

The Contributor.

A journal of articles published by the
Policy Committee of the Liberal Party of Western Australia

Gary Johns | Bradley Woods | Jonathan Daventry | Monish Paul
Augusto Zimmermann | Ben Small | Sean Morrison | Christopher Dowson
Karalee Katsambanis | James Fahey | Matthew Mckenzie | Michelle Jack

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The intention of this document is to stimulate public policy debate by providing an avenue for individuals to express their views on topics in which they have an interest or expertise.

Opinions expressed in these articles are therefore those of their respective authors alone. In no way should the presence of an article in this publication be interpreted as an endorsement of the views it expresses, either by the Liberal Party or any of its constituent bodies.

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"If Liberalism stands for anything ... it's for the passion to contribute to the nation, to be free, but to be contributors, to submit to the discipline of the mind instead of the ordinary, dull discipline of a regimented mass of people."

Sir Robert Menzies, 27th July 1962

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From the Editor

Following the launch of The Contributor in July, the myriad of emails and telephone calls received have since come to indicate the extent to which this initiative has been appreciated by our party. Before this project embarked on its maiden voyage, our aim was to generate frank dialogue by publishing stimulating content, especially on issues that often manage to escape democratic scrutiny.

Nowhere is its fulfilment better manifest than in the issue of Indigenous Recognition in the Commonwealth Constitution. Our first edition article by former WA Liberal leader Bill Hassell was received with such thought provocativeness that the Policy Committee determined that a public debate would be the commensurate response to the emergent appetite for awareness on this issue.

On Wednesday 5th November 2014 at Murdoch University's Kim Beazley Lecture Theatre, a panel-based debate entitled *To Recognise or not to Recognise* was held. Bill Hassell and former Labor Minister Dr Gary Johns presented the 'no' case while academics Dr Martin Drum and Dr Ian Cook presented the 'yes' case. The event involved a lively Q&A session from the audience and was broadcast on the Australian Public Affairs Channel (A-PAC TV).

Tracking back to August, I had the honour of moving a motion at State Conference on behalf of the Policy Committee expressing disappointment at the Federal Government's decision not to pursue as promised the repeal of Section 18C of the Racial Discrimination Act (1975). The motion was seconded by Bill Hassell and was voted in with significant support from the floor.

Chairman Tom White and I have made it a personal goal to reach out to every Federal Division, not only to encourage party members to get contributing with ideas but to make ourselves available wherever and whenever any guidance on policy matters is required.

The 'Contributor Trail' as I like to call it has so far made stops at Fremantle, Curtin, Tangney, Pearce, Perth, Swan and Stirling Divisions and the response since has been overwhelmingly positive. We endeavour to visit the remaining divisions in the near future.

During a recent visit to a Warnbro branch meeting in Brand Division, Tom and I were asked to explain the policy making process in our party. As a follow up to this, the Policy Committee will soon be launching 'How To' user guides available in document and video formats for the benefit of party members.

Lastly, these great projects we have been working on would not have been possible without the decisive leadership of Tom White and for this he must be commended. I hope you enjoy reading this Second Edition. I can be reached on ssufi@live.com.au or 0466 398 240.



CHARITY BALL

The need for transparency
and reality in charity

by
DR GARY JOHNS

When charities sell their services, they sell information about what they will do with the money you give them. The trouble is it is often not much information, and barely sufficient for you, the donor, to compare with any other charity or any other cause.

More importantly, some charities are frankly not charities. The WA Government, for example, recently introduced the Taxation Amendment Bill 2014 in response to a decision of the State Administrative Tribunal that found the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Western Australia to be a charitable organisation.

The Chamber is a business, hardly a charity. It lobbies government and competes with other businesses. Full marks to the government for seeking to rein in its access to state tax benefits.

Problems with the charity market go deeper. Too many charities have high costs, too many take too much government money, and too many lobby government using donations, usually to ask government for more money. Too many promote their cause with contrived statistics of societal problems. Sometimes the cause for which they lobby is controversial, and most taxpayers would not approve if they knew.

Australia's oldest charity, *The Benevolent Society*, which in 2013 celebrated its 200th anniversary, has an income of more than \$80 million per annum. Almost 82 per cent of its income comes from government. Only four per cent comes from donations. It uses some of the donation monies to lobby government for more programs. I call this the Charity Ball, it goes round and round.

The *Society* is not alone: economically significant charities in Australia derive 33 per

cent of their income from government. Most lobby government. Following a High Court decision *Aid/Watch Incorporated v. Commissioner of Taxation* (2010) charities are free to lobby and do little charity work.

As the welfare state has grown, so have charities. Charities growth was more than double the real rate of growth of the economy in the seven years to 2007, and this growth is in a healthy economy.

The ways in which charities raise funds is ever expanding. A Starwood preferred guest at a Meridien or Sheraton, or a host of other participating hotels, has the option to not donate to UNICEF through its checkout for children program. One dollar is automatically deducted from the guest's account for the donation, unless the guest, at checkout, declines to make the donation. A Coles or Woolworths customer may participate in a host of charities through donating to any number at the checkout.

I have lobbied government for years for a more transparent charity market. There should be a clear set of rules on lobbying, clear limits on how much government money charities receive, or at least, disclosure of how much they receive, and standardised accounts to keep donors informed.

Unfortunately, government is not interested.

There is a further matter, deciding how much good a charity does. Giving to charity may begin with the desire to 'do good'. Knowing whom to give to, however, needs more than the desire. Two colleagues and I have recently established *DonorInform*, which aims to inform donors about how charities use donations, and the best use of charitable donations.

After all, a dollar misspent on charity is a dollar lost to charity.

No set of rules could hope to create a clean charity market of pure motives and perfect outcomes. The one thing that may help is to lower the cost to the donor heading out what happens to their money.

Apart from fundraising and registration legislation, governments have tended to leave the charity sector to its own devices. The intention of the Abbott Government to abolish the Australian Charities and Not-for-profit Commission is testament to the truth that many charities do not want any interference in their activities, despite their considerable reliance on government money.

An Australian organisation and website, *DonorInform Limited*, that aims to inform donors and to assist them to decide where to invest in charity would be of valuable assistance to those who rely on charities.

Please contact Gary Johns via email at garytjohns@gmail.com if you are keen to learn more. The book, *The Charity Ball* (Connor Court), is also available for purchase.

Hon Dr Gary Johns is Adjunct Professor, Business School QUT University, a columnist for *The Australian* newspaper, a director of *DonorInform Limited*, and a director of the *Australian Institute for Progress*. He was Associate Professor of public policy at the Australian Catholic University. He was Special Minister of State in the Keating Government and served as an Associate Commissioner of the Productivity Commission. He is a recipient of the Centenary Medal and the Fulbright Professional Award, served at Georgetown University, Washington DC.

"I am in favor of cutting taxes under any circumstances and for any excuse, for any reason, whenever it's possible."

Milton Friedman
Nobel Laureate



The ill-effects of burdensome regulations
on the Western Australian hospitality sector

by
BRADLEY WOODS

Since its birth, the Liberal Party has embraced minimising interference in our daily lives and maximising individual initiative. Good liberal governments nurture and encourage citizens through incentive, rather than limiting people through the punishing disincentives of burdensome regulation and red tape.

With these philosophical values in mind, a review of Western Australian liquor licensing laws is a rare opportunity to streamline red tape and for the WA Government to reduce interference in hospitality business management processes.

Very few other industries are regulated as much as the WA Hospitality and Tourism sector. Retailers of alcohol must accept reasonable conditions of business operation but the WA hospitality sector is regulated to such an extent that even the most basic managerial thinking is controlled. As an industry, hospitality is instructed through regulations or law on:

- How to advertise
- What can be said in advertising
- Where it can advertise
- What it can sell
- Where it can operate
- How much not to sell for
- How many items it can sell
- What not to sell products with
- What it must sell products with
- When to open and close
- How to serve
- To list the names of approved managers on signage
- How to communicate with customers
- When and what to write in management reports
- The types of decor, fixtures and fittings required and or allowed
- How to control customers

- The type of entertainment allowed
- To discriminate against customers by serving some and not others
- Architectural design
- To ban or block certain patrons
- To monitor customer and patron behaviour
- To instruct customers on their behaviour
- The type of toilets and bathroom fittings allowed
- Which handymen phone numbers it must have listed in an office
- The toilet behaviour of customers
- Recording the names of customers that are turned away from being allowed into the business
- What clothing a patron is allowed to wear
- How patrons act at venues
- What physical body markings patrons are permitted to display in a venue
- What patrons can and can't drink
- Where documents and files must be kept

What other industry is controlled as much as this?

The most recent review of Western Australia's *Liquor Control Act* and hospitality industry was released in early 2014 and chaired by Lottery West Chairman, John Atkins, the Deputy CEO of the Chamber of Minerals and Energy, Nicole Roocke, and mallee root farmer, Ian Stanley.

No appointments were made to the review committee of a member with hospitality or liquor industry expertise. Can you imagine the medical sector being reviewed by a panel of people with no medical expertise? It wouldn't happen. So why does an industry worth over \$4 billion to the state economy and employing over 50,000 people get treated with such ill regard?

This review was a golden opportunity to revitalise out-dated legislation but

recommended more regulation, intervention, policing and red tape.

The development of a more diversified WA economy that isn't entirely reliant on the resources and energy sector means looking to other industries for growth. Tourism and hospitality have the potential to be key drivers of Western Australia's and indeed Australia's future growth and prosperity. Tourism and hospitality can fill gaps left by a softening mining sector and the absence of manufacturing activity as it gradually moves off-shore. Now more than ever, we must ensure that the tourism and hospitality industry remains one of our country's greatest strengths.

