

Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey) Ltd.
33 Brooking St. Upwey 3158 Victoria Australia. Telephone 754 3334.
(Incorporated in Victoria)

NEWSLETTER NO. 15 NOVEMBER 1984

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Good Will Visit of Director and Project Officer to Interstate Buddhist Groups

The Director of the Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey), John D. Hughes, and the Project Officer, Joanne Lawless, visited other Buddhists in New South Wales, Queensland and Canberra from the 20th September, 1984 to 7th October, 1984. Arising from these discussions, the following points were agreed upon:

1. That it is desirable that the World Fellowship of Buddhists headquarters come to Australia within ten years. Because of climate suitable for Asians, Brisbane could be a suitable location.
2. That full moral support of the 1985 Australian Buddhist Delegation to visit China is widespread.
3. That further Australian Buddhist Delegations be arranged to other countries, starting with Sri Lanka in 1987.
4. That every effort be made to encourage His Holiness the Dalai Lama to open the China Conference or to arrange for one of his High Lamas to do so on his behalf.
5. That a common sense of direction in developing the Buddha Dhamma in Australia is very evident as shown by the establishment of Retreat Centres in many States of Australia.
6. That a willingness for various Buddhist Centres to enter into discussions to share their learned persons and possessors of special Dhamma information and translate technical terms into English is evident.

From this willingness to communicate could arise a definition of Buddhism which could be used to differentiate and distinguish dogmas presented which are outside Lord Buddha's Dhamma.

7. The solitariness of Buddhist groups is coming to an end.

A special tribute of thanks is given to Mr. Klaas de Jong who provided

accommodation at Dhammadinna House and facilitated discussions with Queensland Buddhist groups.

May the merit of these actions help the Dhamma flourish in Australia.

A copy of the Information Directory of member groups (1983) of the Buddhist Council of Brisbane is presented on pages 5 -12 of this Newsletter.

Chinese Painting Classes at Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey).

Chinese painting classes were commenced on 11th July, 1984, on Wednesday mornings from 10 .00 a.m. till 12.00 noon and have about ten regular students at present. All are welcome, and these classes are free of charge. Melva Fitzallen and John Hughes teach at these classes.

Chinese painting has a history of at least four thousand years. As guidelines in evaluation and appreciation of Chinese painting, Hsieh Ho, at the end of the fifth century A.D. formulated principles of painting. The six principles are summarised by four characters. In Chinese it reads: "Ch'i yun sheng tung"; Ch'i, breath; yun, agreement; sheng, life; tung, movement. The first principle "Ch'i yun" is vague in formulation and "cannot be expressed in words". The ancient Chinese Buddhist Monks used painting as part of their practice. It brings about cultivation of disposition, refining of character and humility.

An artist must be first of all open minded. With the comparatively few but competent strokes used, the Chinese brush becomes a very sensitive tool and the mind can control the movement. The concept of learning from nature is involved and this is a path to meditation. The goal of the painting classes is to lead to Calligraphy.

In Zen art, the work of a Zen artist is permeated by what Hakiun called "the overwhelming force of enlightened vision". Zen, the rejection of all limitations, is symbolised by Buddha, an entity free of restrictions. Zen art is the expression of the Buddha-mind.

It is hoped that these classes will contribute to a deeper understanding of bright mind. It is interesting to note the changes in the character of Teshu's Calligraphy before and after his enlightenment (ref: "Zen and the Art of Calligraphy, the essence of Sho", by Omori Sogen and Terayam Katsujo - translated by John Stevens, published in 1983 by Routledge and Kegan Paul - ISBN 0-7100-9284-9, page 17.)

Melva Fitzallen, a Director of B.D.C. (Upwey) wrote the Calligraphy on the Sandboard of the new garden entrance gate at the Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey). An example of her brushwork is shown below. The balance of her mind achieved through the practice of the Middle Way is clearly seen in these strokes.

Please see Graphical Image 15-?-1

Calligraphy by Melva Fitzallen

Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey) Students' Wedding

On the 15th September, 1984, two students of this Centre, Roger Armitage and Lisa Jones were married in the garden of the Centre by a Civil Celebrant. About 80 people attended the marriage ceremony.

Buddhism is not a recognised religion under the Marriage Act 1961, so there is no such thing in Australia as a Buddhist Civil Celebrant. It might be of interest for Buddhists to realise that the number of Civil Celebrants in the area is controlled by Government regulation and it is not possible under present legislation for a specifically Buddhist application to be made. Melvin Bowler has applied to be a Civil Celebrant, and if his application is successful, he has indicated he will specialise in Buddhist wedding ceremonies. It seems clear that the Buddha did not intend a special Buddhist ceremony but custom in many countries means Monks do attend weddings.

In Australia, unlike many overseas countries, marriages are not arranged by the parents. The result is an extremely high divorce rate in Australia and a dilution of morality.

As good Buddhists, Roger and Lisa maintain five precepts and therefore their marriage becomes part of their Practice and has a basis which will ensure them many Blessings, since Sila, is a method of making merit. Among the many wedding gifts these committee members received were Buddhist Images for their altar.

May they grow in the Dhamma.

Meditation Course 22nd - 26th August, 1984

A five day meditation course was held at B.D.C. (Upwey) guided by John D. Hughes, Director. Special instruction was given to enable the twenty-five students who attended to see directly that one day their life in this rebirth will finish and, in fact, that process is occurring; instant by instant.

Foundation of Buddhist Meditation Retreat Centre (Stanley)

On the 7th October, 1984, the Foundation Meeting of the Buddhist Meditation Retreat Centre (Stanley) was held under the Chairmanship of Mr. Gary Law. Those present were Gary Law, Vanna Law, Nella Cavuoto, Vincent Cavuoto, John Hughes, Wendy Clancy, Frank Carter, Melva Fitzallen, Joanne Lawless. The Directors elected were G. Law, V. Law, V. Cavuoto and F. Carter.

The meeting was held on the fifty acre site of Crown Allotment 10, Section 12A Parish of Stanley, State of Victoria, Australia. Planning is underway to build a Meditation Hall and accommodation to enable Buddhists to take long term meditation retreats. The area is in the high mountains and is particularly suitable for the Path to the end of suffering.

Sabbe satta sada hontu
Avera Sukhajivino
Katam punnaphalam mayham
Sabbe bhagi bhavantu te.

Jon Landaw Australian Tour

Jon Landaw has translated a number of books and is a well known translator and teacher of Buddhism from America. He is giving teachings with Geshe Doga at Tara Institute, 3 Crimea Street, St. Kilda, Victoria, Ph: 513784, on 13th and 14th October, 1984 and at Atisha Centre, Sandhurst Town Road, R.S.D. Eaglehawk, Victoria, 3556, Australia Ph: (054) 46 9033, on 26th and 28th October, 1984.

Visit by B.D.C (Upwey) Committee Member to the United Kingdom

Mr. Broderick Berry of B.D.C.(Upwey) visited the United Kingdom during 1984. His comments of his visit follow:

While on holiday in the United Kingdom with my family, it was my good fortune to visit the Buddhist Society, 58 Eccleston Square, London, and the Heart of England Buddhist Group, Warwickshire. I presented to them Manjusri Bodhisattva woodblock print as a gift from our teacher, John Hughes, and a B.D.C. (Upwey) Newsletter.

There were very charged moments with much metta being exchanged. John Snelling, the Secretary of the Buddhist Society, was delighted with the gift and asked us at the B.D.C. (Upwey) to keep in touch. He reciprocate with a token of his gratitude; a Buddhist Directory and literature pertaining to the Buddhist Society role which I presented to John Hughes at the Centre on my return.

Patricia and Vicky Tanner of the Heart of England Buddhist group whose Home Buddhist Centre is located in an olde world village called Harbury via the leafy lanes of Warwickshire were most warm and somewhat surprised to receive the Manjusri Bodhisattva and Newsletter, but were delighted to think they had been chosen to receive the token of goodwill from our teacher John and B.D.C.(Upwey) Australia.

For me, having arrived in Australia eight years ago, a non-Buddhist, returning to England, it was an unimaginable and enviable position meeting these fine people and to be now a participating Buddhist".

Community Relations in the 1980's: Issues, Strategies and Policies Workshop.

This workshop was convened by the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission and Victorian Ethnic Communities Council at Melbourne College of Advanced Education, 757 Swanston St., Carlton, Victoria on 13th and 14th July, 1984. Speakers included: Gil Bottomley (Macquarie University), Jan Pettman (Canberra CAE), Alan Matheson (ACTU) Mr. Justice Kirby (Law Reform Commission), John D. Hughes, Director, and Joanne Lawless, Project Officer of B.D.C.(Upwey), attended this workshop. Current debate over the extent and type of immigration which should be allowed or "tolerated" in Australia is the latest of a long line of debates that can be traced back to the 18th Century. Such attitudes concerning the restriction of immigration have always surfaced in times of economic recession and uncertainty. The most recently settled residents of our society have always been made the scapegoats by irresponsible academics; by ambitious social commentators; by cynical politicians; by some people living and working in our industrial suburbs and communities; and by others with particular vested interests.

Migrants have been made scapegoats as an excuse for our collective irresponsibility to develop more appropriate social and economic policy adjustments in periods of economic uncertainty.

The trouble with the present debate is that many of the Asians are Buddhists and racism could well be channelled into an attack on the Buddhist religion in Australia. It is not racist to be proud of one's Buddhist ancestry and cultural differences. Buddhists cannot be racists but should arm themselves with logical arguments to combat the recent tendency to develop bias in the case of Indo-Chinese refugees.

The Ministerial Discussion Paper, "Racism in the 1980's - A Response" is commended. If you wish to obtain a copy of the paper please write to the Ethnic Affairs Commission, 232 Victoria Parade, East Melbourne, 3002, Victoria. We also commend "Race Relations - A Draft Bibliography 1984" by Kati Sunner of CHOMI and Migration Action Special Issue, Volume VII, No. 2 (1984); both available from the Ecumenical Migration Centre, 133 Church Street, Richmond, 3121, Victoria, Australia, Ph: 428 4948.

In view of the importance of this matter, this Newsletter has printed in full the paper presented to the Community Relations Seminar, Melbourne. The paper is entitled "Racism: Sociological Perspectives", by Gill Bottomley of Macquarie University.

THE BUDDHIST COUNCIL OF BRISBANE.
A FORUM OF BUDDHIST GROUPS

CHAIRMAN'S NOTE:

It seems significant that the formation of the Council should occur one hundred years after the first Buddhists settled in Queensland. The pioneering spirit is again to the forefront as we break new ground again.

New ground it is indeed, since new groups in developing their identities, have often been more aware of inter-traditional differences rather than similarities. In the search to become one with the Buddha's qualities, to embark on a course of-dialogue and exchange is of real benefit and in true spirit of the Dharma. A real step towards an integrated identity for Buddhism in Brisbane.

Acknowledgement must go to Klaas de Jong who took the initiative and convened the Council in May 1982.

May all beings be happy,

Loden Sherab.

CHAIRMAN: Rev. Loden Sherab (Loden Compassion Mahayana Centre)

SECRETARY: Mr. Klaas de Jong (Dhammadinna House)

The Council was convened in mid-1982 to discuss interests in common to the various Buddhist Organisations in Brisbane.

Membership stands at seven groups, each of whom nominate two delegates to regular meetings. The groups and their delegates are:

Brisbane Buddhist Vihara

Anil Biswas
Duleendra Mendis

Brisbane Zen Group

Gregg Howard
Kim Lewis

Buddhist Society Of Queensland

Victor Gunasekara
Lyn Cameron

Chenrezig City Centre

Peter Fenner
Inta McKimm

Dhammadina House

Klaas de Jong

Loden Compassion Mahayana Centre

Rev. Loden Sherab
Lama Lhundup

Vietnamese Buddhist Association of Qld.

Trung Viet Nguyen
Nguyenthi Tuyetnga

A major aim of the Council is the exchange and presentation of information about member groups, thereby fostering goodwill in the Buddhist community and promoting interest in Buddhism generally. It can also provide a common voice if needed.

The first project of the Council is this Directory of Buddhist Groups in Brisbane. A regular news-sheet is also planned to publicise the activities of the various member groups and items of interest to all.

(The Articles of Agreement of the Council are appended to the Directory).

