirs</i> , written by Malcolm Fraser and Margaret Simons, is published by The Miegunyah Press.

Appendix 2 Who's who

Anthony, John Douglas (Doug)

In 1957, Doug Anthony was elected to federal Parliament as the Member for Richmond (New South Wales) at a by-election that followed the death of his father. He retained Richmond at 11 subsequent general elections until his resignation in January 1984. He became Leader of the Country Party (1971–84) on the retirement of Sir John McEwen. The Country Party was renamed the National Party of Australia in October 1982 after a brief period as the National Country Party. Anthony was also Deputy Prime Minister (1971–72 and 1975–83) and acted as Prime Minister on several occasions, particularly during the Fraser government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 55

Barwick, Sir Garfield Edward John

Sir Garfield Barwick was born in 1903. After studying law at the University of Sydney, he was admitted to the NSW Bar in 1927 and became President of the Law Council of Australia from 1952 to 1954. In 1958 he won the federal seat of Parramatta for the Liberal Party, which he held until 1964. During his time in the House of Representatives, he was made Attorney-General (1958–61) and Minister for External Affairs (1961–64). In 1964 he was appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia. He was the first President of the Australian Conservation Foundation and advised then Governor-General Sir John Kerr on the constitutional legality of dismissing Gough Whitlam. He retired from the High Court in 1981 and died in 1997.

Battle, William C

William C Battle was born in 1920 in Virginia in the United States. He received a law degree from the University of Virginia and worked on John F Kennedy's presidential campaign. He was appointed US Ambassador to Australia in 1962, a post he held for two years. He and his wife were family friends of the Frasers.

Carmody, Sir Alan Thomas

Sir Alan Carmody was head of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet from 1976 to 1978, during the Fraser government.

Casey, Lord Richard Gardiner

Lord Casey was Governor-General of Australia (1965–69) during the governments of Robert Menzies, Harold Holt, John McEwen and John Gorton. Casey was a friend of the Fraser family. He was a United Australia Party MHR from 1931 to 1940 (Corio) and a Liberal MHR from 1949 to 1960 (La Trobe). He held portfolios in the Menzies governments during the 1950s, when Fraser was a backbencher.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 24

Chipp, Donald (Don) Leslie

Don Chipp was Liberal MHR for Higinbotham (Victoria) from 1960 to 1969, and for Hotham (Victoria) from 1969 until 1977. Chipp was a minister in successive Holt, Gorton and McMahon Liberal Coalition governments. After the dismissal of the Whitlam government in November 1975, he was appointed Minister for Social Security, Minister for Health, and Minister for Repatriation and Compensation in the Fraser caretaker government. Fraser did not appoint him to the Ministry after the December 1975 election, although Chipp later served on several parliamentary committees. In March 1977, Chipp resigned from the Liberal Party and became an Independent member. From May 1977 he was involved in the establishment of a third political party, later known as the Australian Democrats.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 121

Cole, Sir Robert William (Bill)

Sir Bill Cole held a number of senior government positions during the Fraser government. He was first Assistant Secretary to the Treasury (1972–76), Australian Statistician (1976), Secretary of the Department of Finance (1976–78), Chairman of the Public Service Board (1978–83) and Secretary of the Department of Defence (1983–86).

Coombs, Herbert (Nugget) Cole

Dr Nugget Coombs was Governor of the Reserve Bank of Australia from January 1960 until his retirement in July 1968. He chaired the Australian Council of Aboriginal Affairs from 1968 to 1976 and headed the 1974–76 Royal Commission into Commonwealth Government Administration, which reported to the Fraser government. He also chaired the Australia Council for the Arts from 1968 to 1974 and the Australian Elizabethan Trust from 1954 to 1968, and held several academic positions. He was Deputy Chairman (later Pro-chancellor) of the Council of the Australian National University between 1952 and 1968, when he became Chancellor, and retired in 1976. He was economic adviser to several prime ministers.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 119

Court, Sir Charles Walter Michael

Sir Charles Court was born in England in 1911, emigrating with his parents to Perth when he was six years old. He qualified as an accountant and started his own practice in 1933. He joined the Liberal Party in 1946, and was elected to the state seat of Nedlands in 1953. He held the seat until his son, Richard, succeeded him in 1982, when Sir Charles retired. Court became Western Australian Premier in 1974 and held the position until his retirement in 1982. As Premier he was a fierce proponent of states' rights and an opponent of Aboriginal land rights, leading to tensions with the federal government.

