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THE POLITICS OF SHAME IN AUSTRALIAN ABORTION DEBATES 2004-2006

Rebecca Albury, University of Wollongong

A speech in Adelaide in March 2004 and the decisive vote about the regulation of RU486 provide significant marker events in the ongoing Australian debates about abortion policy. In Australia abortion is both regulated by the States and funded through Medicare by the Australian government. A socially conservative campaign lead against abortion by Tony Abbott, Minister for Health was an attempt to intervene in the popular compromise which seems to both recognise the seriousness of abortion decisions and maintain accessibility; moving people holding views in the middle ground toward a position supporting a restriction of the availability of abortion services. This paper will consider three stages within the debate to explore the deployment of shame over nearly two years. It will also attempt to explain how, in spite of the repeated attempts to by politicians to prompt indignation about the abortion rate, Australians, as reported in opinion polls, resisted the shaming tactics and continued support for the status quo in abortion services and funding.

ONE NATION AT THE POLLS: THE ECOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF ONE NATION'S VOTE AT THE 1998 AND 2001 FEDERAL ELECTIONS

Damon Alexander, University of Melbourne

Though generally regarded as a failure, due largely to Pauline Hanson's defeat in the seat of Blair, One Nation's ability to attract over 900,000 votes at the 1998 federal election clearly represents a high water mark in terms of the Far Right's electoral impact on politics in Australia. Given this success there has been no shortage of research examining the factors underlying One Nation's emergence, the origins of its support, and the nature of its support base. Goot and Watson (2001), for example, used Australian Election Study data from the 1998 federal poll to explore both the demographic and attitudinal basis of One Nation's support base, and equally importantly, what distinguishes its electoral appeal from that of the other parties. Political geographers Davis and Stimson (1998) meanwhile, used polling booth level data from the 1998 Queensland election, linked with data collected at the 1996 census, to develop a detailed picture of the underlying characteristics of the One Nation vote. Nine years on from the party's stunning electoral debut in Queensland, this paper adopts a similar approach to that employed by Davis and Stimson to explore the socioeconomic, demographic and spatial characteristics of One Nation's support base. Postal area-level census data linked to booth level election results taken from the 1998 and 2001 federal elections are analysed using bivariate and multivariate statistics, the results confirming the largely rural, conservative, blue-collar nature of the party's support base. A strong link between areas suffering high levels of socioeconomic disadvantage and the One Nation vote is also identified, suggesting that socioeconomic theories remain a plausible explanation for the party's emergence.

A CASE STUDY OF THE GOODS AND SERVICES TAX (GST) – A VIEW FROM QUEENSLAND

John Alvey, University of Queensland

A case study of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) from a Queensland perspective. The GST resulted out of the most politicised and protracted policy debates in recent Australian history: that of tax reform (Eccleston 2002). Tax reform in Australia has been a hesitant approach, epitomised by a 20-year saga of the GST. Introduction was mooted or attempted on several occasions and only in 2000 did operation commence (Fenna 2004: 302). The Howard Government argued that its New Tax System (ANTS) and the GST would be a major reform of Australia's taxation system that would also enhance the financial capacity of Australia's States and Territories to provide community services. It was claimed that these reforms would stop the erosion of States' and Territories fiscal capacity that had resulted from the Commonwealth expanding its social and economic role in the nation's affairs during the twentieth century. In practice, ANTS and the GST have done exactly the opposite. Indeed comments by the Federal Treasurer suggest that the Commonwealth will further strengthen its control over State and Territory finances and as a result, their policy and budgetary priorities. ANTS has been another example of the 'creeping centralism' within the institutional design of the Australian federation. Contrary to the claims of the Commonwealth, and its embedding of the GST at the core of the complex set of intergovernmental financial relations at the heart of Australian federalism is further diminishing the fiscal authority of the States and Territories by making them increasingly reliant upon a revenue source over which they have no control (Hamill 2005, 2006). The GST revenue has been distributed amongst the States but the GST is a federal tax with ultimate control in the hands of the Commonwealth Government rather than the State Governments. The GST has forced the States to participate in a tax system that has made Australia a less federal and more centralised system.

COAG AND THE AUSTRALIAN STATES

Geoff Anderson & Andrew Parkin, Flinders University

The Council of Australian Governments (COAG) has re-emerged over the past five years as a key institution in the evolving system of Commonwealth-State Relations. This paper examines COAG's administrative and policy impact on State governments. The administrative impact, evident via the paper's documentation of how State governments manage their engagement with the COAG process, is surprisingly variable across the states, though in all cases the role of central agencies is enhanced. This paper identifies three dimensions of policy impact. There is the top-down impact as COAG-endorsed national priorities insert themselves into State-level policy agendas; a (less common) bottom-up impact as particular States manage to arrange national endorsement for their own policy initiatives and priorities; and an (unexpected) horizontal cross-agency impact as obtaining a COAG imprimatur becomes a strategy to promote particular agency goals.

A VERY PECULIAR PRIVATISATION: THE END OF THE STATUTORY AUSTRALIAN WHEAT BOARD

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On 1 July 1999 the former statutory Australian Wheat Board was privatised to become the grower-owned AWB Limited. The export monopoly powers of the old Board were vested in the new Wheat Export Authority but AWB Limited retained an effective veto over wheat exports by competitors. The privatisation of the Board was consistent with the general direction of government policy since the Hawke-Keating years which involved the introduction of competition policy principles into areas that had previously been regulated. However, the process which led to the privatisation of the Australian Wheat Board was anything but consistent with the processes usually followed in such privatisations. This paper will discuss the features of the privatisation process that make this policy process stand out as a special case. Based on access to internal Grains Council of Australia documents and interviews with key players in the debate, this paper highlights the many areas of divergence which suggest that the privatisation of the Australian Wheat Board was undertaken with very little reference to broader government policy on deregulation and competition.

RECOGNITION THROUGH DELIBERATION: TOWARDS DELIBERATIVE ACCOMMODATION OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Selen Ayirtman, ANU

Liberalism is often regarded as the most suitable doctrine in accommodating and advancing diversity and differences in modern societies. However, as its critics rightly argue, this is not true for all types of differences that are at stake in such societies. Especially, when it comes to ethnic or cultural differences, classical liberal formula based on the separation of public and private spheres and the location of culture within the latter seems to reach its boundaries. Such an approach fails to capture the significance of culture and ethnicity for individuals, groups and ultimately for democratic politics. Taking this deficit of liberalism as their point of departure, critics have suggested alternative strategies for accommodating cultural diversity under the rubric of "politics of recognition". These strategies, also known as "multiculturalism", are basically about recognising ethnic and cultural differences on policy terms by granting ethnic group members special rights and entitlements. Yet, despite its inclusive tendency, when based on the "essentialist" account of culture and ethnicity, the politics of recognition fails to provide a fertile ground for inclusive politics in culturally diverse societies. When ethnicity is understood as given and pre-politically existent, multicultural policies might lead to a fixation and homogenisation of the identities at stake. It is possible to sketch an alternative, dynamic account of the politics of recognition from a perspective of deliberative democracy. This account emphasizes the "constructed" nature of culture and the "negotiable" character of identity formation. Accordingly, if identity is dialogically constructed, its recognition and accommodation require not only the existence of respective rights and opportunities enabling public deliberation, but also inclusive discourses of cultural diversity in a given society. If these conditions are met, deliberative accommodation of cultural diversity promises to go beyond existing politics of recognition by decoupling the notions of community and belonging from ethnicity.

HOBBS, LOCKE, BULL AND GREAT POWER RELATIONS IN EAST ASIA

Robert Ayson, ANU

Discussions of the prospects for order in East Asia tend to react to the same proposition: that in the absence of an over-arching institutional framework it is up to individual states to preserve their often fleeting security from the threats posed by others. One reaction accepts the proposition, suggesting that East Asia is a Hobbesian laboratory of unresolved great power tensions which may explode in the future, and that a balance of power strategy, based heavily on the US alliance system, is called for. The other main reaction

rejects the proposition and continues to see hope in the array of emerging Asian multilateral institutions and which seek to enmesh the US, China and other major powers in patterns of responsible regional engagement. Both positions assert that institutions, and especially formal institutions, are a prerequisite for real order: one finds such order unattainable, the other not. Using Hedley Bull's argument that order without formal government is quite feasible, based in part on Locke's more optimistic view of the state of nature, this paper asks whether informal collaboration between the great powers is a possible basis for order in East Asia. The idea of an Asian concert of powers is not new, and has already been subjected to serious critical scrutiny. But even a semi-functioning great power concert in Asia would be preferable to closer collaboration amongst only some of them, the leading contemporary possibility of which lies in the idea of a quad of Asian democracies. While including Australia alongside the US, Japan and India, this Asian democratic concert has the fatal flaw of excluding China.

HOW SHOULD WE TEACH MULTICULTURALISM?

Peter Balint, University of New South Wales

A good civic education is vital for the healthy functioning of a liberal democracy. Children need to be exposed to different ideas and learn the skills that will enable them both to enjoy full citizenship, as well as maintain the viability of a just state. One area where civics education has moved strongly into in recent years, is the teaching of the issues surrounding multiculturalism. When teaching multiculturalism, two approaches are often taken: encouraging respect and appreciation of the differences that exist in a society, and encouraging the virtue of tolerance. Assuming the goal of such civics education is to achieve social cohesion, we need to ask two questions. Firstly, what liberal freedoms are being reduced by such an approach? And secondly, is there another way/s to achieve the same goal? This paper will not question the goal of social cohesion through multicultural civics education, it will, however, argue that: (a) there are important costs of taking either of the above approaches, and (b) that other methods that have less costs are tenable and should be explored.

THE 'DRAMA' OF EU FOREIGN POLICY? PERCEPTIONS OF THE EU AMONGST AUSTRALASIAN ELITES

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According to William Zimmerman, "Elites, attentive publics, [and] mass publics... are the conventional actors in the drama of foreign policy making in open political systems everywhere". However, since "power and competence are asymmetrically distributed in all political systems", elites assume a leading role in this drama. Using this assumption as a starting point, this paper investigates how the perceptions of elites in Australasia play a role in their countries' interactions with the European Union. A key counterpart for Australia and New Zealand, the EU nevertheless is not an easy actor with which to engage. Elites involved in EU-nation-state dialogues face the complex challenge of remaining informed of constant EU developments and change, and reacting to these evolutions appropriately. The paper draws on findings from the trans-national research project, *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the Asia-Pacific (Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand): A Comparative Study*, and utilises data drawn from the series of elite interviews conducted in Australia and New Zealand in 2005. Motivated by the conviction that "elite images are no less 'real' than the reality of their environment and are much more relevant to an analysis of the foreign policy flow", these interviews were designed to assess elite *perceptions* of the EU's importance as national partner and as an international actor in each of the participating countries. Specifically, the paper addresses the spontaneous images held by Asia-Pacific elites towards the EU, as well as their perceptions of the EU's importance to their countries, and how they view the EU's international leadership capabilities.

WATCHING EUROPE FROM OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE TASMAN: 'TELE-VISIONS' OF THE EU FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Jessica Bain, University of Canterbury

Sitting across the Tasman from one another, Australia and New Zealand are countries with much in common; a shared colonial heritage, agriculturally-based exporting economies and a common language, among many. But in their approaches to many international phenomena, Australia and New Zealand often occupy very different 'territories' and their interactions with the European Union (EU) are an example of this. On the one hand, New Zealand's current government has prioritised its European focus in recent years, claiming that the EU "*has always been of great importance to New Zealand, and always will be*". In many areas of international politics, New Zealand has been firmly aligned to the unified EU position, in such areas as the Middle East and the reconstruction of Iraq, and in sustainable development and the Kyoto Protocol, for example. On the other side of the Tasman Sea, there has been "*a demonstrable reluctance on the part of the Australian Government to recognise, let alone interact with...the EU, on a unitary basis*". Instead

Australia has traditionally preferred to approach the EU through bilateral relationships, and in many of those same areas where New Zealand has aligned with the EU stance, Australia has taken a different path, preferring instead to follow the American example in matters like Iraq and the Kyoto Protocol. In dealing with the complex and ever-changing political reality of the EU, it is often a challenge for nations, their elites and citizens to keep abreast of its constant developments. It is argued that the way in which these developments and changes are portrayed in the news media can play an important role in helping to shape perceptions of key partners like the EU. Indeed, as Cohen noted almost 50 years ago, "*generally the external world, the world of foreign policy, reaches us ... via the media of mass communication...*" Using television news coverage of the EU in both Australia and New Zealand during 2004, this paper presents an investigation of the framing of this complex international actor, and will explore whether the fundamental differences in their contemporary approaches towards the EU extend to alternate framings in the news media also or whether the shared cultural and historical heritage will be a more dominant shaping factor. Presenting a content analysis of the textual and visual imagery used in television news portrayals of the EU, the key questions of the paper are: how is the EU framed in the television news media of Australia and New Zealand, how can we account for the key differences or similarities which may exist, and finally, what are the implications of such framings for the ongoing EU dialogues of these two Australasian nations?

GOOD INSTINCTS OR POOR JUDGEMENT? AUSTRALIA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM RESPONSE AFTER 9/11

David Baldino, University of Canberra

This paper sets out to describe and review the introduction of federal counter-terrorism laws and, in particular, consider the nature of expanded special powers afforded to Australia's main domestic spy agency - the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) - and its implications for democratic practice. For the first time in its history, ASIO could detain people without charge or trial and conduct compulsory questioning for information gathering. The existence of stringent secrecy provisions, the extension of Australian Federal Police (AFP) powers and the introduction of 'preventative detention' in a terrorist situation will also be covered. The paper concludes that the adoption of several provisions within the government's counter-terrorism strategy have overstepped legal and human rights boundaries and failed to find an appropriate, proportionate balance between national security and the standards of democracy.

RESPONSIBILITY, DESERT, AND LUCK EGALITARIANISM

Nicholas Barry, Charles Sturt University

One of the central criticisms of luck egalitarianism is that it effectively extinguishes any coherent notion of responsibility and desert. Luck fundamentally affects our character as well as our social circumstances, which means that any attempt to neutralise luck leaves us with "bare persons", rather than responsible moral agents. For critics of luck egalitarianism, this demonstrates why we should abandon the theory as an interpretation of egalitarian justice. I will defend a modified version of luck egalitarianism against this criticism arguing, firstly, that luck equalisation rather than neutralisation should be at the heart of luck egalitarianism, and secondly, that we should focus on the extent to which individuals are responsible for the relative outcomes they enjoy, rather than the actions and choices that lead to these outcomes. I will conclude by outlining the implications of my argument for broader debates over the relationship between desert, responsibility, and justice.

A DEFENCE OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Jordan Bastoni, University of Adelaide

The Premier of South Australia, Mike Rann, has announced that a referendum will be held concurrent with the 2010 state election to decide whether the Legislative Council should be abolished, reduced in size and have its term lengths cut to four years, or be retained unaltered. This paper examines the debate as it has unfolded since Rann announced the referendum, outlining which groups have currently declared to be pro or anti abolition. The reasons for Rann announcing the referendum are also examined. The paper then offers a defence of the Legislative Council, arguing that it remains a vital part of the Parliamentary system in South Australia. Several arguments are proposed. Firstly, the Legislative Council is elected on a system of proportional representation. This system is more democratic than the preferential system of the House of Assembly, partly because it results in the representation of minor parties. Secondly, a Parliament that is too small has been demonstrated to experience problems, and were the Legislative Council to be abolished, the overall size of Parliament would be reduced from 69 members to 47. Thirdly, the Legislative Council acts as a House of Review, performing an oversight function over the activities of the Government that cannot be equally as well performed by backbenchers in the House of Assembly. This oversight function is aided by the fact that the government does not usually control the Legislative Council, which allows the Legislative Council to act as an institution in which opposition to the government can be expressed. To abolish the

Legislative Council would remove these oversight and opposition functions, to the detriment of good government in South Australia.

