

PRINT MEDIA PERSPECTIVES ON RECORDKEEPING

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Terry Eastwood called on archivists to 'spirit an understanding' of the importance of archives to democratic accountability and continuity. In Australia, however, at the point where Australians have most contact with the record, the current record of their transactions, a fully fledged information availability and accountability crisis has emerged. Neither the historical recordkeeper nor the archivist with an interest in the current record can anticipate adequate support until the crisis is resolved. In this article, newspaper reports are used to show how deep the problems have become. No solution is proposed, other than rolling up our sleeves and accepting that it is our problem as much as one for society as a whole.

LACK OF DOCUMENTATION IS HARD TO DIGEST.
 PSYCHIATRIST CALLS FOR SERIAL KILLER DATABASE.
 ANZ REVIEWS CONTROL AFTER \$100m BUNGLE.
 CONCERN OVER DIPLOMATIC LEAKS.
 CONCERN OVER FILE ON \$92,000 PAYOUT.
 ORDER GIVEN TO SUPPRESS FILES FOR POLL: POLICE.
 STUDENT PRIVACY BREACH WARNING.
 FOUND: A BOX OF SECRETS.

Such newspaper headlines regularly appear in the daily press, implying that much value is placed on the role of records, recordkeeping and recordkeepers by Australian society. But what understanding of records and recordkeeping are the press reports conveying ?

These and many similar headlines emerged during a research project which entailed the systematic identification and registration of close to 400 items located in almost every edition of *The Age* and an ad hoc sampling of editions of the Melbourne *Herald-Sun* and *The Australian* for the period January to May 1992. Due to time limitations, interpretation of these articles was based solely on the detail contained therein. In the interests of consistency, information relating to issues gathered in the course of my own employment with the Public Record Office Victoria was not considered. Numerous job specifications within these papers (which could form the basis of an interesting paper in their own right) and overseas news reports were also excluded to keep the identification process to a manageable level.

The evidentiary value of newspaper reports is problematic. In many instances it is difficult to separate the factual detail in articles from any values brought to them by journalists, sub-editors, editors, or possibly even the publisher concerned. The meaningfulness of each article can only be fully assessed by consideration of its contents against the various reports, findings, papers and other sources referred therein. However, my purpose was not to use the newspaper reports to interpret the events and the facts they reported, but to analyse *how* items with a recordkeeping angle were reported, ie what understanding about the role and value of records they conveyed.

An examination of the text of the reports reveals that the importance of recordkeeping is generally not explicitly recognised and, when it is, usually only in terms of the identification of deficiencies in recordkeeping standards. Instead an alternative view seems to prevail that the information collected by individuals and institutions is a free floating (contextless) resource which exists to serve any purpose.

Collectively the articles confirm, at least to the initiated, the central role of records and recordkeeping in modern society as the instruments which provide evidence of transactions which take place on a daily

basis between and among private individuals, institutions and the public sector. This role was occasionally dealt with explicitly, for example when private citizens were advised to retain evidence of their dealings with banks,¹ particularly in relation to credit cards,² and to ask for and retain copies of documents regarding medical treatments.³ There were also instances of various community, professional group and Government proposals for the establishment of compulsory registration provisions for professions, organisations or activities as diverse as funeral directors offering pre paid services,⁴ theatrical agents,⁵ medical practitioners,⁶ or natural therapists.⁷ Such proposals were invariably associated with the establishment of a regulatory body to enforce accountability to an articulated standard for the nominated activity. This view was best expressed in a letter to *The Age* Editor from the Executive Officer of the Master Painters, Decorators and Signwriters Association agitating for the introduction of compulsory registration provisions for painting contractors in Victoria:

registration can lead to a raising of industry standards, a corresponding reduction in consumer complaints and creation of (a) fair and reasonable marketplace which benefits both consumers and qualified, professional tradesmen.⁸