Cowen, Sir Zelman

Sir Zelman Cowen was Australia's 19th Governor-General, from 1977 to 1982. He was appointed to the position by Fraser after Sir John Kerr resigned in December 1977. Cowen had a long distinguished career in law and academia, holding numerous positions both in Australia and overseas. He was Dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Melbourne (1951–66), Vice-chancellor at the University of New England (1966–70) and the University of Queensland (1970–77), and a visiting professor at various overseas universities. He was regarded as one of the leading constitutional lawyers in the English-speaking world. He was Provost of Oriel College, Oxford University for eight years and active in Jewish community affairs in Melbourne after his vice-regal appointment.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 335

Deane, Sir William Patrick

Sir William Deane was born in Melbourne in 1931. He graduated from Arts and Law at the University of Sydney, was appointed to the Bar in 1957 and made Queen's Council in 1966. He was appointed a Justice of the High Court by Fraser in 1982, after serving as a judge of the Federal Court. In 1996 he was sworn in as Governor-General serving until his retirement in 2001. Deane succeeded Fraser as Chair of CARE Australia in 2002.

Eggleton, Anthony (Tony)

Tony Eggleton was born in 1932 and educated at King Alfred's College in the United Kingdom. By 1963, he helped found the National Press Club in Canberra. He was appointed press secretary to Robert Menzies in 1965, and remained in this position under succeeding Liberal prime ministers. Eggleton became Federal Director of the Liberal Party in 1975, a post he held for 15 years. He was the Liberal campaign director for each of Fraser's federal elections. He resigned in 1990 and took up a post as Secretary-General of CARE International (1991–95) and later Chief Executive of CARE Australia (1995–96).

Garland, Sir Ransley Victor

Sir Ransley Garland was born in 1934 and educated at the University of Western Australia, becoming a chartered accountant in 1958. He was Senior Vice-president of the Liberal and Country League of Western Australia and in 1969 was elected to the federal seat of Curtin, which he held until 1981. Under Fraser, Garland was appointed Minister Assisting the Treasurer and Minister for Post and Telecommunications. He resigned from the latter but was later appointed to a number of ministries, including Veterans' Affairs, Business and Consumer Affairs, and Special Trade Representations. He resigned from Parliament following the 1980 election.

Garnaut, Ross

Ross Garnaut served the Fraser government as a trade negotiator and in 1980 was Deputy Chair of the first Pacific Economic Conference (now the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference). From 1983 he was an influential economic adviser to Prime Minister Bob Hawke and was Australia's Ambassador to China from 1985 to 1988. He is Distinguished Professor of Economics at the Australian National University, a professorial fellow at the University of Melbourne, and has held a number of senior government appointments, including chairing Australia's Climate Change Review in 2008.

Georgiou, Petro

Petro Georgiou was born in 1947 and educated at the University of Melbourne. He was a senior adviser to Fraser from 1975 to 1979, when he was appointed to the Ethnic Television Review Panel and later Director of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs in 1980. In 1994 he won the blue-ribbon Liberal seat of Kooyong (Victoria), which he held until his retirement in 2010. In 2006, as a Member of the House of Representatives, Georgiou crossed the floor to vote against a Liberal Party Bill allowing for the offshore processing of asylum seekers. He is a member of the Malcolm Fraser Collection reference group at the University of Melbourne Archives.

Gorton, Sir John Grey

Sir John Gorton was Australia's 19th Prime Minister, serving from 1968 to 1971. He was Liberal Party Senator for Victoria from 1950 to 1968, and MHR for Higgins from 1968 to 1975. He appointed Fraser as Minister for Education and Science after the October 1968 election. The following year he appointed Fraser as Minister for Defence. However, after several disagreements, Fraser resigned his portfolio, a move some saw as leading to Gorton's demise.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 136

Guilfoyle, Dame Margaret Georgina Constance

Dame Margaret Guilfoyle was elected to federal Parliament in 1970 as a Senator for Victoria and retained her seat until retiring from politics before the 1987 election. In the Fraser caretaker government, she was given the Education portfolio (November–December 1975), becoming the first woman to be appointed to Cabinet, and the second woman to serve as a federal Minister. She subsequently held other ministries in the Fraser government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 417