THE ELECTORAL PREFERENCES OF OLDER AUSTRALIANS: TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS

Clive Bean, Queensland University of Technology

Age has long had a modest but clear correlation with voting preferences in Australian elections. This paper focuses on the voting patterns of older voters, who for many years have consistently tended to be more conservative in their party preferences than younger members of the electorate. Given the tendency for people to live longer and the associated growth in the relative size of the older cohorts within the electorate, this pattern is clearly not without political implications for the future. The paper uses survey data from the Australian Election Study to explore the voting patterns of older members of the electorate and considers the potential consequences of these trends.

ADVOCACY AND PLACE: SPATIAL IMAGINATIONS AND PRACTICES AMONG AUSTRALIAN LOBBYISTS OF CANBERRA AND THE POLICY PROCESS

Chris Beer, ANU

While an enormous literature now exists on the practices of lobbyists and interest groups in Australia and overseas, there has been very little serious consideration of how space and place interacts with the activities of these policy actors. This paper seeks to address this gap in the literature by exploring how the space of the national capital city of Australia, Canberra, is imagined and practiced by Australian lobbyists and interest groups in terms of the policy process and their wider activities as policy advocates within Australian politics. Drawing on a series of interviews with lobbyists working for interest groups, lobbying firms, or as freelancers, this paper identifies a number of particular spatial imaginaries and practices of Canberra as a distinct and central place within Australia in terms of the policy process, across a number of policy areas, requiring local knowledge and presences by lobbyists. The paper concludes with some remarks tentatively comparing the imagination and practice of Canberra with other national capital cities, suggesting both the contingencies and potential generalisations that might be from the Australian experience.

“CULTURAL RELATIVISM, UNIVERSALISM AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS”

Snjezana Bilic, University of South Australia

Despite their ‘universal’ acceptance in 1948, the interpretation and implementation of human rights standards differ widely from and within different countries, regions and cultures. This paper examines these differences in the light of the two main bodies of interpretation – cultural relativism and universalism. Particular emphasis is placed on the impact of the discourses on the implementation – or lack thereof – of women’s rights. In-depth analyses of the challenges to women’s rights and the reality of the claims for these highlight that acknowledging and implementing universality of human rights standards is of enormous importance. In this paper I offer a proposal for the reconstruction of the current human rights model, that is often criticized as Western, male-oriented and thus less than universal, into one allowing for diversity and unity (both gendered and cultured), thus embodying truly universal human rights standards. Here Martha Nussbaum’s approach is advanced as consisting of particularly compatible preconditions for addressing some of women’s rights issues universally. My analysis highlights the significance and competence of Nussbaum’s proposal through practical applicability of “capabilities approach” to women’s rights issues in cultural contexts antagonistic to women’s rights.

‘EUROPE’S ASIA: EMPIRE, DIFFERENCE AND THE MORAL GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL THOUGHT, C.1500-1800’

Bruce Buchan, Griffith University

Much has been written of late about the geographical contexts of Western political thought, particularly in reference to the problem of empire throughout the Enlightenment period (c.1650-1800). The Enlightenment has been identified as crucial to the development of Europe’s ‘Empire of Uniformity’ – a term that captures the claims that some Europeans made to the right to subject other peoples to European values and institutions. In this paper however, I will argue that European engagement with Asia in the Early-Modern and Enlightenment periods (c.1500-1800) was more powerfully shaped by perceptions of ‘difference’ than by aspirations to ‘uniformity’. European perceptions of Asian ‘difference’ in particular were intimately entwined with European self-perceptions. For both European travellers and political theorists, images of Asia were used to sustain increasingly assertive self-images of the ‘superiority’ of European civilisation. In this way, European geographical awareness of Asia served as a grounding for moral claims about the relative levels of civilisation that Asian nations were thought to exemplify, and were taken as sufficient justification for

European pretensions to superiority and empire. Such claims illustrate how the development of European empires incorporated an awareness of the diversity of human communities alongside claims to a right to empire.

FROM REPUBLICANISM TO LIBERALISM: CORRUPTION AND EMPIRE IN ENLIGHTENMENT POLITICAL THOUGHT

Bruce Buchan & Lisa Hill

Griffith University & University of Adelaide

Debates about the relationship between empire and corruption were prominent in eighteenth century British political thought. Many of these debates were framed within Republican or Civic Humanist discourses, of which Adam Ferguson was an emblematic exemplar. Within the terms of this discourse, corruption represented a collective moral failure, and was closely connected to a supposed cycle of imperial greatness and decline. Yet, similar fears of empire motivated the articulation of more modern, proto-liberal notions of corruption as forms of activity that blurred the boundaries between private interests and public responsibilities. We consider two leading examples of this view in the work of Adam Smith and Edmund Burke whose attitude to empire, and in particular, the activities of the East India Company (EIC) and their purported effects on the moral foundations of modern, commercialising societies demonstrates the centrality of corruption in the transition from Civic Humanist to Liberal political thought in the late eighteenth century.

OLD AND NEW MEDIA. BLOGS IN THE THIRD AGE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION.

James Cahill & Ian Ward, University of Queensland

The Internet offers an unprecedented confluence of low cost production, distribution and marketing in a single publishing platform with minimal barriers to entry. At least in the USA, this distinctive political economy has enabled an explosion of bottom-up, grassroots journalism and political discussion without the centralised direction, large-scale funding, and editorial control which are hallmarks of traditional news media. Our paper explores the emergence of a 'blogosphere' which threatens to disturb, if it has not already ruptured, what Jay Blumler (2001, p.204) describes as the 'straightforwardly top-down' character of mainstream political communication in which issues of the day are 'mainly defined and discussed by politicians, journalists, experts and interest group leaders'. US bloggers have had an impact upon the established news media which extends well beyond driving them to publish their own j-blogs. In effect bloggers now constitute a fifth estate, fact-checking and—often obsessively—analysing the output of mainstream news media including its coverage of politics. In some cases bloggers have also shaped the course of political events by publicising issues originally overlooked by traditional news media. Yet in Australia the picture is rather different. In a different institutional setting blogging has not emerged as an important vehicle for political news and debate, nor even taken firm root. This would appear to pose a difficulty for the argument advanced by its champions that, with its particular political economy, the blogosphere is destined to transform political communication.

THE VICTORY OF MATERIALISM? THE INTRACTABILITY OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM

David Cannon, University of Adelaide

At the time of the outbreak of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland, materialist accounts—both Marxist and non-Marxist—were seen as particularly effective in accounting for the underlying factors that led to inter-communal violence and republican violence directed against the state. As time passed, and the conflict continued, more nuanced sites of examination were developed. The investigation of nationalism, religion/sectarianism, ethnicity, territory and identity all emerged as locations from which assertions were made about the intractability of the conflict. For many of these authors, their primary contention that the grievances leading to violence were not economic meant that they were insoluble. While many conceded that economy was an important factor, most if not all rejected it as they key factor underpinning violence. However, as the province passes into a new era of peace and prosperity, it is interesting to note that none of the primary grievances evident in the intractability arguments seem to have been resolved. This is interesting as contemporary Northern Ireland is now more politically, geographically and religiously divided than it has ever been before. At the same time, the changes evident in the economy and in particular, the increasing participation of the Catholic community in the economy of the North suggest that the resolution of the Troubles may have its foundation in materialism. By examining some of the socio-economic developments in post Peace Process Northern Ireland, this paper seeks to explore the obvious tension between the intractability arguments and the reality of economic normalisation and peace.

THE TANGLED WEBS WE WEAVE: ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF AN AUSTRALIA-JAPAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Ann Capling, University of Melbourne

The proliferation of free trade agreements in the Asia Pacific region is widely seen as pragmatic response by governments to the bogging down of the multilateral trade system. Analysis of these agreements has tended to focus on their economic dimensions, and debates about trade creation versus trade diversion. But there has been far less discussion and analysis of the geo-political and strategic dimensions of FTAs. This article explores these issues with reference to the negotiation of a free trade agreement between Australia and Japan. It argues that the drivers for this negotiation are primarily political and strategic rather than economic and commercial, and that as a result, the agreement is likely to be weakly liberalizing, especially in the crucial area of agriculture. It concludes that the subordination of economic concerns to political and strategic objectives in the pursuit of free trade agreements carries with it considerable risks, not just for Australia and Japan, but for the Asia Pacific region more generally.

"FREEDOM'S UNTIDY" – CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM AND THE IRAQ WAR

Andrew Carr

The 2003 decision by the United States of America to invade Iraq and develop the country towards a modern capitalist democracy is one of the most controversial of the modern era. Whilst many scholars and commentators have attempted to contribute to the debate by focusing on the individuals or specific policies and their impact, little attention has been paid to the underlying concepts that drove 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'. Yet as the former Neo-Conservative Francis Fukuyama has noted, this was a war of ideas, and no idea was more powerfully articulated or central to the policy choices and their implementation than the concept of freedom. This paper will examine the Bush Administration's model of freedom and its articulation and implementation of this concept in Iraq. It will seek to explore the impact of this model's application, within a political and economic sphere in Iraq. It will be argued that the inapplicability of the Administration's model undermined and ultimately weakened the fledgling Iraqi state and impaired the realisation of the Administration's own goals and ideals for Iraq.

"COLD POLITICS, HOT ECONOMICS" IN A POST-KOIZUMI ENVIRONMENT

Greg Chaikin, University of Queensland

Contemporary relations between Japan and China are oft characterised as "cold politically yet hot economically". Sources of "cold politics" are to be found in a rising China, historical animosities and diplomatic disturbances which pique nationalistic tendencies and societal fears in both countries. Despite these troublesome and awkward skirmishes, this paper asserts an emerging pragmatism about future challenges and opportunities in a post Koizumi era as the recent rapprochement over the Daiyou/Senkaku islands indicate. Furthermore a common purpose to develop respective autonomies does not necessarily imply an outcome of strategic or military confrontation. Greater exigencies at hand will see a confluence of competitive and collaborative activities so that regional welfare and security are assured.

THE EXTENT AND CAUSES OF SPATIAL VARIATIONS AT AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ELECTIONS 1966-2004: A MULTILEVEL STUDY OF INFLUENCES ON VOTING BEHAVIOUR

David Charnock, Curtin University

In this paper I make use of the techniques of multilevel modelling to provide a detailed discussion of spatial variations in major party voting at Australian federal elections from the mid-1960s to 2004. I begin by outlining the overall extent of spatial variations at the level of electoral divisions and show how these are influenced by institutional factors and contemporary political events. I then examine how much of the localised variation at the level of electoral divisions can be straightforwardly explained by social compositional differences in individual level characteristics such as occupation and religion. Following this, I study the extent to which contextual effects have influenced voting behaviour. Finally, I give a detailed discussion of how the significance of particular contextual effects has changed during the period, finding both surprising and anticipated aspects, for which I offer explanations.

EUROPEAN COSMOPOLITANISM: LESSONS FROM MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA?

Giancarlo Chiro, University of South Australia

Notions of a European cosmopolitan identity as proposed by Beck and Habermas have in recent years been shaken by security concerns flowing from the Madrid and London bombings together with ongoing conflicts associated with ethnic and religious diversity. The rejection of the European Constitution in France and the Netherlands could be seen to stem from such concerns and the lack of detailed information about the nature

of a post-national or transnational Europe. Within the enlarging EU it is possible to identify different levels of belonging based on a growing number of categorizations linked with nationality, ethnicity, citizenship, immigration and refugee status. Indeed, the construction of a European identity appears to depend on negative representations of a non-European 'other'. In seeking to understand the future of transnational European identities, the present paper considers the cultural basis of identity constructions and the impact of dynamic multicultural communities on notions of belonging in the EU. Uneasily controlled migration flows in southern member nations raise political and cultural questions about European identity, who should belong (and who should be excluded), and questioning the criteria for entrance, expulsion, settlement and citizenship. In analysing such boundaries in relation to EU citizenship it becomes evident that for this to become truly cosmopolitan there needs to be a move beyond nationality and a focus on policies affirming multicultural coexistence. The paper considers the advances and pitfalls which multicultural policy has faced in Australia as a possible model for European cosmopolitanism. This brings to the fore the potential role of an inclusive multicultural citizenship as a mechanism for constructing a European identity or identities out of a situation of increasing fragmentation and absence of belonging.

FROM BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM TO A PATRIMONIAL OLIGARCHIC STATE: FOREIGN AID AND BUSINESS ENTITIES IN THE TRAJECTORY OF CAMBODIA'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Andrew Cock

This paper examines how foreign aid has influenced Cambodia's political development. It argues that a shift from a bureaucratic authoritarian to a more oligarchical polity has occurred, with its direction and pace influenced by two contradictory processes. These processes relate to the nature of Cambodia's integration into the regional economy and to Cambodia's receipt of foreign aid. Pressures and inducements for improved governance associated with the provision of aid have, to an extent, worked to retard the evolution of oligarchic features. However, growing regional economic interdependence, influenced in key ways by the policy reform agendas promoted by aid donors, has given impetus to this trajectory in Cambodia's political development.

INNOVATION INSIDE LOCAL GOVERNMENT: THE NETWORKING BEHAVIOUR OF POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS

Mark Considine, Jenny Lewis & Damon Alexander, University of Melbourne

This paper is based on an Australian Research Council-funded study that seeks to understand innovation inside government by investigating structures and processes that help and hinder innovation, and by examining networks of communication between politicians and senior bureaucrats. In the first phase of this research, we asked politicians and senior level bureaucrats from 11 municipal governments in the State of Victoria (almost 800 in total) a series of questions relating to how they defined innovation, and what role various institutional, organisational, political and cultural characteristics played in shaping the innovation process. We also collected information on patterns of engagement with external actors such as community-based organisations and state and federal government agencies, and on the social networks respondents mobilised for seeking advice and strategic information. In the second phase of the research, we collected more detailed information from politicians and bureaucrats in four of the 11 councils, focusing primarily on identifying the 'key innovators' at each council, and on collecting information of specific innovation cases. Drawing on both traditional quantitative methodologies and social network analysis, the research found that patterns of internal and external engagement differ markedly both across organisational hierarchies and across different local governments, and that network structures are substantially different in different government systems. We also found that 'key innovators' exhibit significantly different networking patterns than their peers, tending to be more externally focused, more strategically positioned, and more selective in their networking behaviour.