BRISBANE BUDDHIST VIHARA

Address: 78 Hampstead Road, Highgate Hill . Qld. 4181

Telephone: (07) 44 4035

The Brisbane Buddhist Vihara is a temple established along the lines of Theravada tradition in a quiet inner suburb of Brisbane. The Patronage of the Vihara has been assumed by the Hon. R. Premadasa, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and the Temple was opened in June 1982 by Mr. Dennis Perera, the High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Australia. The chief supporter of the Vihara is Mr. S.P.H. Mendis, one of Brisbane's earliest Buddhist residents. Visiting monks will be in residence in the Vihara from time to time.

The Vihara is open to the use and support of any person or group genuinely interested in the study and practice of all traditions of Buddhism. The resources of the Vihara

such as its Shrine Room, Meditation Hall, and Library are open and available for these purposes.

The Vihara has already been host to visiting monks and guest speakers and they are freely available to discuss Theravada Buddhist practice and philosophy.

As a Vihara in the traditional sense, the members of the Sangha will conduct traditional devotional ceremonies and celebrate Theravada Buddhist Festivals, such as Vesak.

All are welcome and it is hoped that people will use the Vihara to share their thoughts, ideas, and meditations on the Buddha Dhamma.

Regular activities of the Vihara will include meditation courses, Dhamma teachings and a Theravada ceremony on a monthly basis.

BUDDHIST SOCIETY OF QUEENSLAND

Postal Address: P.O. Box 4, Spring Hill, Q. 4000

HISTORY: The B.S.Q. came into existence in October 1979 with the adoption of its Constitution at a Public Meeting. This meeting was convened by the Buddha Dhamma Association of Queensland, and the B.S.Q. became the successor to that Association (which itself was formed in February 1978 by the amalgamation of the Theravadin Buddhist Contact Centre of Brisbane with the Abhidhamma Study Group of Maleny). The B.S.Q. commenced formal activities in January 1980. The original Constitution was amended once in April 1982.

Objectives: The 3 main objectives as given in the Constitution are:

- "(i) to study, practise and research the Buddha's teaching known as the Dhamma and contained in the books constituting the Pali Canon;
- (ii) to teach the Dhamma to those interested;
- (iii) to organise and carry out social, educational, cultural and humanitarian activities."

Other objectives of the Society include the celebration of Buddhist events, serving as a contact for isolated Buddhists, collaboration with like-minded organisations. While the Society leans towards the tenants of early (Pali) Buddhism, it makes a special effort "to accommodate individuals who are attracted to Buddhism by its rational, ethical, humane, non-dogmatic, non-ritualistic and non-religious character".

Membership: Ordinary membership is open to all individuals interested in Buddhism. Applications for membership should be addressed to the Secretary; the current annual fee is \$9.00. Spouses of ordinary members can be registered as members. Honorary membership is by invitation only.

AFFILIATION: The B.S.Q. is a member of the Buddhist Federation of Australia (Melbourne), and an annual capitation fee is paid to the Federation with respect to each member of the Society. The Society is also a member of the Buddhist Council of Brisbane.

MANAGEMENT: The Society is run by an Executive Committee elected annually by the members consisting of a President, Secretary, Treasurer and up to four others. The Annual General Meeting is usually held in October of each year.

MEETINGS: The Society has no premises of its own. By arrangement with Dhammadinna House (62 Monterey St., Wacol) informal weekly meetings are held on Sunday mornings (9 - 12 a.m.) if necessary separate from the "Open House" Sunday meetings of Dhammadinna House. Visitors are welcome at these meetings. Public Meetings are also regularly conducted in a City venue; these were initially on a monthly basis and subsequently became bi-monthly meetings. This programme is being revised, please contact the Secretary for latest information. Special programmes are organized when visitors are sponsored by the Society, and these include weekend Dhamma workshops and lectures in the City and at Public educational institutions. (Recent visitors have included Acharya Munindra, Phra Khantipalo, Ven. Ananda Mangala, Ven. Shanti Bhadra and Ayya Khema).

OTHER ACTIVITIES: A Social Work Fund is maintained to finance charitable activities. The Society organizes exhibitions, stalls at public functions, etc., to promote the Dhamma, and provides lecturers to organizations needing speakers on Buddhism. Social activities are also organized for members and well-wishers.

LIBRARY: The Society is building up a Library, mainly through donations, and already has the P.T.S. translations of most of the books of the Sutta Pitaka. Non-members can use the Library for reference purposes.

PUBLICATIONS: The Society publishes the B.S.Q. Newsletter (quarterly), and supplies a regular column to Metta, published quarterly by the Buddhist Federation of Australia. Both publications are sent free to members.

Telephone for enquiries: 269.1760 or 371.3787

Please see Graphical Image 15-?-1

Zen Calligraphy

THE BRISBANE ZEN GROUP

Postal Address: C/- 10 Lomond Terrace, East Brisbane .4169

THE BRISBANE ZEN GROUP is an association of lay people dedicated to the practice and realization of the Buddhist teaching in its Zen expression. The term Zen itself comes from the Chinese Ch'an and the Sanskrit dhyana and roughly means meditation or absorption. In keeping with its name, Zen Buddhism puts great emphasis on thorough meditation practice (known as zazen or sitting Zen) and less emphasis on ritual observances and sutra study. The Zen Group therefore functions primarily as a support group for the individual's on-going zazen practice. With no resident Zen teacher (Roshi) presently in Australia, groups such as ours provide the opportunity for newcomers to zazen to begin their practice and to establish it in a supportive environment where information, assistance and advice are available. For

those whose practice is well established, the group provides encouragement to continue strongly on the path.

THE ZEN BRISBANE GROUP is informally associated with the Sydney Zendo and groups in most other Australian states, and with Zendos in Hawaii and Kamakura, Japan. Its lineage is neither strictly Soto or Rinzai (the principal sects of Zen) but incorporates elements of practice from both traditions.

Members who practice regularly with the Group are eligible to apply to attend sesshin (zazen retreat) conducted by visiting Roshi and arranged through the Sydney Zendo. It is hoped that the strength of the Group will enable us to hold sesshin in Queensland in the future. One and two day zazenkai (meditation meetings) are planned for the near future.

The Group meets for zazen practice weekly on Sundays at 7PM at 10 LOMOND TCE., EAST BRISBANE (through the kind hospitality of the Loden Compassion Mahayana Centre). At each such meeting periods of sutra chanting, and sitting and walking meditation are included. There are opportunities before and after the practice to converse socially or on matters of practice with either members of the Group.

You are invited to attend our practice meetings, or to contact the group through:

<u>Greg Howard</u>	374.1611
<u>Kim Lewis</u>	372.4055
<u>or via</u>	391.5723
or by mail (see postal address above).	

Recommended readings on Zen:

Shunryu Suzuki	-	<u>Zen Mind, Beginners Mind</u>
Katsuki Sekida	-	<u>Zen Training</u>
Philip Kapleau	-	<u>The Three Pillars of Zen</u>

The logo:

In the Zen tradition, the empty circle represents one of the stages of realization. The Chinese characters may be read 'wall gazing, entering contemplation' and are a reference to the Zen convention of facing a wall in practicing zazen.

CHENREZIG CITY CENTRE

51 Enoggera Road, Newmarket, Brisbane Q. 4051

Telephone: (07) 3569523

Spiritual Heads: Ven. Lama Thubten Yeshe

Ven. Lama Thubten Zopa, Rinpoche

The Chenrezig City Centre is affiliated with the Chenrezig Institute for Buddhist Studies at Eudlo, Queensland. The Brisbane Centre conducts its own teaching programmes and keeps in close liaison with the Chenrezig Institute. Its activities are conducted at a private residence.

The philosophy and meditation taught follows the Tibetan tradition of Mahayana

Buddhism, which emphasises the practice of great compassion and universal responsibility towards all creatures.

More specifically the teachings are from the Ge-lug tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. These are a gradual and progressive set of meditation and intellectual practices that combine theory with practice by viewing meditation as an active and investigational process that is to be integrated into all facets of life and living.

The regular teacher is Ven. Geshe Trinlay, the Resident Lama at Chenrezig Institute. Teachings are given on a regular basis.

Every Friday at 7.30 p.m. there is a meditation and discussion group, with Geshe Trinlay giving introductory and advanced courses several times a year.

One day Tong-len retreats are held each month. Guest speakers are invited from time to time.

Counselling is available at the Centre and people are invited to call or drop by at any time to talk and exchange ideas.

Some background information on this tradition of Buddhism can be gained by reading:-

Geshe N. Dhargyey - The Four Preliminary Practices
Janice D. Willis - Diamond Light of the Eastern Dawn
Chogyam Trungpa - Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism

Contact Inta McKimm at the above address.

DHAMMADINNA HOUSE
Buddhist Study and Research Centre
Correspondence: P.O. Box 4
Spring Hill, Qld, 4000

DHAMMADINNA HOUSE is situated halfway between the cities of Brisbane and Ipswich. It offers a number of facilities to Buddhists and students of the Dhamma, such as a modest non-profit bookshop, a reference library, a treasure of taped Dhamma and meditation teachings by the late David Maurice and others. Last but not least, the fascinating archives preserve valuable information on the subject of Buddhist history of Australia.

Dhammadinna House features a Shrine Room in which the shrine is dedicated to the memory of the Buddha and as a reminder of the living Dhamma and Sangha. The shrine was erected by a number of Vietnamese refugees in memory of their relatives and friends who lost their lives on their way to Australia. The Shrine Room is used for meditation sessions and has accommodated visiting Bhikkus.

Since its official opening on Vesak day 2522 (21st May 1978), hundreds of Buddhists have visited Dhammadinna House. Outstanding visitors who conducted teaching sessions were: Phra Khantipalo, Ayya Khema, Ven. Ananda Mangala from Singapore, Anagarika Munindra from Bodhi Gaya, Ven. Shanti Bhadra, Ven Thich

Tac Phuoc, and others.

A number of local schools have conducted excursions to Dhammadinna House, for the benefit of those students who follow the lessons in religious studies.

Dhammadinna House is the home of the independent Buddhist Journal "The Queensland Buddhist News", which attracts an increasing interest from Australian and overseas Buddhists.

Though dedicated to the teachings as preserved in the Pali Canon, Dhammadinna House extends its hospitality to Buddhists of all schools and it is no coincidence that the Vietnamese made use of its facilities prior to obtaining their own centre. The young Zen group started their activities there, whilst the Buddhist Society of Queensland conducts many meetings at Dhammadinna House and has its excellent library housed in the Shrine Room.

Visitors to Dhammadinna House have adopted a family in Indonesia and support same by subscribing to the Foster Parents Plan of Australia.

It is unfortunate that being situated in a residential area, the Centre cannot be advertised as a public Buddhist House. Consequently all visitors enter on invitation only. OPEN HOUSE is kept on all Sunday mornings from 9 a.m. till 12 noon. Anyone interested to arrange a visit at any other time should write to Klaas de Jong, P.O. Box 4, Spring Hill. Qld. 4000.

LODEN COMPASSION MAHAYANA CENTRE

10 Lomond Terrace,
EAST BRISBANE. 4169.
Telephone: 3915723

A member of the Tibetan
Buddhist Loden Mahayana
Friendship Society

Directors:

Rev. Loden Sherab
Mr. Rudi Stiebritz

Spiritual Head and Permanent Teacher:

GESHE THUBTEN LODEN

Born in 1924, Geshe Loden embraced monastic life at the age of seven against the wishes of his family. At fifteen he entered the monastic university of Sera in Central Tibet and pursued his studies to their completion both there and as a refugee in India after 1959. His qualifications include the highest Geshe degree, an Acharya degree (Indian) and the highest post-graduate Tantric studies qualification.

After an initial visit of three years, Geshe Loden emigrated to Australia and was naturalised in April 1982. As well as explaining traditional Buddhist texts, he freely gives interviews, counselling and guides the contemplative practices.

THE SOCIETY:

The Society aims to foster the growth of peace, brotherhood and wisdom as set forth in the teachings of the Buddha.

At the Centre, introductory talks and public lectures on Buddhist texts and contemplative techniques are presented on a regular basis, free of charge.

Tibetan language classes meet regularly.

Direct sponsorship of Tibetan refugee children and monks is arranged and an annual collection in aid of refugee communities in India.

Community volunteer activities involve several of the members in various local community aid groups.

RESIDENT TEACHERS:

Lama Lhundrup: Born in Lhasa in 1947, Lhundrup has spent the last eleven years as a member of Sera Monastic University, relocated in Southern India and presently home for some 700 monks.