The industry has already seen some promising change in federal government policy and the Abbott Government has acknowledged the importance of the industry, by elevating it to the foreign affairs and trade portfolios.

However, the potential of the industry does not rely solely on policy legislated in Canberra. The hospitality and tourism industry is best assisted by sensible local and state government policy that alleviates unnecessary regulatory burdens on tourism and hospitality providers while encouraging investment.

Tourism research shows that capturing and retaining emerging and lucrative Asian markets is key to the growth of the sector and increasing visitation in Western Australia. This too has been acknowledged by state and federal governments, but policy that supports industry development on a more grass-roots level is lacking.

While not the job of an independent committee; Liberal Party philosophy embraces minimising interference in our daily lives and maximising individual

initiative. Liberal philosophy aims to promote and encourage incentive, rather than putting limits on people. Many recommendations from the review seek to punish hard work and instead propose new taxes to fund the interventionist public health lobby.

For Western Australia, the past few years and next decade have and will continue to see the greatest amounts ever invested in the tourism and hospitality industry. International brands and leaders of hospitality are planting seeds in Western Australia, hoping to gain from lucrative local and international markets driven by a booming Asia. Further investment can be attracted if government is willing to un-shackle a constrained tourism and hospitality industry.

Improvement of public policy should start here.

The industry isn't asking for a major overhaul of legislation, we are asking for simple, common-sense measures to alleviate pressure from the industry and those who work in it.

Words like 'vibrant', 'modern' and 'world-class' are often thrown around when talking about the Western Australian tourism and hospitality industry. Consideration should be given to these words, as should new and amended legislation reflect government's efforts in attracting and retaining tourists, businesses and new development. Indeed a tourist who visits a 'vibrant', 'modern' and 'world-class' Perth on a Sunday expects to be able to visit a hospitality venue and utilise its facilities past 10.00pm.

When considering recommendations, thought should be given to why the majority of recommendations within the review's report champion the agenda of the health lobby and other groups like WA Police over the interests of the hospitality industry and the public. The purpose of the Act should be understood; that

is to primarily regulate the sale, supply and consumption of liquor while balancing regard to harm and ill health caused by its consumption with the needs of consumers, tourism and the industry.

In order for the Act to facilitate the proper and professional development of the liquor, hospitality and tourism industries, the primary objects of the Act must include recognition of the interests and needs of people selling and supplying the industry as well as catering to consumers of liquor. To facilitate the optimum development of the tourism, liquor and hospitality industries the Act must have regard to the interests of the community and the economic implications of change, in particular changes made to regulation.

The role of government should be to set the framework of laws and other rules within which individuals can freely make decisions about their own lives. This doesn't mean a 'free-for-all', but acknowledges that over restriction through legislation unfairly compromises the average person. Likewise, the basis of restrictions should reflect wants of a majority never a minority.

If we balance the wants of the community and attend to the needs of industry, we should be able to deliver simple policies that positively cater for a majority of Western Australians and visitors to our state.

Bradley Woods is the Chief Executive Officer of the Australian Hotels Association (WA).



Reform, not extra funding,
holds the key to education success

by
MONISH PAUL &
JONATHAN DAVENTRY

Government funding decisions will forever be a case of winners or losers, and never is that truism more obvious than during the lead up to a Federal Budget. Returning the Federal Budget to surplus is going to mean some ugly choices and a reduction in education spending, in real terms, is a distinct possibility in coming years.

While this scenario will no doubt come with its electoral challenges, it is also an opportunity for transformational change in a sector which remains at the heart of Australia's productivity and international competitiveness. With hard financial decisions here to stay, it can no longer be argued that incremental change is best for the sector.

In the recent release of *Positioning for Prosperity? Catching the next wave*, the third in the *Building the Lucky Country* series, Deloitte analyses growth prospects across all major parts of Australia's economy. Collectively, these sectors, the 'Deloitte Growth 25' (DG25), represent a group of compelling growth opportunities for Australia.

Unsurprising for those of us who work in the sector, international education, private schooling and reskilling an ageing workforce all featured prominently.

International education

International education was singled out as one of the 'Fantastic Five', potential super-growth sectors worth an extra \$250 billion to the Australian economy over the next 20 years. But realising the potential of international education will not happen by accident - Australia's higher education institutions must be bold in their vision and appetite for change. Failure to address existing barriers will dramatically increase the

likelihood that sooner rather than later, we will be faced with a sector that is too expensive to compete globally, that is understaffed as the ageing workforce retires, and that has lost its once reputable position as a top academic research and innovation centre.

However, although international education is an extremely competitive sector, Australia does have a couple of unfair natural advantages. In particular, we are already well-established with Asian students and their families due to our shared time zones, stable political and economic environments with a safe and high quality lifestyle, and world class education institutions. Nevertheless the competition is fierce, especially from UK, US and Canadian universities. We are certainly not the only country to be positioning for the growth opportunities offered by international students, not to mention that some overseas institutions have famous and historic educational brands.

For Australia to realise its potential as an education powerhouse, we must be ready, willing and able to press home our advantages. And even with significant focus, it won't all be smooth sailing. The cost of studying in Australia has risen and it isn't just the fault of a high Aussie dollar. The margins for tertiary education providers are being squeezed by increasing cost of operations, while tuition fees for domestic students remain regulated. While increasing revenue from international fees seems a legitimate action to offset these pressures, in such a competitive marketplace, and with the levelling off of student numbers coming to Australia, it is no longer a sustainable option.

The good news is that many universities are already looking ahead and implementing a determined strategy to reduce overall costs

and remain globally competitive. This foresight should be applauded as the only real answer to long-term funding issues. And neither will reform be the death of academic freedom, quality teaching and learning outcomes, the student experience or research in Australia. All of these important aspects of our universities should be enhanced as an outcome of any reform process, but it will require change.

Entrenched organisational hierarchies rarely welcome change to the status quo and so university leaders must be committed to overcoming objections and communicating why change is necessary for the institution. Expecting resistance and meeting it with honest and open communication throughout the process will be essential to achieving the desired outcome.

Apart from the cost of tuition, Australia can be an expensive part of the world to live in. Both government and educational institutions must be creative in assisting international students and their families overcome cost-of-living hurdles.

We should be pragmatic in realising that assisting international students to come and study in Australia is overwhelmingly in our best interests. Even a cursory examination reveals that the likely benefits of a strong international student community will substantially outweigh the costs of any short term incentives provided.

We will also need to build on the current trend which encourages foreign students to become ‘education tourists’ who in turn encourage friends and family to visit. Not only do natural tourism assets play a part in international study decisions, Australia’s natural assets are considered a significant factor by a number of our most significant

tourism markets. Happily, the combination of vibrant cities and pristine natural assets is likely to remain a significant draw card for the foreseeable future. All in all, Australia is well-positioned to realise its international student ambitions if systemic reform in universities becomes wide-spread and is aligned to strategic government support.

Private schooling

With births having risen to around 310,000 per year, up from 250,000 a decade ago, we can expect around a 25 per cent rise in the number of Australian secondary school students in the 2020s. Thirty years ago one in every four students were educated in non-government schools, this ratio is now more than one in three.

Education, as a significant service export, will be further boosted by a growing demand for kindergarten to Year 12 schooling. Given the underlying trend towards private (non-government) schooling in Australia, this is particularly positive for the private sector. Asian middle class parents have always placed a high value on western education for their children, but more of them now have the wealth necessary to access this in Australia. The private school sector is perceived to provide an attractive and privileged pathway to further education in Australia’s universities. If the private school sector can leverage this successfully, it could be poised to be one of the key growth engines for the Australian economy.

Reskilling an ageing workforce

As growing numbers of older Australians extend their careers by choosing a different role or a new industry, opportunities will arise for education and training providers to assist with developing the new skills required to

make the best use of this pool of experienced and productive workers. The required new skills will include the imperative to stay abreast of increasingly rapid technological change, as digital technologies change not only the way we live, but also the way we work. Critical to the overall success in this lifelong learning journey is that, as a society, we need to address the entrenched idea that education is primarily for those aged under 30. Innovative policies may be necessary to affect the necessary cultural shift.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the individual challenges associated with each of the three educational sectors of the DG25, there are some general reforms which could be of immense impact in shaping the future of education in Australia:

Restore the prestige of educators: if we wish to be a premium education destination, we must prize our educators. Competitive entry to fully funded university places, combined with performance based pay for front-line teachers, would go a long way to growing our current talent pool of educators.

Deregulate pricing in the sector: if institutions could operate within a deregulated pricing environment, it would encourage institutions to be more responsive to student needs, while allowing the most responsive institutions to thrive.

Redefine migration pathways to boost international demand: there is nothing preventing Australia leading the world in guiding high performing international students and academics, from any country, to secure permanent residency and employment in Australia. We should become a magnet for the best and brightest around the world.

Finally and most importantly, the fact that many public and private institutions are already innovating without waiting for government, is the most encouraging sign that the education sector will succeed in the open market. After all, Australians are best known for making our own luck.

Monish Paul is a Partner at Deloitte Australia and the Chief Strategy Officer for Deloitte's Consulting practice in Australia.

Jonathan Daventry is a Senior Manager at Deloitte Australia and a former Treasurer of the Liberal Party of Western Australia.

MORE  **EQUAL**

The Rule of Law, its enemies and authentic justice

by
DR AUGUSTO ZIMMERMANN

Although the meaning of the concept known as the rule of law is always open to debate, there is a general agreement that this is essentially concerned with protecting citizens from unpredictable and arbitrary interference with their vital interests. Such interference may come from two basic sources: other individuals, or government. Hence, a community is said to be under ‘the rule of law’ if people are protected from arbitrary violence, and if laws exist that are established to maintain peace and avoid that which may be called a Hobbesian state of ‘war of every man against every man’.