Hayden, William George (Bill)

Bill Hayden was elected to the House of Representatives in 1961, representing the federal division of Oxley (Queensland). He held the seat for the Australian Labor Party through the next 11 general elections until his resignation in 1988. During the Whitlam government he was Minister for Social Security (1972–75) and Treasurer (June–November 1975). Hayden succeeded Whitlam as Leader of the Australian Labor Party and Leader of the Opposition (1977–83). As a member of the Shadow Ministry during the Fraser government, he was spokesman on defence (1976–83), and defence and economic management (1977). He was replaced by Bob Hawke as leader a few weeks prior to the March 1983 general election, when Labor gained office. In February 1989, Bill Hayden was sworn in as Australia's 21st Governor-General.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 626

Hawke, Robert James Lee (Bob)

Bob Hawke was Australia's 23rd Prime Minister and the longest-serving Labor Prime Minister (1983–91). He came into office in March 1983 after a landslide election victory, defeating Fraser's government. Before office, Hawke was President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions for nearly 11 years (1969–80), successfully reforming the organisation and increasing its income and membership. He became a member of the National Executive of the Australian Labor Party in 1971 and was President from 1973 to 1978. In October 1980, he was elected to the House of Representatives as the Member for Wills. He immediately became a member of the Opposition Shadow Ministry and spokesman on industrial relations, employment and youth affairs (1980–83). In February 1983, he replaced Bill Hayden as Leader of the Opposition and led the party to victory in the March 1983 election. Under his leadership, Labor won three more elections.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 390

Holt, Harold Edward

Harold Holt was Australia's 17th Prime Minister, serving from January 1966 until December 1967, when he was pronounced dead following his disappearance at sea while swimming. He won his first seat in Parliament in 1935 as the Member for Fawkner (Victoria), representing the United Australia Party until 1944. That year he was a foundation member of the Liberal Party created under Robert Menzies. He represented Fawkner until 1949 and was subsequently the Member for Higgins from 1949 to 1967. In 1939, at the age of 30, Holt became Australia's youngest minister when Prime Minister Menzies allocated him a junior role. He spent 32 years in Parliament, mainly on the government benches, and held the senior portfolios of Immigration, and Labour and National Service, and was Treasurer before becoming Prime Minister in 1966. He appointed Fraser to his first Ministry, as Minister for the Army. When Holt disappeared, Fraser supported Gorton as Leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 27

Howard, John Winston

John Howard was Australia's 25th Prime Minister, serving from March 1996 to December 2007. He was first elected to Parliament in 1974 as the Member for Bennelong (New South Wales), a seat he held until the defeat of his government in the 2007 election. In 1975 he became Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs in the coalition government of Malcolm Fraser and Doug Anthony. He became Treasurer in 1977 and held this portfolio until the Coalition lost office in 1983. Howard was Leader of the Opposition from 1985 to 1989, and again from 1995 until the Coalition won government at the 1996 federal election.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 197

Kemp, David Alistair

An active member of the Liberal Party from 1964, David Kemp was senior adviser to Malcolm Fraser when he was Leader of the Opposition and in his first year as Prime Minister (1975–76), director of his Private Office (1981) and strategy director of the Liberal Party in Victoria (1987–88). He later became a Liberal MHR from 1990 to 2004 (Goldstein), holding several ministries in the Howard government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 690

Kerr, Sir John Robert

Sir John Kerr was Governor-General of Australia from 1974 until 1977. He dismissed Prime Minister Gough Whitlam on 11 November 1975 and installed Malcolm Fraser as caretaker Prime Minister. Before his vice-regal appointment, Kerr was a leading industrial lawyer in Sydney in the 1960s, and Chief Justice of New South Wales from 1972 to 1974.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 266

Killen, Sir James

Sir James Killen was elected as Liberal MHR for Moreton (Queensland) in 1955 and retained the seat through successive elections for nearly 28 years. During his parliamentary career, he held various ministries in the Gorton and Fraser governments, including Minister for the Navy (1969–71), Minister for Defence (1975–82) and Vice-president of the Executive Council (1982–83).