"RESISTING 'RESISTANCE': AGAINST A HEGEMONIC TREND IN FEMINIST THEORY"

Alison Convery, University of Newcastle

This paper explores feminist discussions of resistance in the light of a dichotomy that has been installed in feminist theory between the object-victim and the subject-resister. The terminology of the victim has been repudiated in favour of a willingness to celebrate all forms of resistance to patriarchal power, irrespective of the political efficacy of that resistance. The latter perspective is seen to represent a more optimistic and sophisticated stage of feminist analysis, which renders emphasis on women's victim status obsolete. In the context of this privileging of analyses of resistance, feminist applications of Foucault's theories are particularly revealing. It is claimed that the explanatory capacity Foucault is thought to offer feminists in their attempts to elucidate both the dissemination of power and the opportunities for resistance is overstated. Furthermore, this overstatement appears to be a function of the aforementioned dichotomisation of

victimhood and resistance, and the valorisation of the latter. As a result, feminist theorists who draw on Foucault participate in the reification of precisely the kind of duality that poststructuralism seeks to dismantle.

NIETZSCHE'S AESTHETIC POLITICS? TWO MODES OF CREATIVE TRANSFIGURATION

Marina Cominos, Monash University

Nietzsche's work anticipates a radical shift beyond metaphysics, a dissolution of the 'true' and 'apparent' worlds. This paper considers Nietzsche's indications of a new bearing towards the world, born of pessimism yet affirming the powers of human creativity. I argue that Nietzsche's "pessimism of strength" (*BT: ASC 1*) takes two paths, corresponding to two modes of creative transfiguration. By the first path, Nietzsche furnishes us with a cautionary tale of aesthetic politics. The second path, however, suggests an orientation more consistent with the pessimistic knowledge of a world without a *telos*, indifferent to human beings. Nietzsche sends two calls to the philosophers of the future, marking these two quite different compartments. The first, and shrillest, call is to 'make something of man' through an act of revaluation, to impose oneself on nature and give humankind a goal. This response retains elements of the metaphysical impulse and could stand as a self-referential call to Nietzsche himself. The 'grand politics' of the exemplary creator imagines a wholesale transformation of 'man'. This brand of aesthetic politics, however, does not answer to Nietzsche's pessimistic knowledge, expressed through figurations of the world as chaos, the kinetic force-field of 'will to power' and the inexorability of eternal recurrence. Nietzsche's second call to philosophers asks them to learn from the artists. He intimates a philosophy without need of a goal, a perspectival relation to the world and a transfiguration of a different order. The world viewed perspectively becomes a human world and human beings come to light as creators of the world. This is not the kind of lie that was once opposed to truth, but the illusion of perspective and form given to the world. At the same time as the world is 'blessed', human life and philosophy remain indeterminate.

JOHN LOCKE ON THE POSSESSION OF LAND: NATIVE TITLE VS. THE 'PRINCIPLE' OF VACUUM DOMICILIIUM

Paul Corcoran, University of Adelaide

The early paragraphs of John Locke's Second Treatise describe a poetic idyll of property acquisition widely supposed to have cast the template for imperial possessions in the New World. In the state of nature 'nobody has originally a private dominion exclusive of the rest of mankind.' Yet by 'the labour of his body and the work of his hands...whatsoever then he removes out the state that nature has provided...he has mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it is property.... [Picking up acorns and gathering apples] added something to them more than nature, the common mother of all, had done; and so they became his private right'. Few theorists of sovereignty and international law have read much farther in Locke's brief treatise, thus saving themselves (and their assumptions) from the surprises lurking in the later chapters on conquest, usurpation and tyranny. There Locke sets forth a robust defence of native rights to lands and possessions, whether taken by just or unjust conquest, which survive to succeeding generations. Thus 'the inhabitants of any country who are descended and derive a title to their estates from those who are subdued and had a government forced upon them against their free consents retain a right to the possession of their ancestors...for the first conqueror never having had a title to the land of that country, the people who are the descendants of, or claim under, those who were forced to submit to the yoke of a government by constraint have always a right to shake it off and free themselves from the usurpation or tyranny which the sword has brought in upon them...'. 'Their persons are free by a native right, and their properties, be they more or less, are their own and at their own disposal, and not at his' Locke himself observed: 'This I doubt not but at first sight will seem a strange doctrine, it being quite contrary to the practice of the world'— strange also to the practice of contemporary scholars who see in Locke the ideological prototype of imperial colonialism in the 'vacant lands' of North America. This paper will place Locke's complex thinking against the background of England's early sixteenth-century experience of Amerindian agriculture, territorial jurisdiction and widely acknowledged native property rights.

"NAMING MEN AND MASCULINITIES IN POLITICS: AN AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY"

Mary Crawford & Barbara Pini, Queensland University of Technology

Today, there are 37 women in the Australian House of Representatives (24.7%) and 27 women Senators from a total of 76 (35.5%). This paper asks why this is the case. However, rather than focus on the experiences of women, it draws attention to the discourses and practices of male politicians, and the masculinities embedded in the institution of the Australian parliament. In this respect, the paper deviates from much traditional work on gender in studies of politics which have focused on 'women'. While this work has been critical in highlighting the paucity of women in parliament and the barriers that exist for women seeking parliamentary office it has left unnamed men and masculinities (Lovenduski 1998). It is in this context that Beckwith (2005:129) argues women have become problematised as a group. She asserts that

if research is to expose the inequities for political women, we need to focus on men and masculinities. This paper addresses these calls by drawing on interviews with 16 male members of the Australian federal parliament. It details the way in which discourses of masculinities dominate political life in Australia and how this discursive hegemony excludes and marginalises women and femininities.

VALUE PLURALISM AND LIBERALISM IN NUSSBAUM'S CAPABILITIES THEORY

George Crowder, Flinders University

Martha Nussbaum's theory of human capabilities is one of the most influential contemporary accounts of human well-being, social justice and multiculturalism. In this paper I focus on a question that has been relatively neglected in the critical debate so far: the relation between the capabilities. Might they come into conflict with one another, and, if they do, how should we respond? I argue that Nussbaum herself could say more about how to choose among conflicting capabilities than she does in her current discussions of this question. Resources that would enable her to do so are already present in her earlier work on 'Aristotelian' practical reasoning in the face of conflicting incommensurable values. However, to highlight this value-pluralist component of Nussbaum's work is to raise critical questions about her recent turn towards Rawlsian 'political' liberalism. Indeed, the retrieval of Nussbaum's value pluralism shows that her political turn is at odds with what is most fundamental and valuable in her theory of capabilities, namely its affirmation of individual autonomy, its value and preconditions.

DISAGREEABLE DEMOCRACY: DELIBERATION, CONFLICT AND COMMUNICATION IN CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE

Michael Crozier & Adrian Little, University of Melbourne

In recent decades Western democracies have been tested by diverse and competing societal demands, generating a range of legitimacy issues, often described as the democratic deficit. Prominent among the scholarly diagnoses of this situation is the idea of deliberative democracy—an appeal to rational procedures of deliberation based on the normative horizons of inclusiveness and consensus. This paper considers the general assumptions of the deliberative democracy model and asks whether certain grammars of political expression are foreclosed by these assumptions. For instance, does the emphasis on rational deliberation too easily discount the role of expressive and embodied modes of communication in current democratic practice? Does the norm of rational consensus miscast 'conflict' as simply communicative failure without considering the constitutive role it may play? The paper investigates these types of questions, critically unpacking the theoretical manoeuvres involved and their implications for political analysis. The argument of the paper is that in order to provide a more adequate account of the political for contemporary conditions, both on analytical and normative levels, there needs to be greater attention paid to the ongoing role of conflict transformation, expressive modes and 'misunderstanding' in modern democratic polities.

'SAVE THE BABY VEAL': ANIMAL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS AND INDIGENOUS HUNTING

Katherine Curchin, ANU

Is it wrong to criticize other cultures? Is any protest against an indigenous group's practices necessarily racist? Animal rights activists face charges of racism when they campaign against cultural and religious practices involving animals. Is this charge justified, and should it deter people who are sincerely committed to improving the welfare of animals? This paper argues that cultural practices involving animals are a key marker of cultural difference, and such practices can and have been used politically to legitimize one group of people's dominance over another. What possibilities are there for campaigning for the rights of animals, without perpetuating one culture's subordination to another? This paper examines clashes between indigenous hunters and non-indigenous conservationists over whaling and sealing in North America. Many of the people protesting whaling and sealing in my case studies insist that they are generally supportive of the rights of indigenous peoples, and claim to be able to separate the 'doer' from the 'deed'. Meanwhile many indigenous people perceive the protestors as yet another group of ethnocentric whites demanding indigenous people live like them. This paper examines the deep cultural differences which fuelled these clashes, and then goes on to ask difficult questions about the tactics chosen by the protestors, and the responsibility they bear for the effects of their campaigns on indigenous peoples.

THE REAL WORLD OF 'COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT' IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT'

Thomas Davis, University of Melbourne

This paper examines 'community empowerment' in the context of international development policy and activity. Working from a policy studies perspective, it draws a link between debates around participatory policy analysis and 'deliberative democracy' in industrial, capitalist democracies (the 'North') and those around community empowerment interventions in developing countries (the 'South'). The paper notes the common sites of tension between individual agency and broader economic, political and social structures,

and investigates the position of facilitating agents who, in the 'real world' of community empowerment (both North and South), attempt to balance these competing forces. In the North they tend to be local NGOs and policy units of social welfare bureaucracies; in the South they are most often official donors and international NGOs. In both cases questions arise over the legitimacy and capacity of these facilitators to inculcate empowerment. The argument in this paper is that the political distance between facilitators and local communities and the structural dimensions of disempowerment are far greater in the case of international development, and such questions are far more difficult to resolve. In order to dig further into the 'real world' of community empowerment, and determine whether or not international donors can actually inculcate empowerment in communities external to their own, this paper takes as a case study the World Bank's own favoured example of community empowerment best practice: the Kecamatan Development Project in Indonesia.

DESTRUCTION, CREATION AND IMMORTALITY: DISCOURSE, PUBLIC POLICY AND NASCENT HUMAN LIFE

Bridget Doherty, University of Tasmania

In the Australian context, the three case studies, abortion, assisted reproductive technology (ART) and embryonic stem cell research and cloning (ESC) can be viewed as policy arenas with a number of common characteristics. At a minimum they include a bioethical perspective in which different actors hold sincere but conflicting views over the status of nascent human beings; a conflict which remains unresolved. In addition they all have implications for human health and welfare and the provision of health care services with particular implications for women and the politics of reproduction. Continuing biotechnological developments give rise to new policy issues and there is a distinct intergovernmental dimension as Commonwealth and State actors engage. With each subsequent case study, complexity increases as new and important actors enter the fray. Existing actors realign and hone their positions building upon existing networks. New coalitions form and policy decisions impact on an ever wider range of stakeholders. These case studies lend themselves to a number of analytic frameworks including policy communities and policy networks, advocacy coalitions and epistemic communities, all of which have valuable explicatory power. However I argue, in arenas where the nature of 'being' is contested, the notion of competing discourses is a more useful analytic tool. This paper attempts to identify and define those discourses. It will argue that policy outcomes can be explained by the emergence and dominance of a particular discourse. I will also argue that the in the fast growing arena of biotechnology, typified by the ESC case study, the dominant discourse does not so much defeat and discard its competitors but uses them as ethical and political resources for its own end. They are in fact a necessary condition of success. This finding has implications for governments and publics as the biotechnology explosion continues to bring new and important policy issues onto the agenda.

WHAT HAPPENED TO RURAL WEIGHTAGE? MALAPPORTIONMENT AND THE REFORM OF AUSTRALIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS UNDER LABOR

Nick Economou, Monash University

For all of Australia's electoral history, voter inequality – mainly in the form of malapportionment - has been an integral part of state and national electoral systems. Some of this has been due to constitutional requirements (such as the requirement of equal Senate representation for the original states regardless of voter populations), but the phenomenon of the 'rural weightage' was also a major feature of state and national electoral systems. This practice of allowing rural electoral divisions to be (sometimes quite substantially) unequal in voter population from city divisions derived partly from a conservative view that rural outlooks could and should act to mitigate the radical capacity of the cities, and partly that remoteness had to be considered when evaluating the quality of representation. This form of malapportionment advantaged the Liberal and National (formerly Country) parties. This paper traces how the Labor party has incrementally dismantled much – but not all - of the rural weightage practice across Australia. Although mainly a Labor project, the paper will argue that shifting the basis for voter inequality has also involved the input of the Liberal party. The decline in rural malapportionment in fact reflects the decline of rural politics in Australia and the declining influence of the National party.

FROM FRACTURING TO ISSUES: SHIFTS IN THE MOBILISATION OF MINOR PARTIES ELECTED TO THE AUSTRALIAN SENATE 1949-2004

Nick Economou & Zareh Ghazarian, Monash University

The paper assesses the typology of the minor parties elected to the Australian Senate since 1949. The paper argues that two distinct types of minor party clusters have been discernable since the shift to proportional representation. The first cluster comprises the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) and the Australian Democrats as parties created by organisational fracturing of one or other of the major parties. Since the 1980s however, Australian politics has seen a growth in 'values' oriented minor parties – the second cluster.

These parties have emerged based on clearly defined values that appeal to sections of the electorate left behind by the policy pragmatism of the major parties. This paper discusses these value parties – namely Family First, One Nation and the Australian Greens. The paper argues that minor parties based on organisational fragmentation of the major parties are in decline as issue-based ‘values-oriented’ minor parties emerge to test the opportunity proportional representation provides parties other than the Labor, Liberal and National parties to win representation to the national parliament.

HOW NEO-LIBERALISM REMADE DEMOCRACY – BY REFRAMING THE CENTRAL QUESTION OF POLITICS

Lindy Edwards, ANU

During the 100 hundred years in which democracy has been the ascendant political ideal, most of the western world was immersed in a battle of ideas between collectivism and individualism. In the 1940s collectivism was in the ascendancy, but by the 1990s Fukuyama had declared victory for individualism. Through the midst of this period there was a metamorphosis in democratic thinking. Some of the scholars involved in this movement linked their work to the cold war battle of ideas, but most did not. By the 1990s a substantial literature emerged that critiqued how understandings of democracy and citizenship had changed and were changing political practice. This paper will explore how the dominant conception of democracy was transformed from a collectivist conception of democracy towards an individualist one. It will make a case that this battle of ideas was won through a fundamental reframing of the central question of politics. Finally, it will explore how rational choice theory has been a vehicle for spreading this reframing.

AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY CHANGE TOWARDS THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

Joakim Eidenfalk, University of Wollongong

Why did the Australian government change its long-standing policy towards the Solomon Islands in 2003? What were the factors and who were the actors influencing the government to change its policy? A theoretical model on foreign policy change will be applied in order to investigate domestic and international factors contributing to the shift in policy, as well as investigating key decision-makers in the Australian government. The main factors and actors behind the shift in policy will be presented, in order to fully understand this policy change.

TRAGIC INSIGHT AND AGONISTIC LIBERALISM: AMBIGUITY, CONFLICT AND THE POLITICAL

Xavier Forde

The surviving tragic plays of 5th century BC Athens seem to have been a reaction to the “Greek enlightenment”, the newfound faith in modernisation through the power of reason. Even as their polis reached its imperialist apogee, the tragic playwrights constructed a form of public institution that would systematically negotiate the rift between the old mythological worldview of epic poetry and the new rationalist outlook that accompanied isonomia. By re-asserting the existence of irresolvable ambiguities (such as the ethical agon or conflict of values) as a feature of reality, the playwrights problematised the universalist aspirations of the rational project and advanced a pluralist onto-epistemology. Simultaneously, by employing a systematic structure and logical progression in their plays, the tragic authors took part in a rational re-formulation of epic myths to suit the greater need for both positivity and intelligibility. As such, the playwrights enabled a renewal of collective identity and nomological knowledge by giving birth to a “tragic consciousness”, a paradigm that sought neither to sublimate all the ambiguities of the human condition, or reject out of hand their enlightenment search for certainty and progress – instead holding them in an uneasy, yet creative, tension. Contemporary theorists such as William Connolly and Chantal Mouffe start from a similarly pluralist perspective, seeking to negotiate the paradox of identity/difference and its political expression in consensus/conflict in the context of modern liberal democracies. It is the contention of this paper that a strategic redeployment of the conceptual tools of the tragic paradigm, in critical combination with the contemporary agonism of the likes of Mouffe and Connolly could provide a useful prism through which to problematise myriad issues in advanced liberal societies.