In contrast to the ‘rule of men’, which implies ‘arbitrary rule’, the rule of law is designed to minimise public and private arbitrariness. As such, the basic rights and freedoms of the individual must be properly achieved as well as adequately preserved. Hence, the rule of law involves a delimitation of power so that the state exercises its (limited) activities in accordance with clear, stable and general rules of law. Such rules must be clear, certain, adequately publicised and normally prospective, as well as promulgated in advance and enforced by an independent and impartial judiciary. By forcing the state to follow forms and procedures, law operates to reduce the possibility of any government being able to excessively coerce, obstruct or otherwise unreasonably interfere with our individual rights to life, liberty and property.

Given such important attributes of any government operating under the rule of law, one may expect that everyone would agree with the necessity of realising this important ideal of legality. And yet, the concept has attracted numerous detractors who contend that the formalism and neutrality engendered

by the rule of law may actually be used to disguise some forms of social hierarchy and exploitation. For example, critical legal theorists argue that its advocacy of equality and objectivity comprises an ‘ideological screen’ to hide the ‘hypocritical and egoistical character of the rule of law’. Relying on post-modern narratives, such theorists ‘dissect’ the legal system so as to discover subjective meanings no matter what the law objectively says. This sort of critical analysis begins with the contestable assumption that legal objectivity and impartiality are no more than myths constructed by the socially powerful in order to perpetuate their hegemonic power over other less powerful individuals.

Although these critical legal theorists undoubtedly share a left-leaning outlook, some of them embrace an even narrower focus which concentrates on race and gender issues, in particular on how the law creates or contributes to unequal power relations. Hence radical feminists like Dr Kelly Weisberg, a law professor at the University of California, postulates that ‘the values that flow from women’s material potential for physical connection are not recognised as values by the rule of law’.¹ She sincerely believes that, as a general concept, the rule of law is too ‘masculine’ and the laws ‘we actually have are both masculine in terms of their intended beneficiary and authorship’.²

Radical feminist theory relies and overlaps with old-fashioned concepts first developed in Marxist theory. One such concept is the determinist claim that all conservative women must experience some sort of ‘false consciousness’ derived from gender ideology. Just as Marxists attribute all evil to the division of labour, radical feminists locate it in

¹ K Wisberg, *Feminist Legal Theory Foundations*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia/PA, 1993, pp 86–7.

² *ibid.*

the gender division of labour. More importantly, both Marxism and radical feminism fatally result in justice becoming captive to an anti-liberal agenda, which in turn inevitably results in further instances of injustice because of the obvious lack of impartially weighing the respective claims of diverse citizens.

For similar reasons the so-called ‘critical race theorists’ are also fiercely opposed to the rule of law. They basically argue that the impartiality and rationality of the rule of law cause discrimination against members of minority cultural backgrounds who may not actually hold these values in high esteem. Furthermore, critical race theory declares that, by focusing on these particular attributes, the rule of law actually fails to consider the more specific requirements of ‘marginalised groups’.

Critical race theory, of course, is not preoccupied with the diversity of individual choices. On the contrary, people are invited by such theory to embrace ‘group values’ no matter whether these values are good or bad for themselves just as individuals. By placing group rights above individual rights, critical race theory, consciously or not, often legitimises and provides a cover for the most reactionary beliefs and practices of other cultures, rather than truly encouraging the more liberal strands to develop. An attentive ear is given mostly to the community elders and traditionalists, who often are the most determined to preserve their power in the status quo. This so being, oppressive beliefs and practices can be justified on grounds of ‘multiculturalism’, or ‘celebrating cultural diversity’, whereas the basic rights of the individual, particularly women and children, can be systematically denied.

Critical race theory also involves a considerable degree of cultural determinism. By seeing the individual as intrinsically attached to the cultural group, critical race theory flirts with the quite dangerous assumption that certain social practices might be race-specific or genetically determined, and so they cannot be changed. Such classifications deliver the message that skin-colour and/or gender matters profoundly. It suggests that people of different gender, skin-colour and/or cultural backgrounds are not actually the same, and that gender, race and ethnicity are qualities that really matter. In other words, such classifications involve the assumption that the individual must not be defined by the content of his or her character, but rather by gender, skin colour, religion, etc.

When law ceases to constitute an objective criterion by which a person’s behaviour can be measured, then the rule of law becomes an impossible achievement. The legal system is transformed into an ideological weapon to beat political opponents into submission. But should we consider law a naked assertion of power by one group over another? From the perspective of such ‘enemies of the rule of law’ the answer is obviously yes, since they see every relationship strictly in terms of a power relationship. Universal standards of judgment, common to all, simply do not exist and all which remains is unrestrained subjectivity to create, interpret, and apply the law. When we accept what such ‘enemies of the rule of law’ preach, we lose any proper basis for calling the system to fairness. We are not supporting real equality and authentic justice. Instead, we are simply calling the minorities to pursue power so they can take their turn.

Dr Augusto Zimmermann LLB (Hon.) LLM (cum laude) PhD (Mon) is a Senior Lecturer at the School of Law at Murdoch University.

“The inherent vice of capitalism is the unequal sharing of blessings; the inherent virtue of socialism is the equal sharing of miseries.”

Winston Churchill



FOR BUSINESS

A case for modernising Western Australia's
notoriously archaic retail trading hours

by
BEN SMALL

In the wake of the Economic Regulation Authority's 2014 Inquiry into Microeconomic Reform in Western Australia, public attention has again been drawn to the issue of retail trading hours deregulation. Considering the merits of the debate against the context of true Liberal values, as well as the importance of the retail industry to the economy against the regulatory costs of the status quo provides a useful framework to determine where the Government ought to lead the state. Finally, the policy issue underlines a key benefit of federalism in action, for we aren't the first to consider going further down the path of deregulation.

The Liberal Party's "We Believe" statement notes that our ideal is a "lean government that minimises interference in our daily lives; and maximises individual and private sector initiative." Furthermore, that "businesses and individuals - not government - are the true creators of wealth and employment." In its purest form, then, modern Liberalism ought to have a 'deregulatory instinct' to minimise bureaucratic interference in the retail industry.

Where an individual entity identifies an opportunity, then through initiative and enterprise invests heavily in the capital and staff to build a retail business, should Government legitimately demand that they close their doors to customers at an arbitrary hour? This represents an infringement of their freedom to make a commercial decision as to when it is viable for that business to trade, an under-utilisation of their private investment and a cost to consumers. In light of this, deregulation of retail trading hours sits very comfortably with the Liberal ideology. But what of the economic aspects of the debate?

The first, and arguably most important point,

is the enormous importance of the retail industry to the broader WA economy. Ranked as the third highest industry sector by employment, retail trade employs more than 120% of the entire mining sector and its importance to the on-going health of our economy can't be underestimated.¹ Where a government must expend political capital on reform, it must do so to achieve the most gain for the most constituents; clearly, the retail sector is ubiquitous in everyday life, but it also represents a significant source of employment in a state economy adjusting to life after the mining construction boom.

Whenever governments interfere in the marketplace through regulation, there are costs. To pass the highest test, and that must surely be the public interest test, the costs of that regulation to each citizen must be more than offset by the value those regulations generate. The legitimate, and largely unanswered question is: what value does trading hours legislation generate for the people of WA?

A key economic cost of government regulation is the boundary distortion that results in the farce of one business being allowed to trade, while another on the opposite side of the street may not. The Barnett Government's 2010 move to extend the coverage of special precincts in the metropolitan region provoked this legitimate criticism from the Shopping Centre Council of Australia:

*"Where governments choose to intervene in the market place, however, they must be guided by considerations of equity and consistency. Governments should create a level playing field for businesses. They should not be in the business of restricting competition on the grounds of geographic location, providing a windfall for some and creating financial harm for others."*²

Regional market distortion is caused by a

provision in the current *Retail Trading Hours Act 1987* that has permitted local governments outside the metropolitan area to apply for a Ministerial Exemption from the act. This has resulted in the farcical situation that one major shopping centre near Bunbury operates in a completely deregulated trading environment, whilst another, just 5.1km away, faces significant trading hours regulation.

Yet another cost to the retail trade industry comes in being restricted from competing with the rise of online retailers. Consumers, more connected than ever, are voting with their feet to demand the convenience of shopping when it suits them. As online retailers enable this, and conventional retailers are blocked from trading by government regulation, it is a credible presumption this important industry bleeds revenue.

Finally, a compelling and perhaps underestimated economic cost caused by trading hours regulation comes through the congestion that forcing retailing into blanket time-frames causes. Research shows that our shops are more crowded, parking more difficult and queues unnecessarily longer due to the imposition of trading hours regulation. The truncated nature of existing trading patterns further suggests that considerable consumer demand exists outside the regulated hours of retail trade³.

The experience in a deregulated shopping environment is demonstrably different, thanks to federalism in action.

WA currently languishes as one of the most regulated states when it comes to trading hours, and can benefit from the experiences of other states that have gone down the road of deregulation before us. The primary argument put forward by the protectionists

who favour the status quo is a supposed increase in market dominance of major retailers with a subsequent drop in competition following deregulation⁴.

