

**Griffith University – Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program**

## **THE FITZGERALD COLLECTION**

### **An Exhibition of artwork and memorabilia**

**Queensland College of Art College Gallery, Tribune Street, South Bank**

**29 July 2009 – 9 August 2009**

### **Recollections and Stories**

The Griffith University – Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program looks forward, with a biennial public lecture and scholarship program aimed at building skills and awareness in future practitioners and researchers who will carry the responsibility for protecting our future system of parliamentary democracy.

For this inaugural year, it is useful to glance backwards, to explore how those now acknowledging this 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary year, remember this period of our history and how it contributed to the experiences of academics and researchers, artists and public expression.

The exhibition focuses on Mr Fitzgerald's personal collection of memorabilia and the influence that the Inquiry had upon Griffith University's staff and alumni. The stories and commentary in the pages that follow have been provided by those associated in some way with Mr Fitzgerald's items, or with Griffith University. They represent only a small sample of Queensland's collective memory.

The additional pages following include recollections and stories to accompany the exhibits and, during the exhibition period, can be found on the Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance website: <http://www.griffith.edu.au/tonyfitzgeraldlecture>

We know that there are other recollections and memorabilia not included in this collection, but which are a vital contribution to our social history. The State Library of Queensland is starting a specific collection to capture materials and stories from this period and we urge Queenslanders to make contact with SLQ to ensure that their items and memories can be included for future generations.

We hope that you will find this exhibition an interesting and entertaining way of remembering the past and celebrating the inauguration of The Griffith University – Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program, and, through donations, the future of the dedicated Griffith University – Tony Fitzgerald Scholarship Fund.

### Artworks

- Wasn't the Fitzgerald Inquiry Fun – Ms Margot Hutcheson
- The Wrong Crowd –Dr Debra Beattie
- Leahy's cartoons - Mr Sean Leahy
- Court Illustrations – Ms Marilyn Baldey
- ABC 7.30 Report Re-enactments – Dr Mark Hayes

### Ephemera

- The Cane Toad Times – Associate Professor Steve Stockwell
- Fitzgerald Inquiry Report – Ms Margaret Simons
- The Corruption Game – Ms Anne Jones
- Photograph of team – Mr Andrew Marjason

### T-shirts

- Fly with the Crows – Adjunct Professor Noel Preston
- Fitzgerald Investigation and Surveillance Team (FIST) – Mr Barry Krosch
- Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club – Ms Anne Jones
- Tony Fitzgerald singlet – Dr Annita Boyd

### Media Coverage

- Nats Set for Battle – Newsheet – Mr Greg Chamberlin
- The Adelaide Advertiser – Ms Samela Harris
- The Gold Coast Bulletin – Mr Bob Gordon
- The Brisbane Courier Mail – Mr David Fagan
- The Australian – Ms Sybil Nolan
- The Sydney Morning Herald – Mr Malcolm Brown

### **Griffith academic recollections**

- Dr Merrelyn Bates
- Professor AJ Brown
- Professor Glyn Davis
- Professor Mark Finnane
- Professor Ross Homel
- Emeritus Professor Merv Hyde
- Professor Ian Lowe
- Emeritus Professor Phil Meade
- Professor David Moss
- Professor John O'Toole
- Professor Tim Prenzler
- Dr Janet Ransley
- Mr Frank Rynne
- Professor Charles Sampford
- Emeritus Professor James Walter

## Margot Hutcheson, Artist

### "Wasn't the Fitzgerald Inquiry Fun?"

The story of the painting "*Wasn't the Fitzgerald Inquiry fun*" started in the late '70's. At the time I was living in an alternative community just outside Yandina with Peter Carey. It's where his book *Bliss* was written, a kind of paradise. We were living a simple life in the forest, Peter was writing, I was painting. We grew vegetables, had a glass of wine with our neighbours, read books, not a big deal. This was despite constant raids by Joh's police, road blocks, overhead flights at treetop level by Chinooks with men leering out the doorways, plus the fear of somehow transgressing the ridiculous laws they kept passing - I remember the one about if a policeman said you were mad, they were able to put you in an institution indefinitely. All of which amounted to harassment by The State. I often used to wonder why this was happening in a first world country when there seemed to be enough for everyone. It's easy to laugh about Joh as a mixture of George Bush and Franco (on a very, very minor scale) but it doesn't explain how these men managed to 'de-democratise' Queensland over 27 years with 19% of the vote. The last straw was finding a friend hiding his candles (there was no electricity), when I asked him what he was doing he said it was so the police wouldn't be able to see his family when they arrived at 5am, as usual. To get people to behave so irrationally through fear was very sinister.

I went back to NSW, seemingly too different to live in QLD, like lots of other people, but I returned to live in Toowong in Brisbane in 1986 with a new partner and a baby, in time for the Expo. When The Inquiry started I went to some of the Hearings, I couldn't believe that the hypocrisy of these men was finally about to be exposed. It was personal by then. The Hearings seemed like a surreal circus from somewhere in Eastern Europe, lots of large, overweight, ruddy men in big black shoes. And nobody knew anything, 'No Hear, No See, and No Speak.' It was about cover ups, ugly sex, bribery and corruption and after the way I'd been hounded ten years before it felt vindication. But what was really funny was that they'd done it to themselves by completely underestimating Tony Fitzgerald.

And there was Tony Fitzgerald sitting up high in his court like an Angel on Judgement Day, taking notes or pretending to be asleep, and he was going to let it all out of the bag and change everything. So it was never an exaggeration to paint him thus. He's a national treasure.

. . .It was fun to paint too!

*Margot Hutcheson, who studied at St, Martin's School, London, arrived in Australia in 1974. She started exhibiting in 1981 and has held ten solo exhibitions. Her paintings usually depict experiences from her own life. Her unique style has already won the admiration of serious collectors. Her work is in the collection of Allen, Allen and Hemsley (Sydney), IBM (Sydney), Artbank, National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne), the Museum of Contemporary Art (Brisbane) as well as the University of New South Wales. She moved to Spain in 1990 and has exhibited in Barcelona. Margot later moved to London where she now resides.*

#### Bibliography

*Baker, James (Ed): From the Landscape: a review of the influence of the landscape in contemporary art, Museum of Contemporary Art publication, Brisbane 1991*

*Watson, Bronwyn: Fish or Fowl, Sydney Morning Herald, 1/7/93*

*Watters Gallery: Portrait of a Gallery, catalogue to Watters Gallery 25th anniversary touring exhibition, Sydney, 1989*

**Dr Debra Beattie**  
**"The Wrong Crowd"**

A personal story and a public history of the Queensland Police constructed within a QuickTime 'movie' interface. Written and directed by Debra Beattie. Produced by Debra Beattie and Toadshow. Available at: [www.abc.net.au/wrongcrowd](http://www.abc.net.au/wrongcrowd)

The Wrong Crowd was one of four inaugural programs to be funded by the Australian Film Commission (2002) and published by the ABC via its online portal, and was 'one of the world's first history documentaries to be purposefully created in an online environment'

As Debra explains in her introduction to her book *'The Wrong Crowd: Theory and Practice in Producing Documentary Online'* her inspiration to tell the story of this particular aspect of Queensland's history came from student apathy:

On the eve of the 1996 State election in Queensland, I was somewhat taken aback by a discussion with a group of 18 year old first time voters who were arguing that 'there was no real difference between the major parties'. Yet, in 1989, only seven years earlier, I could remember the actions of an of an earlier generation, the then youth of Brisbane celebrating what seemed to be our equivalent of the fall of the Berlin Wall! The National Party had finally been defeated after 32 years and there was literally dancing in the street (most memorably in the centre of the city, in the fountain of King George Square). There was a spontaneous and genuine expression of liberation from the pattern of police harassment at the behest of the government that had existed for so long, and yet, in just seven years, the intensity of the historic experience of 1989 had been lost. History was being buried right before my eyes. As a documentary film-maker I was troubled at how rapidly popular memory was being eroded

*The Wrong Crowd* as a title . . . came about because that is what one of my relatives told me when I wanted to know what Dad was like. As Uncle Bill explained it, "he wasn't a bad man, darling, he just got in with the wrong crowd", a strange comment I thought, to describe a policeman and his colleagues.

The comment also resonated for me because it was the way my dissident behaviour at University was dismissed by my family. My actions and beliefs weren't taken seriously because they were just the product of my having started mixing with 'the wrong crowd'- social justice activists, civil liberties campaigners, actors, artists, musicians and writers. Discourse in the 'wrong crowd' centred on the refusal of the mainstream media to affirm the legitimacy of the actions of this youthful extra-parliamentary opposition, and its failure to acknowledge the endorsement by the majority of Queenslanders of overt and covert politically-sponsored police violence against this opposition

**'History, however, is not just what is included in the historical records of journalists or cultural commentators. History is our memories'**

*Dr Debra Beattie is Senior Lecturer in the School of Humanities. Her most recent publications include: Beattie, Debra. 'Digital Documentary Online' in Studies in Documentary Film, Vol 2. No 1 2008. and Beattie, Debra and Cunningham, Stuart and Jones, Richard and Zelenko, Oksana (2006) "I use online so the counsellors can't hear me crying" (PDF 236k)2: Creating design solutions for online counselling. Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy (118):pp. 43-52.*

## Sean Leahy

At a time when many artists were fleeing Queensland for the more avant-guard friendly southern states, Sean made the decision to move to Queensland from Western Australia.

I moved to Queensland BECAUSE of Joh! I was drawn to this mecca of abuse of power. The rest of Australia considered him (and Queensland) a laughing stock – yet the more that the rest of Australia laughed, the more Queenslanders seemed to stick with him. Perhaps it was the common-man touch – he didn't speak well and had a speech impediment – in fact when I met Joh he was just a gentle kind grandfather – yet in the political field – his hypocrisy – his espousal of fundamentalist Christian views compared with the way he treated people when in power . . .



Queensland Premier Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen begins his ill-fated campaign to become Prime Minister of Australia.

I drew Joh with the light from the torch shining on his face – presenting him in the messianic way – as if only he knew the way

During Joh Bjelke-Petersen's period in office and the subsequent Fitzgerald Inquiry, Sean's work was prolific, with almost everyone linked with the political corruption being exposed in Queensland subject to his talent. The exaggerated features of Joh, Russ and Terry Lewis provided a regular update for readers of the Courier Mail on the latest from the Inquiry.

My motivation was to sow the seeds by which readers could look at things in a different way – to hold a mirror up and say this is wrong and should be changed – I don't know if cartoons really work to do this though. I don't know if they affect anything. In the bleak Joh years - when it really felt as though I was banging my head against a brick wall – underneath I was trying to change things, but nothing changed and I would wonder if it was all worth it.

I remember meeting a reader who said that she was heartened to know that there was another voice who shared her view. There were many quiet people who were similarly wondering 'will it ever end?' and 'what is the point?' But I am not sure what measure of effectiveness can be applied to a cartoon.

Greg Chamberlin, former Editor of The Brisbane Courier Mail during the "Fitzgerald years" highlights the valuable effect of Sean's work:

If you asked ordinary shoppers in the Queen Street Mall which names they recognised, Sean Leahy would be more recognised than Jerry Harris (CEO of CM) or David Fagan (Editor). Cartoons serve to make strong editorial comment - often stronger than the editorial or opinion columns are able to do in newspapers – opinions are labelled as such and cartoonist's comments often support, and appear with the editorial comment. There were many occasions when an element from the cartoon was used as a pointer in the paper. In the Courier-Mail, it was not unusual to link in the editorial with "Leahy's view". There was no need for an explanation on what this meant – Leahy was this outrageous imported cartoonist who satirised the powerful – you only needed to say 'Leahy's view' for readers to understand the context.

### ***"Lock stock and barrel"***

In an ABC radio interview in 2007<sup>1</sup>, Mike Ahern said that his statement to commit to the Fitzgerald recommendations 'lock, stock and barrel' was intentionally made to ensure that whichever government or leader was to follow, the changes would be implemented in their entirety. Sean's cartoon looks at this statement from another perspective:

I drew Mike Ahern perhaps feeling left in the lurch after Tony had gone, having promised to implement reforms that were highly unpopular with his own government and for which he was already facing considerable backlash from his own government colleagues who did not want anything in place that could disturb the national party electoral distribution. The real question behind this is why did Tony leave? If he had stayed long enough perhaps we would not have seen the CJC being watered down to the role that the CMC plays now.

### **Griffith University – Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program Motif**



The 'logo' for the exhibition accompanying the Griffith University- Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program has been kindly provided by Sean.

The crossed-bananas motif featured strongly in his portrayal of Joh Bjelke-Petersen during his coverage of Queensland's corruption and the Fitzgerald Inquiry. Here, surrounded by the universally recognised prohibition red circle, it represents perfectly the ambition of the Griffith University- Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program that the circumstances that led to the Fitzgerald Inquiry should never again be experienced.

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<sup>1</sup> Radio National Late Night Live: 22 May 2007  
<http://www.abc.net.au/rn/latenightlive/stories/2007/1930168.htm>

## **Marilyn Baldey**

### **Court artist/ Illustrator**

Artists like Marilyn were an integral part of the process of reporting the events of the hearings to the public. Marilyn was working for ABC TV while still a student at the Queensland College of Art, then located at Seven Hills in Morningside. Attending College one evening per week meant that she could cover the Inquiry full-time during the day.

I had spent the previous four years doing very free, creative work so there was a hint of that in the beginning. In the end I preferred to use pastels with the details being drawn in with coloured pencils. With all the practice I got, my drawings were much better by the time the 'big' people's time came around. We had a free hand with everyone except for a woman who worked in the prostitution field, we couldn't show her face, so I ended up with drawings that looked like she had her head chopped off!

Marilyn recalls what the Inquiry was like from her perspective:

The Artists were relegated to the above the court area until one of the other artists, Norma Dickason, complained that 'All we can see are bald heads' so we were given a seat right in front of the witness box. We had the best view in the house with the Journalists seated behind and beside us.

We went through the process of screening before we went upstairs. This became the routine until Jack Herbert came to the stand - then we had our bags searched. I had a Stanley knife to sharpen the pencils and was told to not let it out of my sight, so I would put it under my leg and sit on it when it wasn't being used.

Seeing her drawings on TV each night and her drawing of Jack Herbert on the front page of The Australian made the news especially interesting for Marilyn. Sitting through the entire testimony, gave her plenty of opportunity to study the 'key players'

Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen was a man that gave his full attention to each person in front of him – a tendency that I am sure helped kept him in power for so long. Russ Hinze was another stand out personality, he was trying to joke and he did lighten up the proceedings.