AUSTRALIA AND THE OECD: ACCESSION TO AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

Tania Fothergill, University of Tasmania

The aim of this paper is to provide a description and assessment of Australia’s accession to the OECD in 1971. It portrays an accession process that was in the domestic context both lengthy and acrimonious, with widely different ministerial views. In a 1963 submission to the Australian Cabinet, for example, Minister for External Affairs Garfield Barwick wrote that the OECD is “increasingly influential in international economic and financial matters...and has been described as a forum for consultation between the representatives of the principal industrial countries and the advanced trading nations of the West.” Yet it was not until 1971 that Australia finally acceded, more than 8 years after the question of its membership initially arose. Also,

while membership was eventually gained, it met with considerable opposition from sections of the American State Department, despite Australian post-war efforts to develop a close and supportive relationship, symbolised in its provision of Australian forces the Vietnam conflict. The paper also provides, in a more general sense, one of the surprisingly few studies related to the OECD, for the formation of the OECD signalled a change of setting and direction for international economic policy and co-operation in the post war world. It is one of the world's largest international organisations along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which together "provide a framework of rules for the world economy". In contrast to these two organisations, however, the OECD is the least written about and possibly the least well understood of the global multilateral economic institutions. Much of the existing commentary on the OECD tends to treat it as uninteresting and unimportant – when it is mentioned at all – and there are very few substantive analyses of its history and development. In particular, there are no detailed studies documenting Australia's thirty five year relationship with the Organisation, nor the history of its accession.

HOW TO BE A GOOD FRIEND: CHINA CONSIDERS AUSTRALIA'S EAST ASIAN SECURITY CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE POST-HOWARD ERA?

Andrew Forrest

This paper examines the Howard Government's controversial March 2007 decision to sign a new Japan-Australia security agreement as a basis for examining the Chinese government's view of Australia's East Asian security contributions in the post-Howard era. The new security pact between the two countries presents us with an excellent opportunity to examine not just prevailing assumptions in China about Australia's current security contributions in East Asia, but also how these contributions could conceivably change over the coming decade in line with the broader changes currently underway in the strategic context of the Asia Pacific region. It argues that the new security pact with Japan needlessly emphasizes the military dimension of Australia's security contributions in Asia, and, in doing so, feeds assumptions in Beijing that the Australia is on the verge of being locked-in to a U.S.-dominated anti-China multilateral security regime in the region.

FEDERALISM, SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND RIGHTS PROTECTION

Brian Galligan, University of Melbourne

The paper explores some of the main ways in which rights are protected by subnational governments within federal and quasi-federal systems. It focuses on three models or types that emphasize different roles for subnational governments: traditional constitutional or territorial federalism; recently articulated multinational federalism; and asymmetric federalism. Each will be outlined and how they assist or hinder rights protection explored. While illustrative examples are used, the purpose is to provide a framework for comparative analysis of how federalism and subnational governments protect rights that might assist in-depth country studies that are required for a comprehensive knowledge of the topic. Asian federalism and examples of asymmetrical federal arrangements are included.

PAKISTAN AS A ROGUE STATE

Rajat Ganguly, Murdoch University

Since the catastrophic 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US, Pakistan has been thrust into the international limelight and projected by none other than the US President George W. Bush as a 'frontline ally' in the global war on terrorism. But is a military controlled Pakistan really the solution to the problem of jihadi terrorism or a big reason for the problem itself? The main argument of this paper is that since the early 1980s a military controlled or dominated Pakistan has behaved more like a rogue state rather than a responsible one. There have been five key components of 'rogue behaviour': encouragement of and support to domestic extremist religious organizations leading to the rapid Islamization of Pakistani society and the undermining of democracy; sponsorship of religious extremists and terrorists to carry out violent attacks in Indian Kashmir and other parts of India; covert support to the Afghan mujahideen fighting the Soviet occupation forces throughout the 1980s (in cooperation with the US and Saudi Arabian intelligence agencies) followed by support to various Pashtun warlords after the Soviet withdrawal and finally leading to the creation of the Taliban and its installation in power in Kabul; covert programme to acquire weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and delivery systems in flagrant violation of international law; and the illegal transfer of WMD secrets to rogue states such as Iran. Many of the conditions (domestic, regional and international) that prompted the Pakistani military to behave in a roguish manner in the 1980s and 1990s are still prevalent today. This would suggest that in the post-9/11 scenario, it is unlikely that Pakistan's military rulers would seriously clamp down on domestic religious and terrorist groups, prevent such groups from using Pakistan as a base of operations and stop covert involvement in the internal affairs of neighbouring states like Afghanistan and India.

WHEN NGOS ACT LIKE STATES: RECONCILIATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIA

Mneesha Gellman, University of Queensland

In this paper I examine how Cambodian civil society organizations, specifically the internationally funded but domestically operating NGO sector, are contributing to peacebuilding efforts via conflict resolution capacity building in Cambodia. I will focus on how the NGO community fills the training gap that the national government created and highlight the fiscal and social challenges facing the post-conflict state itself. My thesis is that national reconciliation of Cambodian citizens can be facilitated by grassroots level peacebuilding efforts that manifest in decentralization and associated capacity building trainings. Many challenges hinder Cambodia's ability to achieve reconciliation, not only between victims and perpetrators of past abuse but also between divided families, communities, and political parties. The need for a multifaceted approach to national reconciliation is visible in persistent violence and poor conflict management ability at the national, provincial, and village level, resulting from fragmentation of social identities and distrust in the state infrastructure. Yet reconciliation remains a contentious topic as different stakeholders are compelled to invest variegated visions and resources into the process. I will use the case study of the Khmer Institute of Democracy to examine culturally based intra-organizational challenges that constrict the Cambodian NGO sector to adequately fill the capacity gap and empower citizens at the village level. Concluding the paper, I suggest capacity building techniques that can help Cambodian NGOs operate in a more productive manner, including exemplifying the behavioral models of democracy they seek to implement at a governance level. I also couch my optimism that strategies such as conflict resolution training for Commune Councillors and other citizen networks will succeed in using peacebuilding for national reconciliation by recognizing the difficult cultural context of post-conflict Cambodia.

LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, INTERVENTION: JOHN STUART MILL, COLD WAR LIBERALISM, AND THE UNHOLY TRINITY OF NEO-CONSERVATISM

Alan Goldstone & Mark Bode, University of Adelaide

The question of intervention remains one of the most intractable dilemmas of international relations, both in theory and in practice. Although ideological parentage is difficult to establish, the Iraq war is generally seen, whether correctly or not, as part of a neoconservative 'revolution' in American foreign policy. Marked by an ostensibly revolutionary commitment to pre-emption – a concept with a long Cold War history – and the promotion and conflation of liberty and democracy, neo-conservatism forms the philosophical and political core, its critics charge, of a new direction in American strategic thought. However, far from constituting a revolutionary change in American foreign policy, neo-conservatism, this paper will argue, is a re-development – in strategic focus, but not in ideological substance – of Cold War liberalism. Although neo-conservatism is committed to interventionism and to the conflation of democracy and liberty, this has not always been characteristic of the liberal tradition. Indeed, John Stuart Mill, one of the most significant contributors to the development of modern liberalism, expressly forbids this conflation and argues that the two concepts are often antagonistic. While Mill's moral and political philosophy is well-known, his international thought has not received a comparable degree of scholarly attention. Despite this, his *A Few Words on Non-intervention* (1859) is a systematic application of his liberalism to international relations, in which he develops his contention that democracy and liberty are wholly discrete concepts. Mill's central thesis – that a presumption in favour of non-intervention should guide the behaviour of states – is based on the contention, which is also central to his liberalism, that an expansion of democracy does not guarantee a corresponding increase in individual liberty. Mill's international thought not only illuminates his conceptions of democracy and liberty; it provides a coherent liberal alternative to the contemporary neo-conservative doctrine of intervention.

THE AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC AND NUCLEAR POWER: HAVE OPINIONS SHIFTED OR HAVE OPINIONS BEEN REFRAMED?

Murray Goot, Macquarie University

In any contest with renewable energies – solar, wind or hydro - nuclear is trumped. New uranium mines, enrichment of yellow cake, and increased sales of uranium overseas (other than under 'strict conditions') are widely opposed; and strong opposition is more widespread than strong support. Nor is there any evidence in the published polls that the increasing concern about global warming, and the widespread sense that the government has not done enough to counter it, have made nuclear power, as such, more attractive. Presented in the polls as a partial answer to global warming, however, nuclear power secures something close to majority support. Whether this represents a shift over time is unclear; what is clear is that this framing of the nuclear issue is important.

“IS THE WOLFENDEN REPORT A LIBERAL DOCUMENT?”

Kate Gleeson, University of NSW

The Wolfenden Report is the legendary British document of 1957 that recommended the partial decriminalisation of men’s homosexual sex. The Report outlined the strategy of respect for “consenting adults in private” when governing matters of sexuality, that forms the basis for the modern regulation of sex, in Britain and Australia. More often than not, this revolution in sexual regulation is associated with the ideology of liberalism in its focus on the public and private spheres, and the implied “sexual freedom”, or liberty that many associate with the Report. These types of analyses owe much to Jeffrey Weeks and his characterisation of the Wolfenden Strategy as the period’s “most influential liberal statement”. In this paper I want to briefly discuss the idea that the Wolfenden Report is a “liberal” document. I examine the common arguments, that the Report was derived from the teachings of Bentham and Mill, and show the limitations of these analyses, by using the explanations of Hart and Devlin. To conclude, I suggest an alternative explanation for the Report that focuses less on ideals of liberty and sexual freedom, and instead highlights the controlling and punitive agenda of the Wolfenden Committee for sexual behaviours, and sexual identities.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND WIDER COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS INDIGENOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE IN THE RECONCILIATION DECADE

Andrew Gunstone, Monash University

In 1991, the Australian Commonwealth Parliament unanimously passed the *Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Act 1991*. This Act implemented a ten-year process that aimed to reconcile Indigenous and non-Indigenous people by the end of 2000. One of the main goals of the reconciliation process was to develop a continuing national commitment to address Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage in the areas of health, education, housing, employment and law. However, this goal was not achieved by the conclusion of the reconciliation process at the end of 2000. In this paper, I examine the failure of this socio-economic goal. First, I briefly discuss the appalling levels of Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage. Second, I argue that two interrelated factors significantly contributed to the failure to develop a national commitment to address Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage during the reconciliation process. These factors were the Government approaches to addressing Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage and non-Indigenous people’s attitudes and understandings concerning Indigenous socio-economic disadvantage.

ANOTHER PERFECT STORM? KEY PREDICTORS OF RAPID CHANGE IN NORTH KOREA

Ben Habib, Flinders University

Previous predictions of regime collapse in North Korea proved wrong because they over-emphasised economic weakness without considering the strength of other dimensions of the state. Rapid internal change is more likely to be detected by monitoring key leverage points in the North’s political economy. This paper identifies four leverage points that merit close observation: (1) an increase in the annual food shortage may lead to similar institutional failures as those experienced during the famine period. This may be caused by another series of natural disasters, or, less, likely, by a withdrawal of international food aid. (2) A relaxation of informational controls would give the population a basis to compare their political system with those of other countries, which could lead to the wholesale rejection of the ruling ideology and the growth of alternative leadership options. (3) Endemic corruption may lead to the erosion of social control mechanisms if citizens are able to circumvent restrictions or get out of trouble by buying off officials. (4) The next leadership transition may see a power struggle develop if the designated successor has not built a patronage network and power base that is powerful enough to enable him to decisively grasp the reins of power. Kim Jong-Il maintains power in spite of these problems by coopting regime elites and by employing the threat or use of force to preserve control. Change at any one of the key leverage points could compromise the coercive apparatus and elite patronage networks, sparking wider systemic change.

CHINA’S POST-SARS RESPONSE TO HIV/AIDS

Rowan Hague,

AUSTRALIA’S ORGANIC TRILEMMA: SHOULD AUSTRALIAN ORGANIC FOOD STANDARDISATION BE REGULATED BY GOVERNMENT?

Stephen Hall, University of Tasmania

The Australian organic food industry has reached a political impasse. Despite being one of the fastest growing sectors of the Australian food economy the organic industry in Australia remains largely self-

governed. There is no specific legislation for domestic organic food standardisation and labelling at the state or federal level as there is in the USA and the EU. The situation has engendered deep division within the sector. While there is recognition amongst most organic industry actors about a need for regulatory reform and greater engagement with government, there is disagreement over the appropriate nature and extent of government intervention. Some sectoral actors seek government regulation to facilitate the maturation and expansion of the organic industry and to protect consumers and producers from labelling fraud. Others fear that government regulation may undermine the values and traditions of the Australian organic agriculture movement. Drawing upon the systems theory literature of Jurgen Habermas, Niklas Luhmann and Gunther Teubner, the paper argues the Australian situation represents an example of a *regulatory trilemma*. Inappropriate government regulation may: (1) be ignored and thus redundant; or (2) it may destroy the inherent structure and normative dynamics of Australia's organic food system; or (3) be counteracted by positive systemic resistance from the organic sector. In exploring the governance implications of the Australian organic trilemma, the paper offers some theoretical analysis on whether (and how) it might be resolved through policy and institutional design.

AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA MARITIME BOUNDARIES

Margaret Hanlon, University of Wollongong

Due to its geography Australia has the potential to claim one of the largest maritime areas of all states. Thus, the issue of maritime boundaries is of increasing economic and political importance to Australia. The seas between Australia and Indonesia represent the largest area where the maritime zones of Australia overlap with those of another state, and as events over the past 25 years have revealed, the delimitation of the maritime boundaries between Australia and Indonesia have increased in importance to Australia due to economic and political factors. Australia and Indonesia have conducted a number of negotiations on maritime boundaries since the late 1960s. This paper will begin with a discussion of the 1971 and 1972 Continental Shelf Boundary Agreements, followed by the Timor Gap Treaty signed in December 1989 and the subsequent legal challenge brought by Portugal against Australia in relation to the Treaty. The paper will further examine the 1997 Maritime Boundary Treaty, which at this time, is not in force. The 1997 treaty was an attempt to finally settle a number of issues between the two states that had been on the negotiating table for over 25 years. The paper will conclude with a discussion that connects the issue of maritime boundaries with Australia's continuing relationship with Indonesia, and aim to address why maritime boundary issues play a significant part in Australia's ongoing foreign policy decisions in relation to Indonesia.