Rev. Loden Sherab: A science graduate aged thirty three, Sherab is an Australian who received Bhikkhu ordination in 1979.

Sister Centres in Sydney (Loden Mahayana Centre) and Melbourne (Loden Gaden Mahayana Centre) and affiliated groups meet in Perth, Canberra and Bowral (N.S.W.).

HOI PHAT GIAO NAM TAI QUEENSLAND

VIETNAMESE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF QLD.

The Vietnamese Buddhist Association of Queensland was founded in 1978 by a group of dedicated Vietnamese Buddhists in Brisbane in the hope that our Buddhist community can have the opportunity to observe and to practise our traditional Buddhist way of life.

There are approximately 6,000 Vietnamese living in Brisbane and the majority of them are Buddhists. The Association is open to everyone regardless of their religion and race. Annual membership fee is \$2.00.

In May 1981 the Association obtained a place to serve as its temple, located at Corinda, Brisbane.

Rev. Thich Nhat Tan who came to Brisbane in April this year from a refugee camp in Thailand is the resident monk of our temple. As the spiritual leader of the Vietnamese

Buddhist community, Rev. Thich Nhat Tan conducts regular chanting and teaching at the temple at 3.00 p.m. every Saturday and also at 7.00 p.m. on the 15th day (full moon) and the last day of the lunar month. Everyone is welcome to participate.

The teachings are normally given in Vietnamese, though these are translated into English if the need arises.

The temple is open for members and guests every night from 6 p.m. - 8 p.m. and all day Saturday and Sunday.

THE BUDDHIST COUNCIL OF BRISBANE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

1. A body to be called "The Buddhist Council of Brisbane" (hereafter referred to as the "Council") shall be established.
2. Membership of the Council shall be open to all Buddhist groups and organisations operating in the metropolitan area of Brisbane. To qualify to be a member the group or organisation should unite a number of persons in a common Buddhist activity with or without a constitution or formal membership, but must have a recognised executive body or person to act on its behalf.
3. For the purposes of Article 2 the word "Buddhist" shall denote the acceptance of the broad philosophical principles
 - (i) that individual existence is unsatisfactory and imperfect, and requires liberation and perfection ;
 - (ii) that a natural law, which was not created by a deity nor supervised by him,
Karma and
rebirth;
pervades the universe, and in particular determines the process of
 - (iii) that every being is without Self and is a complex of soulless factors;
 - (iv) that all compounded phenomena are either impermanent, or empty, or both;
 - (v) that liberation is only achievable through the extirpation of greed, hatred and
delusion, and by the gaining of enlightenment (wisdom) through the
pursuit
of the Eightfold Path;
including the cultivation of universal compassion and loving kindness;
 - (vi) that faithful confidence in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha is justified.
4. The objectives of the Council shall be -
 - (i) to foster a spirit of co-operation and goodwill between members;
 - (ii) to facilitate the mutual interchange of information between members regarding their respective activities;
 - (iii) to serve as a forum for the discussion of matters of common interest to all Buddhists.
 - (iv) to act as a common voice on behalf of its membership with respect to any

- matter through a designated spokesperson/s;
- (v) to act in any way to promote the interests and ideals of Buddhists amongst the community at large.
 - (vi) to foster good relations between individuals belonging to the constituent members.
5. Each member shall be represented on the Council by not more than two delegates. The member should inform the Council of the individuals it accredits as delegates, and is free to invoke or alter the accreditation of a delegate at any time.
6. The Council shall elect a Chairperson who shall be a delegate. The Chairperson shall hold office until the first meeting of the Council following the expiry of one year from the date of his/her election, and shall step down after a new Chairperson has been elected at that meeting.
7. The Council shall elect a Secretary to be its executive officer for a period to be determined at the time of election. The Secretary may or may not be a delegate, but if the person elected is not a delegate he shall attend and participate in all meetings, but shall not vote.
8. Meetings of the Council shall be called -
- (i) in accordance with a previous decision of the Council;
 - (ii) on the initiative of the Chairperson of the Council;
 - (iii) on a request from a member to consider any matter proposed by that member.
- The Council shall meet at least every six months and the Council or the Chairperson shall decide on the venue of its meetings.
9. All decisions and resolutions of the Council shall be made by a simple majority vote of the delegates present and voting. Provided that if a member through its delegate/s declares, before a vote is taken, that a particular resolution is of "substantial interest" to itself, then that resolution to be passed shall require the unanimous vote of all the members of the Council.
10. The Chairperson shall have the right of vote due to a delegate, but shall not have a second or casting vote.
11. Any new group seeking admission to the Council shall be accepted as a member if a resolution to that effect is passed in accordance with Articles 9 and 10.
12. Any agreement, deletion or addition to the Rules of Agreement shall take the form of a resolution passed in accordance with Articles 9 and 10.
13. All expenses incurred by the Council in the discharge of its duties shall be shared equally amongst the members of the Council.

FUND RAISING APPEAL BILL 1984

This Act deals with fundraising appeals which is defined as being where a person has received money from more than 10 persons in less than 7 days and that it is other than solely for the commercial benefit of that person. It is not a fundraising appeal where it consists solely of a request for, or the payment of the joining fee or membership fee of an organization. An organization, which wishes to conduct a fundraising appeal should apply to the Victorian Government since the Bill amends the Hospitals and Charities Act 1958. Exempt from the Act are various organizations including (under sections 6(1K) a body or institution established by an Act which has or includes objects which include the relief of poverty, the advancement of education, the advancement of religion, or any benevolent, philanthropic or patriotic purpose.

J.D.Hughes Director of B.D.C.(U) and 3 Committee Members attended a meeting held by Victorian Council of Social Services (V.C.O.S.S.) on the evening of 2nd August, 1984. At the meeting, members of the Crown Law Department advised that Section (6)(1) J reading "a religious body or religious organization in respect of which a Proclamation is in force under Section 26 of the Marriage Act 1961 of the Commonwealth as amended and in force for the time being" did NOT apply to Buddhist groups, since they are not recognised as a religion under the Marriage Act 1961. It is therefore necessary for Buddhist groups who intend to conduct a fundraising appeal to obtain fundraising Ministerial consent to the appeal. Under Section 13 of the Act there is a 6 months limit on the fundraising appeal so if a fundraising appeal was ongoing presumably a fresh application should be made. Where there are urgent applications, Section 17 allows a permit to be obtained to conduct a fundraising appeal on or commencing on a day less than 28 days after the date of application. These provisions (under Section 17(2)(a) and (b) by (a) reason of the occurrence of - (i) some calamity or disaster; or (ii) an event of particular or peculiar interest to the person; and (b) the absence of other or sufficient other persons conducting a fundraising appeal for the purposes or objects proposed in the application. The first reading in the Victorian Legislative Assembly was on the 2nd May, 1984. The Bill was brought in by Mr Cain and Mr Roper. The Fundraising Appeals Bill debate (adjourned from September 11th) for the second reading of the Bill was resumed on the 3rd October, 1984 and amendments were made to widen the categories of exempt bodies to include an association incorporated under the Associations Incorporations Act 1981. Small associations, such as Buddhist groups, can use the Associations Incorporations Act. They are not required to carry out any wide accounting procedure.

Buddhist groups in Victoria should take care to comply with the provisions of the Bill, otherwise they might be liable to penalties under the Act. It is suggested that small organizations can use the Associations Incorporations Act. It is thought that Buddhist groups should be an example in accountability to the Community in any operations involving Dana.

MEDITATION CLASSES AT B.D.C.(U).

Meditation is taught by John D. Hughes, every Monday and Friday evening at 8 PM. A 5 Day Meditation Course will be held from 27th to 31st December, 1984. Buddhist Teaching and Information is available at other times by arrangement with John D. Hughes.
For details, Phone: 754 3334

The Five Reflections

- 1 *This meal is the labour of countless beings.
Let us accept this offering with gratitude.*
- 2 *This meal is taken to strengthen our exertions,
for greed and opinion are strong. Let us deserve
this offering.*
- 3 *This meal is taken to help us become clear and
generous. Let us pay attention.*
- 4 *This meal is taken to nourish and sustain our
practice. Let us be moderate.*
- 5 *This meal is taken to help all beings attain the
Buddha Way. Let us practice wholeheartedly.*

This meal is finished.

*Our strength is restored for us to teach the
Dharma.*

Several long life Pujas were arranged at B.D.C.(U). On the 24th June 1984, a Puja was arranged for Melva Fitzallen. On 11th July, 1984, a Puja was arranged for June Young and Vince and Nella Cavuoto. On 12th October, 1984, a Puja was performed for The Venerable Geshe Thubten Dawo. The Venerable Geshe Dawo has been teaching at the Tara Institute, 3 Crimea Street, St Kilda and is leaving Melbourne late October. The Puja arranged for The Venerable Geshe Dawo was The Bhaisaijya Guru Vaitureya Prabha Rajaya Tathagata Puja Prayer Ritual. The form of this Puja consists of:

1. Altar Purifying Mantra
2. Purifying Space Mantra
3. Purifying Body, Speech and Mind Mantra
4. Prostration Mantra
5. Confession Mantra
6. Salutation to Buddha-Dharma-Sangha Mantra
7. Ten Precepts
8. Arisal of Enlightened Mind
9. Puja Offering
10. Chanting the Sutra of the Lord of Healing

This is a discourse which lists the 12 Great Vows of Azure Radiance Tathagata, when he became a Bodhisattva and details the great Dharani:

Namo Bhagavate Bhaisajyaguru-Vaiduryaprabha-Rajaya
Tathagataya Arhate Samyaksambuddhaya Tadyatha Om
Bhaisajye Bhaisajye-Bhaisajya-Samudgate Svaha.

The Sutra Chanting was followed by:

- (A) The Bhaisaijya Guru Vaitureya Prabha Rajaya Tathagata Abhesemeha Mantra.
- (B) The Bhaisaijya Guru Vaitureya Prabha Rajaya Tathagata Holy Name Mantra.
- (C) The Amitayus Tathagata Fundamental Dharane Mantra.
- (D) The Amitayus Tathagata Heart Mantra.
- (E) The Amitayus Tathagata Holy Title Mantra.
- (F) The Padma Sambhava Vajra Guru Mantra.
- (G) The Green Tara Mantra.

The next part of the Prayer Ritual comprised Homage to the 6 Direction Buddhas and Homage to the 8 Maha Bodhisattvas followed by a Prayer to the Great Dharma Pala Hayagreva Vajra Heruka, (The wrathful form of Amitabhaya the Tathagata). The ceremony concludes with the Revise Mantra and Benediction. The Prayer Ritual has been translated into the English language with the Mantras left in Sanskrit.

This translation was done by Mr. Francisco So and John D. Hughes. B.D.C.(U) has a Tibetan Image of the Medicine Buddha which was used in the Ceremony. Offerings were made of water, money, ink slabs and ink, brushes, paper, medicine fruit, Puja cakes, tobacco leaves, tea, Betel nut loaf, Mantra beads, incense, over 25 types of flowers, candlelight, jewels, perfume, shells, seeds, necklaces, polished pebbles, a Tibetan image and Tibetan print, silk brocade and a Otupa.

L. Augustine Waddell in his book The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895),

reprinted under the title, Tibetan Buddhism with its Mystic Cult, Symbolism and Mythology Dover Publications Inc. (1972) I.S.B.N. 0-486-20130-9 transliterates BHAISAIJYA as BHAISAJYARAJA, Tibetan; sMAN-bla-bde-gs'egs brgyad. (ibid. p353) Waddell noted that the Tibetan supplicant, after bowing and praying, rubs his finger over the eye, ear, knee, or the particular part of the image corresponding to the patients' own affected spot, and then applies the finger carrying this hallowed touch to the afflicted spot.

For a general Long Life Puja without anything specific the image should not be touched. During the Puja on the 12th October, after, pouring water in the Burmese Puja manner, the image was observed to emit clear Blue Light from the Heart Chakra region.

Waddell's book was also reprinted by Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, India in 1979, under the title Buddhism and Lamaism of Tibet with its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology, and in its relation to Indian Buddhism. These books are available in the B.D.C.(U) reference Library. A copy of the English translation of the Puja is available from this centre, free of charge, upon request.
May the merit of these Pujas assist to prolong the Dharma.