The Productivity Commission noted that this has not been the experience in other states following deregulation, as:

*“While it is clear that many small independent supermarkets and some specialised grocery shops are suffering from the increased competition from the national chains, there are also examples of others finding a niche and remaining profitable. Meanwhile, consumers are benefiting from lower prices, a larger range of goods and better service.”*⁵

Ultimately, arguments that retail employment would be decimated or that the social fabric binding communities together would be degraded by deregulation have simply not been born out in states such as Victoria. In that state, retail employment growth was double the national average in the 5 years after legislative change and no quantitative drop in community activity or participation has been substantiated.⁶

The politics of this debate are an important consideration. The Liberal State Government is approaching a dangerous age, where its longevity exposes it to the so-called “it’s time” factor at the next election. In the wake of having lost the AAA Credit Rating, electors will legitimately ask what the economic reform agenda for the next term of government is. Unless sensible, effective measures such as trading hours deregulation are a part of the Liberal platform to address the need for good economic management and employment growth, it is submitted that the Government runs the serious risk of appearing tired and out of ideas, or clinging to power for power’s sake. The electorate is not typically forgiving of either.

Given that deregulation sits comfortably with Liberal values; delivers benefits to consumers through reduced business cost, improved choice and lower congestion; has the potential to increase employment in our third biggest industry sector and has been proven to be a successful reform in other states, it is submitted that the Liberal State Government must address the archaic and constrictive trading hours legislation in our state in the lead-up to the next election. This Liberal Government must not continue to be complicit in using regulation to benefit a few, at cost to many.

Prime Minister Tony Abbott frequently remarks that “Australia is open for business” readers must ask: is WA?

Ben Small is a member of the Bunbury Branch.

www.pc.gov.au/projects/inquiry/competition-policy/docs/report, retrieved 10/08/14

⁶ University of Western Australia 2011, Faculty of Law, *Shop Trading Hours in Western Australia: A Research Report*, p. 105, <http://www.uwa.edu.au>, retrieved 10/08/14

¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014, *Western Australia at a Glance*, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1306.5main+features32014>, retrieved 10/08/14.

² University of Western Australia 2011, Faculty of Law, *Shop Trading Hours in Western Australia: A Research Report*, p. 162, <http://www.uwa.edu.au>, retrieved 10/08/14

³ Economic Regulation Authority 2014, *Fact Sheet: Retail Trading Hours*, <http://www.erawa.com.au>, retrieved 10/08/14

⁴ Productivity Commission 2011, *Economic Structure and Performance of the Australian Retail Industry*, p. 275, <http://www.pc.gov.au/projects/inquiry/retail-industry/report>, retrieved 10/08/14

⁵ Productivity Commission 1999, *Impact of Competition Policy Reforms on Rural and Regional Australia, Report No 8*, p. 257, <http://www.pc.gov.au>, retrieved 10/08/14

A TALE OF  **CITIES**

Commentary on the importance of
local government reform

by
SEAN MORRISON

It is utterly perplexing to hear Liberal MPs, and apparent die-hard supporters, speaking out against the Barnett Government's proposed local government amalgamations in metropolitan Perth. It is clear that the Liberal party is the only party in WA with the ability to undertake this reform, given that the other parties have short-sightedly dumped amalgamations in the bulging too-hard reform basket. Anyone committed to a prosperous future for Perth must stand behind the Premier on this issue.

In our city of 2 million people we have no less than 30 local governments in the metropolitan area, and another 3 in the Peel region. Local governments are not merely lines on a map, they are bureaucracies with complex webs of regulations, personalities and processes which more often than not result in unnecessary delay, cost and frustration to households and businesses. There are some truly excellent officers and councillors in our local councils, however they have to work in a system decades past its use-by date.

This complex web is particularly felt in the development and property industry. While processes for churning out single homes in the delivery stages are somewhat standardised, the same can not be said for commercial, retail or mixed use developments. A small selection of the problems encountered include:

- A series of planning schemes across the metropolitan area with a mix of legal nuances, and various Council powers which change due to arbitrary lines criss-crossing our city. One Council may be able to amend a development approval after construction has commenced, another may not. One Council may allow for minor development applications to be approved internally,

another may require it to go to a full Council meeting. The difference can mean months of holding costs or thousands of dollars in fees or consultant charges.

- Inconsistent application of wider state planning policies and objectives. Some shun housing infill goals or relaxations on retail floorspace limits while others refuse to let go of the past. It is a damning indictment on the planning system in this state that the best outcomes are achieved when the existing system is essentially thrown in the bin through the Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority. Equally concerning is the fact the biggest shopping centre in Perth is only the 30th largest in Australia.
- Differing sets of standards relating to parking standards for shopping centres, office buildings or even child care centres. The difference can mean millions of dollars in construction costs, and result in some developments not being viable in a different local government, despite site conditions being exactly the same.
- A multitude of signage controls, some built directly into inflexible schemes or others into policies which are enforced inconsistently. Two businesses on different sides of a street in different local governments could face entirely different signage controls. One business might be allowed a larger sign than the other, or one may have to lodge an application for a sign when the other does not. This creates a system of 'losers and losers' because it is eminently unfair and exists to serve no one.

The result of the above is simple - it makes investment into our city difficult and uncertain. It is at times embarrassing to sell the mine field of regulation to foreign or

eastern states businesses thinking about making the jump into WA. The above matters are more often than not very dry affairs, however local governments are often the last gatekeepers to development, and getting the detailed statutory and policy framework right is just as essential as the high level strategic planning (the fun stuff).

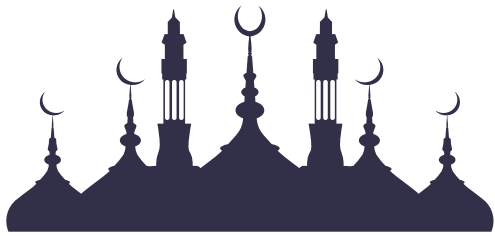
So I say this to the Liberal Party - you were elected with a commanding majority, use it. This misguided notion that local communities identify with, and prosper because of their local governments is false - at least in the metropolitan area. It is impossible for anyone to argue that if they could start from scratch, they would retain the current boundaries and frameworks. Amalgamation is one small component of the changes that must take place there must also be a wholesale change of the approach of local government from one that is cautious, and engrossed in rule-following for rules' sake, to one that actively competes for and seeks out development opportunities to benefit their communities and the wider city.

Local government reform must take place to reduce the burden of complexity on businesses, current and future in our city. Those most vehemently against this reform process, from the likes of Cottesloe who wish for the city to stand still in time, or others who think they 'own' rate revenue, have no concern for Perth, only themselves. In this new Asian century, the governance of Perth must evolve so that we can thrive and prosper.

Sean Morrison is the Chairman of *FuturePerth* (www.futureperth.org)

“If liberty means anything at all, it means the right to tell people what they do not want to hear.”

George Orwell



ISLAM

and the



WEST

Cultural introspection in the 21st century

by

CHRISTOPHER DOWSON

In 63 B.C., during Cicero's Second Catiline Oration (at §15), the famous rhetorician asked:

“But why are we speaking so long about one enemy; and about that enemy who now avows that he is one; and whom I now do not fear, because a wall is between us; but are saying nothing about those who dissemble, who remain at Rome, who are among us?”

Over two thousand years have passed since Cicero uttered this prophetic warning and it is clear that our society has not taken it to heart. By ‘our society’ I do not refer simply to ‘the West’ or Anglosphere countries, but also Muslim cultures across the world. The interface between the West and Islam has produced enmity and violence, whose primary victims are the innocent civilians in each society. These people aren't just ordinary Americans, Australians, Brits or Europeans whose beliefs are Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Scientologist, atheist and agnostic among many others; they are also Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans and Pakistanis.

Neoconservative interventionism and fundamentalist Islamism are the toxic by-products of both Western and Muslim worlds and for the most part, the response by Western governments, the media, political pundits and Islamic communities and religious leaders has been to externalise the problems facing their societies. It is easier for the West to proclaim that ‘We have a Muslim problem’ and vow to stop Islam from taking over our country, just as it is easier for Muslims to argue: ‘We are moderate Muslims! The West is just imperialistic and xenophobic!’. The problem for both the Western and Islamic worlds is that they lack what I call cultural introspection; the ability to look inside one's own backyard and pinpoint the causes that have exacerbated existing problems and weakened their societies from within.

The word *introspectio* ‘to look into’ is, coincidentally, first attested in Latin by Cicero himself, and serves as a useful basis for this analysis. As Cicero might have said today, we talk now a lot about the ‘hedonistic West’ or ‘barbaric Muslim countries’, but say nothing about those who are among us, weakening our society from within. This article is designed to highlight a few of these internal cultural problems on both sides and subsequently come to a better understanding of where improvement could occur between our two cultures.

To begin with Islam: We are told that the attraction for young, impressionable Muslims to join extremist ideologies such as Salafism or Wahhabism, stems from poverty, lack of opportunity and a lack of education about the West and its history. In addition to these factors, there is also a need to externalise problems on an outside oppressor. As an interesting example, Carl Jung spoke of this as a universal phenomenon in human psychology: ‘The importance of the archetypes in man's relationship to the world is emphasised; they are seen to express man's highest values, which would be lost in the unconscious if not for their projection onto the external environment’.[1] For young Muslims as well as young Westerners, disillusionment and antipathy for US foreign policy are two of the most powerful motivating factors in the transition to radical ideologies. For extremists, it is easier to blame the West for their misfortunes than to take self-responsibility and lift their followers out of a cycle of poverty and violence. It is far easier to blame the West for the geopolitical problems of the Middle East instead of criticising Saudi Arabian excess and treachery against the rest of the Muslim world (as well as Turkey). A clear example of this is from Osama bin Laden's fatwa of 1996:

“The people of Islam awakened and realised that they are the main target for the aggression of the Zionist-Crusaders alliance. All false claims and propaganda about ‘Human Rights’ were hammered down and exposed by the massacres that took place against the Muslims in every part of the world.”[2]

Hyperbole and externalisation of foreign oppressors are the main motifs of the 11,000 word document and it is no surprise then that these motifs reappear in the videos of young ISIS fighters around the world blaming everyone else but themselves for their violence, hatred, and misfortune. One of the most vital areas of improvement in the Muslim world is for their religious and community leaders to emphasise cultural introspection. Not simply to declaim organisations, such as Al Qaeda and ISIS as ‘un-Islamic’, but to ask why these groups are able to become so popular and alluring to disenfranchised Muslims in the first place.