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 46

Lynch, Sir Phillip Reginald

Sir Phillip Lynch was elected to the House of Representatives as the Member for Flinders (Victoria) and served from 1966 to 1982. He held several ministries in the Gorton and McMahon governments. These included Minister for the Army (1968–69), Minister for Immigration (1969–71), Minister for Labour and National Service (1971–72), Treasurer (1975–77), Minister for Finance (1976–77), and Minister for Industry and Commerce (1977–82).

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 76

Macphee, Ian Malcolm

Ian Macphee was elected to the House of Representatives in 1974 as the Member for Balaclava (Victoria) and retained the seat for 10 years. Following the 1984 electoral redistribution, he was re-elected as the member for Goldstein (Victoria). He retired in 1990. In the Fraser government, Macphee held several ministries. After leaving federal politics, Macphee was a board member of CARE Australia (1992–97) under Fraser's chairmanship.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 306

McEwen, Sir John

John McEwen was Australia's 18th Prime Minister, serving from December 1967 until January 1968. A Country Party member, McEwen was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1934 as the Member for Echuca (Victoria) and subsequently was the Member for two other electorates: Indi and Murray. He served 37 years in Parliament, and held the key ministerial responsibilities of commerce and trade. He served as party leader from 1956 until 1971, and as Deputy Prime Minister for 12 years in the governments of Menzies, Holt and Gorton. After Holt's disappearance, he was commissioned as caretaker Prime Minister until the Liberal Party elected a new leader.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 47

McMahon, Sir William

William McMahon was Australia's 20th Prime Minister, in office from March 1971 to December 1972. His government was defeated at the December 1972 general election that brought Gough Whitlam into office. McMahon was first elected to Parliament in 1949, and held the seat of Lowe, in Sydney, for the Liberal Party for 33 years until his retirement in 1982. He served as Minister for Primary Industry (1956–58) and Minister for Labour and National Service (1958–66) in the Menzies government; as Treasurer (1966–69) in the governments of Holt, McEwen and Gorton; and as Minister for External Affairs (1969–71) in the Gorton government.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 41

Menadue, John

John Menadue held several senior positions during Fraser's years in office. He was head of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet from 1974 to 1976, Australia's Ambassador to Japan (1976–80), head of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1980–83), head of the Department of the Special Minister of State (1983), and head of the Department of Trade (1983–86).

Menzies, Sir Robert Gordon

Sir Robert Menzies was Australia's longest-serving Prime Minister, in office from 1939 to 1941 and again from 1949 to 1966. He was a United Australia Party/Liberal MHR for Kooyong (Victoria) from 1934 to 1966. Fraser served under Menzies for 10 years as a backbencher.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 54

Obasanjo, Olusegun

Olusegun Obasanjo was born in Nigeria in 1937. He joined the army and received officer training in England, subsequently rising quickly through the ranks. Obasanjo became military ruler of Nigeria following the assassination of Brigadier General Murtala Ramat Mohammed in 1976. Elections were held in 1979, but Obasanjo did not run for office. He was imprisoned under the regime of General Sani Abacha in 1995. In 1999 Obasanjo won election for President, a position he held until 2007. Fraser and Obasanjo first met in 1979, during the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Lusaka. In 1985 both men were appointed Co-chair of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons against Apartheid in South Africa.

Peacock, Andrew Sharp

Andrew Peacock was Liberal MHR for Kooyong (Victoria) from 1966 until 1994. He was Minister for Foreign Affairs (1975–80), Minister for Environment (November–December 1975), Minister for Industrial Relations (1980–81), and Minister for Industry and Commerce (1982–83) in the Fraser government. He unsuccessfully challenged Fraser for leadership of the Liberal Party in 1982. He was Leader of the Opposition from 1983 to 1985 and again from 1987 to 1990.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 234

Ramphal, Sir Shridath (Sonny)

Sonny Ramphal was born in 1928 in Guyana and studied Law at King's College, London. Following Guyana's independence, Ramphal was appointed Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, and in 1972 became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Ramphal was elected the second Secretary General at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Jamaica in 1975, a position he held until 1990. As Secretary General, he worked closely with Fraser on issues related to the Commonwealth and apartheid in South Africa.