For the most part, however, the importance of recordkeeping is simply not comprehended or the true value of records is appreciated only with the benefit of hindsight, and usually after deficiencies in standards have been revealed or perceived. The most obvious, and frequently occurring instances, are those reports which draw attention to missing documents following the disclosure of massive financial losses involving perceived or alleged corruption or incompetence. Such cases included records detailing illegal loans worth approximately \$10m authorised by the Moe Credit and District Credit Union Co-operative,⁹ loans totalling \$100m made to a single development group by the ANZ Bank,¹⁰ and the investment of \$1.6m by the Victorian Government in an investment company, Knowledge Victoria Ltd.¹¹ The mere perception of an institution's financial incompetence appears to guarantee continuous disclosure of poor recordkeeping, as witnessed by four separate references to missing records within the troubled Victorian Public Transport Corporation involving employee contracts,¹² asset registers,¹³ V Line trading and catering functions¹⁴ and customer/ freight operations.¹⁵

There are only occasional reports of accountability bodies completing investigations which incorporate recommendations directly impacting upon recordkeeping standards. In the reported instances *when* these issues were considered the resultant recommendations were likely to be extensive. This is seen, for example, within the nine main recommendations of the NSW Royal Commission on Productivity in the Building Industry. Included were

the introduction of schemes to accredit safety inspectors and schemes to minimise fraud in both public works tendering and contract processes. The provision of access to extant records would also be necessary in order to facilitate a Public Accounts Committee inquiry into the Building Services Corporation.¹⁶

Indeed, a body may sometimes build up an impressive record of achievement in rectifying a number of individual cases, yet the recordkeeping implications are not acknowledged or explored. Ian Temby QC, the Public Prosecutor of the New South Wales's Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC), for example, was asked by an *Australian* reporter to nominate some of the Commission's successes in pursuing maladministration. Each of the four selected examples directly related to recordkeeping, these being a revision of procedures to eliminate bribery in the provision of drivers licenses, introduction of tougher political disclosure laws, the establishment of inquiries into the disclosure of confidential government information and the investigation of the use of prison informants to fabricate evidence.¹⁷

Despite the lack of explicit recognition, the importance of recordkeeping is a recurring undercurrent in the work of a variety of accountability bodies and processes as reported, for example:

the Victorian Auditor General who in various reports drew attention to the absence or nonexistence of State Government documents central to investigations conducted in areas as diverse as the education of disabled students¹⁸ and stocktaking practices for works of art controlled by the National Gallery¹⁹

the Australian Securities Commission which issued summonses against 314 New South Wales company directors for neglecting to disclose the financial affairs of failed corporations in accordance with the *Companies Code*²⁰ and which also used powers directing companies to make prospectus information available to competitors contemplating takeovers²¹

the Victorian Administrative Appeals Tribunal which held that both Melbourne University²² and the Department of Premier and Cabinet²³ had a duty to release documents previously denied under the *Freedom of Information Act* on grounds that disclosure was in the 'public interest'

professional bodies such as the Victorian Law Institute which heard complaints against solicitors not informing clients about the progress of cases,²⁴ or the Banking Ombudsman who has the authority to obtain bank records in the course of investigations.²⁵

Additionally, reports indicate that many of these bodies are becoming increasingly reliant upon the personal records of key players in various investigations, implying a lack of confidence in the

reliability of the formal recordkeeping systems set up to substantiate the transactions under scrutiny. The Victorian Royal Commission into Tricontinental, for example, heard evidence that certain financial transactions were recorded only in the personal diary of Chief Executive Ian Johns. This particular report assumed added significance in light of prior revelations that the destruction of all sensitive material was routine practice.²⁶ Diaries were also reportedly sought in the course of internal Victoria Police investigations regarding the role of the Chief Commissioner of Police in suppressing inquiries relating to the Victorian Economic Development Corporation in the run up to the 1988 State election,²⁷ and by the WA Inc. Royal Commission regarding the role of former Premier Ray O'Connor in dispersing alleged illegal payments.²⁸ In the most celebrated case, a diary containing extensive notes maintained by former New South Wales MP Terry Metherell came to be regarded as the most authoritative source in the Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) inquiry into the circumstances of his appointment to that State's Environment Protection Authority. These diaries, in the absence of any other documents, played a crucial role in undercutting the credibility of answers previously given by then Premier Nick Greiner about his role in the appointment.²⁹