The two Commissioners worked very hard, it must have been exhausting for them. All the lawyers too - in they would roll, with a trolley full of information. Among the lawyers were some really wonderful characters, it was a joy to see them in action.

One of the most interesting times during the whole proceedings was when, for the first and last time, one of the Lawyers actually cornered Sir Terry Lewis. We all applauded him when the day was over. We could see it coming - it was all so very neat. To me, that was the highlight of the whole inquiry as Sir Terry had caused a lot of pain for many young people. I even forgot to go to my graduation ceremony at College!

On one occasion, Marilyn played more than a reporting and observation role:

One day a woman spoke to me in the corridor outside the court room and told me all this stuff about her husband who was one of the people there for questioning. The next day I went to see Mr Drummond, after writing it all down. I was a bit nervous having to go on the stand!

Marilyn recalls that at the end of the Inquiry there was a huge stockpile of drawings at the ABC:

We had an exhibition of the drawings and raised about \$6,000 for charity - a nice ending for me. Even Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen was very gracious and signed his drawing for the auction. The journalists also organised a dinner one evening and

Meg, one of the journalists, even made up a play of the whole Inquiry which was acted out.

What I learned during the whole process of listening to that horrible story was that there is another world that some people inhabit - one that never usually collides with others. I learnt how to launder money! - I had never imagined it before so that came as a complete surprise. It was an interesting time which changed that old covert way of acting in the State. After it was over I felt sick from listening to all the rubbish that people got up to and it took me a while to get over it.

I rarely think of it now, but if I do, I focus on the very fond memories of the lovely people that I met there.

(Pictured below: Sybil Nolan, unknown, Meg Simons, Marilyn Baldey)





## ABC 7.30 Report coverage and re-enactments

Provided by Dr Mark Hayes, lecturer in journalism, University of Queensland

*Re-enactment archives courtesy ABC TV Archives, Research into the re-enactments, and explanatory On Screen Superimpositions by Dr Mark Hayes*

*Introductory audio visual to the University of Queensland's Symposium created and provided by Mr Bruce Redman and colleagues at the School of Journalism and Communication*

As the ABC's weeknight, state based, current affairs program, The 7.30 Report - Queensland Edition - prepared to report on the continuing Fitzgerald Inquiry into 1988, they had to find a different way to do so than was hitherto being done, which essentially amounted to a series of extended news reports. Worthy, and accurate, as these standard reports were, they were also boring, and failed to convey the import and drama of daily evidence being presented at the Inquiry.

After taking legal advice, and exploiting the Legal Standing the ABC had before the Inquiry, it was decided to attempt using dramatic re-enactments of daily highlights of evidence before the Inquiry. Actors bearing some resemblance to significant Inquiry staff and witnesses were secured, production systems within the ABC's Toowong studios streamlined to meet the early evening deadlines, and a way to access the actual Inquiry Transcripts was found.

With considerable trepidation, the first re-enactment went to Air. The next morning, just before the Inquiry reconvened, 7.30 Report presenter and main Inquiry reporter, Quentin Dempster, was handed a personal note from Royal Commissioner Tony Fitzgerald:

*"Dear Quentin, I realise the ABC is short of funds and please do not take this as a criticism of an otherwise good effort by all concerned, but I noticed that the actor you have employed to portray me in no way bears my uncanny resemblance to either Tom Cruise or Robert Redford. Best wishes, Tony Fitzgerald".*

Thus encouraged, Quentin, and his team, which included researcher, occasional reporter and producer, Mark Hayes, continued to cover the Inquiry often using re-enactments of key parts of daily Inquiry evidence. Major witnesses, including Jack Reginald Herbert - architect of the corruption system called 'The Joke' - corrupt Police Commissioner, Sir Terrence Lewis, a number of other senior, corrupt, police who 'rolled over', former Cabinet Ministers Russ Hinze and Don Lane, and the former Queensland Premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, all had key parts of their Inquiry evidence re-enacted on The 7.30 Report that same evening.

Twenty years later, in an e-mail interview, Tony Fitzgerald told Dr Mark Hayes, now a journalism lecturer at the University of Queensland:

*"The ABC adapted to the decision not to permit television cameras with regular impressive re-enactments of parts of the hearings on its 7.30 Report. The re-enactments assisted the inquiry by informing the public of major developments in an entertaining manner. Apart from facetious remarks, I'm unaware that anyone associated with the inquiry expressed apprehension at being portrayed by an actor on television. The inquiry raised no objection that I can recollect to the re-enactments but facilitated access to transcript to assist with accuracy."*

The re-enactments of daily Fitzgerald Inquiry evidence were historic, groundbreaking, innovative, were never criticized or cited for contempt by the Inquiry, and were also top rating 'must watch' television.

The first time even part of the inside story of the 7.30 Report's Re-enactments of Fitzgerald Inquiry evidence was told was at a University of Queensland School of Journalism and Communication day long seminar, Fitzgerald Inquiry 20 Years On 'Did They Get The Joke' at the Powerhouse in Brisbane on Saturday, March 7, 2009.

*Dr Hayes acknowledges the generous assistance of many current and former ABC Queensland TV News & Current Affairs colleagues who made the re-enactments possible, and who, 20 years later, contributed their recollections to his research into Fitzgerald Inquiry reportage by the ABC.*

## **Associate Professor Stephen Stockwell** **The Cane Toad Times**

Associate Professor Stephen Stockwell is Head of the School of Humanities at Griffith. A veteran commentator on Queensland's cultural condition, in the 1980s, Steve was a highly active participant in the Brisbane alternative scene. He was an announcer and journalist with 4ZZZ, he was a singer and keyboardist with "Brisbane's ugliest band", *The Black Assassins*, he was on the editorial collective of satirical magazine, *The Cane Toad Times* with Anne Jones, Damien Ledwich and Matt Mawson and he was a regular at street marches, demonstrations and street theatre events.

Steve recalls his role in re-starting *The Cane Toad Times* in the 1980s:

Its rebirth was prompted by the 1983 state election when Bjelke-Petersen's Nationals were determined to form government in their own right. The CTT was launched by the Labour party front-bencher who was not afraid to take the fight up to Bjelke-Petersen's corrupt regime, Kev Hooper. Bjelke-Petersen was successful in taking enough seats in Southeast Queensland that, with a couple of Liberal deserters (and 39 percent of the primary vote!), the National's formed government alone, a feat they repeated in 1986. These were dark years for Queensland democracy. The police Special Branch was its own master and many of us were under surveillance as I was told as I left the tally-room after Joh's success in the 1986 election. Special branch cops told me that I was safe if I got out of the state. I took their advice but stayed on the editorial collective and helped produce and sell 15 issues between 1983 and 1990.

I wrote both straight reporting and fictional short stories exploring the seamier side of Queensland. I explored the history of Queensland corruption in "The Death of a Prostitute" which was a fictional account of the Shirley Briffman case which touched on the national Hotel Royal Commission, the Whiskey-au-Go-Go fire and Briffman's own mysterious death. I explored the life and times of 'Minister for Everything', Russ Hinze in "The Day the Minister Lost Control" and I produced a comprehensive list of Queensland's corruption scandals in the 1985 Food and Corruption issue.

The magazine's pursuit of government corruption and excess was eventually echoed by the mainstream press, and that coverage in turn eventually led to the Fitzgerald Inquiry which recommended criminal charges against a string of Queensland police and government ministers, including Premier Bjelke-Petersen himself. Many involved *The Cane Toad Times* worked towards the election of the Goss Labour government in 1989 and after that their professional skills were in high demand and Steve became the Media and Education Officer for the Queensland ALP. The magazine's work was done and it folded, but not before it became a platform for Toadshow theatrical events at La Boite, the Princess Theatre in Annerley and the Queensland Performing Arts Centre. The Toadshow multimedia production house continues operation today.

In a recent edition of *Griffith Review*, (Spring 2008) Steve relives some of the changes to Brisbane that occurred following the Fitzgerald Inquiry, as it emerged from the cocoon of its "Deep North" period:

The early years of the Goss government were a magic time for Queensland. The change of government brought back many political refugees and unleashed the creative class. Cafes with half-reasonable coffee sprang up all over Brisbane and the café culture fuelled people to write plays, make art and create a vibrant scene. Andrew McGahan and John Birmingham and Nick Earls were toiling at novels redefining Brisbane and the bands of the Livid Festival provided the backbeat. Brisbane boomed. Brisbane bloomed. Brisbane blossomed into something that even a decade before would have been derided as the utopian dream of a hopeless hippie, high on magic mushrooms. Queensland was changing and anything was possible.

Steve remains optimistic about the state of Queensland. "It has never lost the sense of possibility. The challenge is to grow Queensland into a great state of adventure, innovation and tolerance."

## **Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct ('The Fitzgerald Inquiry Report')**

### **Ms Margaret Simons**

*Only a limited number of the original reports that were submitted to Parliament and signed by Mr Fitzgerald were produced. The copy displayed is provided by Mr Tony Fitzgerald. It is juxtaposed by copies of the Report provided by Griffith University staff members, Professor Tim Prenzler, Dr Merrelyn Bates and Dr Janet Ransley, the 'well used' condition indicating the extent to which this Report was regarded and used as a definitive guide for those involved in implementing the reforms.*

The Fitzgerald Inquiry was responsible for a number of 'firsts', including the introduction of witness protection and police recruit training within the university environment. In this respect the Report itself was no different. As far as can be ascertained, it was the first time that a professional journalist had been included in the preparation of such a government report, a move intended to make the report accessible more widely than just government or legal circles. Meg Simons, an experienced journalist who had written for many national media publications was invited to join the team. Below she recalls this frantic period:

When I joined the inquiry staff in early 1989 very little of the report had been written, although a great deal of thinking had been done. My first impression was how tired everyone was. The work of the inquiry had already wrung everyone out, and the final and perhaps most important lap remained. The next few months involved long days and nights at the word processor, while next door in Tony's office there were the big debates about the approach to be taken - how much to prescribe, how much to leave for the new agencies, the Criminal Justice Commission and the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission, to decide. I remember the day that Mike Ahern promised that the report would be implemented lock, stock and barrel. I wished I hadn't heard him. The sense of responsibility was crushing. My job on the team that wrote the report was to make sure that it was readable by the average Queenslander. Tony regarded this as a high priority. He wanted Queenslanders to be able to buy and absorb the report for themselves, rather than relying on media coverage. I drafted some bits myself, and then he would work on them. Other parts were drafted by different members of the team - lawyers, management consultants and other advisers - and then I would re-write so they were easy to read. Tony wrote a great deal himself and took great delight in picking me up on a few split infinitives. The first briefing he gave me was to emphasise that the report must be systemic, about building for the future rather than only gnawing over the bones of the past. It was an extraordinary time, and it was a privilege to be involved.

## The Corruption Board Game

*Original design: The Cane Toad Times: Anne Jones, Damien Ledwich, Mark Bracken, Robert Whyte*

*Exhibition display and pieces designed by: Professor Paul Cleveland, Director Queensland College of Art, and staff and students of QCA Liveworm studio*

The Cane Toad Times was a satirical publication that originated in 1970s, run by John Jiggins, but by the 80s had 'run out of steam'. In 1983 Matt Mawson and Damien Ledwich, who had been involved with the original publication, and Anne Jones got it going again with the first revamped edition hitting the streets in 1983. As Anne explained:

Right from the beginning we were very orientated towards political satire and satirising the Bjelke Petersen Government and satirising all sorts of things but it was all about being in Queensland and trying to forge a new cultural identity for Queensland that didn't have to do with the National Party and their kind of agrarian values.

The Corruption Board Game, *'the game that gets you rotten'*, appeared in The Cane Toad Times, Spring 1988, issue 11. In an interview with Zenovia Pappas conducted for this exhibition, Anne Jones outlines the thinking behind the original design for The Corruption Board Game:

The idea came from one of the editors, Mark Bracken, who wanted to develop a board game that brought in all of the elements that were being investigated by the Fitzgerald Inquiry. so there was Vice, Crime, Gambling . . . . and Drugs. Although the Fitzgerald Inquiry really didn't get into the whole drugs aspect of crime and corruption, which was a bit of a criticism at the time, the nature of the game had to have 4 main areas. So we brought drugs into ours. It brought in all the elements that were being talked about in the Fitzgerald Inquiry. So you have "The Bagman," paying off judges and media exposes. And verballing, verballing was a big thing at the time; the police would really make up their own evidence and if they couldn't get people to confess they'd make it up.

There were a lot of hours spent in the old office where we'd developed prototypes and tried to play the game to make sure it actually worked. It had a set of instructions and you had to raid a Monopoly set to get the bits and pieces to make it work. We heard stories that people were actually playing it, but I don't think realistically we ever thought it would become a real board game in a box.

When we launched that issue, we invited all the media along, set up the board game and we had people playing Corruption the Board Game and people from TV stations turned up and filmed it. It was all big news at the time and we got our photos in the paper with the four editors of the Cane Toad Times all wearing our Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club t-shirts and being in the Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club. It was a bit of fun but we felt we'd been there covering the issues from the beginning and we were kind of the cheerleaders for Tony Fitzgerald.

## **Andrew Marjason**

**Exhibited items:** *Picture of Fitzgerald team, Key to Watt House, Identification tag, 'on the team' T-shirt, photographs of Fitzgerald investigation team and some of the identities featured in the inquiry*

In October 1987, Andrew Marjason joined the team supporting the Commission of Inquiry. After public hearings concluded, Andrew helped compile the Report and then worked with a small implementation team on the establishment of the Criminal Justice Commission and the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission.

After working in the Complaints Section at the CJC for seven years, Andrew joined a small consulting firm where he remains today. It is through his current role as a Human Resource Management Consultant, that Andrew said that he developed a full appreciation of the achievements of those involved in the Inquiry. That such a disparate and hastily assembled group could work so well together, often in trying circumstances, indicates the quality of leadership within the team and the level of dedication by many others. Andrew commented that it was a great privilege to have the chance to play a small part in this important part of Queensland's history.