Sinclair, Ian McCahon

Ian Sinclair was Country (later National) MHR for New England from 1963 until 1998. In the Fraser government, he was Minister for Agriculture (November–December 1975), Minister for Northern Australia (November–December 1975), Minister for Primary Industry (1975–79), Minister for Special Trade Representation (August–November 1980), Minister for Communication (1980–82) and Minister for Defence (1982–83).

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 426

Snedden, Sir Billy Mackie

Billy Snedden was Liberal MHR for the electorate of Bruce (Victoria) from 1955 to 1983. He held ministries in the Menzies, Holt, McEwen, Gorton and McMahon governments. He was Member of the Executive Council without Office (1963–64), Attorney-General (1964–66), Minister for Immigration (1966–69), Minister for Labour and National Service (1969–71), and Treasurer (1971–72). He was also Leader of the Opposition from 1972 to 1975.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 77

Soeharto

Mohammed Soeharto was the second President of Indonesia, holding the office for 31 years from 1967, when he replaced Sukarno, until 1998 when he resigned.

Staley, Anthony (Tony) Allan

Tony Staley was Liberal MHR for Chisholm (Victoria) from 1970 until 1980. At one stage he shared a house in Canberra with Fraser. In the Fraser government he was Minister for the Capital Territory (1976–77), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister in Matters Concerning Arts (1976–77), and Minister for Post and Telecommunications (1977–80).

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 233

Stephen, Sir Ninian

In March 1972 Sir Ninian Stephen was appointed a Justice of the High Court of Australia and served on its bench for 10 years. He became a Member of the Privy Council in 1979 and sat on its Judicial Committee in 1981. Sir Ninian retired from the High Court of Australia as Senior Puisne Justice in early 1982, following the announcement of his appointment as Australia's 20th Governor-General. He was sworn in as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Defence Force of Australia in July 1982. His term as Governor-General expired in February 1989.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 457

Stone, John Owen

John Stone was a Treasury official from 1954 and served as head of Treasury from 1979 until 1984, during much of Fraser's term as Prime Minister. Stone was later elected as a National Party Senator for Queensland.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 489

Street, Anthony Austin

Anthony Street was Liberal MHR for Corangamite (Victoria) from 1966 until 1984. At one stage he shared a house with Fraser in Canberra. In the Fraser government he was Minister for Labour and Immigration (November–December 1975), Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations (1975–78), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister in Public Service Matters (1975–77), Minister Assisting the Prime Minister in Women's Affairs (August–November 1976), Minister for Industrial Relations (1978–80), and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1980–82).

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person number: CP 203

Tange, Sir Arthur Harold

Arthur Tange was born in 1914 and studied Arts and Economics at the University of Western Australia. He was appointed Secretary of the Department of External Affairs (1954–65) by Casey. After a diplomatic posting, he became Secretary of the Department of Defence in 1970 until his retirement in 1979. He died in 2001.

Wheeler, Sir Frederick Henry

Sir Frederick Wheeler was head of the Department of Treasury from 1971 until 1978.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP number: 340

Whitlam, Edward Gough

Gough Whitlam was Labor MHR for Werriwa (New South Wales) from 1952 to 1978. He was Prime Minister from 5 December 1972 until 11 November 1975 when Governor-General Sir John Kerr dismissed his government from office and installed Malcolm Fraser as caretaker Prime Minister. Whitlam remained Leader of the Australian Labor Party and Leader of the Opposition until 1977. In December 1977 he stood down as party leader after Labor's defeat in the federal election and was succeeded by Bill Hayden. Whitlam resigned from his parliamentary seat on 31 July 1978.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP number: 99

Yeend, Sir Geoffrey

Sir Geoffrey Yeend was Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet from 1978 to 1986.

National Archives of Australia Commonwealth Person CP number: 982

Appendix 3 Ministries of the Fraser government

Fraser government ministries

Ministry	Date range of ministry	Reason for end of ministry
First	11 November – 22 December 1975	Election – 13 December 1975
Second	22 December 1975 – 20 December 1977	Election – 10 December 1977
Third	20 December 1977– 3 November 1980	Election – 18 October 1980
Fourth	3 November 1980 – 7 May 1982	Reshuffle – 7 May 1982
Fifth	7 May 1982 – 11 March 1983	Election – 5 March 1983