Many reports touch on bogus recordkeeping arrangements designed to avoid accountability processes, including attempts to alter, conceal or destroy evidence. Examples of reported practices have included the 'cooking' of car registration plates by Victorian motorists to evade identification by speed cameras,³⁰ the creation of a false contract by Australian Football League player Greg Williams to avoid disclosure under AFL salary cap provisions,³¹ and the alleged destruction of documentation pertaining to ALP election campaign funds on the orders of WA Premier Brian Burke after the 1986 State election.³² In some instances organisations have been accused of abusing accountability processes to achieve this end, such as claims by the Victorian Opposition that the State's Department of Manufacturing and Industry Development ceased to maintain detailed minutes to avoid potential disclosure under the *Freedom Of Information Act*,³³ or author Frank Hardy's contention that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation improperly used the provisions of the Commonwealth *Archives Act* for its own purposes.³⁴

In general the articles do not reveal much understanding of the importance of record audits. There were only two reported instances during the period. One was an audit of Pioneer tachographs by the NSW Government in the wake of a fatal accident involving the coachline.³⁵ The other was an examination conducted by the Victorian Health Department as part of a wider clinical audit of the State's psychiatric hospitals. The random 25% selection of patient files in each

ward of nineteen of the State's twenty one institutions led to findings which included concern over the omission of detail during patient admissions.³⁶

Another view reported without being challenged is the assumption that certain records become historical artefacts and thereby lose their administrative and legal values. The most outstanding example concerned the Wills Electorate files created by former Prime Minister Bob Hawke. The incoming Member for Wills, Phil Cleary, found himself unable to deal with some queries received from his new constituents because all electorate office files, including those detailing the current concerns of constituents, had been removed.³⁷ The former electorate secretary later wrote to *The Age* to explain that Mr Cleary had no right to the files because Mr Hawke wished to examine the records personally and determine which items should be sent 'to the archives'.³⁸

But, to an archivist, arguably the most disturbing trend is the utter lack of understanding displayed by the press of the regulatory function and responsibilities of Government archival authorities, institutions which exist in part to regulate agencies' recordkeeping activities and to authorise disposal arrangements. The regulatory role of Australian Archives or the Public Record Office Victoria was not referred to in *any* of the various articles pertaining to the number of reported or alleged bogus Government recordkeeping arrangements. (Comments are apparently never sought from the Director-General or Keeper of Public Records.) The only hint of such functions came in the form of an open letter placed by the Australian Society of Archivists regarding the advertisement of the Victorian Keeper's position. Apart from articles reporting this action, which were probably based on an accompanying news release, the only other reported comment came in the form of a letter to *The Age* Editor from a former archivist.³⁹ It does not surprise then to find the concept of the 'public record' to be practically non-existent within *The Age*. This term appeared on only one occasion during the period as a descriptive term in a reader's letter to describe the film taken by a television news crew of the Iraqi Embassy attack by Iranian protesters.⁴⁰

This indifference was further demonstrated in the treatment of two articles drawing attention to evidence of the destruction of Victorian public records in the lead up to the 1992 Victorian election. In both instances the open acknowledgment of destruction was basically treated in an offhand manner. In the first report, a *Herald-Sun* front page photograph of a shredding truck at work on 'Cabinet papers' outside the Department of Premier and Cabinet was accompanied by a brief speculative text that the destruction might be a sign of an imminent election and concluded with a quote that tomorrow's pizza boxes may have been today's cabinet papers. Not that the report was

read by many people; the photograph and article was only published in the *Herald-Sun's* final edition for the day in question, and not at all in editions published the following day.⁴¹ In the second case, the revelation that a number of companies had demonstrated the virtues of portable shredding machines for Government representatives at Parliament House was essentially treated as a comical aside within the confines of *The Age's* 'News Diary'.⁴²