## Citizens Against Corruption / 'Fly with the Crows' T shirt

*Donated by Adjunct Professor Noel Preston*

***"Living in Queensland through the past twenty years has been painful for many of us. Yet some of us have clung to a vision that authoritarianism and exploitation need not be the way of the future. At last we begin to feel that history is turning our way. Let us seize this moment and make a contribution to a reformed Queensland."***

*Noel Preston, Founder, Citizens Against Corruption, Spring Hill, February 1989.*

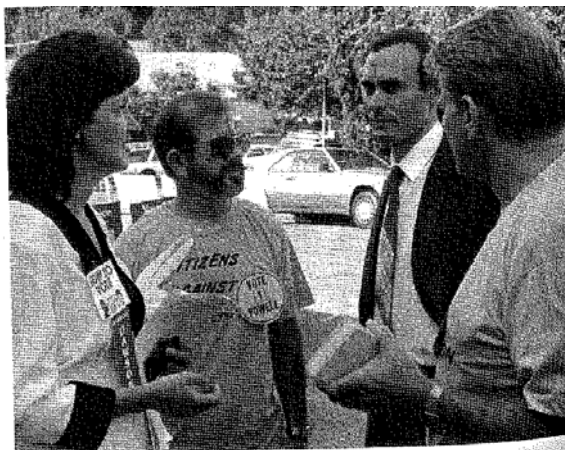
In December 1988 Noel realised that 'it was time to try to harness the concern of ordinary citizens for a corruption free Queensland. So in response to Fitzgerald's public warning that Queenslanders would need to remain vigilant lest the 'forces of darkness' return, a handful of us formed a non-party political action group, Citizens Against Corruption (CAC)"

Between 1988 and 1990, CAC played an active role in pressing home their message. They held candle-lit vigils in memory of the 'victims of corruption during the Joh era, submitted anti-corruption platforms to the Fitzgerald Inquiry and Queensland's political parties, rallied and picketed, including forming a human chain of democracy around Parliament House. In 1989 fielded a candidate, Nigel Powell, in the Merthyr by-election who scored 8% of the primary vote, ahead of all four other independents. Prior to its disbanding in 1990, CAC supported ALP candidates Matt Foley, and Jim Fouras, contributing the election of the first Labor Government in Queensland in thirty two years.

"on CAC's platform was further inquiry into (MP) Don Lane's allegations... of Cabinet misconduct. Lane, the member for Merthyr, had been forced to step down from Cabinet in 1988 but refused to resign his parliamentary seat. In the early months of 1989 Don Lane became the focus target of CAC's campaign. T-shirts, not particularly complimentary to Mr Lane and his prominent facial features, were produced. Regular pickets were held outside his electoral office and Brisbane newspapers chimed in insistently calling for his resignation."

Nigel Powell, former Licensing branch detective who was a pivotal witness in the Fitzgerald Inquiry and who had assisted Chris Masters and Phil Dickie with their expose stories, stood as the CAC candidate for Merthyr.

*"Nigel became particularly despondent when he learned that one (candidate) who had thrown his hat into the ring. . . was Geraldo Bellino, whose unlicensed night club business in the Valley had been exposed at the outset of the Fitzgerald Inquiry mainly through Nigel's testimony.*



Citizens Against Corruption candidate, Nigel Powell (suited) at the polling booths on the day of the Merthyr by-election 1989

**Noel Preston**

Noel is an Adjunct Professor at Griffith University's Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance and one of the founding steering committee members for the Griffith University – Tony Fitzgerald Lecture and Scholarship Program. He is a well known Queensland activist who has supported, and instigated, many social justice initiatives. In the "Taking it to the Streets" edition of the Queensland Review 2007, Drew Hutton writes:

*If I was going to be a Christian I would want to be one in the mould of Noel Preston, a committed, open and passionate man who places social justice at the forefront of his spiritual life... during the worst years of the Bjelke-Petersen regime, Noel played a coordinating role in a group called Concerned Christians, whose most famous act of civil disobedience was when some of its members were arrested for singing psalms in Queens Park during the civil liberties campaigns of the late 1970s.*



## **FIST T-shirt (Fitzgerald Investigation and Surveillance Team)**

### **Mr Barry Krosch**

Barry was a police officer heavily involved with Fitzgerald Inquiry and in 1987 he lived with the Fitzgerald family as part of Mr Fitzgerald's protection duty. As well as being involved in the establishment of FIST – Fitzgerald Inquiry Surveillance Team – he also delivered the Reports to the media on the day that they were released, "armed with a shot gun across lap and .38 pistol" as I drove the reports to the Exhibition Grounds. To this day I am not sure what they expected to happen, but I was ready for it....."

His extract below provides a few snapshots on the establishment of FIST.

#### **Fitzgerald Inquiry Surveillance Team (FIST): Highlights: From 1987 and 1988 diaries**

##### **31 August 1987 to 4 September 1987**

Special Branch protection for Queensland Premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen.

##### **5 and 6 September 1987**

Fitzgerald Inquiry protection for Fitzgerald family at their Taringa home.

##### **7 September to 11 September 1987**

Special Branch protection for Queensland Premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen

##### **14 September 1987**

Fitzgerald Inquiry protection for Fitzgerald family at their Taringa home.

(Performing close protection duties for family of five)

##### **4 January 1988**

Received telephone call at home from Detective Inspector Jim O'Sullivan inviting me to establish and head Fitzgerald Inquiry Surveillance Team (*O'Sullivan was OIC of the Fitzgerald Police Group*)

##### **11 January 1988**

I attend meeting in Inquiry office with Detective Inspector O'Sullivan and the other three of our initial four man (sic) team. I can never name them; however they all used code names from previous surveillance or undercover roles. I was OIC of Team, and was "Beaver". Also there was "Casey"; and "Ankle". For legal reasons "Ankle" had to later change his name to "Mango".

As we had never met before, we later adjourned for coffee at the Cubana coffee shop, Edward Street. (*"Cubana" was BIG in 1988*)

##### **12 January 1988**

All members prepare to travel to Sydney for intensive training.

##### **13 January 1988**

Team members, amid great secrecy, travel to Sydney. Joined by additional team member, "Horse".

Arrive in Sydney and met by our (secret) host agency and training officers.

##### **14 January 1988**

Commence intensive surveillance training course in Sydney.

##### **31 January 1988**

Return to Brisbane after completing intensive surveillance training. Very important to get to know other team members and be able to "read their minds".

##### **1 February 2008**

"Beaver" attends Inquiry office for briefing with Detective Inspector O'Sullivan, Gary Crooke and Brendan Butler. Allocated Targets 1/88 and 2/88

##### **2 February 2008**

"Beaver", "Mango", "Horse" and "Casey" travel to Gold Coast in separate vehicles to commence surveillance as the Fitzgerald Inquiry Surveillance Team.

"FIST" was born.

##### **12 April 1988**

New member "Bulldog" joins team. (*It takes at least five members in five vehicles to form the nucleus of an effective surveillance team*)

"FIST" shirts ordered and delivered. (*Naturally, one does not wear them on operations. Might as well paint a cross hair of your forehead*)

##### **18 December 1988**

"Beaver" departed FIST and commenced duties as an administrative assistant to Detective Inspector O'Sullivan.

"FIST" evolved to become the CJC Surveillance Team and then the CMC Surveillance Team. Amongst the many interesting stories that Barry recalls is one that brings home the difficulties of installing the first listening device in the home of the late Hector Hapeta:

"Mango" was installing the device in the ceiling when some woman returned home and sat on the lounge watching TV - directly under the manhole where "Mango" had entered the ceiling. That's all very well, and sometimes you just have to sit and wait for hours to get out. However before "Mango" entered the ceiling, he had partaken of a few coffees and a can of coke....That was the first device ever approved for the Inquiry and what could have gone wrong....went wrong.

## Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club T shirt

*The Cane Toad Times: Anne Jones, Damien Ledwich, Matt Mawson, Mark Bracken, Robert Whyte and illustrator Albert Ricardo*

The T-shirt was produced and sold by the Cane Toad Times. Conceived by CTT masterminds of the 1980s - Anne Jones, Damien Ledwich, Robert Whyte and Matt Mawson, it included a cartoon drawn by Albert Ricardo, cartoonist for The Brisbane Courier Mail. At a time when message T-shirts were popular, The Cane Toad Times produced and sold several T shirts to subsidise the printing and production costs of The Cane Toad Times.

In an interview with Zenovia Pappas conducted for this exhibition, Anne explains the history and impact of the Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club T shirt:

It became obvious very quickly when the Fitzgerald Inquiry started that it was all gathering momentum, it was like a dam stemmed and Tony Fitzgerald obviously had a mind to get it all out in the open. And of course at the Cane Toad Times we immediately saw a marketing opportunity and we set up the Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club. And it wasn't really a fan club, I have to say, it was just a t-shirt. The t-shirt had a drawing by one of *The Courier Mail* cartoonists Ricardo, that we got him to do. So we basically did up an artwork with Tony Fitzgerald holding a magnifying glass and the words, "Official Member Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club."

We started selling the t-shirts and, boy, did they sell well! I have no idea how many we sold but it would have been a few 1000. We were selling them to lots of journalists and media people and people involved with the Labor Party and so forth. I couldn't tell you now exactly who had one, but certainly Quentin Dempster who was the compere of the local *7:30 Report*, because at that time the *7:30 Report* had a home edition one day a week and he was photographed in the newspaper wearing one. Wayne Goss, who would have been the leader of the opposition at the time, was photographed running, because he was a keen runner, wearing a Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club t-shirt. At the time, we were operating out of a little rented house in Woolloongabba. No one was living there but it was our office and we had this stream of people buying Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club t-shirts. It was a pretty amazing time!



**COURIER-MAIL, Edition 2 - FIRST WITH THE NEWS  
MON 16 MAY 1988, Page 2**

**By: PARTRIDGE D**

*If it's good enough for Expo Oz, why not? Genuine admirers of the Fitzgerald Inquiry may now show their support for the long-running investigation into Queensland corruption by wearing a Tony Fitzgerald Fan Club T-shirt.*

*The \$15 shirts, illustrated right with a caricature of Mr Fitzgerald, QC, holding a giant magnifying glass and drawn by Courier-Mail artist Albert Ricardo, are the idea of the Brisbane-based national humor magazine The Cane Toad Times.*

*They are doing brisk business, with strong demand interstate as well. Cane Toad Times' quartet of editors, Mark Bracken, Anne Jones, Damien Ledwich and Robert Whyte, say: ""We believe that the inquiry has proved to be among the best of its kind anywhere in the world - largely due to the courage and perseverance of Tony Fitzgerald. The club is a response to public feeling. Tony Fitzgerald has become the thinking person's sex symbol."*

Mr Fitzgerald add an interesting addendum:

There was an interesting sequel. A young female journalist, from the Australian or the Age I think, asked what I thought of being so described. I took it as an obvious joke & without considering the consequences said that I was disappointed that I wasn't attractive to a larger group. She published it!!! I received some fearsome mail.

## **Tony Fitzgerald Singlet**

### **Dr Annita Boyd**

*Dr Annita Boyd is a lecturer in the School of Humanities, whose work includes documentary and television program credits as well as more traditional research outputs. Her research interests include fashion theory, popular culture, reality TV and documentary production. Recent projects include the significance of the forty year popularity of the Nellie Stewart bangle (1890s - 1930s), and the representation of prestige handbags in film and television. She is currently investigating the eccentric fashion sense of Edith Bouvier Beale (Jackie Onassis's first cousin).*

Her singlet exemplifies the extent to which different sectors of Brisbane's cultural life perceived the Inquiry and the fact that it is still in existence after more than 20 years, unlike so many other 1980s fashion statements, speaks of the strength of feeling that this period of our history evokes. Annita recalls a little of its history:

This singlet is one of several items of clothing I wore in the mid-late 1980s, that charted my political coming of age and social activism. As a feminist and then member of the Brisbane anarchist community, my wardrobe often consisted of T-shirts celebrating events or protesting about a topical issue. However, whenever I wore this singlet, I would always get strange disapproving stares from others (shopping, for example). I don't know whether people got the joke – but it seemed that every day or so another person would be named in the Inquiry! I rather like the fact that Tony wears a gold lamé jacket (a little faded now) with a bowtie, indicating his somewhat celebrity status.

A friend of mine tells a story of when wearing her Tony T-shirt, whilst riding her motorbike around West End, she was stopped by a police officer. I think it was a licence check (or so he said). The first thing he said was, "I just want to let you know I'm not pulling you over because of your T-shirt!"

## **"Nats set for Battle"**

### Description

*Photo-polymer printing plate of Page 1 of The Courier-Mail of July 4, 1989, reversed so it can be read. One of only two original plates, the other being in private collection.*

*The paper was printed on a letter press system and plates like the one displayed went onto the drum after being spray painted and then sanded lightly.*

*Source: Tony Fitzgerald's collection*

Former Courier Mail Editor, Greg Chamberlin, recalls the events leading to the production of this edition:

The report was handed down to the media at the Exhibition grounds. We had sent a team over there and they were in a lock-up which meant that those present couldn't leave until a designated time. It was a very big day for the Courier. The 4 July edition of the paper had about 70 items, connected with the Inquiry or the release of the report. We had to report not only what Fitzgerald's recommendations were but also what the report would mean for Queensland and Queenslanders. It was the end of a long chapter and the beginning of another.

The Courier Mail, particularly through the work of reporter Phil Dickie, played a major role in triggering the Inquiry.

The work started in December 1986 and the assignment wasn't one that anyone at the time would have envisaged would lead ultimately to the downfall of a government, or to the types of changes that it did. The assignment began when the chief of staff at the time, Bob Gordon, was returning to the office from the City through the Valley and passed what he described as "Sin Triangle." He was offended at the fact that it was quite close to a girls' school and the girls leaving the school would have been obliged to go past these buildings, which housed massage parlours and the like, everyday when they left school. I was acting editor and it was December, which is referred to in the media world as the silly season because everything starts to close down. Bob said 'why don't we try and find out who owns "Sin Triangle"'. Phil Dickie (the third journalist assigned to this task) succeeded of course in not only finding out who owned "Sin Triangle" but in putting together all of the links that "Sin Triangle" represented; the prostitution, gambling, the role of police corruption.

He followed the paths where they led, and we ultimately know where they led. So the Fitzgerald Report was the end of chapter in that there had been a result...and there had not been a result like it. It was a hugely wide-ranging and very important report.

It was also the start of another chapter because the newspaper accepted that it had been a catalyst in the process which discredited a lot of the institutions on which people relied. We had made a decision that we would then monitor the reform process as part of our role in showing that these institutions were changing, that there was accountability coming to Queensland, and obviously people needed to have confidence about what was happening in their State, they needed to have confidence in those institutions that had being dragged through these processes. By and large there was a great will to get Queensland back on the rails after the Fitzgerald Inquiry.