Acknowledgment that texts like the Koran do contain provisions for warfare is a first step. The next step is to stress that Islam is no longer a religion of the 7th century and that it has often been practiced in the past (through various Hadiths and exegetical interpretation) as a moderate, peaceful, and morally conservative religion which aims to coexist with other cultures - not to evangelise or subjugate them. Teachings by Imams on the importance of fighting extremist ideologies will be the most important way for Islam to weaken the influence of groups like ISIS. To convince mainstream moderate Muslims that it is the traitors within that are doing more damage to them and their religion than any Westerner.

For those Muslims who emigrate to the West to live better, safer, and more prosperous lives, it is equally their responsibility to discourage their friends and family from embracing

extremism and to encourage self-responsibility and education instead of aggression and militancy. This of course already happens frequently but it would not hurt to emphasise the importance of this exercise for all Muslims who want to see radicalism’s influence reduced. The destruction of extremism in Islam will not be by American fighter jets or soldiers, but rather by an internal counter-reformation which takes the fight to Salafists and Wahabists and widely discredits their ideologies once and for all. The willingness to fight those violent traitors within Islam, (whose numbers are growing daily) who tarnish the perception of the many passive Muslims dedicated to living peaceful and harmonious lives with Westerners, is and will be the most powerful step in resolving the problem of fundamentalist Islamism.

It would, of course, be quite naïve not to understand the role played by Western neoconservative ideology in deliberately destabilising the Middle East and subsequently providing the spark for global jihadists to unite against the West and all it stands for. A list of CIA and UK military covert and overt interventions in Syria, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Libya and many more since the postcolonial era, demonstrates a lot of the mistakes of US foreign policy. We might well say the US was justified in fighting the spread of Soviet Communism in the 1980s by arming the Mujahideen in Afghanistan (and subsequently spawning the Taliban), but as Westerners, we must be introspective and realise where our own governments’ foreign policies have failed, where they have been successful, and where exit strategies and alliances needed to be improved and refined to reduce blowback (9/11, London Bombings etc). These topics are far beyond the scope of this article, but they are important considerations because much

of the information about Middle Eastern geopolitics comes from Western news outlets which oversimplify, misconstrue, or just ignore important historical factors which have shaped the region stretching back to the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War One.

Yet more fundamentally, we in the West need to be introspective as to who exactly are those traitors within our walls who are destabilising our own culture. When we see news stories where an activist judiciary voted to force the state's public schools to allow boys on their girls' sports teams, where a father was defended for having a sexual relationship with his daughter, and others like these - we begin to get closer to the answer. The progressivist campaign to incite hatred, racism, and violence in Ferguson and New York recently, the need to revise history into a guilt-based curriculum as opposed to fact-based, the constant demands to reduce military and defence spending, the attacks on Christianity and faith in general, and the rise of moral relativism all begin to uncover the internal problems which face the West.

The degradation of standards in education as well as in social mores inspires progressivists to shout 'more freedom, more rights, more liberty' at whatever cost. The evidence of this degradation abounds and I don't need to point out some of the cultural problems that we witness on a daily basis even here in Australia.^[3] Westerners who witness this, who lack the proper historical education, and who - like many young Muslims - become disillusioned, find it easier to blame their problems on foreigners, especially Islam. It is easier to be critical of Muslims than it is to admit that Western society has gone beyond 'progress' and has now reached 'regress' where our so-called 'values' include euthanasia, abortion, binge drinking, casual

sex, infidelity, divorce, and part-time parenting.

Yes we can criticise Islamic ideologies, and yes this is the luxury of free speech and the free exchange of ideas and opinions in the West, but we cannot palm off our problems and responsibilities simply to externalise them on other cultures (the recent Je Suis Charlie campaign is a pathetic yet powerful example of this externalisation through the veil of 'free speech'). In order to effectively improve relations between Islam and the West, and to return our culture to one of traditional values, morals, and stability; our younger generations need a far better education of history, a better understanding of causes and effects, and most importantly, primary sources and actual facts. We cannot hope to be a strong and cohesive society if our own intellectual elites, our governments, and our media are so dominated by progressives who put opinion, guilt, revision, and reinterpretation above tradition, faith, and historical fact.

For example: Many Westerners would not know that Osama bin Laden was once an ally of the United States. Many Westerners wouldn't care about the British Mandate of Palestine and the multiple attacks by Jewish terrorist groups Stern, and Lehi which killed dozens of British officials most notably the assassination of Lord Moyne in 1944, and Irgun which was responsible for the bombing of King David Hotel in 1946. Yet, many could tell you that Islam is a violent religion, Halal food apparently funds terrorism while turning a blind eye to Kosher food, and that there are 'too many' Muslims coming into their country degrading their 'values' (whatever they are nowadays). Similarly, many young Muslims would never have heard of Martin Luther or the Reformation which divided Christianity and reduced the German population by 25%

during the Thirty Years War. Many may never have heard of the Faisal-Weizmann Agreement or the broken agreements by the Arabs themselves which initiated the Israeli-Palestinian conflict spanning much of the 20th century.

Yet, they could tell you that Israel is a 'warmongering aggressor' and that the West is a hedonistic, materialistic and immoral society that wants to control the oil and resources of the Middle East. These incongruent worldviews stem from one problem, and one problem alone: the complete lack of cultural introspection. If the Muslim world is to stop the spread of fundamentalism, the burden is on its own religious leaders to educate their younger followers and actively encourage the battle of ideas against violent Islam, to reform their religion into a peaceful and modern ideology whilst still maintaining its socially conservative traditions. And if the West is to deal with its growing problems of cultural and moral decay, it should stop blaming foreigners and 'Islam', and instead realise that progressive secularism and all its acolytes are the true 'traitors within Rome'.

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[1]. Jung, C., *Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, Vol. 9, Part 1. 2nd ed., Princeton University Press, 1968. pp. 92-94.

[2]. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/military-july-dec96-fatwa_1996/

[3]. See an earlier article I authored on this topic discussing the rising divorce rates, abortion rates, and infidelity rates in Western cultures: <http://www.menzieshouse.com.au/?p=5838>

"The first lesson of economics is scarcity: there is never enough of anything to fully satisfy all those who want it. The first lesson of politics is to disregard the first lesson of economics."

Thomas Sowell



**MODERN
MEDIA**

Personalising the modern media landscape

by
KARALEE KATSAMBANIS

It almost seems like yesterday that the majority of Australians got their daily TV news from a short ABC news bulletin at 1pm which preceded a few hours of test pattern, then the main bulletin at 7pm. If you didn't grow up with a colour TV, let alone a mobile phone, you're probably feeling a little bit lost in the now ubiquitous social media sea of Google, Facebook, Twitter and whatever the next big online thing will be.

But, just take a deep breath knowing that some of the things from those bygone days *will* actually hold us in good stead in the new world of the 24/7 media cycle and we will still have valuable advice to pass onto the next generation. For the younger generation reading this, it really is true that journalists would sometimes need to stuff coins into pay telephones on the side of the road on the rare occasion they needed to contact their newsroom.

However, the public did not know *the* news until it was news time. With overseas stories who really knows how many days later we actually saw the news? And in the end did it really matter? In 2015, events are expected to be covered *live*, giving rise to the perception that sometimes the news is almost happening before the actual event itself! We seem to be online all the time and rely on the instantaneous drip feeding from the vast array of modern media outlets, including the ever growing social media sites.

The tragic events of September 11th, 2001 changed the modern media landscape forever when that second plane was seen *live* on the *TV* smashing into the second world trade tower while Australians watched newsreader Sandra Sully read the news as she had done hundreds of times before. Previous generations claim they remember exactly where they were when Kennedy was shot or when man landed on the moon, but what they

actually remember is where they were when they found out. The 9/11 generation can rightly claim that many actually *saw* the tragedy unfolding *live* even though they were on the other side of the world.

Suddenly, there was no filtering and we were completely immersed in wall to wall coverage as Australia's television channels at that stage simply switched over to US programming throughout the night. Whether we liked it or not, 9/11 and its aftermath, whet our appetite for news on demand. And a year later another tragedy, this time the Bali bombings, cemented that appetite. No longer were we happy with just a couple of *TV* news bulletins a day on free to air stations. We were well and truly hitched onto the media juggernaut and the 24/7 news cycle.

Fast forward to 2015.

Despite significant changes to the media landscape, with the onset of social media, the power of the media as a whole is as strong as ever and can never be underestimated. Media has always existed in a kind of symbiotic relationship with many of the subjects it covers including politics. Although we hear arguments from politicians from both sides that they avoid media, they hate media or that it is biased. The fact is politicians need the media as much as it needs them. The trepidation that politicians sometimes express about the media is based on the fact that they don't always understand the rules of the game. Unless you know what works and what doesn't you could find yourself floating in a sea of tweets making yourself look like a twit.

One person who knew the rules and what worked was former Prime Minister John Howard. He was an expert at using the media to get his message across to the Australian public. He honed his skills giving interviews over many years to various media outlets and through that he came to understand just how

important the media was in helping him to get his message delivered. Despite the regular protestations we hear from many Liberals about the ABC being biased, Howard regularly appeared on many ABC programs and seemed to relish his frequent interviews with Kerry O'Brien.