The overall effect of the above is, I would suggest, to downplay the value of records. Moreover, the strongest concept relating to records which runs throughout these articles, can best be characterised as that of **information as a resource**. This concept serves to confound understandings of records and recordkeeping as it lacks the qualities of contextuality and transactionality. Simply put, the concept of information as a resource holds that the information collected by individuals, institutions or Government agencies is an asset accumulated in the course of daily business as are other assets such as capital, raw materials or a good reputation, and is used accordingly. The collected articles reveal two major manifestations of this concept.

The first is the actual or attempted exploitation of information, most frequently for commercial gain. This is revealed in many instances such as attempts or campaigns by individuals or institutions to gain control over certain categories of records. Deregistered Victorian doctor Ian McGoldrick, for example, initiated legal action against the clinic he formerly managed to obtain ownership of its patient medical histories. The objective was to sell these histories to the new managers at \$100 apiece to ensure continuity of treatment for the clinic's patients.⁴³ In another example, the Australian Direct Marketing Association conducted a publicity campaign within the pages of *The Age* aimed at obtaining Telecom client detail such as names, addresses, phone numbers and calling patterns for use in tele-marketing activities. The campaign was reportedly initiated because Telecom ceased to be subject to the provisions of the Commonwealth *Privacy Act* since its February 1992 merger with OTC.⁴⁴

Commercial motives can probably be attributed, at least in part, to the increasing trend of information theft. A study compiled by the Australian Computer Abuse Bureau over a seventeen month period to October 1991, and released in April, found that information stolen by employees within Government Departments and statutory authorities was sold to private investigators, solicitors, insurance and finance companies and banks. Although the motivations for the theft were not revealed in *The Age* articles, it was reported that the study found that some of the thieves rationalised their actions by arguing that the selling of data was an accepted practice within that agency.⁴⁵ But the commercial exploitation of information is not simply limited to the dissemination of hitherto privileged information. The introduction of

Telecom 0055 numbers, for example, has led many organisations to realise the potential of distributing previously free information at a profit. In some instances, such as the compilation of television news polls, even the collection of information is now subject to a charge.⁴⁶

A more insidious form of exploitation is apparent in the use of information as an instrument to discredit individuals or proposals. Such disclosures invariably reflect an attitude that recordkeeping systems are available for use as information banks which can be systematically combed for any potentially useful detail and leaked, invariably out of context, as the need arises. In the most publicised example to occur within the period, the credibility of John Delacruz, the Liberal Party candidate in the Federal by-election for Wills, was severely damaged when letters he sent to the Prime Minister in 1985 and 1986 were released to the media by the ALP. The letters advocated social security cuts, a reduction in Government assistance to a sheltered workshop and dramatic changes to immigration policies.⁴⁷ A political commentator similarly claimed that the revelation that Queensland Police Commissioner Noel Newham failed to account properly for his wife's air travel expenses was the result of activity expressly designed at locating information to discredit him.⁴⁸ A former Commissioner in this case even went as far as to suggest that a possible motive for the disclosure was retaliation against changes in procedures that Newham introduced relating to the documentation of travel expenses.⁴⁹

It would appear that the leaking of information is now regarded as an everyday component of business, and particularly of Government administration, as is the use of such information by the press. This view is well represented in the comments of a number of public figures, such as Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Secretary Richard Wolcott, who admitted a spate of leaks in his Department to a Federal Senate Committee inquiry,⁵⁰ and then Victorian Opposition leader Jeff Kennett who revealed that he had been contacted by many senior public servants expressing concern regarding financial matters.⁵¹ Double standards abound in this area. A review of criminal law conducted by a committee headed by former Chief Justice Sir Harry Gibbs has recommended mandatory jail sentences for persons convicted of exposing information relating to defence, international relations and intelligence matters.⁵²