## **Media Coverage – The Adelaide Advertiser**

The Fitzgerald Inquiry was not only a local issue. Many of Australia's interstate publications were regularly in attendance at the Inquiry Hearings. The Adelaide Advertiser was one such publication and we gratefully acknowledge their provision of items for inclusion in this exhibition.

Samela Harris, Features Writer for the Advertiser Newspapers Pty Limited, provides an interstate perspective on the Fitzgerald Inquiry coverage:

In Adelaide, interest in the Fitzgerald Inquiry was intense. *The Advertiser* at that time was a stately broadsheet and it ran the Fitzgerald Inquiry reports front page day after day, streaming extended and corollary reports to the inside pages with pointers from the front. Its man-on-the-spot through 1987 and 1998 predominantly was one Russell Robinson who worked for its sister paper, *The Herald Sun*. His reports were shared among the News Ltd metro morning papers.

The 'Tiser's renown cartoonist, the late Michael Atchison, also was pivotal to the paper's coverage, his wry commentary featuring both front page and on the leader pages.

## **Media Coverage: The Gold Coast Bulletin**

Bob Gordon, until recently Editor-in-Chief of The Gold Coast Bulletin, provided a number of items that are depicted in the exhibition and we gratefully acknowledge the support of The Gold Coast Bulletin for their contribution. Bob has chosen to recall an incident from a previous job.

As Chief of Staff at the Courier Mail during 1980s, Mr Gordon highlights the role of the hero "Phil Dickie and his editors and the management of Queensland newspapers who had the courage to back him even when we could have papered the walls with frighteners from assorted lawyers working for the underworld, the police and various politicians"

The extract below is taken from a speech recalling his time at the Courier Mail and his meeting with a key figure in the Fitzgerald Era, a certain Mr Phil Dickie.

It all began for me on a quiet news day in 1986. I was chief of staff of the Courier-Mail, having been poached from the Canberra Times only a few weeks before. Looking down that big Courier newsroom, I saw a young reporter reading a paper with his feet up on his desk. I knew he had been transferred back from the Sunday Mail in some sort of poo. I had a soft spot for him: he was from Canberra where he had worked on the national University's student newspaper, Woroni. So that's what I called him until I was able to check his by-line: Phil Dickie.

To get his feet off his desk, I asked him to do a company search about the ultimate owner of a strip joint in Fortitude Valley. And to sort out how many brothels and illegal casinos Russ Hinze didn't drive past on his way to George Street, Russ and Joh having denies that any brothels existed in our beloved State. So I suggested to Phil that he take up the case between covering flower shows and the other everyday chores of a junior reporter. What followed were a series of extraordinary coincidences and adventures that would change the shape of Queensland.

. . . a slow news day is a damned dangerous thing for a sitting government.



## Media Coverage

### The Brisbane Courier Mail

The Brisbane Courier Mail was, for many, the main source by which they followed the progress of the Fitzgerald Inquiry. We are grateful to Mr David Fagan and The Courier Mail for providing the various pages that are on display, for allowing us to access their archives to select items and, as the news from this period is in hard copy, for digitising this material at short notice.

Mr David Fagan, current editor-in-chief, highlights the important role that his publication played:

The Fitzgerald Inquiry was the most important event shaping public life in Queensland in the past 50 years. Like all important inquiries, it resulted from the public airing of wrong through the media starting with investigations by The Courier-Mail. The state is better as a result and the legacy of that journalism has improved Queensland for all Queenslanders.

An article published in its 22 September 1987 edition<sup>2</sup>, reproduced below in table form, outlines the highlights of the Fitzgerald Inquiry during that year. It not only provides a chronology of key events during the Inquiry's early stages but shows the rapid pace of developments once the hearings commenced.

January - April	A Courier-Mail journalist, Mr Phil Dickie, writes a series of articles alleging that prostitution, gambling and pornography are controlled by two groups which receive protection from police. One group is controlled by Mr Hector Hapeta and Ms Anne Marie Tilley, the other by Mr Geraldo Bellino, Mr Vittorio Conte, Mr Geoff Crocker and Mr Alan Holloway. Mr Dickie's findings are routinely dismissed by police and the Government
April 22 - 24	Mr Dickie writes of his observations of an illegal casino being moved between two buildings at Fortitude Valley. Police hold a press conference the following day to call the story a 'fabrication' and announce the formation of a gaming squad
May 11	The Australian Broadcasting Corporation Four Corners Program, <i>The Moonlight State</i> is broadcast. Reporter Mr Chris Masters repeats many of Mr Dickie's allegations and also alleges police took bribes.
May 26	The Government announces Mr Tony Fitzgerald, QC, will be in charge of the inquiry and limits it to the five years leading up to the Four Corners program. Controversy follows over the terms of reference, the length of the inquiry and who will pay legal expenses of police
June 25	The inquiry is given wider scope and its terms of reference are widened to the years since 1977
July 27	Hearings begin. On day one Sir Terrence Lewis tells the inquiry a succession of Police Ministers told police to tolerate brothels
July 28	Sir Terrence agrees that brothel toleration policy could promote graft. Later that day Assistant Commissioner Mr Ron Redmond says Government policy prevented a clampdown on prostitution. He assumed the policy was meant to stop brothels from going underground.
July 29	Mr Redmond says he had never seen documentary evidence of a toleration policy, but the police department had adopted a 'longstanding policy of containment and control'
July 30	Assistant Commissioner Mr Donald Braithwaite says prostitution should be legal to cater for the aged, handicapped, the shy and people with sexual hang-ups and perversions
August 3	Sir Terrence returns and says the Premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, had never ordered toleration of prostitution. Sir Terrence says orders by Sir Joh and Mr Gunn to close brothels after the Four Corners report resulted in action against eight parlours in little over a week.
August 6	Former head of the licensing branch Mr Alan Bulger says police never tried to prosecute owners of premises used for brothels as opposed to brothel owners

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<sup>2</sup> Newspaper Reports Start the Chain of Events. The Courier Mail. Tuesday 22 September 1987, p4

August 7 The inquiry takes an unscheduled sitting to debate media coverage of the proceedings. There is argument that hearsay and unsubstantiated allegations should not be published.

August 10 Mr Fitzgerald rules coverage of the inquiry should continue, subject to suppression orders to be made at his discretion. Former inspector Mr Alan Bulger says he never had any reason to suspect Mr Tony Bellino was involved in illegal gambling or corruption.

August 11 The head of the licensing branch, Det Insp. Jim Waugh, says an unnamed couple who owned as many as eight brothels could not be described as being involved in organised crime. Mr Tony Bellino also tells the inquiry he would have to open a massage parlour to be able to afford a lawyer

August 17 Mr Hector Hapeta spends most of a day in the witness box refusing to answer more than 160 questions on the grounds that he might incriminate himself. He admits owning or being involved in brothels

August 18-19 Mr Geraldo Bellino admits to running seven illegal casinos for as many as 5000 customers in Brisbane. He also admits owning premises used for prostitution. Mr Bellino says his casinos had a turnover of about \$1 million a year

August 24 Mr Vittorio Conte admits involvement in Mr Geraldo Bellino's casinos and admits he sold liquor without a licence at the World By Night strip club

August 25 Mr Antonio Bellino denies any involvement with illegal gaming and prostitution

August 27 Courier-Mail reporter Mr Phil Dickie tells of his observation that prostitution is controlled by two groups and details the holdings of Mr Hapeta and Ms Tilley

August 31 Policeman Mr Harry Burgess resigns with indemnity from prosecution to tell the inquiry he accepted \$500 a month from his superiors, Insp. Graeme Parker and Insp. Noel Dwyer. He says he also accepted money from former police officer Mr Jack Herbert who he names as a middle man between criminals and police. Mr Burgess says that during his six years in the licensing branch he and other police accepted free sex from prostitutes and free alcohol at massage parlours. Mr Burgess tells of a large-scale raid of escort agencies in 1981 which failed because the agencies were tipped off. Mr Burgess says brothels took \$1 million a month

Sept 2 - 10 A former brothel owner and prostitute using the name "Mrs Katherine James" calls Mr Burgess a 'bagman' who collected \$100,000 a month for police from brothel owners. "Mrs. James" says she owned a brothel in the early 1970s and later worked in brothels controlled by the Bellino and Hapeta groups. She says policing of brothels changed between the 1970s and 1980s. She had visited illegal casinos run by Mr Geraldo Bellino and Mr Vic Conte and worked as a dealer in a Bellino casino in 1973. "Mrs. James" alleges she had sex with several police. "Mrs James" says she opened a brothel in 1982 and was forced out of business, while Mr Hapeta's brothels were allowed to operate. This was despite the fact that she paid police \$16,000 for protection

Sept 10 Mr Geraldo Bellino dismisses his barrister, saying he had been advised he could face criminal charges later. He complains his name has been blackened by 'hearsay upon hearsay'.

Sept 10 The Premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen, defends police and questions the credibility of Fitzgerald Inquiry witnesses

Sept 14-15 Journalist Mr Phil Dickie returns and links Mr Tony Bellino to a casino in the same building as his Roxy nightclub. Mr Dickie says he received little co-operation from police when he put questions to them about vice. Police had told him Mr Hapeta lived in New South Wales and had little to do with prostitution in Brisbane

Sept 15-17 Sgt. Colin Dillon tells the inquiry he was offered \$400 a month by Harry Burgess to ignore criminal activity. Sgt Dillon says he was too afraid to tell his superiors of the offer. Sgt Dillon calls on his fellow officers to come forward with information to restore the good name of the police force.

Sept 17 Mr Fitzgerald leaves the inquiry for a secret location to interview a witness unable to attend. He returns with the news that Assistant Commissioner (Crime) Mr Graeme Parker has resigned and admitted he is corrupt. Mr Parker promises to name other corrupt police. Mr Fitzgerald adjourns the inquiry for two weeks

Sept 21 The Deputy Premier and Police Minister, Mr Gunn, announces that the Police Commissioner, Sir Terrence Lewis, would be on special leave with full pay from midnight. Mr Gunn said that for the duration of the Fitzgerald Inquiry, Assistant Commissioner Ron Redmond would serve as acting Police Commissioner.

***Ahern risks all on reform THE AUSTRALIAN – 4 July 1989 - Special Fitzgerald report  
pages 1&2***

***Reporter: Sybil Nolan***

Journalist Sybil Nolan covered the Fitzgerald Inquiry for The Australian. Her article included in the Australian at the close of the Fitzgerald Inquiry brought the events of the previous 18 months to readers outside Queensland. She recalls her time at the Inquiry and the influences that it had on Queensland

I grew up in Queensland in the 1960s and '70s when, as the saying goes, political dinosaurs still stalked the land. In the Fitzgerald Inquiry, the highest stakes were always the political ones, as this news story about the inquiry's report reflects. If the culture of government wasn't changed, then charges against police and prostitution operators weren't going to make a difference in the long run. Tony Fitzgerald recognised this, not only by making highly evolved recommendations aimed at improving government's public accountability and transparency, but by leaving criminal charges arising from the inquiry's investigations to a Special Prosecutor, so they wouldn't distract from the reform agenda. It was another instance of how complex the accomplishment of Fitzgerald and his team was. Their success took real political acumen and a lot of stratagem. And they were successful, broadly, in providing a blueprint for change. The report's impact on the state's politics was sometimes tumultuous, often fascinating.

*Sybil Nolan covered the Fitzgerald Inquiry for The Australian.  
Pictured – Sybil Nolan circa 1989*



## **The Sydney Morning Herald:**

**'Brothels, Bookies, How corruption fed' Saturday 30 January, 1988.**

**Reporter: Evan Whitton**

### **Recollection by Malcolm Brown**

Media coverage of the Fitzgerald Inquiry hearings was intense. The Sydney Morning Herald was one of the national newspapers who reported upon its progress. We gratefully acknowledge the Sydney Morning Herald and Fairfax Media Limited for providing this item.

Malcolm Brown, Senior Writer at The Sydney Morning Herald, selected the story above as an example and provided a brief background of reporter Evan Whitton, who wrote much of the material published by SMH during its coverage of the Inquiry:

Evan Whitton, an award-winning journalist, one-time editor of the National Times, later a writer with the Sydney Morning Herald and Sun-Herald, specialised in organised crime and made a major journalistic contribution to its exposure. Often working in conjunction with another fearless investigator, Bob Bottom, he was confronted by forces that tried to suppress exposure, using the resources of the law and even threats of physical violence. He was undeterred, even when his adversaries were prominent people. A former Queenslander, he took up the Fitzgerald Inquiry with relish and over several years provided the public of New South Wales with an extraordinarily insightful view of its proceedings. Whitton was a schoolteacher for 15 years but left the profession in 1964 to join the staff of the Toowoomba Chronicle. He brought with him a mastery of English language and vocabulary which did him no harm. Whitton won the Walkley Award, a national award for excellence in journalism, five times. His book, *The Hillbilly Dictator: Australia's Police State*, an account of Joh Bjelke-Petersen's political career, covered developments in Queensland's public life which had contributed to the scandalous events uncovered by Fitzgerald.

## **OPERATIONAL STANDING ORDERS**

For over 18 months, the Fitzgerald family were protected by a six man team, 24 hours per day, 7 days per week, and who were located in the garage of the family residence. In 1989, to regain some normality to family lifestyle, the Fitzgerald family moved to a close but separate location.

As one of the officers detailed to protect the family's safety, Mr Barry Krosch, recalls:

I doubt if anyone really likes doing that; it is terribly intrusive. Just imagine a couple of guys living in your garage for two years? Cooking meals was interesting. Mrs Fitzgerald insisted on sharing her meals with the "troops" most of the time. I do recall that she did not like her children eating "junk food". So they would do that while out with us, or in the garage. She found the junk food wrappers in her rubbish bin and was not happy!

This document was devised to maintain security and ensure continuity of instructions for the members of the protection detail. In an incredibly detailed dossier, the family's life, movements, service providers, friends and even pets were recorded and instructions were included on how to assess and deal with potential security risks.

## **Dr Merrelyn Bates**

Dr Merrelyn Bates is a senior lecturer in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice. Originally with a social work background, she was one of the few civilians to be involved in training recruits at the Police Academy at the time of the Inquiry. She joined Griffith University, as one of the team of original staff of the School of Justice Administration a few weeks before the police recruits arrived to commence training at the university.