SUBMISSION REGARDING
CONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY COMPLEX
AT BEIJING, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

B.D.C.(U) has forwarded 2 submissions to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works regarding the construction of the Australian Embassy Complex at Beijing. The first submission suggested a Buddhist Shrine room be incorporated into the complex and the second submission detailed proposals, which will maintain morale among Australian Embassy staff at Beijing. Portion of the submission regarding recreation reads as follows:

3.0 Philosophical Foundations of Western Recreation.

Earle F. Zeigler (1) has examined the implications of recreation and the whole question of how different ideas arise concerning recreation.

The Department of Administrative Services comments on the opportunities for recreation for diplomatic staff living in Beijing (2).

The suggested proposals which have apparently been evaluated by a consultant sociologist (3) would seem to have patent inconsistencies and for this reason I am suggesting in this Submission some strategies which will reduce the "hardship" of the "siege mentality" which may arise from the notion implicit "normally found in Australia" (4). The main factors to be considered are:

1. the role of habit in play, which indicates that "throughout life the individual is inclined toward those activities which are habitual to him",
2. the role of social contact in habit formation;
3. the role of the physical environment as a limiting factor in the choice of recreational activity; and
4. the role of universal wishes, which implies that all mankind may have "the

universal motives or common desires" such as "the wishes for new experience, for security, for response, and for recognition," not to mention " the wish for participation and for the aesthetic". (5)

4.0 Philosophical Foundations of Chinese Recreation

While the Chinese people are officially following the dialectics of Communist theory, I have observed during my September 1983 visit that the traditional recreation philosophies of the Chinese are still wide spread.

Historically these values arise from various streams of Chinese culture including Buddhism and ultimately are due to what A.J. Toynbee describes as "the creative work of a minority of the privileged minority".(6)

Toynbee believes that a civilization's style is the expression of its religion. Toynbee defines religion as "an attitude to life that enables people to cope with the difficulty of being human...by giving practical precepts for living in the universe".

He refers to "the downfall of the Confucian Chinese civilization since the opium war and the rise of a new Chinese civilization in which Confucianism has been replaced by Communism" as "a result of the loss of faith".

My observations are that there is still these "old values" present in today's Chinese recreational values. Confucius lived, like the present generation of mankind, in an age of militant nationalism. It was held by Confucians in the Imperial age, that the Emperor was the head of the greater family that was co extensive with all that is under heaven. In the modern age of mankind's history, all that is under heaven "has expanded further to embrace the whole surface of the globe and all mankind, instead of remaining confined to the vast, yet less than global, section of mankind that was under Chinese sovereignty, suzerainty, or cultural influence during the twenty-one centuries ending in 1939".

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AT BUDDHIST HOUSE.

Buddhist House is at 226 Mary Street Richmond, 3121 Victoria, Ph. 428 2406 and is the location of the Buddhist Society of Victoria. Ven. Dhammika is resident at Buddhist House and has greatly enhanced the spiritual activities at the Buddhist House. Some of these activities are listed below:

1. Three meditation courses each of five weeks duration have been held on Mondays at 8.00 pm.
2. Regular Dhamma talks on Thursdays at 8.00 pm.
3. Regular Vipassana meditation on Sunday mornings at 8.30am.
4. Ata-Sil programme on Saturdays following the Full-Moon day.
5. Seven Australians embraced Buddhism in August at a special ceremony at the Buddhist House.
6. Buddhist talks are given by Ven. Dhammika at schools, colleges, universities and over the radio, and to various Buddhist communities in Melbourne.

7. Four day meditation retreats at Mt Macedon and Bendigo.

To make the bungalow (kuti) which has recently been purchased habitable, installation of electricity and toilet facilities would be necessary; estimated cost \$2,500-3,000. Please forward your donations to Mrs. Malathi Jayasinge, 2 Cappella Court, Glen Waverley, 3150 Victoria. Cheques may be made payable to The Buddhist Society of Victoria. Ven. Dhammika has requested for the library a complete set of books of the Sutra Pitaka in Pali published by the Pali Text Society.

METHODS OF MAKING MERIT.

The Buddha, being aware of absolute truth, taught 10 ways of making Merit. These are listed (with Pali) for consideration and practice.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. DANA | Charity |
| 2. SILA | Observing Precepts |
| 3. BHAVANA | Practice of Concentration and
Meditation |
| 4. APACAYANA | Respect for Dhamma Teachers |
| 5. VEYYAVACCA | Giving a helping hand for others to
perform
Virtuous Deeds |
| 6. PATTIDANA | Sharing Merits |
| 7. PATTANUMODANA | Joyful acknowledgements in the sharing of
Merits |
| 8. DHANIMASSAVANA | Listening to Dhamma |
| 9. DHAMMADESANA | Teaching Dhamma |
| 10. DITTHUJUKAMMA | Righting one's own Wrong Views |

BUDDHIST FOUNDATION OF VICTORIA

At the invitation of the Buddhist Foundation of Victoria a member of the B.D.C. Upwey attended a Katina Ceremony conducted on October 21st, at Enterprise Hostel, Springvale.

The Cambodian Laotian and Thai communities organized the Ceremony, which consisted of flower and light offerings to the Buddha followed by the Katina processions and the giving of Alms. At 11.00 am the offering of lunch was made to the Monks Chao Khun Phra Suvirayarn, Phra Khru Sukumapirak, Phra Luang Por Mueng, Phra Yoi Pussiyo. Unfortunately Phra Dhammika and Phra Maha Udom were unavoidably detained. Phra Khantipalo was detained but arrived at 10.50am and later gave a talk on the value of combined effort by all Buddhist groups to work together in attaining an Australian mixed Ethnic Buddhist Centre for Meditation and Retreat.

There was a joint effort by the Cambodian and Laotian group in organizing the Ceremony, and the Chanting was led by the leaders of these groups with the support of the Thai community.

At 12.00 noon the people offered the Katina Robes. This was followed by Dhamma talks by the Monks.

The Lay People then had lunch.

15TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY- 16TH JUNE, 1984.

On Saturday evening, the 16th of June, John and Yvonne Mahoney celebrated their 15th Wedding Anniversary with Members of B.D.C.(U). It was an evening of Teaching and Meditation.

John and Yvonne have been following the Teachings of the Buddha for just over eight years, and have sincere gratitude that in all their previous wanderings and searching for a suitable teaching and philosophy to live by, that they came across the Path to Enlightenment, as taught by the Buddha. Such a Noble Path has had an untold effect on the happiness and lifestyle of their lives over the past eight years. It has brought peace to their minds as they understood the Four Noble Truths, and developed the qualities of Metta, (Loving Kindness), Karuna (Compassion), Mudita (Sympathetic Joy) and Upekka (Equanimity).

From an early age their son Aaron Dhammaraksa has had the opportunity of learning the meaning of Dukkha(unsatisfactoriness), Karma(action), and the qualities of the Buddha.

May all beings grow in the Dhamma,

Y.D.M.

BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY - THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY - ADYAR LIBRARY

The ADYAR Library of the Theosophical Society, 121 Walker Street North Sydney, 2060, Australia, has compiled a Buddhist Bibliography of their library complete to March, 1984. The library used the Dewey Decimal classification system(D.D.C.). This would be useful to help Buddhist groups who may wish to systematically index their books. The bibliography has 25 pages. A copy was presented to J.D.Hughes, Director of B.D.C.(U) by the Librarian, Mrs Dynes, on 3rd October, 1984. B.D.C.(U) will be pleased to help other libraries with the classification of Buddhist material. It is intended to produce a bibliography of the B.D.C.(U) library and any person who could help in this work should contact the Director. Another useful reference is the Catalogue Of The Library Of Tibetan Works And Archives (reference department) by Gokey Dekhang, 1981 hardbound U.S. \$12.00. Available by writing to the Editor, The Tibet Journal , Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala - 176215 H.P. India.

JOHN HUGHES DHARMA SESSIONS

RECORDINGS OF DHARMA SESSIONS RUN BY JOHN HUGHES ARE AVAILABLE FREE OF CHARGE FROM THE BUDDHIST DISCUSSION CENTRE(UPWEY) LTD, 33 BROOKING STREET, UPWEY.

Copies can be obtained by supplying blank 90 minute cassette tapes showing the numbers of the tapes you wish copied, with your name, address and phone number.

<u>TAPE No.</u>		<u>SUBJECT</u>
1.	SIDE1 consciousness.	Meditation guiding to access to pure morality
	SIDE2	The 18 Bodhisattva Root Vows.
Graduated		These meditations include readings from "The
VEN. GESHE		Path to Enlightenment" a commentary by the
		ARCHARYA THUBTEN LODEN
2.	SIDES1&2	Meditation on wisdom MANJUSRI, ATISHA and the
nature		of goodness, with readings from "The
Graduated Path to		Enlightenment" (see tape1),.
3.	SIDE1	Meditation on Consciousness
	SIDE2	Refuge in the Sphere of Nothingness
4.	SIDE1	Meditation on the 3 Hindrances to Refuge
	SIDE2	Blank
5.	SIDE1	Developing Onepointedness of Mindfulness
	SIDE2	Access to Purity
6.	SIDE1&2	Metta Meditation
7.	SIDE1	Metta Meditation Part 3
	SIDE2	Transforming Negativity to Positivity
8.	SIDE1	A profound method for quickly realizing
tape 1)		"The Graduated Path to Enlightenment" (see
	SIDE2	Dharma teaching discussion
9.	SIDE1	Meditation on Sankharas
	SIDE2	Learning Dharma by creating Tolerance
10.	SIDE1&2	Quiet meditation and Visualization of Bodhisattvas
11.	SIDE1	Continuation of Tape10 followed by meditation on
		SATIPATTHANA SUTTA
	SIDE2	Discourse on Refuge with readings in the lineage of
PHRA		ACHARN MUN

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--|
| 12. | SIDE1&2 | Continuation Tape11, Side2 |
| 13. | SIDE1
SATTIPATANA | Meditation on Impermanence and the
SUTTA |
| | SIDE2 | Continuation of Side1 & discussion |
| 14. | SIDE1 | Conclusion of Tape13, Side 2 and Refuge in Lokutra
Wisdom |
| | SIDE2 | Continuation of Side1, Then Meditation on the
Protection of
the Six Verses on Treasure |
| 15. | SIDE1
SIDE2 | Continuation Tape 14, Side 2
Karma and the rarity of human birth. |
| 16. | SIDE1&2 | Meditation on hate, greed & ignorance |
| 17. | SIDE1&2 | T.B.A. |
| 18. | SIDE1&2 | With reading from "Tibetan Buddhism"
(Part 4 of a Schools Commission Report by
John D. Hughes
on "Reduction of Racial Prejudice Applying
Buddhists Sects
Differences"). |
| 20. | SIDE1
SIDE2 | T.B.A.
Removing negativity with personal Mantra |
| 21. | SIDE1
SIDE2 | Meditation on Impermanence and Body
Discourse on Karma
Metta Meditation
Discourse on Nammo & Chanting |
| 22. | SIDE1 | Chanting (Cont'd 21-2)
Discourse on Cutting Ritual
Tara Puja |
| | SIDE2 | Tara Puja (Cont'd)
Refuge in Buddha Dharma Sangha (Part1) |
| 23. | SIDE1 | Refuge in Triple Gem (Part2)
Meditation on Dukkha |
| | SIDE2 | Examination of Dukkha
Examination of Karma (Part1) |
| 24. | SIDE1 | Examination of Karma (Part2)
Meditation on Human Rebirth Part1 |
| | SIDE2 | Meditation on Human Rebirth Part2
Further meditation on Human Rebirth and |

discussion

25. SIDE1 Meditation on Refuge & discussion
 SIDE2 Further meditation on Refuge & discussion
26. SIDE1 Impermanence & Attachments
 SIDE2 Karma & The Path

CALLIGRAPHY EXHIBITION BY MASTER SHOZAN.

On 30th September June Young, Melva Fitzallen and Robin Barbour of B.D.C.(U), attended the exhibition demonstration and work shop of the Japanese Master Shozan, at the Toorak College, Victoria.

A Calligraphy Exhibition featured powerful abstract brushwork. Master Shozan showed his techniques of meditation with emphasis on respect, when he gave a demonstration of Calligraphy. With large brushes and rice paper positioned on the floor he worked with great power and mastery and with great attention to space and the placing of his seals. He was aided by his wife and attendants who were dressed in the Japanese tradition.

Next year calligraphy will be taught at B.D.C.(U).