Some reports suggest that community distrust of the 'resource' approach may be developing such as cases involving an expressed lack of confidence by some groups in the ability of institutions to collect, manage and interpret data. The Victorian Government, for example, announced plans in March to establish an independent Bureau of Crime Statistics. Statements made on separate occasions by both the

Attorney General and the Police Minister implied that statistics supplied by the police based on their crime index were not considered reliable as the Police had a 'vested interest' in presenting these figures in the worst possible light.⁵³

The second major manifestation of the information resource concept is apparent in reports that reveal the expectation by many individuals and organisations that an automatic right of access exists to all information for use in any manner whatsoever. Such an expectation is invariably at the centre of the many reported privacy issues. In some cases this involves the use of a record in a manner probably not envisaged upon creation. A particularly striking example was the reported use of Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) student profiles submitted to the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Board (VCAB). These profiles are essentially teacher comments on a student's personal characteristics (such as initiative or ability to work with others) during the two years of VCE study. They are sent to VCAB as part of the assessment process. Use of the profiles, however, is not limited to VCAB as employers can apply to view them in order to assess job applicants.⁵⁴ In another case, it was reported that the Commonwealth Department of Social Security had sought and obtained access to information collected by the Australian Federal Police pertaining to the demonstrators arrested outside the Canberra Aidex arms exhibition during November 1991. The Department justified its approach by arguing that it had a right to establish whether any recipients of unemployed benefits were flouting the requirements to look for work by attending the demonstrations.⁵⁵

This expectation is also expressed in instances where requests for access to information held elsewhere is denied. The controversy over the decision of Prime Minister Paul Keating not to make tax records available to the WA Inc. Royal Commission is a case in point. In initially denying access, the Prime Minister reportedly acted on advice received from the Commonwealth Tax Office which predominantly reflected a concern to ensure consistency in the provision of such records for law enforcement purposes. This advice was not accepted or considered by critics of the decision who essentially argued in favour of unrestricted access on the basis of the past use (and usefulness) of these records in Royal Commissions elsewhere in Australia.⁵⁶

Such a blanket expectation causes confusion in the provision of access to confidential information in genuinely complex instances. The various professions accorded privileges of confidentiality such as doctors, psychiatrists, lawyers and priests are under increasing pressure to reveal information as evidenced, for example, by the pleas of Victoria Police for doctors to provide information to aid investigations relating to the abduction/murder of Karmein Chan.⁵⁷ Particular pressure is being placed on the assumed confidentiality of

journalists' sources. The Commonwealth *Broadcasting Services Bill*, currently under consideration, contains provisions which will allow magistrates to order the search and seizure of tapes and notes.⁵⁸ This provision was revealed less than a fortnight after a former Brisbane journalist was jailed for contempt of court for refusing to reveal the source of a 1989 *Courier Mail* article in a defamation hearing.⁵⁹

My original aim was merely to report on the type of media reports collected and to speculate on how such an exercise can be best used by our profession. This objective was clearly based on a naive premise for it assumed that the accumulated weight of reported poor recordkeeping, illegal destructions, inefficiencies and wastage would be sufficient to convince others of the merits of properly resourcing records management units, training courses and archival authorities. This premise is erroneous because records and recordkeeping are not perceived to have any intrinsic value to an organisation other than as a means to be exploited. Therefore, a course of action needs to be pursued which emphasises the general lack of awareness of the value of recordkeeping, particularly in providing evidence of society's transactions, and attempts to put up an alternative concept to that of information as a resource. If this is not done, it is relatively clear that, given the views about the nature and use of transactional information being conveyed by the press, and the apparent recordkeeping crises many such articles suggest to the initiated, the task that archivists face in 'spiriting an understanding' of the role of archival documents in providing for democratic accountability and continuity is well nigh impossible.