CHOKING THE LITTLE DRAGONS: FDI FLOWS, THE RISE OF CHINA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SE ASIA

Brendan Harris, Macquarie University

The economic dynamism with which China has greeted the twenty first century, combined with a shifting geo-politics, has created a markedly different context for Chinese-Southeast Asian relations in the post-cold war era. China straddles the Asian region like a behemoth, and the potential that it holds as a market for consumer goods has been partly responsible for shifting massive inflows of foreign direct investment into the country. Much of this investment has been channelled into low-wage, low-skill manufacturing operations, the same type of operation which Southeast Asia had relied upon for generating economic growth during the 1980s and 1990s. This creates a potentially problematic situation for the countries of Southeast Asia, for not only does foreign investment appear to be favouring China, but there is little trade complementarity between China and the states of the ASEAN. This paper will consider the implications that China's rise as the global manufacturing hub has for not only the economic growth of Southeast Asia, but the possible political issues that might arise from the economic rise of China.

FROM ENGAGEMENT TO ACCOMMODATION: POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL ACCOMMODATION OF THE RISE OF CHINA

Baogang He, Deakin University

China's economic and industrial strength is growing in an undeniable way and it is inevitable that it will demand that its voice be heard, weighed and accorded status in international affairs. In order to achieve its justifiable goals such as access to raw materials and wide markets, China has attempted to build its own sphere of influence. It is to be expected that China will seek to expand its influence and require the rest of the world to accommodate its reasonable expectation of a valid place in the world community and make the necessary adjustments to their foreign policies. However, the question of to what extent these adjustments are necessary to be made remains to be controversial and to be seen. The paper analyzes how middle powers such as Australia have started to accommodate the rise of China, while greater powers such as Japan and the United States hesitate to take such a step. It also discusses whether the accommodation of the rise of China by other countries will pose a possible challenge to American regional hegemony, and

explores the prospect of mutual accommodation between the United States and China, which might prevent a military conflict from occurring.

THUMOS IN ADAM SMITH.

Lisa Hill, University of Adelaide

For Adam Smith thumos ('spiritedness' or 'ambition') is a universal human characteristic that consists in a desire for achievement and glory and which compels a person to strive for social approval and recognition. The desire 'to be observed, to be attended to, to be taken notice of with sympathy, complacency, and approbation' plays an extremely important role in Smith's ethics, social physics and theory of economic progress. It is an unremitting urge that, via the mechanism of invidious comparison, prompts us to better our material circumstances; it also acts as a primary form of social control through its interactions with the operations of sympathy. By acting on the urges of thumos, Smithian agents are not only enabled to achieve glory and social recognition but to minimize shame and social anxiety. In this paper I examine the development of Smith's concept of thumos in the Theory of Moral Sentiments and explore its place in his overall system. I argue that thumos is for Smith an inherent drive, teleologically conceived for the express purpose of generating and maintaining the prosperous, materially abundant, orderly society. I also show that, although Smith scholarship tends to focus upon self-interest as the sovereign drive of economic growth and prosperity, Smith's conception of this drive is far more layered, subtle and sociologically rich than is commonly understood.

STRUCTURE AS A STANDBY CAUSE – WHY IDEAS ALONE ARE (OFTEN) AN INSUFFICIENT EXPLANADA

Andrew Hindmoor, University of Queensland

The ideational turn within politics finds one of its purest expressions within the theory of constructivist institutionalism associated with the recent work of Colin Hay and Mark Blyth. Few would deny that ideas are important and ought to be accorded independent causal significance. Constructivist institutionalists go further, arguing that ideas ought to be accorded more explanatory significance than structure and interests, or even that ideas are all that matters. Philip Pettit's concepts of resilience and standby causes are used to develop a critique of this argument. Even if constructive institutionalists are right to argue that we ought to explain actions primarily or even exclusively in terms of ideas, we may also want to explain the resilience of those actions over a period of time. This routinely requires us to acknowledge the significance of structures and interests even if only as standby causes. This theoretical argument is developed using two empirical examples taken from Colin Hay's own work: the first concerning the relationship between liberalisation and globalisation and the second party competition.

THE PAST IS ANOTHER CULTURE

Barry Hindess, ANU

This paper addresses two questions relating to the modern Western treatment of contemporaries as belonging to the past; how has Western social thought come to treat belonging to the past as a bad thing, that is, as a kind of moral failure?; and how have we learned to assign some of our contemporaries to the world of the past? My response to the first question is in two parts. One examines the conventional modern division between past and present. The other considers the effects of Western social thought's equally conventional developmental understanding of humanity. In the section that separates these two discussions, I suggest that the answer to the question of how have we learned to assign some of our contemporaries to the past is to be found in the early history of modern imperialism.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, CORPORATIONS AND THE STATE.

Catherine Howlett, Griffith University

In settler societies, such as Canada, the US and Australia, the state is a major determinant of the legal, social and institutional environment within which mineral negotiations occur. Recent judicial and legislative decisions in these settler societies concerning the rights of their Indigenous populations have substantially influenced the negotiating power of Indigenous peoples in mineral negotiations, which in turn has influenced mining companies' attitudes towards socially sustainable development. Many large multi-national mineral development companies, such as Rio Tinto, now openly embrace corporate social responsibility policies in their interactions with Indigenous peoples. This chapter explores the role of the state in mediating the interaction between Indigenous people and mining companies via case studies of mineral negotiations in Canada and Australia. It reveals that while there have been significant changes in the interactions between mining companies and Indigenous peoples over the last decade, many state institutions and agencies still regard Indigenous people as obstacles to national development.

PANDERING TO THE PANDA: SOUTH KOREA AND THE RISE OF CHINA

David Hundt, Deakin University

While China's re-emergence at both the regional and global levels has attracted much attention, a less discernible development has been South Korea's bid to present a more robust foreign policy in East Asia. For the first decade following the establishment of bilateral relations with the mainland in 1992, South Koreans viewed China as a valuable partner that could facilitate several important foreign policy goals. Although differing markedly in ambitions and capacities, in several respects—such as their preferred methods of resolving the North Korean nuclear crisis, their expanding trade and investment relations, and their suspicions of Japanese intentions in the region—the regional perspectives of China and South Korea proved to be highly complementary. However closer ties with China have complicated Korea's relations with its longstanding ally, the United States, whose regional leadership China is beginning to challenge. In light of the adverse impact of the rise of China on the Korean-U.S. alliance and other developments (notably the history dispute involving the Goguryeo kingdom), South Korea's views of China have cooled somewhat in the past three years. This paper attempts to trace the Korean debate about the rise of China and its implications for South Korea.

THE 'DISALLOWED' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MANILA'S URBAN POOR

Jane Hutchinson, Murdoch University

In the Philippines, re-democratization has seen the emergence of new modes of political participation for extra-parliamentary oppositions that are variously aligned with the poor. These involve collective representation within the state and multilateral organizations, or societal incorporation. Among extra-parliamentary oppositions, the urban poor, as a political movement of squatters, has experienced societal incorporation through new laws and programmes that enable access to formal land tenure through market inclusion. In this way, their political participation is limited to proximate representation by non-governmental organisations in the implementation of programmes and projects. But the urban poor are also known for their 'disallowed' participation as voters in electoral contests. The disappointing outcomes from societal incorporation have forced the urban poor to persist with this civil society expression of their activism. This article explains the class logic to the urban poor's 'disallowed' political participation under prevailing neo-liberal conditions.

EXPLORING THE EVOLUTIONARY ROOTS OF ISLAMIST TERRORISM: THE TRANSFORMATIVE CHARISMA PHENOMENON IN ISLAMIC RADICALISM.

Haroro Ingram, Monash University

The events of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the attacks of September 11 motivated two significant waves of intellectual thought devoted to understanding the emergence of the more radical and militant strains of political Islam. Adopting an innovative approach to this intellectual tradition, this paper utilises charismatic leadership theory to understand the emergence and role of charismatic leaders in the evolutionary development of the modern Islamist movement's most radical and militant strains. The study of charismatic leadership, rather than focusing exclusively upon the individual leader, is primarily concerned with understanding the merger of social, cultural, historical, psychological and ideological dynamics which create a context conducive for the emergence of the charismatic leader-follower relationship. Consequently, the utilisation of charismatic leadership theory to understand the emergence of Islamic radicalism and militancy offers insights into the phenomenon unique to the field. This paper identifies a chain of charismatic leaders stretching across the entire chronology of the modern Islamist movement, from the Islamic modernists of the 1800s to Osama bin Laden and Abu Musab al-Zarqawi of today, reflecting an increasing radicalisation and propensity towards violence with the rise of each leader. This paper argues that this chain of charismatic leaders, emerging as a consequence of both an ever present and intensifying perception of crisis within communities of potential support and the ability of such leaders to build upon the charismatic capital of preceding leaders, is due to the transformative charisma phenomenon in Islamic radicalism and militancy. What emerges is that charismatic leaders have acted as the vehicles for the evolutionary development of the modern Islamist movement's most radical and militant strains.

BEYOND HYBRID REGIMES: MORE PARTICIPATION, LESS CONTESTATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

Kanishka Jayasuriya & Garry Rodan, Murdoch University

Transitions theory literature has been preoccupied with either identifying why democracy hasn't arrived or scrutinizing institutions for their democratic quality or lack thereof. However, such approaches obscure important political regime dynamics in Southeast Asia. We argue that the definitive features of a political regime pertain to how social conflict is organized, managed or ameliorated through modes of political participation. Modes of participation encompass institutional structures and ideologies that shape the inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups in the political process. The paradox in Southeast Asia

over the last decade has been that increasing political participation has often been accompanied by a narrowing of the channels for political contestation. We argue that modes of participation in the region have fostered the fragmentation of interests and militated against the organization and mobilization of collective actors around socio-economic cleavages. The emergence of such modes of political participation is also related to neo-liberal globalization and late industrialization, which have been more hostile to collective class-based political mobilization than was true of the experience in Western Europe when representative democracy consolidated.

KEVIN RUDD AND LABOR TRADITION

Carol Johnson, University of Adelaide

This paper attempts to situate Kevin Rudd in the Labor tradition. It analyses Rudd's arguments on a range of issues from the economy and technology to gender and sexuality. The paper argues that many of Rudd's positions have clear antecedents in previous Labor government policies. For example, his "education revolution" has links with the policies of Whitlam and Keating. Similarly his views on the role of technology can be seen as a development of Keating government policies on the information economy. In short, Rudd is not nearly as new a face of Labor as some media commentators suggest. Nonetheless, the paper argues that some interesting differences with previous Labor government positions do emerge when one looks at Rudd's views on neo-liberalism, religion, social conservatism and the "Culture Wars". Some of these developments were anticipated by Beazley, however, Rudd is also attempting to forge his own distinctive position as well as his own strategies for defeating Howard.

THE CONCEPT 'GOVERNANCE' WITHIN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE 1983-93

Jim Jose & Tod Moore, University of Newcastle

We explore the occurrences of the word 'governance' within parliamentary debates and documents in the period between 1983 and 1993. Our principal aims are to determine the frequency of these occurrences and identify the meanings arising from them. These samples from the parliamentary discourse demonstrate that political actors had been using the term intermittently some time before it gained currency within the academic political science literature (broadly defined). We establish that two broad meanings predominated, though neither could be said to align with what has become the familiar meaning within the academic literature since the mid-1990s. It would appear that the use within parliamentary discourse was in some sense transitional and we examine how this might contribute to our understanding of 'governance' as an instance of conceptual change.

BADIOU AND THE CLAMOUR OF BEING: UNIVOCITY AND THE TRUTH EVENT

James Juniper, University of Newcastle

The paper defends Deleuze against specific criticism mounted by Alan Badiou in *Deleuze: The Clamour of Being*, which centres on the concept of univocity. To this end, it provides an overview of Badiou's interpretation of philosophy as ontology and his discussion of the irruptive character of the truth event. It then examines Deleuze and Badiou's interpretation of the Scotian concept of univocity, favouring Deleuze's interpretation over that of Badiou. In addition, it establishes that, in *Meditation 24 of Being and Event*, Badiou himself adopts this very notion of univocity, implicitly, in his questioning of the intuitionist opposition to apogogic reasoning.

CAPITALISM WITH A 'HUMANE FACE'?: REVISITING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE STRATEGIES IN THE AGE OF TERRORISM

Shamsul Khan, University of South Australia

This paper will argue that, unlike early capitalism - which historically emerged from the relations between patrimonial states and predatory oligarchies, convincing Lenin that imperialism was the highest form of capitalism - the late capitalism needed to be understood in the context of a sophisticated economic system, representing a complex interplay of state capital, private capital and the newly emerging non-profit capital of Non-government Organisations (NGOs). Consequently, as it will be argued, this complex interplay of the late capitalism can have both positive and negative consequences, depending on the use of the capital. In the backdrop of this changing inner-dynamic of late capitalism, the paper will raise the question, while not disputing Marx's characterisation of capitalism, whether there are possibilities within late capitalism for 'productive state and/or private capital', including Western capital, to alter its usual characteristics and change its mode of operation in order to represent a 'humane face'. The point of departure of this paper will be to critically analyse the possibilities offered by the Western 'productive capital' - particularly in the form of micro credit for injecting capital at ground level, as loans to the poor - for changing peoples' lives in many parts of the developing world. Thereafter, attempts will be made to explore whether or not promoting these kinds of 'trickle up' policies for strengthening economic and socio-political cohesion in poorer parts of the

world may be a more effective foreign policy option for Australia and its Western allies, in its ongoing 'war on terror', than providing short-term economic aid to create military clients.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA'S ELECTORAL MANAGEMENT BODIES – REFORMS OF THE PAST 25 YEARS

Norm Kelly, ANU

There is often debate about the levels of fairness that are provided by the various electoral systems in use throughout Australia, while far less scrutiny has been applied to the electoral management bodies charged with administering these systems. Australia is seen to be at the forefront of independent electoral administration, especially when assessed in international comparative studies. However, while there are many similarities in the way electoral management bodies have developed in Australia's nine jurisdictions (one federal, six state and two territory), there are also significant differences in their structure and operation. Since the 1980s, there has been a major shift away from electoral 'offices', which were contained within government departments, to statutory commissions. While these changes are generally hailed (by governments) as improving the independence of electoral administration, the degree to which these commissions are able to operate independently of political influence, can vary significantly. This paper provides insight into the degrees of independence the nine commissions actually provide, with an emphasis on appointments, budgeting, and relationships between commissioners, ministers and parliaments. The paper draws on personal interviews with the nine current commissioners, ministers and members of parliament, as well as analysis of legislative reforms and the use of parliamentary oversight committees.

EU-AFRICA RELATIONS: BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT PREVENTION

Patrick Kimunguyi, Monash University

In the post-cold war period, conflict prevention has increasingly become a central feature in the European Union's relations with sub-Saharan African (SSA) states. This paper seeks to examine the role of the EU in preventing conflict in Africa. It argues that the EU's involvement in conflict prevention and resolution in Africa is driven the dual aim of becoming more visible as a major international actor and also enhancing its presence on the continent. To this end, since the 1990s, the EU has been re-inventing development cooperation, instruments for humanitarian assistance. It has also been creating instrument for crisis management within the framework of its Common Foreign and Security Policy. By so doing it has placed itself in a position to better exercise its influence on conflict prevention on the continent. Firstly, this paper reflects on the post-Cold War discourse on the EU policy towards Africa. Part Two focuses on the EU's development cooperation policy as a conflict prevention instrument; Part Three examines the EU's response to humanitarian crises; Part Four, examines on the EU's policy on conflict prevention in Africa within the CFSP framework and Part Five is the Conclusion.