The training of police officers, particularly recruits, is a long term interest and passion for Merrelyn and in the early 1990s she was involved in a number of publications and reviews of the training process at the Queensland police academy, as well as developing the curriculum for Griffith's new school. She is in the rare situation of being able to observe and comment on the period from 'within' the police academy and from a university researcher perspective. She recalls the atmosphere at the Police Academy as the Inquiry drew to a close:

The day that the report came out I was in the tea room at the Police Academy – there was a lot of noise: the police were upset, particularly because they feared that a perception would be created that all police officers were tainted with corruption and they were also concerned that the flexibility that they often felt that they needed to 'catch the bad guys' would be curtailed due to the enforcement of strict rules on conduct.

For me, as with many others at the Academy, one the big surprises to emerge from the inquiry was the admission of corruption by Graeme Parker – I had met him at a few functions and he was so highly thought of within the police, that, along with many colleagues I could not believe it when he admitted his involvement

She also recalls the tensions in the period after the Inquiry while many were waiting for a decision to be made about those involved in corruption.

Just after the report but before he had gone to court, Terry Lewis and his wife attended a 25 year reunion event for the Juvenile Aid Bureau. The event also included representatives from the police, children's services, child protection and other agencies involved. The tension at the event was palpable – some didn't believe that he should have attended, some didn't believe what had emerged, and others were trying to validate the good work that he had done with the JAB. His work with the JAB has stood the test of time, and it would have been difficult to have established this highly successful initiative without him – yet the recent corruption disclosures would be what he was to be remembered for.

The inquiry recommendations that training should be carried out outside the confines of the police academy caused concerns. The academy was worried about sending recruits to university for part of their training – there was a concern that 'having police officers who could think would break the paramilitary discipline approach adopted by the academy, and necessary in some policing situations. The academy staff were also concerned for their own jobs. In a review of the police academy that Merrelyn was involved in, in late 1990, she had been amazed to discover that some of the concerns that the police trainers had about transferring tuition to civilian staff had more to do with the impact that this would have on their (private) weekend tuition than on the skills development of the recruits.

Merrelyn's move to the School of Justice Administration was not her first connection with Griffith staff. Prior to this, police recruits from the Academy had attended Griffith to participate in role-plays developed by students and staff from drama; these role-plays, similar to situations they would face on the job, provided opportunities for the recruits to experience 'real-time' outcomes to their 'interventions'. But although she was teaching in similar areas at Griffith to that at the academy the environment was very different.

The first cohort of students was excited and enthusiastic and if not fully aware of the Fitzgerald Inquiry when they started they certainly were at the completion of their studies.

The students must have been sick of hearing about Fitzgerald, they heard about it in every course! The recommendations in the Fitzgerald Inquiry were the 'arrow' driving the program and the information and training fell in behind this. One of the biggest concerns with the students was fear of being reported for anything. They were much more aware of their discretionary power and worried that some people would see it as wrong. Others, many children of police officers, were caught in a difficult situation of understanding the need for changes then having to go home to parents who saw the old system as the best way.

In addition to the greater flexibility in the teaching curriculum, the university environment was far more research oriented, and able to develop in response to evidence and knowledge from a wide range of sources.

I remember a presentation by a member of the New York police who was undertaking a US fellowship at Griffith within Pat Weller's school who said that from his experience of corruption inquiries into the New York police – it would be ten years of change before they saw the benefits and then the corruption would start again. He strongly recommended that there needed to be an inquiry every ten years. This advice has resonated with me ever since, particularly in light of recent events.

## Professor AJ Brown

Professor A J Brown is a senior researcher in Griffith's Socio-Legal Research Centre and plays an active role in shaping the landscape of our public institutions, including as one of the participants at last year's Australia 2020 Summit.

The Fitzgerald Inquiry was a turning point in his life and helped shape his career. He grew up as the son of expatriate Queenslanders in Canberra, constantly embarrassed by political and social standards under Premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen. Himself the son of a Courier-Mail journalist, as a boy he had met reporter Phil Dickie whose investigative reports helped trigger the Inquiry. As a law student, A J followed the Inquiry and its aftermath, and began a career specializing in public accountability. The reputation of Justice Fitzgerald (as he became) and his Inquiry was a catalyst for A J's move to Queensland, seeking a job as his Associate in the Queensland Court of Appeal:

GEF was one of the key things that attracted me to Queensland from Canberra. I literally thought 'who do I know of in Queensland who would be worth working for?' I could think of only one name. One... The rest as they say is history.

He recently led the major research project 'Whistling While They Work', focusing on public interest whistleblowing within government. The project confirmed the challenges faced by the Inquiry are ongoing. In a recent edition of Red Magazine he explained:

The Fitzgerald Inquiry ended up offering indemnities and accessing people and being able to flush out people's evidence. But the Fitzgerald Report was not very specific about how to handle whistleblowing, so the legislation passed in Queensland and elsewhere from the early 1990s onwards was really a bit of a shot in the dark, in terms of what type of legislative approach should result in conscientious public servants coming forward more easily with information about wrongdoing.

He says one of the great untold stories is exactly why Bjelke-Petersen's ministers chose Fitzgerald to undertake the Inquiry:

As a human being, law reformer and already an ex-judge (Mr Fitzgerald had already served a term as the Federal Court's youngest ever judge, and the first in Queensland), GEF was never going to turn a blind eye, the way many lawyers, judges and others in Queensland had been doing for years. He wanted a better society, and seemed sick of being embarrassed by his government and his peers, just like my expat parents. When the whistleblowers and would-be whistleblowers appeared before the Inquiry, there was no-one better who could have been sitting there to hear them.

For politicians everywhere, GEF proved the rule that you shouldn't appoint a commission of inquiry unless you're confident what the commissioner might find. On that rule, it may never happen again. But it did. Proving history wrong – through whatever quirky twists of fate – is one of the true measures of what makes someone's contribution great.

AJ's most recent edited books, *Whistleblowing in the Australian Public Sector* and *Promoting Integrity: Evaluating and Improving Public Institutions* (coedited with Brian Head and Carmel Connors) are available from ANU E-Press and Ashgate Publications, respectively.



## **Professor Glyn Davis AC**

Glyn Davis joined Griffith University in 1985 as a lecturer in public policy, and although undertaking periods of leave of absence to undertake government roles, was a staff member until 2005, from 2002 as Vice Chancellor.

In a speech to the 2008 Melbourne Writers Festival, he recalls that 'a generation or more had feared the police – with every reason – as the instrument of state violence' and relays a flavour of life in Queensland in the 1980s:

. . .take a day in the life of Queensland – a forgotten demonstration on August 20, 1985, when crowds gathered to protest against anti-union legislation at the opening of a new parliamentary session. The police turned up also, and more than 100 people were arrested. Yet so common had such scenes become, it barely registered. The Australian the next morning printed a photograph of a protesters being gently handled by police alongside a quote from Premier Bjelke-Petersen describing the rally as "a real fizzer." Though television news reported the events, only Channel Seven bothered to mention what the protest was about. . . so on 20 August 1985, I recall the incongruous juxtaposition of parliamentary ceremony with street violence. Mounted horsemen in 19<sup>th</sup> century uniforms parading along Alice Street. The Premier appearing on the small portico above the Parliament House entrance to inspect the troopers, and the crowd yelling 'Jump! Jump!'

Glyn left Brisbane in late 1987 to take up an overseas fellowship and, on his return in 1989, Brisbane seemed a different place. The Fitzgerald Inquiry had delivered its report and although still in government, the National Party appeared in disarray. He recalls a particular phone call that sent him rushing to Parliament House to see the evidence for himself:

The speaker, Lin Powell, had a disagreement with Premier Ahern and resigned in protest on the spot. The National Party did not have the numbers to close the parliament and no Speaker to enforce parliamentary rules. Members from all parties were using the lack of Speaker to shout and hurl abuse and the public gallery, packed with people, were joining in but the ushers had no power from the Speaker to control them. It was total chaos!

The end of that era was clear but even then he found it difficult to believe the regime that had existed for so long in Queensland was finally going to end. Once the Goss government took office, Glyn used his annual leave over the Christmas period to assist with plans for public sector reform. As he noted:

Fitzgerald had played an important role in exposing the corruption and in destabilising the old regime. The inquiry vindicated all those who had known, and had been saying all along that the system was corrupt. It set the environment for the Goss government to start modernising and putting reforms in place. While the Fitzgerald Inquiry had addressed the changes needed to for electoral reform and address police corruption, the terms of reference had omitted another important aspect – reform of the public service.

In early 1990 Glyn was granted a leave of absence from the University to take up a position within the PSMC and assumed carriage of the development of an ethical regime within the public service. In the first year of the Goss administration the public service was opened up – jobs were advertised, and assessed by an independent panel, promotions and appointments were based on merit and equitable measures put in place to allow appointees from other Australian government agencies to transfer their benefits to Queensland government jobs.

Before these reforms, public servants, including the magistracy, had been appointed and promoted at least in part on the basis of their history and seniority, a practice so entrenched that some planned their children's schooling against anticipated promotion dates. As a result, many talented people had given up and moved to Canberra. Government jobs were only advertised in the Government Gazette, and anyone coming from outside could not bring their superannuation or other benefits with them. As with reforms that were being put in place by EARC, the task was not an easy one. While most in the public service wanted the changes, they started getting 'narky' with what they saw as an additional bureaucratic overlay and additional demands on their time and ways of working.

Fitzgerald created a 'ground zero' from which to start. He cleared the way for reform in the public service to happen quickly. Queensland had been among the most backward states in terms of its public service but within one year was leading the way.

By the end of 1990 Queensland had the beginnings of a professionalised public service able to complement and support the reforming agenda created by the Fitzgerald Inquiry. Twenty years on is a good moment to reflect on all these many changes - led by the EARC, CJC/CMC and the public service - measure up against the original goals. And he believes we need debate about other institutions, such as the media, which much influence public debate but are outside the accountability systems promoted by Fitzgerald.

## Professor Mark Finnane

Professor Mark Finnane is an internationally acknowledged historian with a particular interest in the history of policing, criminal justice and responses to violence. His books include *When police unionise: The politics of law and order in Australia*. Sydney: The Institute of Criminology (2002); *Punishment in Australian society*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press (1997); *Police and government: Histories of policing in Australia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press (1994) and *Policing in Australia: Historical perspectives*. Australia: New South Wales University Press. (1987)

In a professorial lecture delivered at Griffith University in May 2000<sup>3</sup>, Mark gave a clear account of the events surrounding the Mundingburra by-election, interpreted by some as an attempt to wind back the Fitzgerald Reforms. The following is an extract from that lecture:

In July 1995 the most popular state government in Australia all but lost office after Labor Premier Wayne Goss went to the polls. The police union had little if anything to do with this – but it wasn't disappointed. It had been engaged in a long-running battle with the government over police staffing levels and the Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) and other police organisational reforms. At the 1995 annual conference the executive was mandated to run an industrial campaign over staffing levels and the alleged threat to public safety arising from them.<sup>4</sup>

Six months later Goss was forced to a by-election in the Townsville seat of Mundingburra. Early in January 1996 the police union executive decided to enter the political fray - \$20,000 was committed to a campaign focussed on police numbers. TV ads, a mobile billboard and radio talk back appearances would highlight the dangers to public safety if the government didn't employ more police.

That was the public campaign. Behind the façade was another set of union priorities. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the president of the police union, the leader of the Opposition and the shadow police minister was signed early in the campaign. The document was secret – it was not revealed to the coalition partners. Neither was it known to most members of the union, though later inquiry showed that its substance was known to most members of the union executive.

What was the objective of agreement? The MOU certainly had more police as its first priority. But there were plenty of other matters on the union agenda – more than 40 of them listed over 14 pages. Other demands of the union included a writing down of some Criminal Justice Commission powers of investigation into police discipline matters, a union say in the appointment of the next Commissioner of Police, and the sacking of a number of named senior police. Some matters of union security were mentioned, to most of which the politicians, not usually friends of trades unions, signalled assent. To most of the union demands the politicians 'agreed' – although the meaning of 'agreed' had many retrospective interpretations. On a small number of matters there was a commitment simply to review existing arrangements.

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<sup>3</sup> Professor Mark Finnane [The road to Mundingburra: Police Unions and Politics in Australia](#) 25 May 2000 *Professorial Lecture Series No. 3, 2000*

<sup>4</sup> The brief account relies on official and legal reports and media commentary at the time, as well as C. Lewis. 1999. *Complaints against police: the politics of reform*. Sydney: Hawkins Press.; Criminal Justice Commission. 1996. Report on an Investigation into a Memorandum of Understanding between the Coalition and QPUE and an Investigation into an alleged deal between the ALP and the SSAA, December 1996.; *Queensland Police Journal*; and [Qld] *Re Carruthers v Connolly, Ryan and Attorney-General of Queensland*; and *Re CJC and Le Grand v Connolly, Ryan and A-G* [1997] QSC, 132 (Thomas J).

Goss lost the by-election, and Labor lost government in February. Within the month, the *Courier Mail* revealed the existence of the secret MOU. By now Police Minister, Cooper referred the matter to the CJC. After legal advice the CJC appointed a retired NSW judge, Kenneth Carruthers QC, to investigate whether any electoral act or police misconduct offences had been committed in the signing of the MOU. In the meantime the government proceeded to address some areas of its commitments to the union – a review of the police service was established. And as public hearings into the making of the MOU continued, the likelihood of adverse findings against some of the principals seemed to increase. Members of the union executive tried to pre-empt this possibility when they sought an injunction against Carruthers and the CJC for bias in respect of them, an action dismissed in chambers in August 1996.

The government's increasing antagonism to the CJC and Carruthers became a live issue from September when it appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the way the CJC had conducted its business over the years. Two ex-judges were appointed, one of them the source of earlier legal advice to Cooper exonerating his MOU actions and finding the document unexceptional. The Connolly-Ryan Inquiry, with its quasi-Royal Commission powers, almost immediately turned into a confrontation with the still unfinished Carruthers Inquiry, when the former demanded that Carruthers make available all documentation relating to his inquiry. Subsequently Judge Thomas of the Supreme Court would describe the demand as 'outrageous' and 'oppressive'. Carruthers resigned almost immediately. Unfazed, the Connolly-Ryan Inquiry continued on its way, in spite of increasing concern over the appearance of bias on the part of Connolly. By early 1997 this had reached the stage where the CJC as well as Carruthers took their own legal action. A trial proceeded during 1997, during which Part-Time Commissioner Professor Homel disclosed that Inquiry Commissioner Connolly had told him that 'Now that our side of politics is back in power we can do a proper critique of the Fitzgerald experiment'. The result of the trial was the most decisive outcome of the entire episode – Judge Thomas found that there was a strong case of 'ostensible bias' on the part of Connolly, and ordered that the Inquiry be terminated.