ENDNOTES

All newspaper articles are identified by reference to the title of the article as published, date of publication and page. All references are to articles which have appeared in *The Age* unless specified.

1. 'How to Sort Out a Blue with a Bank', *Age Money Extra* 12/1/92, p. 5.
2. 'Guarding Against Plastic Fraud', 2/3/92, p. 21.
3. 'Keep Your Notes, Patients Told', 24/5/92, p. 9.
4. 'Move to Protect Bereaved Draws Flak', 5/4/92, p. 9.
5. 'Actors Equity Backs Bill to Regulate Agents', 23/4/92, p. 10.
6. 'Doctors to Face Tough and Public Scrutiny', 25/4/92, p. 3.
7. 'Health: Registration would Sift Out "Quacks"': Letter to the Editor, 3/5/92, p. 9; and 'Chinese Medicine should be Registered and Rebateable', Letter to the Editor, 21/5/92, p. 12.
8. 'State Will be Haven for Shonky Painters', Letter to the Editor, 17/3/92, p. 12.
9. 'The Bank That Died of Shame', *Age Good Weekend Magazine*, 30/5/92, p. 12-19.
10. '\$100m ANZ Loans Bungle', 29/1/92, p. 1 and 8; and 'ANZ Reviews Controls After \$100m Bungle', 30/1/92, p. 1 and 6.
11. '\$1.6 Million Lost With Failed Firm', 5/4/92, p. 5; and 'Lib Demand on Failed Education Group', 22/4/92, p. 4.
12. 'PS Super Payout Was Cut', 1/2/92, p. 18.