Gate for Upwey Centre

Discussion Centre in Upwey has

Buddhist gate at its

entrance says - Garden

Please refer [Graphical Image](#)

15-?-1

director John

designed Chinese

Picture of Southern Entrance

the

Gate.

to a temple that on

is required," said

THE Buddhist

built a traditional Chinese

southern entrance.

Calligraphy over the

of Heavenly Teaching.

According to the centre's

Hughes all classically

Buddhist temples have gates at each of

four points of the compass.

"The gates tell the visitor

entering a change of mind

John.

visitor that he is a guest
his host."

been painted red and
harmony between
northern and southern

roof of the gate to

pine trees in high
point of walking
they believe this will

returned from a visit to
Brisbane to arrange an
delegation which will visit

**Upwey Buddhist Discussion
Centre director, John Hughes
and student Julie O'Donnell
beneath the centre's new temple
gate.**

Page 8
22, 1984

THE MOUNTEASTERLY

Monday, October

"The gate reminds the
and has certain duties to

John said the gate had
yellow to symbolise a
Buddhist teaching in
China.

Pine bark decks the
symbolise longlife.

"Chinese Buddhists hold
regard and often make a
under pine trees because
prolong life," said John.

John has recently
Sydney, Canberra and
Australian Buddhist
China late next year.

Schools Commission Project - Reduction of Racial Prejudice

Part 7 The author of this article, John D. Hughes, Associate Dip. Chem, T.T.T.C., of the Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey) Ltd., 33 Brooking St, Upwey, 3158, Victoria, Australia, is a Buddhist of many years' standing, and teaches meditation in the Buddhist tradition at this centre. He is well known by the leaders of all Buddhist groups in Australia and has their co-operation in the documentation of each

Australian group's teaching.

This project was supported by a grant from the Commonwealth made under an innovation program of the Schools Commission. The views expressed here do not necessarily represent the views of the Commission.

Due to the length of this section, which is on Australian Lay Buddhist Societies, it is being presented in two parts, this being the first.

AUSTRALIAN LAY BUDDHIST SOCIETIES

Teachers Guide

The two oldest Buddhist Societies in Australia are the Buddhist Society of New South Wales and the Buddhist Society of Victoria.. These are affiliated in The Buddhist Federation of Australia whose Administrative address is now C/- Dhammadinna House, P.O. Box 4, Spring Hill, 4000 Queensland. The B.F.A. produces a monthly journal called METTA. (Metta means "loving-kindness"). IT IS RECOMMENDED THIS JOURNAL BE READ for this part.

The Theravadin Contact Centre has recently affiliated with B.F.A. The address of the Theravadin Buddhist Contact is C/- Klaas de Jong, P.O. Box 4, Spring Hill, 4000, Queensland. This Centre is not a society with paying members, but aims to give information on Buddhism. No attempt is made to convert or influence people towards Buddhism as this would be contrary to the Buddha's teaching.

The Theosophical Societies exist in all States of Australia and are not exclusively Buddhist, although they often have Buddhist speakers. One of the aims of the Society is to encourage the study of comparative Religion. See Information Sheets 7. 4 and 7. 5.

A Zen Buddhist Group exists in Sydney and meets weekly at the Chinese Buddhist Society at Pradja Hall.

Various Universities now have Buddhist Societies, for example The Buddhist Society of Western Australia, P.O. Box 189, Subiaco, W.A., and the Monash Buddhist Society in Victoria. The Buddhist Society of Western Australia follows the teachings of Wat Buddharangsee - see part 5: Thailand Buddhism. The Monash Buddhist Society follows Thailand Buddhist Practices, but also has a Shinto Shrine in the same room as the Buddhist altar.

Refer to Chanting tape which is in Pali.

The Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey) in Victoria uses many forms of Buddhist Practice. Chanting is done in Pali and English. See 7.6. Refer to Vesak tape and Interview of members. Most Buddhist Societies issue Newsletters. One example is the Buddhist Discussion Centre (Upwey) Newsletter attached to this article.

Buddhism exists in many other places in Australia. A Temple at Darwin of the Chinese was burnt during World War 2, for example.

The Buddhist Mental Culture Society founded by Mr. L. A. Bullen (who was a Foundation member of the Buddhist Society of Victoria) offers a correspondence course on Buddhism. See Information Sheet 7.3.

Most of the Buddhist Societies can provide reference material and can be viewed as a good resource reference.

The Buddhist Society of New South Wales

The Buddhist Society of New South Wales, one of the two oldest existing Buddhist organisations in Australia, was formally established under the leadership of Mr. Leo Berkeley, a Sydney businessman, at a Versak meeting held in May, 1953.

Mr Leo Berkeley's own account of the founding of the Society is as follows:

"It was whilst on a trip from Sydney to England in 1951 that I first learned of the teaching of the Buddha. Boarding a P & O. liner at Sydney, I met Senator Tangey, a friend of the family. She told me that she had been to a meeting of Commonwealth Parliamentarians in New Zealand. During the trip she introduced me to Sir Ryapatska, who was at that time Chief Justice of Ceylon. After Senator Tangey left the ship at Perth, I had several talks with Sir Ryapatska, who told me that he was very pleased that my outlook on life was like Buddhism, I asked him to explain further. He explained that the principles of Buddhism are:- "To do good, to abstain from evil and to purify the mind". I said that I was interested to learn more of the teaching. Sir Ryapatska said "When we reach Ceylon I shall introduce you to one of the most distinguished Monks", On arrival he took me to one of the monasteries and introduced me to a learned Monk, the Rev. Narada Maha Thera. My wife and I had some very interesting talks with him, and we promised that we would call again on our return from England. On that occasion he suggested that we start a Buddhist Society in Sydney."

Soon after the first meeting was held in our home at Roseville and we formed the Buddhist Society of New South Wales with about eight members. A year later Sister Dhamma Dinna arrived in Sydney and I invited her to give a series of discussions at our home, which I advertised in the Sydney Morning Herald. Within a couple of months our membership had increased to forty. In the early years we invited the Reverend Narada, the Reverend U Thitula and other Monks, who came to Sydney.

The Reverend U Thitula came for a second time in 1962, and gave a course of Meditation, which was attended by about thirty members, all of whom stayed in tents in our garden for about ten days.

From the beginning, the Society's organisers endeavoured to satisfy a need for knowledge about Buddhism by collecting together a library of Buddhist writings and by the regular publication of an informative journal. Mrs. Natasha Jackson, who edited the first journal, and who spent many years building the library, also succeeded in laying the foundations of the Society's policy of a rational and humanistic expression of the doctrine, a policy which has been continued and developed.

As well as developing its own activities, the Buddhist Society has worked diligently to promote Buddhist affairs outside of its own organisation. Mr. Charles Knight, for

many years a hard working Honorary Secretary for the Society, contributed his organisational talents to the formation of a federation of the New South Wales and Victorian Societies in 1959. Mr. Knight's skill in organisational work was eventually recognised at the international level and during the 1960's he was asked to make valuable contributions to the drafting of a constitution for the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

The Buddhist Society, while maintaining a reasonably non-sectarian and non-national approach to its own teaching, has on several occasions given its support to movements aimed at serving the interests of various Buddhist national groups in Australia. In 1970 the committee invited a Sri Lankan Theravadin Monk to take residence in this country and accommodation was provided for him until sufficient support had appeared to enable him to lead an independent group. The Australian Buddhist Vihara at Katoomba came into existence as a result. In 1971 several members of the committee decided to form an organisation to satisfy the requirements of Chinese Buddhists who wished to practice traditional Chinese ritual. This resulted in the creation of the Chinese Buddhist Society. A more difficult project was the setting up of the Thai mission which eventually became the Wat at Stanmore. Ten years of complicated negotiations by Mr. Knight had been necessary before the eventual arrival of two Monks in 1972. The Dayaka sub-committee which the Buddhist Society subsequently established to support the Monks eventually evolved into the managing committee of Wat Buddharangsee.

Details of Activities

A curriculum of Buddhist studies has been initiated. This is tested mainly by written tests. No time limit has been set for the completion of the course and members are free to take as long as they please to fulfil the complete list of requirements. It is estimated that a student could complete the course in two years if he/she were in a position to devote sufficient time to study and practice. Students are encouraged to establish partnerships in order to co-operate in their efforts and provide each other with mutual support. It is expected that instructor-guides already appointed, and those who will graduate in the future, will make themselves available to students for consultations when required. For a pass level in the written parts it is necessary to be 100% correct. This course of study enables those undertaking it to understand the aims and aspirations of Nikkyo Niwano, the president of Rissho Kosei Kai.

Rissho Kosei Kai has over 4,000,000 members in Japan. The curriculum of Buddhist studies has twenty requirements. These are:-

1. A knowledge of the structure and general content of the Pali Canon.
2. An ability to accurately recall the principal formulae of "Basic Buddhism".
3. A clear understanding of some of the more significant suttas of the Pali Canon.
4. Recognition of Mistaken Views.
5. Familiarity with commonly used terms from Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan.
6. Life of the Buddha according to tradition. A knowledge of people and places connected with the Buddha during his ministry.

7. Early sectarian development - the characteristics of the diverging groups from the time of the Parinirvana to the beginning of the Christian Era.
8. A knowledge of the life and work of the following people:

a) Teachers/Missionaries	b) Innovators/Reformers
Asoka	Asangha/Vasubandhu
Milinda/Nagasena	Nagarjuna
Buddhaghosa	Hui-Neng
Shotoku	Tsong Khapa
Santideva	Dogen
Milarepa	Nichiren
Dharmapala	Honen/Shiran
9. A knowledge of the main systems of meditation.
Practical experience.
Ability to guide a meditation group.
10. A sympathetic understanding of development in Mahayana.
11. Zen.
12. An understanding and appreciation of the influence of Buddhism on the development of various art forms.
13. Experience in instruction and guiding.
14. Capacity for critical self-evaluation.
15. Writing ability. A minimum of five articles to appear in one or more magazines having an international circulation and properly set up by letterpress.
16. Buddhism in action.
Compassion - expressed in a practical manner through a form of social service which would entail direct contact with suffering people.
17. Buddhism in action.
Giving - a disciplined approach to giving. An exercise designed to combine donation of time, money and the giving up of conceit.
18. Psychology. An awareness of Buddhism to contemporary psychology.
19. Counselling. Attitudes of a counsellor to enquirers and people seeking help or advice.
20. Counselling. An ability to advise and help an enquirer in such a way that he/she is encouraged to practice Buddhism with greater understanding and enthusiasm.

Form of Buddhist Ceremony

The form of the ceremony used by the Buddhist Society of New South Wales consists

of taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha and chanting in English portions of the Lotus Sutra. A copy of "The Lotus of the Wonderful Law - Skilfulness of the World Honoured One" appears on information sheet 7.1. The mantra "Namu Myoho Renge Kyo" is used in the service together with a bell being struck.

In an article entitled "Functions of Chanting in Buddhism" by Malcolm J. Pearce, a member of Rissho Kosei-kai and chairman of the Buddhist Society of New South Wales, in 1976, printed in "Dharma World" Vol. 3, No. 7, 1976, on page 20, this explanation is given:

"In the year 1253 A.D., a Japanese Buddhist Monk devised the mantra 'Namu Myoho Renge Kyo'. The syllables of this mantra are extracted from the title of the 'Saddharma Pundarika Sutra' in its Japanese rendition.

The rapid popularisation of this particular mantra is probably due as much to its simplicity and swinging rhythm as to its meaning. It has become widely used in a great number of Buddhist sub-sects and strangely enough, it has recently become a feature of some new religious movements which do not claim to be Buddhist at all. Its uses are also manifold and these range from the sublime to the almost ridiculous. Generally it is seen as a mantra which arouses zest and vigour.

'Namu Myoho Renge Kyo' is one of the 'essence of meaning' mantras and refers to the profundity of the causal law as symbolised in a blooming lotus flower. The lotus is an unusual plant in that it flowers, and at the same time, in the same blossom, it bears fruit. Thus the lotus is a living symbol of the Buddhist doctrine of simultaneous cause and effect which appears as part of the teaching of conditioned coproduction or dependent origination. The lotus also symbolizes enlightenment blooming in the midst of a soiled world, rising as it does from the dark depths of a muddy pond and spreading its clean bright petals on the surface of the water."

LOTUS OF THE WONDERFUL LAW - SKILFULNESS OF THE WORLD HONOURED ONE 7.1

At that time the World-honoured One, rising quiet and clear from the meditation, addressed Sariputra:

Wisdom of Buddhas is very profound and infinite. Their wisdom-school is difficult to understand and difficult to enter, so that the disciples and pratyeka-buddhas cannot comprehend it.