In 2009, he reflects upon his earlier observations:

Looking back on these events from another decade later we might see them as something of a last gasp of a political culture which had been fatally challenged by the progress and outcome of the Fitzgerald Inquiry. This is not to say that problems of corruption, in public life or policing, were once and forever removed. But there was now at least a presumption of respect for an ideal of political and administrative integrity which informed the discussion of public affairs. The very readiness with which a secret MOU between the police union and a politician aspiring to a key role in government might be referred to the CJC by that same politician was a sign of how much had changed. Police unions were increasingly expected to behave with a degree of respect for the protocols of good government, even if they maintained a particularly robust and confronting public style. Similarly the impact of the Fitzgerald Inquiry might be seen reflected in the assertive decision of Judge Thomas, with its insistence on procedural autonomy and freedom from bias on the part of public officers appointed by the state to carry out vital functions of investigation.

## **Professor Ross Homel**

*Professor Ross Homel joined Griffith University in 1992 as Foundation Professor of the new School of Justice Administration, established to give effect to the Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendations on police training. He held the Head of School post until 1996, and again in 2002-3. An active and respected criminologist, he established The Centre for Crime Policy and Public Safety in 1992 to strengthen the research dimension of criminal justice study at Griffith. Together with Professors Charles Sampford and Pat Weller, Ross formed the Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance, securing its status as an Australian Research Council (ARC) Key Centre. Under his Directorship of the Key Centre, the ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security was created. He is now Director of the Griffith Institute for Social and Behavioural Research.*

Ross's first brush with Queensland's political life occurred in 1986, when Ross was a senior lecturer at Macquarie University and working on the introduction of Random Breath Testing in NSW:

My research had shown that Queensland had a significant track record in non-enforcement of drinking and driving offences. (With hindsight, we might wonder if this had any link with the ownership involvement of licenced premises by national party politicians, but the research did not address this question.) I was invited to comment on ABC 7.30 Report and suggested that Queensland should follow the NSW lead and introduce random breath testing. Within a few minutes of the program going to air, I received a phone call at home from one of the national party 'apparatchiks' warning me to stay clear of Queensland!

Luckily for Griffith he ignored this advice. At the end of 1990, Ross read an advert for a foundation professor of justice administration in Griffith University. The advert specifically drew attention to the fact that the new school would be responsible for 'training half of the police recruits in Queensland'. The other 50% were to be trained at QUT.

When Ross joined Griffith the School of Justice Administration had been very competently set up along the lines of a teacher training program model and, in his first year, Ross reconceptualised this to be more in keeping with a social sciences model and strengthen research underpinning criminology and criminal justice.

After the 3 year contract to teach police recruits, it seemed that the police hierarchy were having second thoughts:

In late 1993, my QUT counterpart, Simon Pietre and I were summoned to the Assistant Police Commissioner's office, one of the old guard from pre Fitzgerald times, and informed that the contracts for recruit training outside the Police Academy would not be continued. This was despite a favourable assessment of the initiative included in a police commissioned evaluation. The teaching of police recruits in university environments had been criticised by the then Attorney General as unsuitable to prepare them for operational duties, however this missed the point. The reason for external educational training, as recommended by Fitzgerald, was not to prepare for operational duties but to ensure that police were connected with, and aware of, the bigger issues faced by the communities in which they were to work, rather than to maintain a closed police culture only environment.

In 1994, police recruit training and education returned to the control of the police service and academy.

Once in Queensland, Ross realised the huge impact that the Fitzgerald Inquiry had upon the state. In 1994 he joined the CJC as a part time commissioner which inducted him immediately to the 'sharp end' of the Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendations.

With Rob O'Regan as chair and Mark Le Grand as the head of the investigative section, I could add a 'preventative focus' to a predominantly '*catch the bad guys and lock'em up*' approach, and contribute to the strong research environment that was flourishing under David Brereton. The CJC had no easy ride from the Parliamentary Criminal Justice Committee and every month, we all trooped in to Parliament House to defend our actions and approach to an increasingly hostile committee which included a future Beattie government minister, Gordon Nuttall.

Commenting recently in the wake of the conviction of former Minister Gordon Nuttall, Ross pressed the need for another inquiry:

I think it's time - actually 20 years after Fitzgerald - to have a closer look at those links between big business and politics because there's not enough known about the lunches, the free accommodation, possibly the free travel - who knows what's going on?<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Nuttall braces for sentencing; ABC News, Friday 17 July 2009 (accessed on 23 July 2009 at <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/07/17/2628511.htm>)

## **Professor Merv Hyde**

*Professor Hyde was an integral member of the team that designed the undergraduate training program for police recruits and the establishment of the School of Justice Administration. He was the foundation Head of School until the appointment of Professor Ross Homel in 1992.*

Merv worked in the Faculty of Education when approached by Phil Meade to assist with the design of a new undergraduate program to train police recruits responding to a long held ambition by Phil which was given a new opportunity through the recommendations contained in the Fitzgerald Inquiry. With strong personal and professional connections within the Queensland Police Service, Merv was an obvious choice to join the initial planning team comprising Phil and consultant, Superintendent Frank Rynne.

As part of the process of developing a robust and responsive program, and school, Merv undertook a whistlestop tour to glean from international experience, and invite critical comment that would inform the new Queensland police training plans.

Within a very short time period I met with police agencies – the FBI Academy in Quantico, the UK Metropolitan Police, the Canadian Mounted Police Force and the Scottish Police force who known for their commitment to community policing - and the existing police training establishments in these countries such as the Universities of Virginia, Norwich and the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. I was surprised to learn that they were all very familiar with the Fitzgerald Inquiry, and particularly the charges that had been brought against Police Commissioner Terry Lewis.

While they all incorporated university training at officer level they were intrigued by our aims to train recruits, which was, as far as I am aware, the first time that any 'western' country had aimed to introduce university education at this early level of the police career.

Merv explains this in terms of the role of the police in relation to similar professions like nursing and teaching also employed in a public service capacity, and for whom university training was an integral component. The police service, he believed should not be treated as 'second-class citizens' in relation to their training.

Following the Fitzgerald Inquiry there was still a rawness and fear of doing something wrong within the Police Force. Within the new recruit cohort many already held a degree and suddenly there was this well educated self-critical group fully into the Fitzgerald ethos They knew when something was wrong and were prepared to 'blow the whistle' at the drop of a hat. This was not always so at more senior levels. The staff recruited to teach the program had to be confident, unafraid of criticism and able to sit at a table with senior police officers and stand their ground. Mostly we found very strong collaboration and commitment. The Commissioner and his Deputy Commissioner were outstanding.

While all staff recruited met these criteria, Merv particularly singles out Keith Bryett for particular praise, the School's first appointment – then the only police officer in Queensland with a PhD (in counter terrorism from St Andrews) and whose file in the police service had reportedly been marked "never to be promoted' due to his open criticism of the former police procedures.

It is often not appreciated is how closely Griffith was involved in the recruitment, and other processes adopted within the Police Academy, particularly as the recruits attended their first semester at Griffith before heading to the Police Academy for their second semester. As this was the first time that a recruitment and training program such as this had occurred anywhere – together with colleagues at the Police Academy we literally 'wrote a new rule book'!

While many academic colleagues in other schools at Griffith may not have fully understood what the program was trying to do, Vice Chancellor Roy Webb was unswerving in his support. Merv recalls a particularly challenging phone call:

As part of a research study into policing attitudes, among largely positive outcomes, a few negative results for the police had emerged. To alert media to the article I was publishing, I send a copy of a press release to the Courier Mail as well as other national media outlets. The Vice Chancellor received a call from the Police Minister calling for the press release to be withdrawn and replaced with one drafted by the government, and a demand that I be sacked otherwise! The Vice-Chancellor called me into his office and the Police Minister repeated his requests in a phone call while I was present. Professor Webb listened politely until the Minister had finished, then reminded him that the university was autonomous and thanked the Minister for his time.

When the contract with Griffith came to an end, a move attributed to budgetary constraints and a change of Commissioner, Merv estimates that almost 1000 students had been involved at Griffith and QUT and played a role in changing the Service from the ground upwards. Many of these graduates now are located in senior positions within the Queensland Police Service and under their leadership, the principles and ethos engendered through this program continue to influence the operation of the Queensland Police Service.



## Professor Ian Lowe

*Professor Ian Lowe is widely acknowledged as one of Australia's leading and longstanding commentators and activists on environmental issues. During the pre-Fitzgerald era, the Bjelke-Petersen regime's lack of ethical principles and scientific comprehension created a difficult environment for academics like Ian.*

Recalling life in Queensland in the 1980s, Ian outlines a whole catalogue of examples that demonstrate the approach of the government of the day to the governance of environmental issues:

- Comalco granting parcels of shares to various ministers before the Cabinet made a decision to extend generous public subsidies to the aluminium industry, - Joh stormed off the set of the ABC current affairs TV program when quizzed on the subject by Alan Hogan;
- Russ Hinze, asked if operating a quarry while being Minister for Mines was a conflict of interest, described it as 'an alignment of interests'!;
- Developer George Herscu, who was subsequently jailed, bribed Russ Hinze as Minister for Local Government to over-rule Brisbane City Council and permit the third shopping centre on the Mains Road – McCullough Street intersection at Sunnybank;
- Justin Hickey calmly telling a TV interviewer that paying Joh for a knighthood had been a sound business investment!

The government's understanding of science was similarly idiosyncratic, creating considerable challenges to the progress of science in Queensland for an academic focused on improving environmental and scientific understanding He particularly recalls:

- The hydrogen car fiasco – Joh championed a shonky Sydney inventor who claimed to produce limitless energy from tap water by the miracle of hydrogen fusion in an ordinary-looking sedan car. The episode of a demo in King George Square descended into farce when the key to start the car could not be found. . .
- Joh's support for drilling for oil on the Great Barrier Reef, dismissing concerns by saying that oil floats on water and responding to comments from the Academy of Science by saying "Who are they? I've never heard of them, they're probably based in Canberra"!
- Joh's Minister for Education championing 'creation science' by telling state science teachers that they could teach evolution as a theory but creation had to be taught as the origin of the species! A little nest of science teachers in Indooroopilly took this up and we had students coming to study science to Griffith convinced that evolution was a nutty atheist theory with no scientific validity! "

Even the relative sanctity of the university campus was not immune to the physical and psychological pressure mounted by the government of the day. Vice Chancellor John Willett was coming under pressure to silence academic staff who challenged the government line and, at Griffith, as at the University of Queensland, the police ripped out condom machines on the grounds that their presence was encouraging immorality.

Like many academics and political activists Ian took place in protests and demonstrations, carrying a placard declaring 'the laws have been doctored' at an alternative academic procession held in protest at the award of an honorary doctorate of law to Joh Bjelke-Petersen by the University of Queensland. "I recall Special Branch photographing people at demos and Labour Day marches, surrounding the speakers and those attending demonstrations and in some cases, such as one Hiroshima Day rally in King George Square, almost outnumbering the attendees – it was scary stuff."

## **Professor Phil Meade**

*Emeritus Professor Phil Meade was Foundation Dean of the new Griffith University Faculty of Education in 1990, following the amalgamation of the Brisbane College of Advanced Education (Mount Gravatt campus). Under his leadership, the faculty established a School of Justice Administration and assumed responsibility for teaching police recruits in the post Fitzgerald environment.*

It was not the first time that Phil had approached the Queensland Police with the idea of teaching police recruits within an academic environment. While at Brisbane CAE he had explored the possibility with Police Commissioner Terry Lewis and educators at the Police Academy but although discussions were well advanced, eventually the idea 'hit a brick wall and was shelved'.

In 1991 as Foundation Dean of the Faculty of Education Phil was interested in broadening the suite of programs offered, so thinking that the Fitzgerald Inquiry may have softened opposition to a tertiary course for Police, he dusted off his earlier work and re-engaged with the contacts in the Police Force. This time, his suggestions were met with support.

I had investigated Police Training in NSW and Superintendent Frank Rynne, who had extensive experience in Queensland Police Training, was a most valuable contact. As the momentum grew, Dr Mervin Hyde (now Professor) agreed to accept a secondment from the Psychology Department to assist me to launch a new degree program in Justice Education. Dr Hyde visited Police training institutions overseas in a number of countries including Canada. He accepted the role of Head of the new School of Justice Administration which he relinquished on the appointment of Professor Ross Homel.

Phil's earlier experiences while at BCAE in early and mid 80s had taught him how sensitive the Bjelke-Petersen government could be about any public criticism, and particularly any hint of accusations of corruption.

In the 1980s, after 13 years of working in southern states as an educator, Phil returned to a taste of the pre-Fitzgerald Queensland.

I was surprised to discover that colleagues joked that I had moved to the 'Deep North'. However, two incidents that were to follow were not at all funny. On the contrary, in retrospect they were distinctly sinister.

It had been a long-standing practice that the Kelvin Grove CAE teacher education graduates would be allocated employment by the Queensland State Government just prior to their graduation. On one occasion the Government was having problems with their budget and broke with this tradition. As part of the usual agenda, the Student President addressed the assembly. She protested that the sudden and unexpected change in Government policy was unfair and unjust and then asked, 'Would the unemployed graduates please stand up'.

Accompanied by the rustle of academic gowns over 'best clothes,' hundreds of fresh graduates responded to their President's request. A deathly silence followed. I can still recall the powerful emotional impact that these young fresh faces standing in silence had on the audience largely comprised of Mums and Dads and KGCAE staff. It brought tears to the eyes of many who witnessed this most dignified protest. The TV cameras rolled and the press reporter's cameras flashed. The media coverage was intense. The next day back at KGCAE, it soon became apparent that the Government was very angry indeed that the CAE had sanctioned such a protest. A rumour circulated that Joh had told the Education Minister to "Sack the b\*\*\*\*\*s". All staff were instructed to present their CVs for consideration by the State Cabinet.

While the matter did not proceed to further action, it created considerable worry and uncertainty for the CAE staff. A second brush with the authority of the Bjelke-Petersen regime in March 1986 had a more direct effect on Phil.