13. 'Vault Hides Tram Losses', *Sun-Herald*, 15/4/92, p. 1 and 2.
14. 'V Line Trade Loss Revealed By Audit', 20/4/92, p. 5.
15. 'PTC Rorts: Police Call For Inquiry', 17/5/92, p. 1 and 2.
16. 'Deregister NSW Building Union: Inquiry', 27/5/92, p. 6.
17. 'Corruption Watchdog Defends Bite-Sized Successes', *The Australian* 14-15/3/92, p. 8.
18. 'Schools Warned of Critical Report', *Sun-Herald*, 7/4/92, p. 7.
19. 'Auditor Slams State Finances', 7/5/92, p. 1.
20. 'ASC Issues Summonses Against 314 Directors', 29/5/92, p. 17.
21. 'Lion Ordered to Let Rossington See Files', 20/5/92, p. 19.
22. 'Libs Slam Costly Delay on Uni Pay Details', 9/2/92, p. 3.
23. 'State Secrets: Door Opens', 16/4/92, p. 1.
24. 'More Complaints Against Solicitors', 21/1/92, p. 3.
25. 'Ombudsman Can Head Off Bank Complaints', 2/3/92, p. 21.
26. 'Lack of Documentation is Hard to Digest', 22/1/92, p. 6; and 'Tricon Held Shares for Bond, Commission Told', 1/2/92, p. 18.
27. 'Libs Urge Inquiry Into Glare Allegation', 16/2/92, p. 6; and 'Glare to Hand Diary to VEDC Inquiry', 20/2/92, p. 6.
28. 'WA Inc. Inquiry Has Ill-treated Me, Says Former Premier', 27/3/92, p. 16.
29. 'Greiner Spoke to Metherell: Counsel', 14/5/92, p. 1; 'The Diary Makes More Waves Than Skinny Dip', 16/5/92, p. 18; 'Why is This Politician Staring Failure in The Face?', 17/5/92, p. 8; 'Griener Says He Has No Memory of Crucial Call', 22/5/92; p. 3.
30. '"Cooked" Rego Plates Foil Speed Cameras', 16/2/92, p. 1 and 4.
31. 'Williams Set to Front AFL', 12/2/92, p. 28.
32. 'Millions of ALP Cash in Burke Fund, Inquiry Told', 15/4/92, p. 6.
33. 'Department Accused of Dodging FOI Law', 21/5/92, p. 9.
34. 'How ASIO Spied on Me', *Age Agenda*, 22/3/92, p. 5.
35. 'Pioneer Faces \$10,000 Fine and Audit', 9/1/92, p. 3.
36. 'Psychiatric Care Blasted', 28/4/92, p. 1.
37. 'Cleary Back to Bleak Realities of Coburg', 2/5/92, p. 19.
38. 'Mr Cleary Has No Right To The Files', Letter to the Editor, 14/5/92, p. 12.
39. 'An Open Letter to Mr Kennan', 8/4/92, p. 5; 'Job Merger Creates Conflict: Archivists', 8/4/92, p. 14; 'Protest Over Archive Post', *Herald-Sun*, 8/4/92; and 'Keeper of Records a Key to Integrity', Letter to the editor by E. W. Russell, 13/4/92, p. 12.
40. 'That SBS Crew Was Filming Combat', Letter to the Editor, 9/4/92, p. 12.
41. 'Cleaning Out the Cabinet', *Herald-Sun*, Late Prices Final Edition, 24/4/92, p. 1.
42. 'Labor Plays Host at Shredding Operation', *Age News Diary*, 15/5/92, p. 2.
43. 'McGoldrick Fighting for Right to Sell Patients' Files', 18/1/92, p. 3.
44. 'Confidential Telephone Information at Risk', 10/2/92, p. 3.
45. 'Information Theft Shows Disturbing Trend: Author', 11/4/92, p. 18; and 'Hi-tech Thieves Likely to Be Staff: Report', 5/4/92.
46. 'Dial 00 for Outrageous', 23/1/92, p. 10.
47. 'Candidate Urged Social Security Cut', 18/3/92, p. 3; 'Letters Leak Now Focus of Campaign for Wills', 20/3/92, p. 5; and, 'A Man of letters Dusts Up His Political Image', 20/3/92, p. 5.
48. 'Familiar Ring to Potential Catastrophe', *The Australian*, 14-5/3, p. 4.
49. 'Mackenroth Outburst Raises Serious Questions', *The Australian*, 14-5/3, p. 4.
50. 'Concern Over Diplomatic Leaks', 8/2/92, p. 6.
51. 'Coalition's View On Deals Distorted', Letter to the Editor, 16/5/92, p. 10.
52. 'What Price National Secrecy?', 19/1/92, p. 15.
53. 'Crime Rate Out of Police Hands', 29/3/92, p. 6; 'Police Don't Rig Figures, Says Frame', 30/3/92, p. 16; and 'Crime Rate Overstated, Says Sandon', 13/5/92, p. 15.

54. 'Student Privacy Breach Warning', *Herald-Sun*, 16/4/92, p. 7; and 'Use of Student Profiles Under Attack', *Herald-Sun*, 18/4/92, p. 7.
55. 'Benefits Crackdown', *Herald-Sun*, 7/4/92, p. 24; and 'Aidex Reports Prompt Inquiry', 18/2/92, p. 5.
56. 'PM Accused of Cover-up on Tax Files', 13/5/92, p. 13; 'PM Faces Inquiry in WA Inc. Tax Row', 14/5/92, p. 3; 'PM Inconsistent on Tax File Access', Editorial, 14/5/92, p. 13; 'Keating Firm On Not Releasing Tax Files', 15/5/92, p. 1/6; 'Laws Allow Access: Tax Chief', 15/5/92, p. 6; and 'PM Gives Ground On Tax Laws', 16/5/92, p. 3.
57. 'Should Doctors Treat and Tell?', 24/5/92, p. 9.
58. 'News Tapes Could Be Seized Under Bill, Seminar Told'; and 'Press Freedom Could Be Economic Issue: Professor', 9/4/92, p. 4.
59. 'Journalist Jailed Over Silence', 21/3/92, p. 1.