Wherefore? Because the Buddha has been in fellowship with countless hundred, thousand, myriad's of kotis of Buddhas, perfectly practising the Infinite Law of all Buddhas, boldly and zealously advancing, and widely increasing in fame, perfecting the very profound supreme Law and preaching, as opportunity served, its meaning so difficult to understand.

Sariputra! Ever since I became Buddha, with various reasonings and various parables I have widely discoursed and taught, and, by countless tactful methods, led living beings, causing them to leave all attachments.

Wherefore? Because the Tathagata is altogether perfect in His tactfulness and wisdom.

Sariputra! The wisdom of the Tathagata is broad and great, profound and far-reaching; His mind is infinite; His teachings are unlimited, His powers, His fearlessness, His meditations, His freedoms, His contemplations, have enabled Him to enter into the boundless realms and accomplish all the supreme Law.

Sariputra! The Tathagata is able to differentiate everything, preach the laws skilfully, use gentle words, and cheer up the hearts of all.

Sariputra! Essentially speaking, the Buddha has altogether realised the infinite, boundless, supreme Law.

Enough, Sariputra, let it be sufficient to say, that the Buddhas have something extremely wonderful, and marvellous.

Sariputra, Only a Buddha together with a Buddha can fathom the Reality of All Existence, that is to say, all existence has such a form, such a nature, such an embodiment, such a potential, such a function, such a primary cause, such a secondary cause, such an effect, such a consequence and such a complete fundamental whole".

Information on Rissho Kosei-kai 7. 2

Rissho Kosei-kai was founded March 5, 1938, by Mr. Nikkyo Niwano and Mrs. Myoko Naganuma. The name given to the organisation means "a society organised by people of the same faith who, through their religious interactions and unity of belief, strive to perfect the personality of man and realise a peaceful world according to the Buddha's Law". A little over thirty followers comprised the original membership.

This small group of dedicated Buddhist laymen made its first headquarters in two rooms on the second floor of a dairy store run by Mr. Niwano. Since the cofounders and their companions were dedicated to sharing the teaching, membership increased steadily. By early 1940, there were five branches of Rissho Kosei-kai and membership had grown to about 150 families. The original headquarters had become too small by that time and a new structure was built in 1942, despite the difficulties encountered because of wartime conditions.

In 1945, President Niwano enshrined in the new headquarters a plaque inscribed with the name of Eternal Shakyamuni Buddha. The enshrinement of that symbol of the Buddha attested the basic character of Rissho Kosei-kai. The teachings of the Buddha and reverence for the Buddha are central to its beliefs.

Membership continued to grow at a phenomenal rate, necessitating the construction of a second building, which was completed late in 1948. By 1949, the number of branches had increased to 23, and membership had reached 22,500 families. Soon, the facilities became so overcrowded that members had to participate in hoza, or group counselling, outside the buildings. To alleviate this problem, a larger building was completed in 1951. This structure, able to accommodate large groups of

people, made it possible for thousands of members to participate in hoza each day.

Those members often shared their spiritual joy with their families and friends, many of whom also became members of Rissho Kosei-kai. The individual members' dissemination activities coincided with efforts on the part of Rissho Kosei-kai leadership to acquaint more people with the organisation, with the result that membership steadily increased.

On September 10, 1957, Vice-President Myoko Naganuma, whom the members had cherished as a mother, passed away at the age of sixty-eight.

Since its foundation, Rissho Kosei-kai has venerated the Eternal Buddha as its members' focus of devotion. In January, 1958, President Niwano affirmed to the members that Rissho Kosei-kai's sole proper focus of devotion is the Great Beneficent Teacher and Lord, Shakyamuni, the Eternal Buddha. From that time, Rissho Kosei-kai began placing greater emphasis on the study of doctrine, encouraging its members to study the Buddhist scriptures earnestly. At the same time, Rissho Kosei-kai's structure was reorganised in order to facilitate dissemination activities.

In 1964, after eight years of construction, the Great Sacred Hall, in Tokyo, was completed and formally opened as the main centre for religious activities. An image of the Eternal Buddha, as described in the Lotus Sutra, was enshrined there. The occasion was one that President Niwano and all the members had long looked forward to.

Six years later, Rissho Kosei-kai celebrated the completion of another facility: Fumon Hall. "Fumon" means the "gate open to all people", and the hall is intended to be both a place open to all regardless of race or creed and a place for members to share fellowship. The completion of Fumon Hall also symbolised a new direction in Rissho Kosei-kai activities. Since the late 1960s increasing amounts of time, money and effort have been devoted to the causes of social justice, inter-religious co-operation and world peace.

Today membership stands at about 4.7 million, with 222 branches throughout Japan and 3 branches overseas.

The Founder: Nikkyo Niwano, President of Rissho Kosei-kai, was born in 1906 in Niigata Prefecture, in northern Japan, where his family were farmers. As a child he was deeply impressed by his grandfather's and parents, kindness to others. Their good examples instilled in him a love of peace and harmony and service to others.

Several years after leaving school, he went to Tokyo and there began studying and practicing various spiritual disciplines. Eventually, in one of the new religious organisations, he heard a series of lectures on the Lotus Sutra given by Mr. Sukenobu Arai.

President Niwano's autobiography describes his encounter with the Lotus Sutra as follows: "In my own vague way, I constantly sought a rule that would save everyone, a rule that was not mysterious, but was convincingly based on reason and was clearly regulated and systematic. Listening to lectures on the Lotus Sutra,

I realised that I had found what I had been looking for. The Lotus Sutra was the perfect net in which to save everyone in the world. Physically and spiritually it could help both the individual and all of society. I was profoundly shaken by what I had learned".

In 1938, Nikkyo Niwano founded a lay Buddhist association - Rissho Kosei-kai - to help free people from suffering and to assist in establishing a peaceful world through the teachings of the Lotus Sutra. Believing that the fundamental truth of all religion is one, President Niwano has met with people of religion the world over in order to further the cause of world peace through religious co-operation. He was the only non-Christian to be invited as a special guest to the Second Vatican Council in 1965, and has had several occasions to meet Pope Paul VI in audience. He has actively promoted the three World Conferences on Religion and Peace and the first Asian Conference on Religion and Peace.

In March, 1975, President Niwano was awarded the degree Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, by the Meadville/Lombard Theological School; and in May, 1976, he was co-recipient of the first Uniquet Schweitzer Award presented by the Editorial Board of Uniquet magazine.

President Niwano has served on the Board of Directors of the Japan Religions League, as chairman of the Japanese Committee of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, as a member of the Executive Committee of the International Association for Religious Freedom, and as chairman of the Board of Directors of the Union of the New Religious Organisations in Japan.

His published writings include, in English, "Buddhism for Today: A Modern Interpretation of the Threefold Lotus Sutra"; "A Buddhist Approach to Peace"; "The Richer Life"; and "Lifetime Beginner".

RACISM: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

by Gil Bottomley, Macquarie University

Paper presented to a Community Relations Seminar, Melbourne
13-14 July, 1984.

A. Sociological theories about racism:

As a relatively neutral introduction to this complex topic, I would like to summarise some of the ways in which sociologists have theorised racism. These summaries may help to clarify the more specific discussion that follows.

I should say at the outset that I am concerned to locate theories socially and historically. Theories are not immanent truths plucked from the air, as some people believe the law is. Like laws, theories are constructed by relatively powerful people with particular predispositions and particular interests. They form part of the structure of political formations, and the dominance of certain theories and certain philosophical orientations requires political explanation. I will argue that we in Australia are not well equipped to develop this sort of understanding. In general, our

education system is based on a kind of pragmatism that avoids philosophical and political question. We are trained for technical efficiency and tend to become impatient with people who question the bosses or direction of our techniques.

All this may sound remote from racism. I believe that it is, not, and I will try to show why we must develop a critical understanding of this society and some of the ideas that guide it if we are to confront racism.

Back to explanations of racism. The first of these I have labelled "biological determinism". This one is very common, reappearing in various guises, as we shall see later. Biological determinists have argued that there are discrete races, clearly distinguished from each other by physical characteristics. These inherent characteristics determine temperament, intelligence and aptitudes, in some genetically transmitted way which then limits or advantages certain groups vis a vis other groups with a different genetic inheritance. Hence, relations of domination and subordination have been attributed to natural equalities - supposedly inferior intelligence, endemic laziness, a natural incapacity to cope with abstract thought, etc.

Strictly speaking, these are not sociological theories, since they explicitly avoid sociological explanation, i.e. the explanation of difference in terms of social and historical circumstances. However, theories like these have proved very attractive to some social scientists, who have helped disseminate them beyond academic circles. Those who sympathised with the Nazis' policies in Germany are obvious examples, but scientific racism has been revived more recently. The work of the psychologist Jensen in the U.S. purported to show that black children had lower IQs than white children and that these differences were genetic in origin (Jensen, 1969). His work was picked up and popularized in Britain by the well known H. J. Eysenck (1971).

Another variant of biological determinism has come from the ethologists and the sociobiologists. The former have included popular writers such as Robert Ardrey, Konrad Lorenz and Desmond Morris. These writers claim that human aggression is innate, based on territoriality and a corresponding hostility to those who are different and/or members of an outgroup (cf. Ardrey, 1967, 1970; Lorenz, 1967; Morris, 1968, 1971 a and b).

Their arguments have been elaborated by Pierre van den Berghe, a once liberal sociologist who has been an influential writer on race relations. van den Berghe has recently argued that racism also has a genetic basis. To quote:

"As hominids became increasingly formidable competitors and predators to their own and closely related species, there was a strong pressure for the formation of larger and more powerful groups." This "necessarily meant organizing against other competing groups, and therefore maintaining ethnic boundaries" (1978, P. 105).

In another influential formulation, that of E. O. Wilson of Harvard, nationalism and racism are portrayed as the culturally nurtured outgrowths of simple tribalism, i.e. the genetic need to look after one's own (Wilson, 1976).

There are, of course, major flaws in this mode of analysis. One is that there are no discrete biological groups that can be designated as races. In the case of the U.S., for example, the mix of blacks and whites makes theories of biological determinism highly dubious, to say the least. Criteria for difference are equally dubious. And a mountain of evidence indicates that the tests used by, people like Jensen are of questionable validity (cf. Richardson and Spears, 1973) In the case of the sociobiologists, one can criticise the selectivity of evidence, the interpretation derived from the available evidence and its extrapolation to human behaviour.

Given the obvious deficiencies of such theories, how can we explain their widespread acceptance? Clearly, they fulfil some social and political purposes, and it is these purposes that we need to explore further.

The second mode of explanation of racism is closely related to the first. I have labelled this "prejudice and human nature". In general terms, this approach sees all people as antagonistic towards those who are different from themselves. It is, therefore, "natural" to prefer one's own people, and prejudice maintains the cosiness of the in-group (the idea that We are superior to Them). Anthropologists will attest to the fact that such sentiments are widespread, that people distinguish themselves positively and their neighbours negatively in the same breath. Max Weber spoke of "ethnic honour", "the conviction of the excellence of one's own customs". If one's own ethnos is superior, all others are by definition inferior. This kind of ethnocentrism is the other side of prejudice, as anyone who has observed the build-up of nationalism anywhere will verify. The line between ethnic honour and intolerance is a very fine line indeed. I want to return to this point later, as well. For the time being, we can see that prejudice by itself is an insufficient explanation. It tends to focus on individual interaction and fails to explain why prejudice occurs unevenly. To do that, we need a historically specific analysis. There is little evidence that prejudice causes conflict; it is more likely to be the outcome of conflict.

Nevertheless, attitudes and ideology are important determinants of group interaction. They cannot be dismissed as superstructures that simply reflect material realities. This has been the tendency in some theories which I shall label "economistic" for purposes of discussion. Economistic approaches are brilliantly discussed in a paper by Stuart Hall, who draws out the strands of argument presented by writers with quite different political orientations - e.g. development theorists such as Rostow and Marxists such as Gunder Frank. In a summary statement, Hall says:

"Here one is then obliged to agree that race relations are directly linked with economic processes: historically, with the epochs of conquest, colonization and mercantilist domination, and, currently, with the 'unequal exchanges' which characterize the economic relations between developed metropolitan and 'underdeveloped' satellite economic regions of the world economy. The problem here is not whether economic structures are relevant to racial divisions but how the two are theoretically connected.' (1980, p. 308)

This brings us to another kind of approach, one that often includes criticism of the "economic reductionism" of the previous tendency. This approach could be more accurately described as sociological though there is also a wide range within such a category. For example, John Rex has developed an extremely complex analysis of the concrete economic and historical conditions under which racism developed in South Africa. These conditions included distinctions at the level of culture and values, which generated conflict between groups that was distinct from control of the means of production. (see Rex, 1970) Rex's work is an impressive example of such analysis, and demonstrates the inadequacies of economism. But an approach that resists or ignores economic explanations can become simply descriptive or even an apology for the status quo. The South African government, for example, never mentions the colour-coded control of economic resources, whenever they offer cultural explanations for their vicious political system.