"I had been invited to present a key note address to the Toowong Professional Development Centre on the 'TE Score', the measure that was used as a 'gate keeper' to university entrance. My research had confirmed that the TE Score was a poor predictor of subsequent success and I was acutely aware that children from lower social class families had a disproportionately low representation in university enrolments. I argued that the secondary school curriculum, on which the TE Score was based, was biased in favour of those from 'British Upper-class backgrounds', that there was too much reliance placed on the TE Score and that it was morally corrupt.

My wife, Diane, recalls that I was pretty happy (even cocky) with the outcomes and the audiences reaction when I returned home on the Saturday afternoon. On Sunday 2 March the Sunday Mail newspaper ran a news story and around 9.30pm on Sunday evening, reporters from the Courier Mail telephoned me with the news that the Government intended to take me to court on the grounds that I had defamed the Government by claiming that it was corrupt. Any elation I may have had about the effectiveness of my address rapidly evaporated as Diane and I experienced a sleepless night faced with the prospect that we could lose our home. We were acutely aware that others who had challenged the Government had suffered greatly in defamation cases and that it had a history of 'taking no prisoners' in relation to anyone who dared to use the 'c' word and Queensland Government in the same breath. Although subsequently it was shown that the newspaper had sensationalized my presentation, it did give me cause to reflect upon on how 'academic freedom' applied in my case. When I gave my address: "Was I speaking in my capacity as a senior member of staff from BCAE?"; "Would BCAE assist me to defend my position in a court case between Meade and the State of Queensland?"

It took several weeks before the Government decided not to continue legal action against me."

## **Professor David Moss**

*Professor David Moss joined The School of Humanities at Griffith University in 1978. During the 1980s and 90s he held a number of academic positions including Dean of Arts and was integral to the establishment and direction of the Australasian Centre for Italian Studies before leaving Australia to take up a post in Italy. He provides a whimsical recollection of what life was like at Griffith, and Brisbane, during the 1980s and the lead up to the Fitzgerald Inquiry.*

These are a few thoughts by someone who did not grow up in Queensland (indeed whose knowledge of Brisbane prior to arrival in 1978 was roughly: isn't that the place where Ian Meckiff was no-balled in the Test against South Africa?) and who was teaching Italian politics and society (and therefore watching Queensland politics and society with less than professional attention). I do remember, not long after arrival, striving to show some grasp of local political context, my suggesting to a colleague that Joh seemed to remind me of Louisiana's Huey Long – he pointed out to me that Joh had much more of a problem getting to the end of a comprehensible sentence, loved his Flo and had not been assassinated. I realised that no glib parallels were going to be possible.

Of course 'Griffith' in the 1980s meant a tiny exotic tribe camped on its beautiful Nathan hillside, emerging only by day and dealing circumspectly with the world around it. It was not at all the kind of tribe I had been expecting. Most of my colleagues seemed to be from elsewhere, usually a long way elsewhere. The inaugural VC, John Willett, was a social anthropologist with research experience in the Scottish coalmines where he had found, so he used to say, the native whom he married. The Head of the School of Humanities was another social anthropologist, Max Marwick, who had written an influential book on witchcraft among the Cewa (a topic that no doubt provided him with valuable interpretive tools and comparative data in handling his excitable, conspiratorial, staff of the early years). Discussion raged, usually enraged, often enough outraged. I found myself in Italian Studies, a team (term used loosely) composed of a whimsical Renaissance historian believed to have been recruited in a hotel lobby by a passing Griffith scientist, possibly a physicist, and a Marxisant semiotician of chilly eye and sharp intelligence, a political commissar from the most advanced intellectual platoon (le French Left Bank) on the planet.

For light relief from daytime struggles, the similarly pre-theoretical Nick Zurbrugg and I used to visit improbable restaurants on the city's outer fringes where once in Zillmere Nick set accidental fire to the scantily-clad waitress's straw skirt. He told me, I think I recall, that once he had hatched a daring plan to attack and subdue the university bookshop – a commanding height of the Griffith state – with the anarchically-inclined Brian Laver, whose pedagogical mission seemed to be to show students the irretrievably bourgeois and reactionary positions adopted by his colleagues. Since Brian was far more eloquent in revealing those deep prejudices than we were in defending them, I lived in perpetual fear of inadvertently catching Brian's apparently fierce but actually gentle eye and seeming – by the never fully concealable Angloscotian bourgeois reactionary glint in my own eye – to diss his sacred truths. Other colleagues worshipped other gods; and great adroitness was required to display the kind of respect demanded at different altars.

During the 1980s things began to change quite quickly. Australians and Australian Studies became much more prominent in the transmission and content of our endlessly debated and ruthlessly revised curriculum (I can date my own ashamed realisation how much they had been absent exactly: the moment when an equally English colleague, bare feet his only concession to local mores, was expounding to first year students the work of the 'Birmingham School of Cultural Studies' and I – who might easily have been giving the exact same lecture, so interchangeable were we all as members of teaching teams and so parochial was I in my cultural geography – looked around to become embarrassedly aware that the students had every right to think he was talking not about Birmingham UK but Birmingham Alabama.

In the 1980s our Dreamtime ended and we fell to earth. We created a School of Social and Industrial Administration, for example, in which the administrator, Gem Cheong, sought patiently to remind her staff – split between those who saw the School as a great opportunity to bolster capitalism and those who saw it as an equally great opportunity to destroy it – of some local realities. Pat Noad did the same for the larger, less ruly mob in the School of Humanities. Ian Barham and Margaret Buckridge, from the outpost of pedagogical sanity called CALT, showed us what teaching and learning could be if we became slightly less entranced by the sound of our own voices. We set up a part-time programme to cater for those who had missed, or been prevented from taking up, university education in their youth. We interviewed many of the applicants and read their impartial letters of reference ('Mrs Jones is a fairly clean, honest and reasonably responsible citizen', signed: Mr Jones). The intake contained rather more senior citizens than we had expected: Jim Walter and I wondered if the title 'doctor' before our names gave them an unwarranted confidence in our ability to handle the physical impact of too-lively tutorials.

Wider worlds intruded on Griffith at ever more points. Finalising that part-time programme in 1982, we encountered the most beautiful bodies ever to jog around the Nathan campus in the form of the athletes occupying new buildings put up for the Commonwealth Games. The athletes ran and moved out; new students paid and moved in; and the Griffith community got a (night) life.

Elsewhere the balance of signs between the old and the new was tilting more heavily towards the new. Joh was starting to outdo himself: "Who wants to stick together with them and get your stick feet? You know, if you get, stick foot on sticky paper, you get both of them on, you fall over and Mr Hawke asks us to stick with him. You put your foot on sticky paper with him, his and Keating, his Government's got their feet on sticky paper, my word they have." Policy statement, 'Joh for Canberra', 1987. Even to a distracted and poorly informed observer, the old local order seemed to have lost its mojo – did white shoes still do things for a man, I asked myself and others?

The Cultural Centre, the Museum, World Expo brought new worlds to our riverfront. Brisbane was no longer a place where folk from out of town might have tied up their horses in the main street; it became a wonderful city to live in and bring up children; invitations to visit were solicited by overseas friends.

The Fitzgerald Inquiry and its Report was surely the rite of passage needed to usher out the old-timers, confer legitimacy on their young whippersnapper successors who played politics by new rules. Meanwhile, back at the Griffith ranch, the new VC, Roy Webb, was beginning to muster his Nathan light horse for his forthcoming South East Queensland campaign where no prisoners among the poorly defended educational outposts on mountain, plain and sea shore would be taken. But that is a post-Fitzgerald story.

## Mickey Mouse and the Constables

### Professor John O'Toole

Professor John O'Toole taught drama through Griffith's school of vocational and technical education, from the early 1990s when the Brisbane College of Advanced education was amalgamated with Griffith until his move to The University of Melbourne in 2005. Drama was perhaps the first training contact that recruits from the Queensland Police Academy had with Griffith and its forerunner BCAE.

The Brisbane College of Advanced Education and then Griffith University provided role-play aspects of recruit training and probationer in-service for the Police Academy from 1983 until 1994 (and later, metamorphosed into part of a BA degree). Using the drama studios, halls or residence and locations around the university, police recruits were assessed on their handling of scenarios in four broad categories of situation: distress (such as domestic dispute or suicide attempt); victims of crime; suspects of crime; and sudden death enquiry or death notification. In his book, *Drama for Life*, John explains how the stereotypes held by both police and actors began to break down through this exercise and he relays the first encounter in 1983:

For some recruits, the strangeness of the situation was enough to make them take the exercise seriously. For a couple of groups it was the opportunity to mix it with 'poofster actors' or cover their insecurity with jokey behaviour demeaning the exercise. The drama students had been prepared for this, and been given the instruction to tune their response to the effectiveness of the police intervention and absolutely NOT to come out of role, but to react strongly to levity. I remember watching a drama student who was also a professional rugby league player running down a long corridor, with a red-faced, struggling police recruit under each arm, one bleeding from the nose. I remember too, the shame of two other male recruits, who had approached it as a giggle: having firstly encountered fishwife vituperation and no-holds-barred physical assault by two girls who looked like Dresden china but took no prisoners. These boys then had to endure a withering public dressing down by an Inspector monitoring the exercise, in front of all their peers and all the drama students, that finished with them being told they had failed their Police Certificate and would have to repeat the whole course. The mythology that these incidents created at the Academy among succeeding generations of recruits ensure that they turned up to the exercise with respect bordering on terror. A thoroughly appropriate attitude for drama!

Over 20 years later, John adds more to this history:

Fitzgerald and its aftermath had a considerable indirect impact on the police exercises. They had been started some years before when Derek Jory, a civilian lecturer in Human Relations at the Academy, approached me, hoping to inject some authenticity into the rather limp human relations training role-plays carried on at the Academy, which had little status or conviction for the cadets and probationers. As indicated above, the partnership with drama quickly gave the exercise real significance, which was sustained throughout, with the strong support of just a couple of key senior officers, such as Inspector Col Dillon and Chief Inspector Clem O'Gorman (whose daughter incidentally, a drama student, took part in several of the post-Fitzgerald encounters and got a broken rib as a mark of their authenticity!). However, in the early days within the Academy, and other branches of the Service, these exercises were rather scorned – 'Mickey Mouse training', one senior Police Union official dismissively called it – even though the scenarios used were invariably designed based on real life situations. Post-Fitzgerald, the sea-change provided for a while a much stronger official support for the drama work. It was frequently visited by senior officers, some of whom were able to provide startling scenarios for future encounters from their own experiences. We were able to toughen the scenarios, and build into some of them factors which flirted at least with how to deal with opportunities for corruption.

Not only did the role-plays continue, and expand to include other agencies (once we worked with the NSW Emergency Squad on a 24 Hour siege scenario), but the drama work was also incorporated within the new Griffith BA Degree in Justice Administration, as part of Communications studies. The Police Union hostility, sadly, never changed, and may have been a factor in the Academy eventually in the late 1990s re-absorbing their Human Relations training internally, although the drama remained in the BA Degree for a time after that.

## Professor Tim Prenzler

Professor Tim Prenzler is a Chief Investigator in the Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security, a Professor in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, and one of Australia's leading policing scholars. His new book *Police Corruption: Preventing Misconduct and Maintaining Integrity* is available from CRC Press – Taylor & Francis

During The Fitzgerald Inquiry Tim was completing his PhD and tutoring at the University of Queensland. He readily admits to being "a product of the Fitzgerald era" and the Inquiry had a major influence on his subsequent career as an academic and one of Australia's leading policing scholars.

The Fitzgerald inquiry had recommended that police recruits undertook part of their training outside the confines of the Police Academy as a way to reduce the isolation from the broader society that single institution instruction could enculturate, and Griffith University had secured a 3 year contract to deliver part of this training.

Tim started at Griffith in 'O' week in 1991, the same week as the new students, to teach ethics to the new police recruits who had come to Griffith for the first time to undertake part of their initial training. As a new academic with the task of teaching a group of students that he feared would have a negative response to being taught within a university environment, Tim was nevertheless excited at achieving his first full teaching contract - an important step in an academic career:

Despite the fact that some of the recruits undoubtedly would have preferred their training to remain solely with the Police Academy, as a group they were full of excitement and enthusiasm and all had a single-minded passion to be good police officers. In some way these students were the 'guinea pigs' of this cultural change experiment and faced an environment in their practical station based training where they were seen as 'academic boofheads; or 'Muppets' ( 'most unprofessional police persons ever trained')

Entering the lecture room on that first day, with some sense of trepidation, he expected to face a room fully of strapping six foot men but was surprised to find a significant percentage of women. One of the perhaps less commonly known aspects Fitzgerald Report was its influence on improving difficulties faced by women police.

While Commissioner Whitrod had been previously supportive of improving the participation of women in the police service, his successor Terry Lewis has suppressed any improvement of career enhancement and recognition for women officers, strongly maintaining the male dominated culture.

The situation and circumstances faced by women police officers within the police service was to become a long-standing research interest for Tim and for which he has been awarded The Excellence in Policing Award for the Most Significant Contribution to Advancing the Status of Women in Policing by the Australasian Council of Women and Policing. Yet despite acknowledgement in the Fitzgerald Inquiry Report, the deeply entrenched culture proved difficult to change overnight. As he explained in a paper to the first *Australasian Women Police Conference* in 1996:

In general, the (police) union was noticeably silent in the post-Fitzgerald period on women's issues such as flexible working arrangements, maternity leave and child care. Despite occasional support for causes such as equal pay and swearing in, police unions in Australia have held to a fairly consistent view that women belong in small numbers in an adjunct role to male police in cases involving women offenders or victims.



Looking back, Tim concurs with views that regular evaluation is needed to assess and build upon the aspirations of the Inquiry.

At the time it felt like a revolution – but even during the Goss era, the recommendations and institutions such as CJC and EARC were being watered down. But at least the Goss government paid lip service to the CJC, the Borbidge administration set out from the beginning to cut back on the CJC resources and power.

Tim is concerned that the promise of the Fitzgerald Inquiry is no longer being achieved, and cites a recent incident of police assault at the Gold Coast where neither the police nor the CMC have acted.

All the CMC could do was to recommend reprimand. In other states the case would be referred to the Public Prosecutor. The CJC were only ever interested in serious corruption and not in the relatively more common concerns of power imbalance between the police and members of the public. There is very little oversight in this area and what investigation there is, is undertaken by seconded police officers. Queensland is now definitely behind compared to NSW, Victoria and WA where more proactive investigations in this area are being undertaken. So while The Fitzgerald Inquiry may have felt like a revolution at the time, it has become increasingly 'toothless' in some areas which now should be addressed.