First Fraser Ministry (caretaker ministry) 11 November to 22 December 1975

Prime Minister	John Malcolm Fraser
Deputy Prime Minister	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Minister for Overseas Trade	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Treasurer	Philip Reginald Lynch
Minister for Agriculture	Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP)
Minister for Northern Australia	Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP)
Special Minister of State	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Minister for the Capital Territory	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Minister for the Media	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Minister for Tourism and Recreation	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Vice-president of Executive Council	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Attorney-General	Senator Ivor John Greenwood QC
Minister for Police and Customs	Senator Ivor John Greenwood QC
Minister for Manufacturing Industry	Senator Robert Carrington Cotton
Minister for Science and Consumer Affairs	Senator Robert Carrington Cotton
Minister for Transport	Peter James Nixon (NCP)
Postmaster-General	Peter James Nixon (NCP)
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Andrew Sharp Peacock
Minister for Environment	Andrew Sharp Peacock
Minister for Social Security	Donald Leslie Chipp

Minister for Health	Donald Leslie Chipp
Minister for Repatriation and Compensation	Donald Leslie Chipp
Minister for Defence	Denis James Killen
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs	Senator Thomas Charles Drake-Brockman (NCP)
Minister for Administrative Services	Senator Thomas Charles Drake-Brockman (NCP)
Minister for Housing and Construction	Senator John Leslie Carrick
Minister for Urban and Regional Development	Senator John Leslie Carrick
Minister for Labor and Immigration	Anthony Austin Street
Minister for Education	Senator Margaret Georgina Constance Guilfoyle

Second Fraser Ministry **22 December 1975 to 20 December 1977**

Prime Minister	John Malcolm Fraser
Deputy Prime Minister	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Minister for National Resources	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Minister for Overseas Trade	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Treasurer	Philip Reginald Lynch (to 19 November 1977) John Winston Howard (from 19 November 1977)
Minister for Primary Industry	Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP)
Minister for Administrative Services	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Vice-president of Executive Council	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers
Minister for Environment, Housing and Community Development	Senator Ivor John Greenwood QC (to 8 July 1976) Kevin Eugene Newman (from 8 July 1977)
Minister for Industry and Commerce	Senator Robert Carrington Cotton
Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations	Anthony Austin Street
Minister for Transport	Peter James Nixon (NCP)
Minister for Education	Senator John Leslie Carrick
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Andrew Sharp Peacock
Minister for Defence	Denis James Killen
Minister for Social Security	Senator Margaret Georgina Constance Guilfoyle
Attorney-General	Robert James Ellicott (to 6 September 1977) Senator Peter Drew Durack (from 6 September 1977)
Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs	John Winston Howard (to 17 July 1977) Wallace Clyde Fife (from 17 July 1977)

Minister for Posts and Telecommunications	Ransley Victor Garland (to 6 February 1976) Eric Laidlaw Robinson (from 6 February 1976)
Minister for Health	Ralph James Dunnet Hunt (NCP)
Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	Michael John Randal MacKellar
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs	Robert Ian Viner
Minister for the Northern Territory	Albert Evan Adermann (NCP)
Minister for the Capital Territory	Eric Laidlaw Robinson (to 16 February 1976) Anthony Allan Staley (from 16 February 1976)
Minister for Construction	John Elden McLeay
Minister for Repatriation (to 5 October 1976)	Kevin Eugene Newman (to 8 July 1976) Peter Drew Durack (from 8 July 1976 to 5 October 1976)
Minister for Veterans' Affairs (from 5 October 1976)	Peter Drew Durack (from 5 October 1976 to 6 September 1977) Ransley Victor Garland (from 6 September 1977)
Minister for Science	Senator James Joseph Webster (NCP)
Minister for Productivity (from 8 November 1976)	Ian Malcolm Macphée (from 8 November 1976)
Minister for Finance (from 7 December 1976)	Philip Reginald Lynch (from 7 December 1976 to 19 November 1977)
Minister for Special Trade Negotiations (from 17 July 1977)	John Winston Howard (from 17 July 1977)