IDEOLOGY IN POLITICAL TEXTS

Joey Kurtschenko, Monash University

Political and social theory are areas that receive a lot of attention from the academic community. Academics are constantly striving to bring more light to various issues, attempting to show the various points of view and complex workings by which these fields operate. However, the very nature of academic writing has the writer strive toward a conclusion. Any piece of writing that heads toward a conclusion has a focus, and as such many political and social texts end up presenting a view more ideological than may otherwise be intended. For example, Huntington presents a very Western-centric, and almost bilateral, view of the world within Clash of Civilizations, despite claims that such a goal is not his intention. Many psychological theorists put forward theories on the formation of "terrorist" groups that are loaded with ideology, whereas very similar theories were presented over 40 years ago in Culture and Personality, utilising language not nearly as loaded. My research will therefore explore the following questions: Does the form of academic writing lend itself to presenting an ideology? How does ideology make itself present within texts? Is the presentation of an ideology as bias as it sounds to be? And of course, what should we look out for in our own work?

POLITICAL STUDIES AND THE CONTEXTUAL TURN: A METHODOLOGICAL/NORMATIVE CRITIQUE

Stephanie Lawson

Recent developments in political studies have seen much greater attention paid to ideas about history, culture and associated notions of context. This reflects, at least in part, a dissatisfaction with positivism and modernist empiricism and an interest in alternative methodologies and epistemologies. As part of this general development, the language of non-traditional approaches to politics has become replete with the language of contextualism – emphasizing specificity, particularity and contingency. There is certainly much

to be welcomed in the turn away from an ahistorical, objectivist and materialist positivism towards more nuanced approaches. Contingency attends virtually every development in human affairs, making predictability a very inexact science. And facts simply do not speak for themselves. They are made to speak in different ways by different people located in varying positions of power and influence and with particular agendas or projects. Thus the notion that adequate explanations of political practices and actions can be obtained in the absence of a narrative account of the beliefs that sustain them is indeed difficult to defend. Even so, critiques of objectivist approaches which substitute specific historical and/or cultural contexts for universals may turn out to be simply using another method of objectification. Furthermore, far from providing a critique of domination, I argue that key aspects of the contextualist turn actually reinforce it. So while agreeing with the general point that attention to context, both historical and cultural, is essential to good political analysis, this paper is nonetheless critical of certain key aspects of contextual approaches. In addition, it highlights certain difficulties in devising a general theory of context due to some important contradictions between cultural and historical versions of methodological contextualism.

TOWARDS AN-OTHER COMMUNITY: LEVINAS AND BORDER PROTECTION

Claire Loughnan, University of Melbourne

This paper seeks to explore the 'communitarian' aspects of Emmanuel Levinas's thought which might inform a larger debate about the contribution of his ethic to the discussion of immigration detention, and border security. In the midst of the ongoing effects of border protection upon 'ill-legal non-citizens' during the Howard era, the need to question the foundations of communitarian arguments is pressing. A Levinasian approach provokes a disturbance of this debate in several ways. Firstly, Levinas asks that we think about the neighbour in terms other than cultural and/or physical proximity. The notion of proximity which Levinas employs potentially undercuts communitarian notions of physical proximity (that is, ties forged by links to land or domain), and the shared values which emerge from this, by arguing that our relationship with the other is founded instead upon an ethical proximity. An ethical proximity thus provides the foundation for a community which is tied not to land, but to a homelessness, which is most powerfully represented by the foreigner, the stranger. Secondly, he challenges communitarianism with the implication that our participation in 'community' is based not on what we have in common, but on what the ways in which we differ both within community, and outside of it. This reluctance to accept the possibility of shared meaning both separates and unites, but not in the terms that some critics of border protection have assumed. Against Walzer's claim that 'my life cannot be shaped and determined by [the] chance encounter' with the other, a Levinasian ethic asserts instead that this is the foundation of our humanity. This might arguably lead us, in a 'post-Howard' era, to what La Caze calls a generous ethics, rather than a merely 'proper' politics.

SETTLER COLONIALISM AND THE POLITICS OF POSTCOLONIAL NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC DISCOURSE.

Melissa Lovell, ANU

The twentieth century saw the development of nationalism and the construction of postcolonial identities in many newly independent nations. Formerly colonised peoples have struggled to restore and adapt their customs and to construct postcolonial national identities. Settler colonial nations face a distinctive challenge in the construction of postcolonial national identities. These nations are founded on the dispossession and assimilation of indigenous peoples and the impulse to build an autonomous settler nation. They are, therefore, caught in a limbo between an ambivalent relationship to the 'mother-country' and an unwillingness to acknowledge brutal and colonial aspects of their nation's foundations. The Australian situation is a powerful example of the difficulty of constructing postcolonial national identities in settler colonial nations. In Australia, multicultural discourses have sought to distance Australian identity from its settler colonial foundations. These discourses have the potential to contribute to a more postcolonial form of national identity. Many Australians, however, have seemed indifferent to multicultural descriptions of Australian identity. Multiculturalism's failure to capture the Australian imagination can be attributed to the difficulty of overcoming settler colonial forms of identity. The settler colonial ambivalence regarding Australia's British and colonial heritage has resulted in the adoption of liberal democratic 'universalist' values as a form of surrogate cultural and national identity. The culture of Australians of British heritage is normalised and these Australians frequently regard themselves to be without a true cultural heritage. This has serious implications for multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is interpreted as applicable only to Australians of 'ethnic' background, irrelevant to Australians with British heritage and unable to provide a sense of belonging to all Australians. Settler colonial discourses of Australian identity continue to be influential. However, multicultural discourses have broadened Australian public debate to include a search for innovative identities in a postcolonial world.

SOVEREIGNTY AND CITIZENSHIP: INCOMPATIBLE GOALS IN INDIGENOUS POLITICS?

Sarah Maddison, University of New South Wales

There is an often-unacknowledged tension between the goals of sovereignty and citizenship in Indigenous politics. In Australia, activists often deploy the rhetoric of sovereignty while simultaneously demanding their citizenship entitlements from the settler state. Treaty and land rights campaigners, who may identify themselves as belonging to Indigenous nations rather than to the Australian state, insist that Indigenous peoples have never ceded their sovereignty to the British Crown. Others, however, have engaged in civil rights campaigns, struggling for their full entitlements as Australian citizens, including access to state provided services such as health and education. It is now well understood that the process of colonisation did not erase Indigenous nations. Yet herein lies the tension in contemporary Indigenous politics: Is the goal to undo the history of colonisation in such a way that Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood may once again be recognised? Or is the goal to achieve full citizenship in the post-colonial nation-states that have usurped Indigenous nations? Are these goals mutually exclusive? This paper draws on original interview material with Australian Indigenous leaders and activists to reveal the range of meanings attached to concepts of sovereignty and citizenship. It is argued that although claims to sovereignty have caused dissension among Indigenous groups because the philosophical propositions underlying such goals have not been clearly defined, there is also evidence to suggest that sovereignty can have a less radical and more colloquial meaning that is more comfortably accommodated within citizenship claims.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEMOCRACY UNDER THREAT

Graham Maddox, University of New England

In several advanced democracies there are observers who express deep fears about indications of the undermining of ideals that support democratic institutions and practices. In Australia, the authors of *Silencing Dissent* and other critical books point to palpable signs of erosion in the democratic landscape as the system fails to hold the government properly to account. In the United States there are many authors who show that recent events have undermined the traditional commitment to freedom and government accountability. These include Sheldon Wolin, Benjamin Barber, Jeffrey Stout, Cornel West, Stephen Carter, Jim Wallis among many others. Robert Kraynak and Jean Bethke Elshtain have despaired over the attenuation of the social, cultural and religious traditions that they argue have cushioned the liberal state with habits of civility and toleration. This paper will attempt to suggest the possible recovery of traditions conducive to the wellbeing of modern democratic government.

THE NATIONALIST DIMENSION OF THE EAST CHINA SEA DISPUTE: IMPACT ON FUTURE DISPUTE

James Manicom, Flinders University

The dispute in the East China Sea between Japan and China is composed of many competing interests amongst many different actors. Although it began as a sovereignty dispute over offshore islands purported to grant legal jurisdiction over potentially vast hydrocarbon wealth buried beneath the seabed, this paper shows that the focus of the dispute has shifted in the last ten years. Specifically, the interests of groups outside the core policymaking arena have expanded to include not only concerns over the islands themselves, but to also include concerns over the sovereignty over the East China Sea as a whole. Throughout the dispute core policymakers on both sides have consistently demonstrated an ability to keep the dispute peaceful when it has been agitated by two sub-state interest groups. These two groups, peripheral policy actors and nationalist lobby groups, have exploited the sovereignty dispute to further their own ends. This paper surveys the interests of these three different actors and argues that the nationalist dimension of the East China Sea dispute has shifted from a focus purely on the islands themselves, to a focus on the maritime zones which the islands arguably create. Consequently, the ability of core policymakers to resist sub-state nationalist pressure in the future may be constrained. In light of recent developments over the Xihu Trough in the East China Sea, this will have important implications for the future management of the dispute.

MOVING BEYOND THE DRUMBEAT OF RISK INFLATION: EXPANDING AUSTRALIA'S ROLE IN THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE

Haydon Manning & Andrew O'Niell, Flinders University

The 2006 Switkowski review report commissioned by the Howard government highlighted some of the economic and foreign policy benefits that could flow from a major expansion of Australia's uranium export program. It also identified the long-term advantages for Australia's energy security flowing from the development of a national nuclear industry. The report has been condemned by anti-nuclear groups who argue that the risks associated with deeper Australian involvement in the nuclear fuel cycle are unacceptable. This argument is framed within a broader set of assumptions about the supposedly immoral

nature of any engagement in the nuclear fuel cycle. This article examines the most prominent claims put forward by anti-nuclear proponents and concludes that many of them are based on a disproportionate inflation of risk. The final section argues that there exists an important window of opportunity for Australia to broaden its role in the nuclear fuel cycle through involvement in nuclear fuel leasing, safeguarded enrichment, and nuclear waste disposal. Not only would such initiatives provide useful economic benefits, they would also help to strengthen the fragile global non-proliferation regime, an enduring goal of Australia's foreign policy.

THE 'NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRACY' AND DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL: LABOUR GOVERNMENT COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND CONSULTATION STRATEGIES IN AUSTRALIA AND BRITAIN

Rob Manwaring, Flinders University

This article explores the influence of the 'new social democracy' (NSD) on specific attempts in Australia and Britain to foster democratic renewal. The NSD attempts to reinvigorate progressive social-democratic politics, and it emerges from the debates about 'third way' politics within the labour tradition. Most of the literature on the NSD tends to focus on its prescriptions for welfare reform rather than its call for the 'democratising of democracy'. In addition, there is little research on how NSD-influenced governments have attempted, in practice, to engage in wider community engagement and consultation. This article addresses these gaps, and proceeds in three sections. Firstly, the main structural changes in political participation and political support in Britain and Australia are outlined. It is argued that while these changes do no amount to a 'crisis of democracy', they do pose a particular challenge for Labour governments. Secondly, the NSD prescriptions for the 'democratising of democracy' are critiqued. The NSD arguments for democratic renewal are, in part, a response to the underlying structural changes. The influences of the NSD on the ALP and the British Labour Party are also established. Thirdly, specific attempts in Australia and Britain that respond to this call for greater democracy are outlined. The preliminary findings of the first case study of this research are also outlined – the 2006 consultation on the South Australian Strategic Plan.

OVERCOMING MINORITY STANDPOINT – ARTICULATING MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AMONG MUSLIM YOUTH IN TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXTS

Zaniah Marshallsay, University of South Australia

The focus of this paper is on issues of identity that Muslims living as minorities in Western societies are experiencing, specifically on second and third generations of Muslims in Western societies who are citizens of the countries they live in but who are also committed to their Islamic identity. It examines how this generation of Muslims negotiate and construct their identities, and argues that in constructing their identities this group of Muslims undergo a transformative process that takes into account the changing circumstances of their personal (family, social, economic and political) situations and the socio-economic and political conditions of their countries of residence. The various ways that this group of Muslims negotiate and articulate their identities vis-à-vis that of the first generation as well as the wider society that they live in is explored in this paper.

WELFARE REFORM, THE UNDERCLASS THESIS AND THE LEGITIMISATION OF SOCIAL DIVISIONS

Sonia Lea Martin, University of Melbourne

This paper critically examines how the idea of an underclass shapes Australian welfare reform. Current welfare measures are based on contentious assumptions about the relationship between income support recipients and the welfare state that are consistent with pejorative accounts of an underclass. Income support recipients are viewed as either passive recipients who have been disempowered by the welfare state or active recipients who deliberately abuse the welfare system. The analysis is based upon a critical post-traditional paradigm that recognises systems of power and the ways in which these influence the policy process and the formation of social divisions. Of particular significance is the way in which the normative beliefs of politicians and policy makers have converted the problem of so-called 'welfare dependency' into a private issue of welfare recipients rather than one belonging to society more broadly. Examination of the records central to the Howard Government's welfare reform agenda and Hansard for the period 1999-2005, reveals the Government's belief in an underclass of misbehaving and/or morally corrupt individuals. These beliefs have been converted into practice, which has served to reinforce the perceived need for current welfare reform measures and to legitimise the marginalisation and exclusion of some individuals from mainstream society.

HOWARD'S WAY? PUBLIC OPINION AS AN INFLUENCE ON AUSTRALIA'S ENGAGEMENT WITH ASIA

Derek McDougall & Kingsley Edney, University of Melbourne

The question of Australia's engagement with the countries of East Asia has long been a central issue in the way Australia relates to the world. This paper assesses this issue during the period of the Howard government from 1996 but from a particular perspective. It gives attention to those aspects of Asian engagement where public opinion appears to have had some influence on government policy, with a view to determining precisely what that influence amounted to. It proposes that Howard has followed a 'pragmatist' approach following the model developed by Douglas Foyle in his study of the impact of public opinion on US foreign policy. This approach is examined in the context of two key aspects of Asian engagement: relations with Indonesia and Asian immigration. In relation to the first aspect the Coalition government had to deal with episodes where there were strong manifestations of public opinion, with a view to protecting the long term policy that had developed under both Labor and Coalition governments; the East Timor situation in 1999 was most difficult in this respect. On the matter of Asian immigration policy has been more deliberative, with Howard moving away from his earlier populist stance on this issue, while still conveying a strongly 'Australianist' or 'integrationist' perspective.

DEMOCROTAINMENT: ELECTION NIGHT TELEVISION PROGRAMS IN AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN

Sally McLaren, Ritsumeikan University

This paper will present the findings of a comparative study of election night television programs in Japan and Australia. The contents of the 2003 General Election in Japan and the 2004 Federal Election in Australia are analysed, focusing on the structure of the programs, who appeared in them and how they were represented. Election programs occupy an unusual space in the context of media and politics. The programs are broadcast after the polls have closed, or in the Australian case, as they are closing. Audience ratings data published in both Australia and Japan shows that the programs are increasingly drawing smaller viewing audiences. The need for the media to appeal to audiences, but at the same time appear to retain some semblance of journalistic integrity is an important consideration here. There is evidence in the programs of the "democracy as entertainment" phenomenon which has been steadily seeping into media constructions of politics. The findings of the content analysis indicate that traditional biases and gender stereotyping are prevalent in the programs. It is also clear that although voters have the main democratic role on election day, their appearance and participation in election programs is limited and often trivialized. Comparing the similarities and differences in the Australian and Japanese contexts, this paper will critically assess the role of the media in constructing democracy on such an important day as a general election, and argue the need for more diverse and equal representations in media constructions of politics.