Rather than engage in a debate about ABC bias, he actually used the ABC as a vehicle to get to *his* audience, the Australian people. In this way, he delivered a Liberal Government message to the electorate rather than cede the available airtime to his opponents. John Howard's media engagement strategy has recently found a worthy successor in Foreign Minister Julie Bishop who has demonstrated her skill in understanding the demands of the modern relentless 24/7 news cycle.

It is no accident that through the coverage of the MH17 air disaster Ms Bishop has been dubbed 'the woman of steel'. She has been available to *all* media for interviews, at all hours of the day or night no matter where in the world she has been. By being so available she has ensured a positive positioning of her message. In this way, the entire world has clearly understood the clear and unambiguous position of the Australian Government.

Despite the disastrous six years of Labor government between 2007-2013, in his ascendancy to the Prime Ministership, Kevin Rudd also demonstrated that he was a media master. Long before the Kevin 07 show rolled into town, he had been honing his skills through relentless media appearances including his regular morning TV segments on Channel 7. Others might have seen cornflakes TV as just a bit of harmless fun, but Rudd saw it as his chance to shine and get ingrained in the psyché of Australians as a potential future leader.

Obviously, his ability as a media master was not mirrored as a leader, forcing us to endure the horrible soap opera of the Rudd-Gillard years. However, the sheer turmoil of those years should give politicians an insight into the psyché of modern media and modern journalism. Yes, there is more pressure with the need to perform more regular and more updated stories be it for newspaper, radio, TV or online websites but this creates the perfect opportunity for smart politicians to provide copy so that journalists can meet their deadlines.

When the Rudd-Gillard shenanigans were at their height, there was no such thing as a slow news day. Contrast this with the early weeks of the Abbott Government where new ministers seemed to disappear into the ether, allowing their opponents the opportunity to fill the available news space with negativity.

Just look at how Clive Palmer has single handedly led the Australian media on a merry dance. Not content with spending extraordinary amounts on an advertising blitz before the 2013 federal election, Palmer has continued to use the media to build profile and intrigue about what he actually stands for.

As bemusing and perplexing as the vision of Palmer standing next to former US Vice President Al Gore might have been, it was Palmer who was in full control of the press conference and the media message. Months later we still don't really know what that message was but we all remember the fact that Palmer had the power to lure a well-known international figure to stand next to him. Which is exactly the message he wanted to deliver.

In the new media paradigm, the old school rules of old fashioned media training just don't cut it. You do need to learn how to comment effectively otherwise you run the risk of either being lost in the editing process

or becoming a figure of ridicule. ‘No comment’ is no longer a viable option unless you want to convey the impression you have something to hide. This is where some old style skills of personal interaction and one on one communication will win out every time over generic social media comments.

If you want a journalist to run your message, or your story, you talk to that journalist. You might send them a text or an email to make initial contact but you will need to ring them, and meet with them to ensure that it is your message that will be broadcast. A talking head on television or your voice on radio will trump over someone else reading out your generic tweet every single time.

We have seen thousands of photographs of many US Presidents sitting in the Oval Office making important phone calls to other world leaders. We have seen vision of many face to face meetings and handshakes between Australian prime ministers and their international counterparts.

We will continue to see these in the future, but it is highly unlikely that the nightly news will ever show an Instagram photo of Tony Abbott snap chatting with President Barack Obama. Those of us who grew up before the mobile phone, before the advent of social media and before the start of the 24/7 news cycle learnt skills like face to face communication and one on one phone calls almost instinctively.

These skills will hold us in good stead in this new media landscape. So, even if the going gets tough, remember it is far better to pick up a telephone and meet the pesky journalist face to face no matter what perceived bias you may think there is. Don’t be left alone tweeting in cyberspace when what is really needed is the personal touch, no matter what generation you belong to.

Karalee Katsambanis is an experienced journalist, broadcaster, and radio commentator.

SEA POWER

Defence Policy and the Royal Australian Navy

by
JAMES FAHEY

Navies establish the conditions that make liberal commerce on the seas possible; however, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) is aging at a time when the world is rebalancing to the Indo-Pacific arc. The synchronisation of these two events provides an opportunity to revisit Defence, and in particular, maritime policy and ensure that Australia is capable of responding to the strategic evolution of our region.

The public debate over the Federal budget often obscures the relationship between our domestic and foreign interests. Too often the strategic value of the RAN is not recognised in budgets due to the difficulty in quantifying the strategic gains of sea power. Benjamin Schreer articulated this in his response to the 2013 White Paper:

“Despite the Government’s intentions to save the 2009 force structure construct, it is quite clear that unless the Defence budget is experiencing steady growth in the coming years, any future government simply will not have enough money to pay for all the ‘core capabilities.’ As a result the ADF might end up a less capable force, and the White Paper left it to the next government to make some tough decisions on the future force structure. Behind closed doors, US officials are reportedly not amused about the prospect of stagnated Australian defence spending at a time of American re-engagement in Asia.”

Benjamin Schreer, 2013. Business as usual? The 2013 Defence White Paper and the US Alliance. Security Challenges, 9(2), pp.35-42.

Australia is an island nation located at the nexus of the Indo-Pacific which extends from India to Polynesia and from the Bering Strait to Australia. This arc has been created through the strategic rebalance of the US to Asia, the economic and military rise of China and India, and the global importance of regional trade routes. Australia’s trade and energy security is dependent upon the region’s significant maritime choke points (eg. the Malacca Strait) and security flashpoints

(eg. the South China Sea) remaining open to maritime trade; the most cost effective manner to achieve this is through sea power. While the conflicting policies of the US, China and India creates the potential for a destabilised region; the series of overlapping regional forums, agendas and associations coupled with the sensitivities over national sovereignty and claimed maritime territories has a more destabilising influence.

The naval rise of India and China has ignited competition that some view as creating a useful regional maritime balance; however, there is an increasing likelihood that these major power adversaries will operate within Australia’s northern sea and air approaches. Australia’s current naval force is not capable of deterring or defending against such a threat, and while Australia’s Defence White Papers of 2009 and 2013 point to future projects; comparing the proposed and actual fleet compositions, capabilities, and procurement methodologies of Australia to the rest of the region raises the question of whether Australia can maintain the security of its northern approaches.

The Current Policy as it affects the Navy

Very little information is available in the public domain regarding Australia’s Maritime Strategy and associated Government Policies. Defence White Papers, Foreign Affairs statements, shipbuilding programs and Force composition all provide clues to the Government’s policy, and given the Prime Minister’s commitment to produce a Defence White Paper during his first year in office, 2014 will allow Australia and the World to get an insight into future Defence policies along with the intentions of the Abbott Government.

Looking at current and future maritime projects tells a story that conflicts with the

primary mandate of the Defence Force – to deter and defeat attacks on Australia. The development of: an amphibious capability; a small destroyer flotilla; a combined patrol boat, minesweeper, survey craft; new anti-submarine frigates and; an enlarged submarine force; fails to respond to the proliferation of advanced naval weaponry across the Indo-Pacific arc, especially amongst the region's lesser maritime powers.

Government policy has forced Australia into the role of the region's emergency services provider. In this light it is hard to be critical of the Government's maritime procurement policies; however this is where present policy does not match regional reality. Although Australia's alliance with the US provides some comfort, Government policy must be aimed at generating a fleet capable of maintaining the integrity of Australia's borders and Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), while simultaneously using naval diplomacy to develop strategic military and political relationships across the Indo-Pacific arc.

Requirements of the Future Policy

The RAN is aging both technologically and physically during a period of regional maritime growth and intensified aggravation at security flashpoints. Maritime platforms are long life projects spanning from 20 to 40 years, consequently the development and procurement decisions made today will affect the security of Australia for the next 50 years. The foundation for making enhanced procurement decisions lies in the development of effective and enduring Defence, Foreign Affairs and Border Protection policies.

Australia's list of future maritime projects is akin to those of Kaiser Wilhelm and the early Soviet Union where certain types of ships were built due to their status and not

practicality. Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany was never going to achieve parity with Britain's surface fleet and consequently failed to make a substantial impact during WW1; however, Germany's focus on a submarine fleet for WW2 showed how practical naval choices can yield results. Similarly the Soviet Union nearly collapsed during its early attempts to match American maritime power, however under Admiral Gorshkov was able to create a fleet that was able to blunt both NATO and the US. Australia must be careful not to follow down a similar path as the LHD's, while a symbol of power, does little to secure Australia's trade routes and borders. While they may complement a US maritime force, the 2013 White Paper aims to achieve a Navy that can defend itself without immediate external support. Given the current and project force structure in the context of the Indo-Pacific arc it is arguable if Australia will have a maritime force capable of deterring or defeating attacks on Australia.

The proliferation of advanced naval weaponry and platforms across the Indo-Pacific arc, and consequent changes to foreign relations policies, provides Australia with a template from which to determine its own policy responses. Australia, as determined by its geography, is a maritime nation in a maritime region; the key to our defence, and the extension of our influence, lies in our maritime force. The defence of Australia's borders requires vessels capable of operating in the littoral environment of an archipelago with a complementary Air Force that can provide early detection. Our borders to the north and on the Indian, Pacific and Southern Oceans don't require an amphibious force but one that is nimble with a hard punch capable of severing the supply lines of any adversary. Australia's maritime force can be used to build relationships complementing the efforts of the Department

of Foreign Affairs. Our policy should not be dictated solely by the wishes of our allies or regional players, but by the advantages available as a result of our geography.