A sociological model that has obvious relevance to Australia is the assimilation model. Developed in the U.S., like so many of our adopted ideas, this model included a "race relations cycle" that moved from competition, to conflict, to accommodation and, finally, assimilation. Robert Park and the sociologists from the University of Chicago elaborated this view of immigrants and, to a lesser extent, of blacks in the U.S. It fits well with the broader philosophy of mobility according to individual effort within a classless society of self made men. Accordingly, it has also been influential in Australia, another nation of immigrants. It was, however, irrevocably shaken by the Black Power movement and militant, black activity. More recent critiques have also demonstrated that some immigrant groups have been more equal than others, even in the long term (cf. Karabel, 1979; Kolko, 1976; Steinberg, 1981). The perpetuation and the regeneration of racism are not explicable within this framework.

Another large body of material has focused on colonialism and the development of racist theories to justify the pillage, rape, murder and desecration that accompanied the colonial enterprise and the establishment of a world economy based on colonial and post colonial exploitation. Marie de Lepervanche has detailed these justifications in the Australian case, for the disinheritance and genocide of Aborigines, the blackbirding of Pacific Islanders, the hostility to Asians (de Lepervanche, 1980). From the Bible to biology, reasons can be found for the superiority of the so-called "white" races and the natural inequality of the others.

John Rex argues that the colonial heritage is still important in Britain today, where most of the immigrants come from countries that used to be colonies. Their relations with the British are to some extent pre-formed ,(and deformed) by the experience of colonialism. Their presence in Britain testifies to the decline of Empire (Rex, 1970). This historical residue is picked up with some force in the title and contents of a recent study of racism in Britain, The Empire Strikes Back (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1983).

The analysis of colonialism has been extended by some writers to a notion of "internal colonialism", to explain continuing racial exploitation in, e.g., South Africa (see Wolfe, 1975 and Australia (see Hartwig, 1978).

Certainly, the heritage of colonialism is central to an understanding of racism, as we will see when we discuss the British situation. But colonialism is also systematically neglected in colonising countries and in those ex-colonies, like Australia, where the colonial ideology goes largely unquestioned.

I will return to this question, but I'd like to indicate what I mean by a personal account, which I'm sure you'll find familiar. My daughter, attending a relatively progressive State primary school in a middle class area of Sydney, was assigned, in 1979, a large history project called "Man Discovers the New World". This Man, of course, was Magellan, Cortes, Columbus, Marco Polo and the pre-colonial boys from Europe. When I suggested (a) that this New World was pretty old and had already been discovered, (b) that the civilizing intent attributed to these adventurers was dubious and (c) that those women and men who probably did discover these lands were not only brutally treated by the Europeans, but oppressed by their successors, my daughter burst into tears, her teacher became very hostile and the headmaster gave me the "demented mother" treatment. Twenty years of anthropological training could make no scratch on the patina of 400 years of European domination.

I believe that this is a very important element in the continued existence of racism. It means that our very basic social understandings, our ideas of ourselves in the world, are founded on racism. Martin Borker and others talk about the "new racism", but we should not over-emphasise the novelty of the ideas and actions they describe.

This too-brief summary of some approaches to racism may have shown up the inadequacy of most explanations. But some explanations have tremendous power. Stuart Hall, professor sociology at the Open University in Britain, continues to produce brilliant analyses of racism which could provide models for those capable of using them. Unfortunately, I am not, but his example can offer certain ways of structuring sociological views of racism. Hall emphasises that racism cannot be explained in abstraction from the other social relations. It is not a universal. Different racisms must be understood in the context of specific Historical, economic and political conditions, existing-class relations and ideological practices. I cannot pretend to tackle such a mammoth task here, but I will attempt to point out some of these elements in a consideration of contemporary racisms.

B. The "New Racism" in the 1980s" Britain

John Rex detected a resurgent racism in Britain towards the end of the 1950's, when, as he puts it, "racist jokes began to be heard in working men's clubs" (1973, p.176). In 1954, however, the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs proclaimed that:

we will take pride in the fact that a man can say *Civis Britannicus sum* whatever his colour may be, and we take pride in the fact that he wants and can come to the Mother Country" (Katznelson, 1973, p. 127, quoted in Miles and

Phizacklea, 1979, p. 6).

In 1958, there were violent clashes between black and white residents of Nottingham and Notting Hill. The "hooligans" held to be responsible were punished, but the activities in the Notting Hill area of such well-known racists as Sir Oswald Mosley were not widely publicized, let alone restrained.

By the mid 1960s, Conservative and Labour had agreed on the control of black immigration, thus giving support to the anti-immigrant and anti-black sentiment in the country. In 1968, the famous intervention of Enoch Powell gave a great boost to the racists. Drawing on his colonial experience as a Professor of Classics, Powell described himself as feeling like the Roman who saw visions of the River Tiber "foaming with much blood". This apocalyptic vision would be realised in Britain unless black immigration was drastically reduced. Powell made three public speeches in 1968, which reiterated the same themes - that ordinary (white) English people were being overwhelmed, intimidated and dispossessed by the deluge of (Black) immigrants. At the same time, Powell has refused to be described as racist. According to him, he is not arguing, that blacks are inferior, just that they are different and that this difference would cause fear and reaction among the white population (see Barker, 1983, p. 40).

In these speeches, Powell raised several themes which have been extremely important and which have relevance to us here in Australia. One of these themes is "the genuine fear of ordinary people". Barker describes it as "a central weapon in the Tory armoury" (p. 15). Margaret Thatcher herself used it in a major speech in January, 1978, which suggested that the "British character", which "has done so much for democracy and law throughout the world" would react to the fear of being swamped (Ibid.). Such fear therefore, is a fear of loss of a way of life, of a valued and valuable culture.

Subsequent Tory statements demonstrate that this British way of life is seen as essentially homogeneous, cementing the unity of the nation. A challenge to that unity is therefore a threat. To quote Enoch Powell:

The disruption of the homogeneous we, which forms the essential basis of our parliamentary democracy and, therefore, of our liberties, is now approaching the point at which the political mechanisms of a 'divided community' take charge and begin to operate autonomously" (from Barker, 1982, p. 21).

Furthermore, the feeling of community is portrayed as human nature, that some human nature which rejects alien-ness. Powell again:

"An instinct to preserve an identity and defend a territory is one of the deepest and strongest implanted in mankind.

"I happen to believe that the instinct is good, and that its beneficial effects are not exhausted". (BBC I, 9th June, 1969, quoted in Barker, 1983, p. 22).

Martin Barker analyses the development of this, new Tory theory which links race with nation and which is legitimized by reference to human nature and common sense. Closely linked to the increasing jingoism of the Thatcher government, this new racism has been alarmingly successful.

At this point, we can see several elements of the theories/ideologies I summarised

earlier. First, the appeal to human nature as an explanation of the naturalness of racism. Second, the more sophisticated sociobiological arguments about instincts, crowding and tribalism. The popularity of Eysenck's work also justified the suggestions of those who talked about the supposed dilution of the British "race" with inferior stock (a process described by the National front as "mongrelization").

More recently, social scientists have provided another line or argument by talking about the "pathology" of black families and the Afro-Caribbean propensity to violence (see *The Empire Strikes Back*, Ch. 3). There are echoes here of the "culture of poverty" theorists in the U.S., who, at their worst, blamed the poor for their poverty. These are examples of the culturalist approach I discussed earlier. By emphasising cultural differences, they avoid explanations which have to do with economic resources and powerlessness. The conclusion is that the blacks should, assimilate to the dominant model or (in the case of Britain) go back to where their perceived cultural aberrations cause no problems.

The other relevant perspective comes from the theorists of colonialism. Not only has the colonial experience provided ready-made ideologies of superior/inferior; white/black; civilized/primitive; and so on, but the collapse of Empire and the increasing political presence of the Third World has challenged these ideologies. In most respects, Great Britain has become Little England and some of those people who helped to bring about this humiliation now actually expect to live as equal citizens in the Mother Country. In this respect, the new racism is as old as colonialism.

It is, however, new in certain, other respects. For example, the relatively strong anti-Nazi feeling in Britain has for some time prevented the relics of Nazism from parading too openly. The largest organized Far Right party, the National Front, claims no affinity with the Nazis or the fascists. By contrast, the NF makes statements about the importance of parliamentary democracy (at the same time as they use street violence and other authoritarian strategies). Much of their election campaigning, however, emphasises nationalism, law and order and anti-Communism. Within this framework, they have opposed coloured immigration and argued that the "ultimate progress of mankind depends upon the White nations" (Taylor, 1979, p. 127). Taylor believes that the increasing support for the NF over the 1970s encouraged major party elites to include these issues in their own platforms. The Conservatives have had close relations with the NF, sometimes including dual membership (Barker, 1983, p. 26).

Enoch Powell was not given immediate support by his Party colleagues after

his

1968 speeches, but the support has been growing until, as I pointed out earlier, the themes which he had broached emerged, though in milder form, in a major speech by Margaret Thatcher 10 years later.

Mrs. Thatcher has brought several other themes to something of a crescendo, with the jingoism of the Falklands War and her continuing emphasis on law and order, as she transforms Britain into a police state. Accompanying these measures has been the attack on the welfare state and re-privatising of welfare. The family, for example, should assume responsibility for child care, and for care of the ill and the aged. Hence we have an enormous emphasis on the virtues of family life (that is, "good" families, responsible, hardworking and patriarchal - not the kind of family life the Afro-Caribbean's have been portrayed as having). Andrew Jakubowicz has argued that many Asian immigrants in Britain have co-operated with Thatcher's strategies. The values and ideals of these Asian bureaucrats and businessmen correspond closely to the Conservative ideals. Thus, the rights of workers to reasonable conditions are subsumed under "family responsibilities" or "a cultural predilection for hard work". The rights of women are subsumed under "the culturally appropriate role of a subservient wife and mother" (Jakubowicz, 1984). Accordingly, the Thatcherites can be seen to have support from the immigrant population, by this strategy of "selective ethnic revitalization" (Ibid).

I had intended to discuss the renewed racism in Europe and the U.S., as well as the U.K., but I am concerned about the superficiality of an account that spreads itself too thinly over a vast area. This paper already suffers from that problem, and I am aware of at least some of the issues I have omitted. I hope that you have a chance to hear Stephen Castles talk about racism in Western Europe, on his forthcoming visit to Australia. He has recently published a book on the subject ([They Came to Stay: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities](#)) as well as a detailed article in [Race and Class](#), XXV, 3, Winter, 1984, 37-51.

There are, in this material, some obvious points of comparison with Britain. For example, "scientific racism" (psychological studies and sociobiology) and nationalism legitimate the growth of right wing groups, parliamentarians and university professors talk of the risk of the great national culture being swamped by aliens and hitherto reputable journals, such as the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, emphasise the cultural and biological separateness of Europeans from Turks, Middle Eastern people and North Africans. Since Helmut Kohl became Chancellor, on October 13, 1982, an offensive against the rights of foreign residents has become government policy (Castles, 1984).

There are several strands emerging from this discussion which I would like to weave into our consideration of the revival of racism in Australia. These are by no means separate strands, but they do require special attention. One of these has to do with the historical, political and economic context of the new racism. It is part of an ideological package developed by the Right in opposition to what they generally describe as "socialism". (For example, Mr. Hodgman always refers to the current Australian Government as "the Hawke socialist government". It always makes me think that there must be another government I don't know about, but the adjective is

important, even if inaccurate). In fact, the aims of socialism have been largely abandoned by social democratic parties concerned with the "benevolent management of capitalism" (cf. Poole, 1983, p. 105). The post-war consensus between capital, the state and organised labour ensured that the latter gave up "more radical aims of socialization and redistribution in return for a share in longterm capitalist growth" (Ibid.). In most advanced capitalist countries, this consensus included increased State intervention in welfare, economic guidance and some measures of redistribution. These policies were given theoretical support by major political parties and were accompanied by relative prosperity and considerable political stability. There were critics such as Ayn Rand and F. A. Hayek who warned about "creeping socialism", but McCarthyism and the cold war tended to absorb much of the anti-socialist rhetoric.