SYMBOLIC POLITICS? AGENDA BUILDING? FOREIGN POLICY AND THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT

Elizabeth McLeay, Victoria University

The Westminster convention is that decisions on foreign affairs fall within the Crown prerogative. In recent years, however, the New Zealand House of Representatives, like some other parliaments, has been increasingly involved in this policy area, especially within the committee system. This trend is due to a range of factors. Some of these are contextual and global—the increasing amount of information about foreign affairs received by constituents and MPs, for example. Other factors are institutional and constitutional, for example endogenously generated parliamentary reform aimed at reasserting the authority of representative assemblies against the power of the political executive and the influence of bureaucracies, including strengthening the accountability of the executive to the legislature. In New Zealand, however, there is a further reason for parliamentary involvement in foreign affairs: the prevalence of coalition, minority governments, with the fractured party system that has helped produce this regime pattern. One of the consequences has been that governments have increasingly used Parliament to confirm their legitimacy to act on major issues relating to peace and war, treaty-making and trade agreements. The New Zealand case-study illustrates the responsive nature of representative institutions frequently characterized as exhibiting institutional inertia, while also asking whether parliaments can play more than a symbolic and legitimizing role in the politics and policy-making within the foreign affairs arena.

THE COUNCIL FOR THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION: A NEW STRUCTURE OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERALISM

Jennifer Menzies & Anne Tiernan, Griffith University

In October 2006, State Premiers and Chief Ministers gathered together in Melbourne for the first meeting of the Council for the Australian Federation (CAF). This little-heralded event marked the beginning of the first

formalised structure for State and Territory collaboration since Federation. This paper describes the genesis and creation of this new structural response to ongoing State concerns about the trend to an increasingly centralised pattern of Commonwealth-State relations. It identifies the multiple functions of the Council which encompass: modelling practices of co-operative Federalism; operating as a clearing house for ideas and a policy think-tank; acting as a mechanism for coordinating approaches to agreements with the Commonwealth, harmonising regulatory frameworks, and developing improvements to service delivery in areas of State responsibility. Informed by a range of interviews with key players involved with the establishment of CAF, this paper assesses its first twelve months of operation. It argues that CAF's emergence is an attempt by sub-national governments to develop new capacity and leverage points to address the asymmetries that have come to characterise contemporary Australian federalism.

NGOS, AGENDA-SETTING AND THE WTO

Hannah Murphy, University of Tasmania

The scholarly debate about relations between the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and civil society has been preoccupied with the benefits of allowing non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to formally participate in decision-making at the organisation alongside nation-states. For example, NGO proponents charge that many nation-states fail to balance economic interests with social justice and environmental concerns claiming that NGOs are the antidotes to the organisation's 'democratic deficits'. While this is an important theoretical debate, this paper attempts to advance the WTO-civil society literature in a more productive direction. Instead of focusing on whether NGOs should be granted formal power at the WTO, the paper provides an empirical account of the way in which NGOs already exercise significant agenda-setting impact at the organisation. In doing so, I examine two NGO campaigns: the access to essential medicines campaign targeting the WTO's intellectual property agreement, and the campaign against a WTO foreign investment agreement. I argue that the NGOs were able to exert agenda-setting influence because they utilised political opportunities to mobilise normative consensus among the relevant NGO communities and provoke international debate in relation to the issues at stake. They also worked cooperatively with developing WTO member states to inform their positions in the WTO arena. While it is unlikely that NGOs will be granted participation status at the WTO in the foreseeable future, an examination of recent NGO activity in relation to international trade issues contributes to understandings about exactly how NGOs have become significant actors in international politics.

THE END OF CULTURAL PROTECTION? SHIFTS IN BROADCASTING REGULATORY POLICY UNDER THE HOWARD GOVERNMENT.

Rob Nicholls, University of New South Wales

Australian broadcasting policy can be considered as falling into three periods. The first was a period of intense cultural nationalism/protectionism. The second is an era of reform, in this case, the Hawke/Keating micro-economic reform as an early or pre-emptive response to globalisation. The third is the current neo-liberal influenced period which this paper shows has been characterised by the removal of cultural protection in the broadcasting sector. Historically, there has been significant Australian government support for the audiovisual services sector in Australia and this support was motivated by policies of cultural diversity. We argue that there has been a crucial, unheralded and starkly effective policy shift from support of the audiovisual sector to one of regarding that sector as just another aspect of electronic commerce. The paper demonstrates that this change occurred from the year 2000 and was heavily influenced by both the United States and major trans-national corporations with their primary financial reporting place in the United States. The external pressure to settle the Australia United States Free Trade Agreement led to agreement by Australia to the view posited by the United States that there are "new" audiovisual services which should be regarded in the same terms as electronic commerce and should be subject to minimal regulatory intervention. We argue that Australia's abstention in the vote on the "UNESCO Convention on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions" is further evidence of this policy change and that Australia has signalled a changed domestic and international trade position. We conclude by considering the impact of the changes to the media legislation that were passed in 2006 and enacted in April 2007 and suggest that the media reforms and the consequences in terms of private equity control of commercial television broadcasting are consistent with Howard government promotion of the destruction of cultural protectionism.

INADEQUATE OR JUST MISUNDERSTOOD: EXAMINING THE REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTRE FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

Thomas O'Brien, University of Melbourne

Since its foundation in 1990 the Regional Environmental Centre for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) has played a key role in the development of environmental capacity building in post-communist Europe. The REC was established by the EU, the US and a number of other national donors to support the strengthening

of civil society and environmental capacity building in post-communist Europe. This role has seen the REC take on a number of different tasks from funding local NGOs, setting up and running projects, as well as developing and maintaining a presence in the beneficiary countries. In spite of the important place the REC occupies in the region its actual effect is often not well understood by observers. Changes in the role and funding of the REC also raise potential questions regarding its continued presence, such as whether it continues to make a contribution. The REC has changed greatly since 1990 with changes in funding leading to changes in its operational methods. This paper seeks to add to understanding of the REC by examining how it has developed and evolved since its formation, based on interviews conducted with staff in the head office (Hungary) and in two of the country offices (Romania and Bulgaria). It is argued that although the REC has changed significantly since its formation it continues to play an important role in helping to shape environmental policies and attitudes in the region.

POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY: APORETIC ETHICS OF HOSPITALITY AND JUDGMENT

Erin O'Connor, University of Queensland

This paper explores the theoretical concept of political responsibility as expressed in the work of Emanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida. In particular, Derridean constructions of hospitality and judgment are used to explore the capacity to infuse responsibility with ethical comportment and affirm the undecidability of political life. This requires move beyond conventional notions of hospitality and judgment predicated on relations of equivalence. Hospitality and judgment cannot be inscribed within a circuit of reciprocity nor serve to consolidate the interiority of the self 'at home' in the world. Instead, a reconceptualisation of responsibility as the affirmation of alterity – of the experience of alterity as absolute Other – is proposed. It is thus the aporia of responsibility that constitutes the ethical moment in which it is substantiated. Following Derrida it will be argued that a 'pure' concept of hospitality or judgment must exempt itself from any horizon of exchange or restitution, and instead be given as a 'gift' without expectation of return. Ethics thus understood is responsibility to absolute Other – and is substantiated by its very impossibility. Responsibility as ethics cannot be diverted for therapeutic ends nor reduced to a moral code. Rather, ethics is called forth where alterity is present. Political responsibility as a genuine encounter with alterity involves a conception of hospitality and judgment that places an aporetic ethics at the centre of civility. The aporia of judgment – the impossibility of realising determined finalities – renders possible ethical judgment through its very affirmation. Likewise, such hospitality is a 'welcome of other' that escapes enclosure within the jurisdiction of home as sovereign domain – it is in effect, 'homeless'. Responsibility must involve a constant reaffirmation of the 'decentredness' of home, where the home serves as the threshold of undecidability of the self and other.

PROLIFERATION MANAGEMENT IN NORTHEAST ASIA: ARE THERE GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM?

Andrew O'Neil, Flinders University

The core principle underlying the strategy of non-proliferation—acceptance of a two tier international nuclear order—has become unsustainable. Policy makers and those in the academic community need to turn their attention to exploring new proliferation management strategies premised first and foremost on recognising that nuclear weapons are here to stay and that determined proliferators can not be stopped from going nuclear. This presentation develops this argument in relation to the role of nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia, the engine house of world economic growth. To what extent does the failing strategy of non-proliferation pose serious challenges for Northeast Asia's security environment? Are there alternative strategies for managing nuclear weapons in the region? Should the presence of nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia necessarily be seen in exclusively negative terms, as many experts believe? Contrary to the claims of proliferation pessimists, there is some evidence that traditional deterrence relationships are possible between the region's nuclear and near-nuclear states, China, Japan, the US, and North Korea. With less effort directed towards upholding failing non-proliferation strategies, and more attention to developing realistic and modest proliferation management strategies in Northeast Asia, the region is indeed capable of achieving long term strategic stability short of disarmament or nuclear rollback.

THE IMPACT OF THE TRANSNATIONAL INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' MOVEMENT AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Gil Oren, ANU

The organization of indigenous peoples as a transnational movement with a high profile at the United Nations (UN) raises two interrelated questions. First, how did indigenous peoples, often the most marginalized populations inside states, organize as a transnational movement and obtain access to the UN, commonly understood as a system created by states for states? Second, how did the indigenous movement within the UN influence the establishment of bodies and mechanisms dedicated to indigenous rights and issues? Drawing from the literature on transnational activism, this paper elaborates on the role of indigenous peoples as a particular type of non-state actors, and investigates the ways in which indigenous peoples as a

movement have affected change within the UN, and the ways in which the interaction of the movement and the UN affected the development of the movement itself. This paper highlights the significance of the participation of indigenous peoples in the standard-setting process of indigenous rights and argues that this lengthy and contested process has been central to the shaping of the international indigenous movement. It also emphasizes the autonomous role played by certain part of the UN bureaucracy and expert bodies in assisting the goal achievement of indigenous peoples within the UN system.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND WEB 2.0

Allison Orr, University of New South Wales

The Internet has engendered a considerable level of debate in political discourse ever since its emergence as a tool in everyday life. With low voter turnout and civic participation in decline, much of the debate has come to focus on the Internet's ability to provide avenues for political participation and civic engagement. Enthusiasm for this potential waned slightly during the nineties, but it has been reignited recently with the rise of "Web 2.0", and its emphasis on user-generated content, social networking and collaboration. While the debate had led to discussions of participatory democracy, much of it fails to take into account the nature of participation, and what is advocated is often merely more communication. This paper will more closely examine the participatory avenues offered by Web 2.0 within a framework of participatory and democratic theory to show that it is unlikely to actually increase civic engagement. Furthermore, this discourse is heavily influenced by the evaluative nature democracy and its associated concepts. This paper will explore how evaluative concepts such as democracy and participation are used in this debate to give credit to claims for the new technologies and to those using them.

THEORETICAL IDEAS IN CONTEMPORARY MAORI POLITICS

Dominic O'Sullivan, University of Waikato

During the 1980s and 1990s incremental steps towards at least limited Maori self-determination attracted cautious bi-partisan acceptance in public policy thought. By 2004, however, Maori claims were becoming more sceptically received, culminating in the Leader of the National Party Opposition, Don Brash, proposing an assimilationist 'one law for all' philosophy as a fair liberal democratic policy basis. Although Brash resigned as Leader of the Opposition in November 2006 his question 'are Maori peoples with rights or individuals with needs' remains influential and well summarises the theoretical issues that most influence contemporary Maori policy debate. This paper explores the centrality of these issues for how citizenship, democracy and indigeneity respond to questions about where power ought to lie and how it ought to be distributed in a modern post-colonial liberal democracy.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT IN AUSTRALIAN WELFARE POLICY

Siobhan O'Sullivan, University of Sydney

Interviews conducted with active members of the Australian animal protection movement reveal that most interviewees believe current Australian animal welfare laws protect companion animals from harm more strongly than they protect animals used for scientific research or agriculture purposes. To test the legitimacy of that view, NSW's animal welfare statutes were analysed. When a comparison was made between the level of statutory protection afforded hens, rabbits, horses, and dogs, interviewees' perceptions were shown to be partly valid – companion animals do received a higher level of protection than research and agricultural animals. However, the view that companion animals are the best-protected animal is not accurate. Although dogs receive favourable levels of welfare protection, the benefit they derive from welfare laws fluctuates depending on how they are used. When a dog is used for scientific research, the dog receives better protection than other species used for research, but less protection than dogs engaged in other activities. The overall findings are that dogs in circuses receive the best welfare protection in NSW. This suggests that legislative privilege is underpinned by two principles. First, animals that the community are most familiar with are given preference. Second, engagement in high profile activities, such as performing, is legislatively beneficial. Interviewees were therefore not entirely accurate in their assessment of the functionality of Australian animal welfare legislation, but evidence does support some of the most popular views.

A FEDERALIST PARADOX: LIBERALISM, CONSERVATISM AND THE HOWARD GOVERNMENT

Ben Page, Flinders University

The Howard government's approach to Commonwealth-State relations has been notably centralist. This represents an interesting divergence from what has commonly been understood to be the Liberal Party's strong support for the principles of federalism as embodied in the Australian federal system. From the Party's inception, federalism has been considered a cornerstone of the Liberal ethos. The Australian federation arguably embodies the liberal and conservative values that the Liberal Party has considered itself to represent. For the most part, Liberal Party governments and leaders in the past tended to resist proposals

to change to the constitutional structure that might weaken federalism and strengthen the capacity of the Commonwealth government. However, the national Liberal Party's commitment to federalism has also at times been somewhat tentative and ambiguous. While the Party's philosophical principles have indeed produced pro-federalist platforms and vision statements, this has been tempered in practice by a number of constraints and countervailing trends. Of particular importance has been the effect of the Party's pursuit of national social policies and the degree to which social liberalism has informed its philosophy. In the lead-up to Howard's 1996 election victory, the Liberal Party underwent a period of ideological renewal that saw the decline of social liberalism and the 'wets' within the Party. Then and subsequently, the Party has been reshaped under Howard's leadership to reflect much of his adherence to classical liberal economics and conservative social policies. Both of these philosophical positions would be expected to support a decentralised federal system. This highlights the paradox of the Howard government's approach to Commonwealth-state relations: the shift within the Party further towards a philosophical position that should have consolidated its pro-federalist stance in practice has coincided with a shift further away from this stance in rhetoric and policy. This paper explores these issues as the basis for a proposed doctoral thesis.