The strategic rebalance to the Indo-Pacific arc has provided Australia with an opportunity to alter its Defence policies. Australia is a maritime nation; our key to regional influence lies in an effective and reliable deterrence and relationship building capability. The status of current and future Defence projects reflects the outdated position of Government policies; however, Australia is not too far committed to a course of action making it possible to alter the policies to better reflect our strategic and regional environment.

James Fahey is a PhD student and former officer in the Royal Australian Navy.



A brave plan to slash the WA Government's
budget deficit in three simple steps

by
MATTHEW MCKENZIE

The government of Australia's wealthiest, most successful state has plunged into deficit. Things aren't going well for the government on the GST distribution front or on the royalty income front, and understandably, there are issues. I accept that lots of the government's projects are going to be quite cool, so because I'm a helpful sort of person I've come up with a few ideas to halve the deficit and then fund tax reduction.

For clarity before I start, asset sales and capital investments don't affect the State Government's operating balance.

Reform utility subsidies (\$450 million)

Western Australia budgeted to spend almost \$2 billion this year on utility subsidies. The Public Transport Authority led the way at \$747 million, electricity subsidies were \$616 million, and water subsidies \$583 million.

I think a lot of people accept that it's important to ensure vital services are accessible to disadvantaged and vulnerable people, but the current mechanism of service delivery does that at enormous cost. Services are subsidised for all, regardless of usage. Effectively a family that wants to reduce bills, by turning off its air conditioning during summer, is supporting families that keep the appliance on. Big businesses that draw massive amounts of electricity are subsidised by those that do not. That is not fair.

We should do away with these supply subsidies and instead give the support up front, transparently, to those who we think need it. That will sharpen people's minds when it comes to using products that have previously been subsidised, and will ensure support is fairly targeted.

We're half way through the financial year, so let's assume that we reduce subsidies from January 1, with probably around half the budgeted amount unspent. That's an expenditure reduction of \$978 million. To give the State Government credit, it has already announced it will reduce subsidies by \$65.1 million, by forcing these departments to make reductions to their costs. A large portion of the savings could be set aside, perhaps half, and credited directly to the accounts and smart riders of concession card holders every fortnight.*

The net impact, excluding the government's existing savings, is a reduction of around \$450 million.

Delay royalties for regions programs (\$100 million)

Due to the substantial drop in royalties, this year payments from the royalties for regions program will actually exceed 25 per cent of total royalty income, the ratio specified when the program was created. Under the act, however, the spending locked in for this year must go ahead despite the fall in royalty income. Well, that's a bit silly.

The government should be looking to delay a number programs at least until the end of the financial year. The savings can go straight into the royalties for regions future fund and be spent on largesse for regional voters in decades to come. Please think of the children.

I've had a look through the budget, and to be even more helpful, I thought I'd highlight a few specific line items: "Seizing the opportunities in agriculture" (\$48.9 million), "Underground power in the Pilbara" (\$75 million), "Regional groupings and individuals" (read as "regional shires slush fund", \$50 million). I accept that there might be strong

demand for some of these programs, but if we're being honest here, the people of Coolup, for example, have already waited 2 years to receive their \$1.7 million upgrade to the regional equestrian centre. I'm sure the coming six months will race by.

Furthermore, I just looked outside my window and there are definitely above ground power lines in Perth, so I'm sure they don't need to be underground up north.

Axe these programs/departments (\$130 million)

You've really got to wonder why government gets involved in sports and the arts.

What sort of people go to the theatre exactly? People who wear expensive suits. They don't need subsidies. The Department of Arts has a budget of \$127 million this year. Just get rid of it. Providers in the industry can use crowd sourcing, develop partnerships with businesses, rely on private generosity or change their pricing and cost structures to survive.

In the long term this would be positive for the arts community. It would ensure it was relevant to the needs of aficionados and it would free it from bureaucratic oversight. Then they could host operas staged in cigarette factories until their hearts were content.

Elite sport receives \$24.5 million. Why? If the AFL can make a billion dollars on television deals, they'll be fine to run their own programs. Other sports may not be able to secure such high funding, but if people are not interested in watching it, why should they pay for it?

The Department of Racing, Gaming and Liquor dishes out \$107 million of subsidies, mostly to the racing industry as I understand it.

I can count on one finger the number of times I've been to a racetrack. If people can spend thousands on stupid fascinator hats they can pay for themselves to watch horses run laps. This issue is a bit more complex, as the TAB receives most of its income from gambling on racing, so it has an incentive to subsidise the industry. I'm sure the market would sort it out when TAB becomes privatised. Again, we're halfway through the year so I divided the savings by two.

And in the out years

For this financial year, we've cut the deficit in half in just three easy moves. In future years, the savings will add up to more than \$1.2 billion annually, remembering that we would still have a very generous, but better targeted, support system for utility usage and that the royalties for region spending delay can't be counted twice. Unless, of course, you get rid of it!

In 2016-17, adding these savings on top of the government's projected \$300 million surplus will enable a reduction of the payroll tax rate by about a third, or will almost be enough to abolish stamp duty. The state government has no need to run a massive surplus because it can use asset sales to pay off debt, so a modest surplus is fine.

*Note: Around a quarter of Australians hold concession cards, so if the same portion is true in WA, that's around 625,000 people. \$450 million would be around \$720 each, very generous for just half a year of public transport, water and electricity usage.

Matt McKenzie is journalist at *Business News* in WA, covering economics, employment relations and agribusiness.

"One person with a belief is equal
to ninety-nine who have only
interests."

John Stuart Mill



An argument against legalised euthanasia

by
MICHELLE JACK

The controversial issue of 'voluntary' euthanasia (also referred to as assisted suicide) continues to be raised in the media on a regular basis, and consequently is an issue discussed in our parliamentary assemblies. Despite this, attempts to legalise euthanasia are consistently defeated in Australian Parliaments. Indeed in 2010, notwithstanding being granted a free-vote,¹ every Liberal Member of the Legislative Council voted against the Voluntary Euthanasia Bill sponsored by the WA Greens. In our Party, often described as being a 'broad church', why is it that Liberals have a history of opposing such policies? This article sets out non-exhaustive reasons for this position.

Violating the inalienable right to life

The law against murder gives effect to a fundamental principle – the inalienable right to life. This principle is essential to a well-ordered, just and peaceful society.

In stark contrast to this principle, legalising euthanasia creates an exception to this law. The exception must be based on either the claim that any person can waive the right to life at any time and ask another person to kill them; the claim that some persons are better off dead than alive; or some combination of the two.

The claim that any person can waive the right to life at any time and ask another person to kill them implies a general right to assisted suicide for all people including, as Dr Phillip

Nitschke puts it, “the depressed, the elderly bereaved and the troubled teen”². It would also, if we follow the logic of the claim, allow voluntary participation in 'fight to the death' sports, and permit organisations where members give the organisation the right to kill them if they break the rules.

The claim that some people are 'better off dead' has been advanced before. The list is usually quite extensive. In the late 1930s Germany included amputees, the intellectually disabled, and the chronically ill.³

Putting vulnerable people at risk - lack of coercion and voluntariness cannot be guaranteed

Most proposals for legalising euthanasia stress the voluntary nature of a euthanasia request and claim to include stringent procedural requirements that or more doctors certify that the person requesting euthanasia is not being coerced.

Coercion can be notoriously difficult to identify. A person who is heavily dependent on others due to age, disability or illness could be very subtly coerced into 'choosing' euthanasia. This type of coercion is unlikely to be identified in the brief interviews with doctors required under euthanasia laws.

The simple existence of voluntary euthanasia as a legal option puts the onus on every elderly, sick and disabled person to justify

¹ A free-vote occurs from time to time on certain matters of conscience, when agreed to by the Parliamentary Liberal Party. This privilege is to be distinguished from a conscience-vote which is an entitlement of any Liberal MP to exercise their discretion on any matter, subject only to the obligation to inform his/her colleagues in advance of doing so. Notably the Labor Party only allows the former not the latter.

² Lopez, K. “Euthanasia sets sail: An interview with Philip Nitschke, the other ‘Dr. Death.’”, *National Review Online*, 5 June 2001.

³ Friedlander, H. *The origins of Nazi genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*. The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

(even if only to themselves) the decision to go on living rather than opt for euthanasia. It only takes one day of feeling 'blue' to give in to this subtle pressure and agree that one would be better off dead. This can be an especially difficult position if one feels that they are an emotional or financial burden on their family and friends.

The existence of voluntary euthanasia, or assisted suicide, also becomes a reason not to fund medical treatment. It has been reported that at least two cancer patients in Oregon have received letters saying that their health fund would pay for assisted suicide, but not for treatment.⁴

Unlike other laws that require decisions to be made free of coercion, there is no remedy or recourse after the event. It is too late if euthanasia is found to have been coerced or lacking in fully informed consent, based on a wrong diagnosis, or a failure to offer appropriate treatment including adequate palliative care. The person deserving of redress is dead.

The slippery slope ever expanding categories of people

In every jurisdiction that has legalised euthanasia or assisted suicide, the categories of people able to request euthanasia have expanded. This is the practical consequence of justifying euthanasia on the grounds of (i) autonomy and (ii) that some people are better off dead. Earlier this year the law in Belgium was expanded to legalise euthanasia for children.

Let me leave you with an example from Oregon, the Netherlands and Belgium – the three jurisdictions most often cited by proponents of euthanasia as examples of where the law works very well.

OREGON: Killing people due to a false prognosis

Dr Kenneth Stevens writes of his experience of how the prognosis of 'six months to live' works under Oregon's law:

“Oregon's assisted-suicide law applies to patients predicted to have less than six months to live. In 2000, I had a cancer patient named Jeanette Hall. Another doctor had given her a terminal diagnosis of six months to a year to live. This was based on her not being treated for cancer.