## **Dr Janet Ransley**

Dr Janet Ransley is a senior lecturer in the School of Criminology and Criminal Justice, and member of both the Key Centre for Ethics, Law Justice and Governance and the ARC Centre of Excellence in Policing and Security

Originally a lawyer in private practice, Janet did a masters degree (with Pat Weller) at Griffith, her thesis focusing upon a comparison of Queensland's Parliament during the first Goss government and those of the Bjelke-Petersen era of 1982 – 89. The Fitzgerald Inquiry was a key influence on this.

On returning home from a two year period overseas she accepted a job to help implement the Fitzgerald Inquiry recommendations for the establishment of a parliamentary committee to oversee the work of the EARC. Similar committees were set up to monitor the CJC, and public accounts and public works.

Matt Foley MLA was the inaugural chair of the Parliamentary Committee for Electoral and Administrative Review, which also had members from the National and Liberal parliamentary parties. Janet was the first Research Director for the PCEAR.

The committee worked closely with EARC, of which Tom Sherman was the initial leader, later to be replaced by David Solomon. Other EARC staff included Domenic McGann and Mary Siegfried, now the Parliamentary Librarian. Tony Woodyatt was Research Director of the PCJC.

From the beginning, the staffing for the parliamentary committees was different from the normal public service processes; appointments for these posts were by all party committees who vetted and approved applicants and sought people from outside the existing public sector. We stood out from the existing parliamentary service staff, which was very male dominated and conservative. They were known to refer to us as "The Adams Family" as our way of working was so different.

As with many other recollections of the Inquiry the work was long and hard and in this case more than a little chaotic as the link with electoral reform, parliamentary process and individual party interests coincided and needed to be dealt with before tasks could be progressed.

During the time that I was there, 21 major reports were released in just 3 years and the political nature of the work and local consultation processes that were a part of the job meant much time was spent in small planes flying the length and breadth of the state. Despite the chaotic environment, our direction was driven by one thing – 'what did Tony's report recommend?' Each of the team had highlighted, noted and increasingly dog-eared copies of the report which we referred to as "the bible".

When EARC was finally wound up in 1993, nearly all the 24 items included in the Fitzgerald recommendations had been looked at, and those that hadn't had been considered but it was determined that the changing landscape had alleviated the need for formal consideration. Working on the implementation of the Inquiry influenced the careers and certainly the lives of many who shared this experience. For Janet, it was the catalyst that propelled her to her career as an academic and the focus that her research took, and she still views it as one of the biggest influences of her life, and perhaps one of the most worthwhile things that she has done.

## Mr Frank Rynne

Mr Frank Rynne, formerly a Superintendent from the Queensland Police, was one of the core team that introduced the BA (Justice Administration) into Griffith University. As Phil Meade, another of the instigators recalls, Griffith, Queensland was the first western country where initial police recruit training was delivered within a university. Frank explains:

To explain my interest and involvement, I should go back to the commissionership of the late R.W. Whitrod who in his time had commented unfavourably on the educational standards of members of the force and in pursuing his goal to improve those standards, he worked with people in the TAFE system to introduce a certificate course then known as the Police Arts and Sciences Certificate Course

Although Frank had initially enrolled in this course himself, he decided to switch to the adult matriculation program when led to the aware of a Batchelor of Educational Studies, a qualification which was more suited to his appointment to the Police Academy.

My studies convinced me of the value of university education to serving or aspiring police officers. This view was also supported by my study of Police Education in the United Kingdom undertaken following the award of a study grant by the Federal Government in 1980

Frank relays how a longstanding relationship with Phil Meade led to a productive partnership that saw the establishment of the BA (Justice Administration) and Griffith's School of Justice Administration.

About the time that was completing my study on Police Education, Dr Peter Botsman, then Director of the Brisbane College of Advanced Education, convened a meeting of staff from the college and senior police people to discuss the possibility of some programmes for police. I attended this meeting and a number of others held in the following months but nothing eventuated. Dr Phil Meade, also an attendee, and I remained in contact. I had also contacted the Secretary of the Board of Advanced Education and deans of the Queensland Law and other faculties but, at the time, none were interested in introducing areas of study that may have attracted police people. Following the release of the Fitzgerald Report, I was contacted by Dr Phil Meade, then Dean of Education at Griffith University, who offered me a consultancy with a view to establishing a program which would be of interest and assistance to serving police officers and those people who might be considering policing as a career.

Over the following months Frank, Phil, Merv Hyde and others in the initial team worked tirelessly to put together and secure approval for the new degree program and establish the new Griffith School of Justice Administration. In 1992, Frank was awarded the *Medal for Outstanding Service* by Griffith University for his contribution. His citation reads as a history of the early days of the school:

*"In the 1980s Frank Rynne began working with the staff of the then Mount Gravatt campus of the Brisbane College of Advanced Education. . . . When the Mount Gravatt campus amalgamated with the University in 1989, Frank Rynne continued this association and pursuit of the dream with increased vigour. Working as a consultant in course development and design, Frank Rynne has been intimately involved in all stages of the development of both the Batchelor of Arts in Justice Administration and the Advanced Certificate in Policing. Amongst other things, Frank Rynne chaired the Planning Committee for the development of courses in legal studies in Justice Administration and Professional Studies. He also wrote the course outline for legal studies in justice administration and advanced certificate in police program. Without Frank Rynne's persistence, experience and determination these programmes would not have been developed as rapidly and effectively as they have. Undoubtedly Frank Rynne has made a significant contribution to the promotion of the University's reputation as a national leader in this new field of professional development.*

*He has also played a significant role in the establishment of the Division of Education's allied Centre for Public safety and security."*

Looking back Frank attributes the success of Griffith's work in this field to many people:

Notably, Dr Phil Meade, Dr Merv Hyde and senior Lecturer, Kerry Wimshurst, in the early stages. The enormous work performed by Dr Keith Bryett contributed untold credibility to the course, which in my opinion came to fruition with the advent of Professor Ross Homel, Professor Richard Wortley and Professor Tim Prenzler.

## Professor Charles Sampford

*Professor Charles Sampford is Director of the Institute for Ethics, Governance and Law (a joint initiative of the United Nations University, Griffith, QUT and ANU in which the Key Centre constitutes the Griffith component). He has written over eighty articles and chapters in Australian and foreign journals and collections and has completed twenty-one books and edited collections for international publishers including Oxford University Press, Blackwell, Routledge, Cavendish and Ashgate. Foreign Fellowships include a Visiting Senior Fellowship at St John's College Oxford and a Senior Fulbright Award to Harvard. Before coming to Griffith, he concentrated on constitutional law, jurisprudence and legal education. Since coming to Griffith, he has concentrated on governance, integrity systems and the rule of law. In 2008, the ARC recognized this work, and Charles was named in the Graeme Clarke Research Outcomes Forum as one of the 20 ARC funded researchers who had most made a difference.*

For Charles Sampford, the reforms of the Fitzgerald Inquiry had a direct impact on his decision to join Griffith as foundation dean of law and upon the direction and subsequent focus of his work.

Although born in Brisbane, Charles spent most of his childhood and early academic years between Melbourne and Oxford, his knowledge of Queensland gleaned from the occasional holiday or business trip. In the years leading up to the Fitzgerald Inquiry while lecturing in law at the University of Melbourne, his views on Queensland were shaped by occasional media reports and the experiences of ex-Queenslander colleagues such as Frank Brennan and Michael Cromelin who talked of police violence at street marches and Russ Hinze's pubs. As an amateur psephologist, he was fascinated that Joh's gerrymander not only kept him in power with 19 percent of the vote but also ensured that his party gained more seats than the more popular Liberals. As a constitutional lawyer, he was outraged at the constitutional shenanigans in 1983. As far as Charles was concerned Queensland provided a perfect example of how not to do things and he had no intentions to move to "The Deep North". His wife Jenny had even stronger views – declaring she would live in 'Melbourne, Melbourne, Melbourne or Oxford by negotiation' but to his surprise permitted him to be interviewed for foundation Deanships in Brisbane and Adelaide.

In January 1991, Griffith, then Flinders, had approached Charles because of his influential response to the Pearce Report into legal education whose principal criticism of law schools was that they lacked a critical and theoretical dimension. Sir Zelman Cowan's challenge was 'don't just write about it, do it!' Although Flinders appeared to be the favourite because the sandstone houses of Adelaide seemed far preferable to the 'weatherboard houses on poles' in evidence in Brisbane, the buzz of excitement and reform that enveloped Queensland after the Fitzgerald Inquiry offered an attractive environment to a very young Dean wanting to create a new type of law school.

Charles immediately started curriculum development for the new Griffith Law School and set about a program of meetings with the various branches of the local legal profession. He recalls:

I would never have contemplated coming to Queensland in the Fitzgerald Inquiry hadn't happened. The idea of introducing a progressive law school, in what was seen as the most conservative legal profession in the country, would have been seen as daft. However, the willingness to support the changes I was proposing was much stronger in Queensland than in Victoria. Where the Victorian judiciary liked the reform ideas and were prepared to privately and occasionally publicly support them, the overall support was much greater in Queensland. After a while, I came to understand the reason. For a long time Queenslanders had thought reform was necessary but impossible, Fitzgerald made reform a possibility and hence a necessity.

At the same time, he established the National Institute for Law, Ethics and Public Affairs (NILEPA) – his ‘bride price’ for leaving the research centre he had set up in Melbourne. Charles approached Mr Fitzgerald who became NILEPA’s chair from 1991–1996 and then again from 2000–2002. While he was perfectly happy to directly seek meetings with legal figures as senior as the Australian Chief Justice, he was so in awe of Tony that he asked colleague and mentor Sir Zelman Cowan to arrange the meeting. Tony agreed to become the first chair of the advisory board for NILEPA a position he was to hold until 1996 when Sir Anthony Mason moved from Patron to Chair. With the Key Centre, the positions were reversed with Tony succeeding Sir Anthony as Chair of the Advisory Board between 2000 and 2002. He was to remain a friend and colleague throughout the evolution of NILEPA, KCELJAG and IEGL and provide much of the inspiration behind of Charles’ research in integrity systems over the next 18 years:

What was truly impressive was Tony’s modesty in 1989. Having exposed the corruption system in Queensland, everyone was waiting for him to deliver from the mountaintop the answers to Queensland’s problems. Both parties sought to outdo themselves in promising to implement his unseen proposals ‘lock stock and barrel’. Instead, he suggested an extraordinarily effective reform process through EARC. Like a philosopher, he said: *‘I am not sure that I have the answers but fairly sure I have the questions and mechanisms for answering them’*. This process produced a new and much more sophisticated approach to combating corruption and promoting integrity which Charles analysed and called an ‘ethics regime’ and argued would work in different countries and jurisdictions.

After taking Charles advice, UK public standards reformer Lord Nolan became an ardent supporter and influenced the OECD and later the UN to recommend the development of an ‘ethics infrastructure.’ He also worked with Transparency International who had called the EARC model an ‘integrity system.’ Twenty years later ethics and integrity systems are seen as the means for promoting integrity and combating corruption around the world. With hindsight, Charles considers the abolition of EARC and the lack of rigorous review mechanisms to be weaknesses in the current system.

EARC was like The Sorcerer’s Apprentice – continually exposing new issues and concerns. Now that tap has been turned off. Queensland can be proud of the legacy of institutional reform and initiatives such as the introduction of an Integrity Commissioner and the recent Freedom of Information review that build upon it. But this pride could also lead to complacency, to believe that things are better than they actually are, without a mechanism of regular external review.

## **Emeritus Professor James Walter**

*Professor Jim Walter joined Griffith University in 1979 and held a number of academic management positions including as Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Arts and Education, until his move to Monash University in 2005.*

Professor Jim Walter knew little about Queensland's political culture when he moved to Griffith in 1979, although the strength of right wing support within the community came home to him when his neighbours stopped speaking to him when they discovered that he had published a book on Gough Whitlam!

As a political scientist and historian he had to fast track his understanding soon after he arrived when he was asked to write a chapter on Joh Bjelke-Petersen for an updated edition of *The Premiers of Queensland*. As an 'outsider' he was able to provide an objective understanding of how the regime evolved to accommodate the corruption of the pre-Fitzgerald era:

It was through the process of writing the chapter that I learned about the differences between Queensland and states such as New South Wales and Victoria. In sharp contrast to those states that had evolved to a 'hub and spoke' approach where the capital cities were basically accepted as central, Brisbane was one of a number of small towns and cities. The majority of Queenslanders were outside the major cities and were suspicious of any 'head office' mentality for government. Having grown up outside Brisbane, Joh catered for this and developed it further. However, he, perhaps unwittingly, played a role in creating the environment that would lead to his downfall. The rapid development and economic changes in Queensland during the 1970s had given rise to the growth of a professional middle class and the political culture was gradually shifting. Queensland's system of government, placing such a concentration of power within the executive, provided the environment within which corruption could flourish during this period.

Understanding the reasons why didn't mean that he could stand by and accept the injustices without comment. He recalls the occasion when the University of Queensland conferred an honorary doctorate on Joh.

Along with what seemed a significant proportion of Brisbane's population, and certainly a vast number of academic staff and students from all universities and colleges, I joined the protest outside Mayne Hall that accompanied Joh's attendance at St Lucia to receive this award. Although large demonstrations had been commonplace in earlier years in Brisbane, the major action had died down until this – it was a fully fledged protest with lots of shouting and chanting as the UQ hierarchy attempted to honour a man who for many represented perhaps THE most inappropriate choice they could have made. I remember UQ degree certificates had been printed off and were being handed out to the growing crowds to demonstrate how worthless they were – I got one for my daughter who was only two at the time!"

Now back in Melbourne and again an 'outsider' to Queensland's political scene, Jim observes that while the Fitzgerald Inquiry changed the environment in the 1990s, Queensland is still at risk of returning to a similar situation as experienced in earlier years:

The Fitzgerald Inquiry gave the Goss Government the incentives and capacity to change the old system and to put a regime of accountability and regulation in place. Goss had learned from the Whitlam experience, that government was no longer the sole controller but needed to move to steering through partnership with the market. But Queensland's system of strong executive government still provides an environment that risks a return to 'the old ways'. The creation of bodies such as the CJC, now the CMC, makes it easy to believe that things are working well – but are they? In some way, Queensland has squandered a big opportunity to change. Has the drive for development--now through privatisation, and through public-private partnerships--been yet another impediment to transparency?