Third Fraser Ministry **20 December 1977 to 3 November 1980**

Prime Minister	John Malcolm Fraser
Deputy Prime Minister	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Minister for Trade and Resources	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Treasurer	John Winston Howard
Minister for Primary Industry	Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP) (to 27 September 1979) Peter James Nixon (from 27 September 1979)
Minister for Administrative Services	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers (to 7 August 1978) Senator Peter Durack (from 7 to 28 August 1978) Senator Frederick Michael Chaney (from 28 August to 5 December 1978) John Elden McLeay (from 5 December 1978)
Vice-president of Executive Council	Senator Reginald Grieve Withers (to 7 August 1978) Senator John Leslie Carrick (from 7 August 1978)

Minister for Environment, Housing and Community Development (to 5 December 1978)	Raymond John Groom (to 5 December 1978)
Minister for Industry and Commerce	Philip Reginald Lynch
Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations (to 5 December 1978)	Anthony Austin Street (to 5 December 1978)
Minister for Industrial Relations (from 5 December 1978)	Anthony Austin Street (from 5 December 1978)
Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs (from 5 December 1978)	Robert Ian Viner (from 5 December 1978)
Minister for Transport	Peter James Nixon (NCP) (to 8 December 1979) Ralph James Dunnet Hunt (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Education	Senator John Leslie Carrick (to 8 December 1979) Wallace Clyde Fife (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Andrew Sharp Peacock
Minister for Defence	Denis James Killen
Minister for Social Security	Senator Margaret Georgina Constance Guilfoyle
Attorney-General	Senator Peter Drew Durack
Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs	Wallace Clyde Fife (to 8 December 1979) Ransley Victor Garland (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Posts and Telecommunications	Anthony Allan Staley
Minister for Health	Ralph James Dunnet Hunt (NCP) (to 8 December 1979) Michael John Randal MacKellar (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	Michael John Randal MacKellar (to 8 December 1979) Ian Malcolm Macphee (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs	Robert Ian Viner (to 5 December 1978) Senator Frederick Michael Chaney (from 5 December 1978)
Minister for the Northern Territory (to 28 September 1978)	Albert Evan Adermann (NCP) (to 28 September 1978)
Minister for the Capital Territory	Robert John Ellicott
Minister for Home Affairs	Robert James Ellicott
Minister for Construction (to 5 December 1978)	John Elden McLeay (to 5 December 1978)
Minister for Housing and Construction (from 5 December 1978)	Raymond John Groom (from 5 December 1978)
Minister for Veterans' Affairs	Ransley Victor Garland (to 4 July 1978) Albert Evan Adermann (NCP) (from 4 July 1978)
Minister for Science (to 5 December 1978)	Senator James Joseph Webster (NCP) (to 5 December 1978)

Minister for Science and the Environment (from 5 December 1978)	Senator James Joseph Webster (NCP) (from 5 December 1978 to 8 December 1979) David Scott Thomson (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Special Trade Representations	Ransley Victor Garland (to 8 December 1979) Senator Douglas Barr Scott (NCP) (from 8 December 1979 to 19 August 1980) Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP) (from 19 August to 3 November 1980)
Minister for Productivity	Ian Malcolm Macphee (to 8 December 1979) Kevin Eugene Newman (from 8 December 1979)
Minister for Finance	Eric Laidlaw Robinson (to 23 February 1979 and from 27 February 1979) John Winston Howard (from 23 to 27 February 1979)
Minister for National Development (to 8 December 1979)	Kevin Eugene Newman (to 8 December 1979)
Minister for National Development and Energy (from 8 December 1979)	Senator John Leslie Carrick (from 8 December 1979)

Fourth Fraser Ministry **3 November 1980 to 7 May 1982**

Prime Minister	John Malcolm Fraser
Deputy Prime Minister	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Minister for Trade and Resources	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)
Treasurer	John Winston Howard
Minister for Primary Industry	Peter James Nixon (NCP)
Minister for Administrative Services	Kevin Eugene Newman
Vice-president of Executive Council	Senator John Leslie Carrick
Minister for Industry and Commerce	Philip Reginald Lynch
Minister for Industrial Relations	Andrew Sharp Peacock (to 16 April 1981) Robert Ian Viner (from 16 April 1981)
Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs	Robert Ian Viner (to 16 April 1981) Neil Anthony Brown (from 16 April 1981)
Minister for Transport	Ralph James Dunnet Hunt (NCP)
Minister for Education	Wallace Clyde Fife
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anthony Austin Street
Minister for Defence	Denis James Killen
Minister for Finance	Senator Margaret Georgina Constance Guilfoyle
Minister for Social Security	Senator Frederick Michael Chaney