At our first meeting, Jeanette told me that she did not want to be treated, and that she wanted to opt for what our law allowed – to kill herself with a lethal dose of barbiturates.

I did not and do not believe in assisted suicide. I informed her that her cancer was treatable and that her prospects were good. But she wanted “the pills.” She had made up her mind, but she continued to see me.

On the third or fourth visit, I asked her about her family and learned that she had a son. I asked her how he would feel if she went through with her plan. Shortly after that, she agreed to be treated, and her cancer was cured.

Five years later she saw me in a restaurant and said, “Dr. Stevens, you saved my life!”

For her, the mere presence of legal assisted suicide had steered her to suicide.⁵”

NETHERLANDS: Killing the blind

On 5 October, 2013, the Dutch news service *Nieuws.nl* reported on the 2012 case of a

⁴Harding, S. “Letter noting assisted suicide raises questions.” *Katu.com*, July 30 2008 and Springer, D. “Oregon Offers Terminal Patients Doctor-Assisted Suicide Instead of Medical Care” *Foxnews.com*, July 28 2008.

⁵Kenneth Stevens “Doctor helped patient with cancer choose life over assisted suicide”, *Missoulian*, 27 November 2012, http://missoulian.com/news/opinion/mailbag/doctor-helped-patient-with-cancer-choose-life-over-assisted-suicide/article_63e092dc-37e5-11e2-ae61-001a4bcf887a.html.

woman who was killed by euthanasia on the sole grounds of unbearable suffering due to blindness. The alleged 'unbearable suffering' included distress in not being able to see whether her clothes were stained or to see new clothes when shopping. The woman had refused a guide dog on the grounds that she wanted to walk a dog not be led by one. The case was apparently approved by all five Regional Euthanasia committees.⁶

BELGIUM: Killing the victims of sexual abuse

On 28 January, 2013, it was reported that late in 2012 a 44 year old woman known as 'Ann G', had been given euthanasia on the grounds of unbearable psychological suffering. She had been treated for anorexia since her teenage years by psychiatrist Walter Vandereycken. In 2008 she publicly accused him of sexually abusing her under the guise of therapy. In October 2012 Vandereycken admitted to years of sexual abuse of several of his patients. Following this admission, 'Ann G' spoke of some temporary relief from 'the cancer in her head', but subsequently persisted in her request for euthanasia.⁷ 'Ann G' will not be available to testify against her abuser if charges are laid.

A better way: suicide prevention and palliative care

As Liberals, we believe 'in a just and humane society, where those who cannot provide for themselves can live in dignity'.⁸ So what do we propose in answer to the issues that give rise to the euthanasia debate?

Liberals are strong advocates for suicide prevention (in contrast to suicide promotion). Sadly, about one person dies from suicide each day in Western Australia. The responsibility for promoting resources like Lifeline, Beyondblue and Onelife suicide prevention strategy rests with all of us. There is help. There is hope.

Liberals are also strong advocates for palliative care. Unfortunately many people do not know that palliative care exists. Worse still, of those who know of it, many wrongly understand it to only be for those with a terminal illness. Palliative care plays a wonderful role for those with chronic pain, if only all those in need of it were aware of its availability.

End of life issues are complex, and fraught with emotion, uncertainty and fear. As Liberals, we need to lead with the vision that all people are permitted to exist until natural death, while being wholly and fully supported by those close to them, and the society in which they reside.

Ms Michelle Jack LLB (Hons) B.Com is President of the Fremantle Division and works as a lawyer in the areas of Real Estate and Environment & Planning.

⁶"Bejaarde kreeg hulp bij zelfdoding om blindheid", *Nieuws.nl*, 5 October 2013, <http://www.nieuws.nl/algemeen/20131005/Bejaarde-kreeg-hulp-bij-zelfdoding-om-blindheid>.

⁷"Patiënte van psychiater Vandereycken krijgt euthanasia" *De standaard*, 28 January 2013, http://www.standaard.be/artikel/detail.aspx?artikelid=DMF20130127_00448215.

⁸Our Beliefs, The Liberal Party of Australia Western Australian Division, <https://www.wa.liberal.org.au/party/beliefs>

Have your



on the future of the federation!

The Abbott Government has commissioned a White Paper on the reform of the federation, and we want to know how you think its structure and function can be improved.

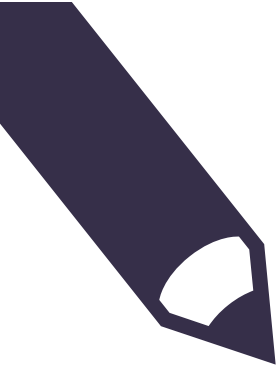
If you have an interest or expertise in **any** area of policy affected by federal/state relations, we want to hear from you.

The Policy Committee, along with Senator Dean Smith, will be holding events on this topic throughout the year, with the objective of eventually compiling the views of our party's membership into a formal submission. All party members are welcome to attend and contribute.

Please keep an eye out for invitations, or contact policy.chair@wa.liberal.org.au or senator.smith@aph.gov.au for further information.

Our federation is in need of reform, and this is every Liberal's chance to **do something** about it.





Letters to

Dear Editor,

I wholeheartedly endorse the article titled '*To recognise: Is that the question?*' in the first edition of The Contributor by Bill Hassell. It was a superb piece of writing which encapsulates everything that is wrong with the current trend in indigenous recognition by chopping and changing our sacred Constitution. There is much speculation about whether or not the Preamble itself should or could be amended. Professor Anne Twomey notes that the Preamble can never be an explanation of why the Constitution was adopted or the aspirations of the people upon approving its adoption, at best, it could explain the aspirations of the Australian people at a fixed point in Australia's constitutional history, "if this is the aim," she says, "then the whole content of the Preamble would have to be reassessed to make it a coherent statement that can be read in the context of the time in which it is updated or inserted." This might include recognising Western Australia in the Preamble (our State is currently conspicuously absent from the Preamble). Why are we simply giving one niche issue such as indigenous recognition, so much prominence in our most important legal document? I am very disappointed with Tony Abbott, who has been devising ways to appeal to the lowest common denominator and indigenous recognition seems to be one of the ploys he has used. Mr Abbott says he will set the date of the referendum on indigenous recognition for 2017. He seems keen to have this pushed through by the next election. I agree with Bill Hassell that constitutional recognition of indigenous Australians, or that they were the 'first' Australians 'is wholly unnecessary and would be an excrescence on the Commonwealth constitution'. I wish more Australians would get off the bandwagon of political correctness and realise this.

Yours sincerely,

Ian Sampson JD MBA ACI Arb
Fremantle Branch President

the Editor...

Dear Editor,

Keith Windschuttle's article in the first edition of *The Contributor* discussed the importance of military spending in Australia. He argued that as long as Australia appears to be avoiding the financial responsibility for its own security, "and as long as it continues to talk but not act on assuming its share of the security burden in Asia, it will not maintain credibility in the eyes of the United States". I agree with this, and would like to bring up one of the criticisms of our shipbuilding industry, particularly in relation to the failed Collins class submarines in South Australia. Mr Windschuttle says that the US requires a "credible Australian Defence Force, able to protect and fund defence facilities on its sovereign territory", yet when our shipbuilding industry is no longer competitive, is it necessary to outsource this production to Asia? I think in the short term that this is exactly what needs to happen, but in the long term, the Australian government should be committed to restoring at least some semblance of an Australian-based manufacturing sector for defence. Maintaining sovereignty over our production capacity, in case we ever go to war with one or more of our neighbours, is absolutely vital. I think in the long term this is exactly what needs to happen. If we rely on China, Japan, Singapore etc to build and supply our ships on a permanent basis, we make ourselves vulnerable and might come to regret it in the future.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony Spagnolo

WA Young Liberal President

WE

WANT

YOU

*This journal belongs to you,
so write an article or a letter!*



Email policy.chair@wa.liberal.org.au to find out more.

We Believe.

In Australia, its people and its future.

In the innate worth of the individual, in the right to be independent, to own property and to achieve, and in the need to encourage initiative and personal responsibility.

In the basic freedoms of thought, worship, speech, association and choice.

In equality of opportunity, with all Australians having the opportunity to reach their full potential in a tolerant national community.

In a just and humane society, where those who cannot provide for themselves can live in dignity.

In the family as the primary institution for fostering the values on which a cohesive society is built.

In the creation of wealth and in competitive enterprise, consumer choice and reward for effort as the proven means of providing prosperity for all Australians.

In the principle of mutual obligation, whereby those in receipt of government benefits make some form of contribution to the community in return, where this is appropriate.

In the importance of voluntary effort and voluntary organisations.

In parliamentary democracy as the best system for the expression and fulfilment of the aspirations of a free people.

In the separation and distribution of powers as the best protection for the democratic process.

In a federal system of government and the decentralisation of power, with local decisions being made at the local level.

In a constitutional head of state as a symbol of unity and continuity.

In Government being sufficiently responsive so that it can meet its proper obligations to its citizens.

In Government keeping to its core business and not competing with the private sector.

In the rule of law and justice, giving all citizens equal rights under the law, responsibilities to maintain it, and the freedom to change it.

In Australia playing a constructive role in the pursuit and maintenance of international peace in alliance with other free nations and in assisting less advantaged peoples.

In Liberalism, with its emphasis on the individual and enterprise, as the political philosophy best able to meet the demands and challenges of the 21st century.



NOTES

"If you just set out to be liked, you would be prepared to compromise on anything at any time, and you would achieve nothing."

Margaret Thatcher