With increasing economic crisis, however, - unemployment, inflation and the end of the postwar boom- the fragility of the accord became apparent. Keynesian policies were based on continued growth, and the new economic problems were intransigent. It was at this point that the critiques of Milton Friedman began to attract attention, partly because they resonated with echoes of basic liberal thought. Friedman argued, among other things, that there must be a reduction in government expenditure and that governments must concentrate on controlling the money supply. These controls on government expenditure naturally attacked the position of workers, especially those at the bottom of the heap.

Ross Poole offers an excellent analysis of these developments in a paper called "Markets and Motherhood" (1983), pp. 103-120). He points out that the breakdown of the tripartite accord has sharpened class conflict. But:

"monetarist policies have been presented within a political discourse of much broader appeal, in which the notion of class conflict is subsumed under a more traditional liberal rhetoric. It is through this supplementation that monetarism has been translated into the remarkably effective political instrument of the past ten years" (1983, p. 108).

The main elements of this rhetoric are:

- (a) individual freedom, including on emphasis on free enterprise and private property;
- (b) the free market and the equilibrium model of market forces;
- (c) that State, necessary to protect property, control money supply and maintain order;
- (d) socialism, the contrast to these 3 elements and "the acme of oppression and inefficiency".

To quote Poole again:

"The force of this rhetoric does not reside in its empirical and theoretical adequacy but in the extent to which it

corresponds to much that is contained by way of aspiration, resentment and common sense in everyday experience. It is important to recognize the nature and source of its appeal - even to those against whom it is ultimately directed". (1983, p. 109).

These principles have combined with a rhetoric which Poole describes as "moral conservatism", including the reassertion of traditional sex roles and of patriarchal authority within the family, an accompanying critique of sexual permissiveness, abortions, homosexuality and pornography. Other elements have been patriotism and a return to religion usually of a fundamentalist kind. In Britain, as we have just seen, and in the U.S. and Europe, racism is another element in this set of ideological practices.

There are contradictions within all this, of course. It is not necessarily an internally coherent body of concepts, although the various conservative think-tanks have obviously been effective (cf. Mrs. Thatcher's devastating attack on the welfare state in Britain with the blueprint offered by one of her advisors, Ferdinand Mount, in his book, *The Subversive Family*). Despite their inconsistencies, these concepts have been extremely successful. The idea of Ronald Reagan in the White House, a hearty joke in the 60s, has become a harsh reality in the 80s. The jingoism of the Falklands war recalls the worst of 19th century sabre rattling and multinationals pay large amounts to project nationalist advertisements on Australian television. Nationalism and reactionary politics have been powerful anodynes for economic hardship.

Ross Poole is not optimistic about the impact of the new right. He believes that their rhetoric focuses on important human needs, but that their policies will not satisfy these needs.

"A return to the free market will not release or allow for the creativity of free individuals but will increase their subordination to the impersonal forces of large capital; rolling back the activities of the state will not promote a return to a (largely mythical) domestic security, but will render what survives of family relationships even more vulnerable to external contingencies; the force of nationalism will not survive the drive towards multinational control of the world's resources; and religion will remain a poor and unconvincing, solace in a fragmented and unrewarding social existence. In this context it is possible that the human forces released will seek satisfaction in yet more atavistic directions: in a populist hatred of the powerful and articulate; in xenophobic distrust of all that is foreign or strange; in the drive to identify with and be dominated by some powerful symbolic figure" (Poole, 1983, pp. 117 - 118)

He is not equating the new right with fascism, but stressing the authoritarian potential and the possible consequences of the failure of its programmes. Some of the populist

elements in this rhetoric are extremely dangerous to foster at the same time as policies of high unemployment, withdrawal of social services and increasing competition for resources.

B. The Australian context:

Some of these elements of struggle are already familiar to Australians - e.g. the work of the Razor Gang in cutting back state services and the use of nationalism (perhaps at its most absurd when represented as the feverish support of the activities of millionaire yachts people). We have also seen rightwing opposition to anti-discrimination legislation - an opposition supported by the wealthy and powerful wives of wealthy and powerful men in the name of the "majority of women whose voices cannot be heard". Monetarism has also been with us for some time, as have the theories of Ayn Rand and Hayek, both favourites of Malcolm Fraser.

Racism, however, has only recently re-surfaced in Australia at a semi-official level. Marie de Lepervanche (1980; 1984) and others (Curthoys and Markus, 1978; Lippmann, 1973; McQueen, 1970) have demonstrated the official uses to which racism has been put since the Europeans invaded this country, but it had receded considerably from public statements and ideology.

Nevertheless, racism has never been honestly confronted in Australia at an official level, in the way in which sexism, for example, is beginning to be confronted. This is a country whose very foundations are racist, but where racism and the heritage of colonialism are curiously unexamined. The current fashion for tracing family trees, rediscovering roots, etc., has not been accompanied by a more honest appraisal of the genocide and racial exploitation that scars our history. I am not suggesting here a development of white liberal masochism. What I am suggesting is that our ideas of Australia and Australians are false and dishonest while so much of our historical realities remain concealed. The Channel 0/28 series "Women of the Sun" was a revelation to many of the people who saw it. The "anti-dago" riots in Kalgoorlie in the early 30s are not well-known, nor is the "blackbirding" of Pacific Islanders to Queensland in the 19th Century. Colonialism and post-colonialism are extremely important and poorly understood in Australia, despite the continued existence of colonial attitudes and institutions.

Several consequences follow from this condition of selective amnesia. One is an identification with the colonizers, including, for example, an assumption of "natural" superiority to Australian blacks and to other nonwhites. The civilizing effect of European settlement also goes largely unquestioned. Related to this is a collective paranoia that allows bogeys such as the Red hordes and the Yellow Peril to be used, with effect, for purposes of political mobilization. All of these elements have been well utilised by racist groups and others who would reject any association with such groups.

For example, the Immigration Control Association letterboxed Sydney householders in the 1970s with pamphlets depicting red and yellow arrows rushing downwards

from Asia to Australia. More recently, National Action seem to have taken the lead with spray paint graffiti about the "Asian invasion". The egregious Professor Blainey has also touched on several of these themes, talking about a "new Asian Australia policy" (Age 20.3.84) and warning that Asians will be the "inevitable possessors of this land" (Australian 4.3.84.) We have moved, he claims, from White Australia to Surrender Australia" (Age 3.4.84).

Professor Blainey has moved the debate off the lavatory walls (where it perhaps belongs) and onto the front pages of the newspapers. He has been congratulated by some for his "well reasoned contribution to an important debate" (Australian editorial, 21.3.84). Others have compared him to Enoch Powell, who also gave a high level legitimisation to racist claims. Certainly, the National President of the R.S.L., the Big Brother movement and the otherwise marginalised racist associations have been grateful for the media coverage and for the influential support from an unexpected quarter. Blainey has articulated, at great length, the themes of nationalism, invasion and Britishness, explaining his intervention in terms of concern for the poor and the unemployed, who are, he presumes, suffering because of the government's purportedly pro-Asian and anti-British immigration policy. Like Margot Anthony and Flo Bjelke-Petersen, he speaks as a privileged person representing the downtrodden masses. In that respect his technique is certainly reminiscent of Enoch Powell, who always brought into his speeches the ordinary Englishman and little old ladies with genuine fears of the blacks (cf. Barker, 1983, pp: 37-42).

Although claiming that he "might have thought twice" about making his original comments if he had known what the reaction would be (Age, 20.3.84), Blainey has continued to stir this rather noisome mess of pottage, seemingly intent on creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. At the same time, the Liberal Party, who initially criticised his comments (Age 3.4.84), have subsequently embraced them with a kind of fervour, placing themselves in the rather contorted position of criticising a policy they instituted while in government, but presumably expecting to gain support by kicking a can which resonated so well for Blainey.

Obviously, some valid comparisons can be made between the Australian and the British situation I described earlier, especially if the conservative parties here pick up on the Blainey initiatives and, in effect, align themselves with the far right. The other programmes for moral conservatism are well advanced, especially in Queensland where science teachers are now required to teach creationism. Mr. Fraser, presumably with the support of other conservatives, has been reportedly assembling his own think tank (Sydney Morning Herald, 9.6.84) to include such well known freedom fighters as Professor Leonie Kramer (an outspoken critic of Equal Employment Opportunity) and Hugh Morgon of Western Mining, who has argued a kind of Christian mission for mining and associated the land rights movement with backwardness and cannibalism. Fraser himself has just re-emerged from the heartland of the new right, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy in Washington.

As I said earlier, the ideological package of the new right is not without its inconsistencies, and the interconnections between the practices I have been describing

are extremely complex. I merely want to demonstrate that there are interconnections, that the resurgence of moral conservatism, of nationalism and of racism is no mere historical accident. Obviously, there is considerable support for these strategies, but we should also bear in mind their likely outcomes and those people at whom they are directed. They have persuasive power partly because of their appeals to "common sense", to the "genuine fears of ordinary people" and to long established folk ideologies generated by the kind of selective amnesia I mentioned earlier. But they are also persuasive because they are rooted in existing practices and relations.

To explain a little further - "common sense", for example, is what people regard as natural. Sane people call it, "horse sense". But most of our sense is, in fact, learned, and learned within a particular context that is, as I have shown, historically formed. Given the particular inputs to our common sense, it is likely to have sediments of various ideas that reinforce the status quo - e.g. ideas about class relations, gender relations and, about blacks and foreigners. One sociologist, Alfred Schutz, called this "the world taken for granted". Appeals to common sense are usually appeals to the status quo, and this often means appeals to prejudice. Common sense must be treated with acute scepticism.

Similarly, studies of nationalisms have revealed their status as "imagined communities" (cf. Anderson, 1983). If we had a better historical sense, we would be better equipped to ask "whose nationalisms are these, and how have they been constructed?" What does it mean to me, for example, to identify with some overweight footballer who probably beats his wife? The various Australian nationalisms that have been constructed have been over-whelmingly male, Anglo, white, and possessed mainly of physical attributes. Why have the rest of us been left out? (in some of the more recent nationalist ads on television, some of the rest of us are brought in and urged to work harder for our beautiful country, as though the economic crisis were the result of our not working hard enough. These are the ads largely sponsored by foreign multinationals).

It is not hard to see that certain modes of domination are reproduced in these representations. These modes appear as the natural order of things, but they are in fact quite arbitrary. Yet they are extremely powerful, mobilizing people to hostility against "aliens", and sustaining division between people who actually share common interests. Furthermore the "naturalness" of these modes of domination goes unquestioned partly because they are embedded in the State and in existing institutions. Anti-discrimination legislation would be unnecessary if there were not existing discrimination. The family wage for bread-winners, for example, reinforced the notion that women did not support families or were dependent on male workers. Aborigines were not even counted in the census until 1966.

On the immigration front, the official interpretation of multiculturalism has, it seems, deliberately avoided any analysis of class and power relations, of past, present or potential conflict or of the fundamental tensions between capital, labour and the state. In analyses that ignored economic issues, "inequality itself has been reinterpreted as the cultural monopolization of social resources" (Martin, 1983, p. 147). As Andrew Jakubowicz points out, Fraser's multicultural think tank even imported Michael Novak, a legitimator from the American Enterprise Institute, to reaffirm the importance of ethnicity to free market economies (cf. Jakubowicz,

1984, p.).

The current government, therefore, is faced with an immense task if, in Jakubowicz's words, they wish:

"to wrest back the space swamped by conservative rhetoric and political domination and re-establish free and open debate within which redistribution goals concerned with social justice become legitimate once more."

Geoffrey Blainey's intervention has made this task even more difficult by suggesting that problems of the distribution of resources can be linked to a government bias towards Asian immigrants. The old tactic of scapegoating takes us further than ever from the central issues.

Certainly, the Minister for Immigration, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and the Prime Minister have recently spoken out against racism. But the assault on racism, as on sexism and other ideologies that legitimate domination, will require a coherent and sustained analysis and a genuine desire for change. Such an assault would have to confront the entrenched structures and ideas I have been discussing today - that is, not just making people more tolerant, but redistributing resources and power.

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