Attorney-General	Senator Peter Drew Durack
Minister for Business and Consumer Affairs	John Colinton Moore (to 20 April 1982) Neil Anthony Brown (from 20 April 1982)
Minister for Communications	Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP)
Minister for Health	Michael John Randal MacKellar (to 20 April 1982) Senator Peter Erne Baume (from 20 April 1982)
Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	Ian Malcolm Macphee
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs	Robert Ian Viner
Minister for the Capital Territory	William Michael Hodgman
Minister for Housing and Construction	Daniel Thomas McVeigh (NCP)
Minister for Veterans' Affairs	Senator Anthony John Messner
Minister for Science and Technology	David Scott Thomson (NCP)
Minister for National Development and Energy	Senator John Leslie Carrick
Minister for Home Affairs and the Environment	Robert James Ellicott (to 17 February 1981) Michael John Randal MacKellar (from 17 February to 19 March 1981) Ian Bonython Cameron Wilson (from 19 March 1981)

Fifth Fraser Ministry **7 May 1982 to 11 March 1983**

Prime Minister	John Malcolm Fraser
Deputy Prime Minister	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)*
Minister for Trade and Resources	John Douglas Anthony (NCP)*
Treasurer	John Winston Howard
Minister for Primary Industry	Peter James Nixon (NCP)*
Minister for Administrative Services	Kevin Eugene Newman
Vice-president of Executive Council	Denis James Killen
Minister for Industry and Commerce	Philip Reginald Lynch (to 11 October 1982) Andrew Sharp Peacock (from 11 October 1982)
Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations	Ian Malcolm Macphee
Minister for Transport and Construction	Ralph James Dunnet Hunt (NCP)*
Minister for Aviation	Wallace Clyde Fife
Minister for Education	Senator Peter Erne Baume
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Anthony Austin Street
Minister for Defence	Ian McCahon Sinclair (NCP)*
Minister for Finance	Senator Margaret Georgina Constance Guilfoyle

Minister for Social Security	Senator Frederick Michael Chaney
Attorney-General	Senator Peter Drew Durack
Minister for Defence Support	Robert Ian Viner
Minister for Communications	Neil Anthony Brown
Minister for Health	James Joseph Carlton
Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	John Charles Hodges
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs	Ian Bonython Cameron Wilson
Minister for the Capital Territory	William Michael Hodgman
Minister for Veterans' Affairs	Senator Anthony John Messner
Minister for Science and Technology	David Scott Thomson (NCP)*
Minister for National Development and Energy	Senator John Leslie Carrick
Minister for Home Affairs and the Environment	Daniel Thomas McVeigh (NCP)*

* The National Country Party (NCP) became the National Party on 16 October 1982.

Source: *Parliamentary Handbook of the Commonwealth of Australia 1986*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1986.

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Online resources

National Archives of Australia, *Australia's Prime Ministers* (primeministers.naa.gov.au) – this website provides biographical information about Malcolm Fraser before, during and after his term as Prime Minister. It also provides a biography of Tamie Fraser, details of the elections in which Fraser stood for parliament and a link to significant people in his life.

University of Melbourne Archives, *The Malcolm Fraser Collection* (unimelb.edu.au/malcolmfraser) – this website is a good source of information about Malcolm Fraser. It includes an interactive timeline, links to major legislation enacted by the Fraser government, copies and links to recent speeches and articles, and up-to-date news and events.

National Archives of Australia fact sheets – available online at naa.gov.au and in hardcopy from National Archives reading rooms.

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- 243 The fall of Saigon, 1975
- 247 Australia's diplomatic relations with China
- 255 Australia and the issue of apartheid in sport
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Domestic matters

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- 252 Tobacco advertising ban in Australia

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 Campbell ACT 2612
 GPO Box 345
 Canberra ACT 2601
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 Fax: (02) 6243 4545
awm.gov.au

Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House

Research Library and
 Australian Prime Ministers Centre
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 Parkes ACT 2600
 PO Box 7088
 Canberra Business Centre ACT 2610
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moadoph.gov.au/research

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Powerhouse Museum

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 Ultimo NSW 2007
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powerhousemuseum.com.au

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thecommonwealth.org

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