GOVERNING LIBERAL SUBJECTS: FOUCAULT, PSYCHOLOGY AND SELF-HELP BOOKS

Brigid Philip, University of Melbourne

There has been a remarkable increase in the availability and popularity of self-help books over recent decades, especially in advanced liberal countries like Australia. One distinct sub-genre within the broader self-help umbrella is self-help books on mental wellbeing – that is, books which provide advice about overcoming depression or unhappiness and how to live a happier, more fulfilling life. Most research into self-help books on mental wellbeing has been within the psychological and therapeutic disciplines, and tends to focus on the effectiveness of these texts as a treatment for depression. But what is the political significance of self-help books on mental wellbeing, and of psychological expertise more generally? In particular, how are these books related to (neo)liberal ways of governing? This paper establishes the theoretical framework for answering these questions, and offers a preliminary discourse analysis of a top-selling self-help book by Martin E. P. Seligman, the former president of the American Psychological Association, entitled "Authentic Happiness – Using the New Positive Psychology to Realise Your Potential For Lasting Fulfilment". This will be done in three main parts. First, I outline Michel Foucault's theory of government and the growing body of critical approaches to liberalism that it has inspired (see, most notably, Dean 1999; Dean & Hindess 1998; Rose 1989, 1996). Second, I consider Nikolas Rose's analysis of psychological expertise as a technique of liberal government, particularly his analysis of the various 'human technologies' that characterise psychology (such as 'the test', 'the opinion poll' and 'the confession'). Finally, I adopt Rose's approach to psychological expertise to analyse Martin Seligman's top-selling book. My main argument is that self-help books on mental-wellbeing disseminate psychological expertise to a huge readership, and in so doing, help to produce 'autonomous' subjects who monitor and adapt their behaviours according to (neo)liberal virtues.

"WOMEN, PEACE AND WHAT SECURITY? ASSESSING RESOLUTION 1325"

Elisabeth Porter, University of South Australia

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) on 'Women, Peace and Security' (2000) is significant in calling for representation of women at all levels of decision-making to prevent, manage and resolve conflict. Its efficacy as a global advocacy tool is practical and important. It is worth assessing its merits seven years on. In this paper, I do three things. First, I outline briefly some of the global momentum that led to the need for and endorsement of SCR 1325 and its subsequent use as a political tool. Second, I offer some positive examples of how SCR 1325 is making a difference in increasing the representation of women, particularly in transitional democracies emerging from conflict. I show how gender considerations are being taken into account in peacekeeping operations and in disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programs. Third, I outline some remaining challenges. In particular, I show how women remain disturbingly absent or marginalised from official peace processes, negotiating tables, political decision-making opportunities and senior policy or judicial positions, despite their active agency in grassroots peacebuilding. My general argument is that gender equality, gender justice and women's rights are central to the reconstruction of countries emerging from conflict and insecurity. Allied to this argument is my defence of peacebuilding as multifaceted processes that respect rights, enhance equality, instil feelings of security and are democratic, inclusive and just.

LIBERALISM AND THE PROSTITUTION OF WOMEN: A RECONSIDERATION OF WOLFENDEN AND MILL

Helen Pringle

It is widely thought that a commitment to liberal principles of justice requires a certain stance on the question of prostitution, namely decriminalization, that is, that buying and selling sex should not be subject to the

penalties of the criminal law. This argument takes the form that regardless of how we assess the morality of such actions, it is not a matter for the law to intervene where no harm is done to others. And where and insofar as there is mutual consent, there no harm is done. This stance is bound up with the frequent characterization of prostitution as "victimless crime". This stance is widely thought to be the position of the Wolfenden Committee report in regard to prostitution, identified as flowing from the harm principle as formulated by John Stuart Mill, that "the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." However, a problem with drawing such a conclusion about decriminalisation from Mill is that not only did Mill himself not draw it, but that his explicit position on the question of the prostitution of women is entirely at odds with it. The specific context in which Mill discussed the question most fully was the debate on the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s. My argument in this paper is not merely to point out what Mill actually did say, but also to argue that Mill provides us with an alternative framing of the prostitution of women, as enslavement and trafficking, that is more in line with liberal understandings of justice, and of sexual justice in particular. This alternative framework is at odds also with the Wolfenden framing of prostitution as a matter of public order.

INDO-FIJIAN STRUGGLES FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY IN FIJI

Sanjay Ramesh, University of Fiji

Indo-Fijians make up about 37 per cent of Fiji's population and have unique language and culture, which evolved since Indians arrived to Fiji as indentured labourers on board *Leonidas* in 1879. By the end of indenture in 1920, there were some 60,000 Indians in Fiji as their leaders started agitation for "equal" rights. The colonial government saw Indian political demands as a threat to law, order and good government in the colony and forged closer relations with the European settlers and the indigenous Fijian chiefs. By 1946, some 101,000 of the 120,000 Indians were born in the colony and had transformed from Indians to Indo-Fijians with their leaders ready to lead Fiji to independence. However, the demands and agitations for equality were seen by the indigenous Fijian leaders as plot to dominate indigenous Fijians politically and as a result, indigenous chiefs invoked the Deed of Cession of 1874 and requested that the colonial authority, when leaving the colony, transfer power back to the chiefs. The Indo-Fijian leaders found it increasingly difficult to secure support of the indigenous leaders as an interim solution based on indigenous political dominance was agreed to during constitutional conferences in the 1960s. The interim solution did not last long as demands for equality once again surfaced in the 1970s and again in the 1980s, leading to three military coups and a permanent fracture of Fiji's race relations. This paper will trace the Indo-Fijian demands for political equality and its ideological foundations, which is deeply embedded in the experiences of indentured labour, or, *girit* and responses to the three race-based coups.

A POST-NIETZSCHEAN AGE? THE IMPORTANCE OF NIETZSCHE FOR CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THEORY

Jamie Roberts, University of New South Wales

It is sometimes said that we live in a post-Nietzschean age. This idea has great intuitive appeal. We think of Nietzsche's famous remark that God is dead and his attacks on truth assisted by his theory of the will to power, then we think about our own secular lives, our belief in the importance of diversity, the relatively recent success of many social movements, the works of Derrida and Foucault, etcetera, and we conclude: indeed, we do live in a post-Nietzschean age! My paper will first argue that many of the common interpretations of Nietzsche's ideas about the death of God and truth are mistaken. With respect to the former it will argue that while Nietzsche often makes the point that God is dead, he also argues that God's (secular) shadow remains and will likely be with us for some time yet; and with respect to the latter, the similar point will be made that while Nietzsche argues that there are no absolute truths he also implies that many of us, if not all of us, are still bound to specific truths. It therefore follows that we must reconsider the idea that we live in a post-Nietzschean age. I will argue that we need not abandon the idea itself insofar as it is possible that we do in fact live in a post-Nietzschean age, albeit for reasons different to those commonly proposed. This paper will then discuss Nietzsche's relevance to political theory by refuting the idea voiced by Strong that, because of his apparent relativism, '[t]here can then be no appropriation of Nietzsche for political theory'.

THE TECHNOCRATIC POLITICS OF ADMINISTRATIVE PARTICIPATION: CASE STUDIES OF SINGAPORE AND VIETNAM

Garry Rodan & Kanishka Jayasuriya, Murdoch University

In the last decade in Southeast Asia there has been a trend towards new modes of political participation for citizens to provide feedback to government officials or to provide new methods for holding public officials to account. Regimes in Singapore and Vietnam have to differing degrees pioneered and embraced this direction through various such new administrative modes of political participation. But the paradox here is

that these modes of political participation have not replaced but complemented tight controls on political expression. This article argues that these new modes lead to the fragmentation of politics through: the state defining what issues participation can be conducted over; the state controlling who gets access to administrative institutions involving political participation; and the state shaping the form that this access takes. The end result is political rule by administrative means. Politics is not so much suppressed as transformed into a set of technocratic processes and ideologies intended to narrow the scope and nature of contestation.

DAYS OF WINE & POSEURS: STEREOTYPES OF CLASS & CONSUMPTION IN DEMOCRATIC DISCOURSE

Mark Rolfe, University of New South Wales

Stereotypes in the media have concerned many people since the American writer Walter Lippmann warned of their vulnerability to propaganda. But it is difficult to speak of any social group without resorting to stereotypes, not only in popular discourse but also in academic discourse since both areas rely on such generalisations composed by informal reasoning. Therefore, this paper examines the rhetorical purposes of stereotypes, such as ethical appeals (statements of credibility and trust in rhetoric), ad hominem attacks, claims of microcosmic representation, and the partisan contests for votes that were mounted through stereotypes of class. From the 1890s, the ALP attacked the fat greedy capitalist in top hat and tails and associated it with opposition parties, while it claimed representation of the starving working man in the flat cap and boots and of democracy. The same rhetorical techniques were employed by the Howard-led Coalition which attacked the selfish elites, gentrified chardonnay socialists associated with the ALP, while it claimed representation of the mainstream battlers, aspirational voters, and democracy. The irony is that the elites were damned by their consumption while Howard's policies for the 'mainstream' encouraged the massive household debt and consumption essential to our economy. Meanwhile, the British Conservative Party was unable to make headway against the Blair government using the same rhetoric, even though such stereotypes were associated with the Labour Party. These class stereotypes are part of a rhetorical tradition about the friends and foes of representative democracy and are composed by informal reasoning from plausible common knowledge (*doxa* in rhetoric) of consumption, markers of social distinction, and an evaluative triadic hierarchy of social groups. The fortunes of Howard have been hampered by his inability to deploy such rhetoric against Kevin Rudd.

“LESS LAUNDRY AND MORE LIPSTICK: AN EXPLORATION OF WOMEN'S DOMESTIC LABOUR PORTRAYALS IN OUTDOOR ADVERTISING”

Lauren Rosewarne, University of Melbourne

The notion of women being portrayed in advertising as being engaged in traditional domestic chores such as homemaking and child-rearing is an outdated notion. Based on findings from a dataset of 137 outdoor advertisements featuring female central characters (collected as part of a PhD dissertation), it can be asserted that in fact women are seldom ever portrayed undertaking any kind of domestic labour activity in the traditional definition of the concept. This said, while women may rarely be portrayed as housewives, their portrayals are still very much concerned with domestic labour, but that the kind of domestic labour being portrayed needs to be reconceptualised. Radical feminist scholar Sheila Jeffreys writes of the concept of the “sexual corvéé” which describes the unpaid, beauty-related chores that women engage in within patriarchal society to be attractive to men (Jeffreys 2005). This paper asserts that it is these beauty-related chores that allude to the contemporary domestic work being carried out by women in outdoor advertising. This paper explores the content of 137 outdoor advertisements, exploring the ways women are portrayed and the products they are being used to market which help demonstrate how the ‘sexual corvéé’ has replaced traditional notions of domestic labour. Images of women involved in grooming for example, help illustrate the activity of domestic beauty labour, whilst the high number of women portrayed as “free-floating” (i.e., portrayed against a neutral background completely disconnected from any kind of location or context) help illustrate the actual outcomes of this new labour and the results of which audiences are expected to find inspiration and aspiration.

NEWS VALUES AND WIDOWHOOD: MEDIA COVERAGE OF CELEBRITY WIDOWS

Lauren Rosewarne, University of Melbourne

It is well understood that the news media publish stories according to a set of narrowly defined news values. The idea of “personalization” or human interest, as well as “reference to elite persons” as being influential news values are well illustrated by the media fascination with celebrity widows. The aims of this paper are two-fold. The first is to explore possible rationales behind media fascination with celebrity widows, in the process exploring how these women illustrate media news values. The second aim is to explore the ways in which reporting of these women is framed through the use of widow stereotypes including the evil – or black

- widow, the happy – or merry – widow, the young widow, the war widow and the widowed mother. Celebrity widows discussed in this paper will include Terri Irwin, Anna-Nicole Smith, Lauren Bacall, Coretta Scott King, Jackie O, Courtney Love, Yoko Ono and Marianne Pearl. Media coverage of Yoko Ono and Courtney Love, for example, are examples of widows framed as “evil”, illustrated well through extensive media coverage of their supposed gold-digging and other condemnable public acts. Contrarily, Marianne Pearl and Coretta Scott King both received comparably more favourable media treatment, both often framed sympathetically, often well illustrating the classic war widow stereotype. Lauren Bacall (and to a lesser extent, Courtney Love) were similarly often cast as the “young widow” and Terri Irwin and Jackie O as the “widowed mother”. This paper will also make reference to media coverage of celebrity widowers, or perhaps more accurately, lack thereof.

THE ISLAMIC DA`WA PARTY AND THE IRAQI ISLAMIC PARTY: A CASE STUDY IN SHI`I AND SUNNI ISLAMIST POLITICS IN IRAQ

Jamal Sankari, Deakin University

This paper shall examine, from a comparative perspective, post-Ba`thist Iraq's two largest Islamist parties, the Shi`i Hizb al-Da`wa al-Islamiyya (al-Da`wa Party) and the Sunni Hizb al-Islami al-Iraqi (the Iraqi Islamic Party). Specifically, the paper will inquire into the historical origins and evolution of the two parties; trace their development and expansion; explore their ideology, goals, and agenda; and assess their current and future role and influence in Iraq. It will be shown that despite their seemingly exclusivist confessional identities and particularistic interests, the two parties which currently constitute a crucial part of the Iraqi national government headed by Jawad al-Mailiki (himself a prominent member of al-Da`wa), have common roots, shared experience, unifying ideology, and similar visions. The paper will seek to demonstrate the Sunni antecedents of the Da`wa Party, delineate the coalescence of Sunni and Shi`i Islamist groups during the 1950s and 1960s, and analyse their respective modes of political opposition to the Ba`thist regime in Iraq. It will also attempt to assess the respective roles of the two parties in the post-Ba`thist era, with a particular attention to their engagement in the embryonic democratic political process; and their positions on key issues such as federalism, indigenous and foreign resistance to occupation, reconstruction, foreign allegiances and alliances, terrorism, confessional strife, and Shari`a law. Finally, the paper gauges the extent to which the two Islamist parties, whether alone or in conjunction with other groups, would play a role, both in, bridging the growing rift between the Sunnis and the Shi`a and the reconciling their respective constituencies together, as well as in moderating the influence and appeal of Islamist revolutionary violence and armed militancy.

POKIES, POLITICS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Shelly Savage, University of Sydney

The NSW government employs substantial numbers of media advisors both within the political sector and within the public sector. Much of the literature on media and politics in New South Wales highlights the government's interest in news management. Yet little is known of what this means for public policy? One persuasive view is that the government is policy shy and that the strong media focus translates to populist and minimalist policy approaches. Further, that the news media has significant influence on policy outcomes in New South Wales. This paper examines the poker machine tax debate in New South Wales and considers the role of media relations in the policy process. Avenues of influence are examined with a view to developing an understanding of whether and how the use of media focussed public relations influenced the policy process. This examination finds that public relations practice was used in this process to help implement a contested and unpopular policy. Further, that the public relations effort was executed in a coordinated and strategic manner to combine the efforts of political and public sector operatives and achieve an unlikely policy win at odds with general popular and media opinion. This paper will show that public relations techniques, in the form of media relations, have more complex potential than the delivery of popularity and populist policy. Public relations can be used as an instrument to deliver policy that is at odds with general and media opinion. This research paper draws on interviews with journalists, public servants, politicians and lobby group employees. It tracks the history of poker machine tax policy development and measures this against activity in the news media.

AUSTRALIAN POLICY PROCESSES AND THE PACIFIC STATES

Jonathan Schultz, The University of Melbourne

Most writing on Australian policy-making towards the Pacific states describes its operation in terms of relatively simple processes. The most prominent among these are responses to changes in the security environment, shifting ideas that inform understandings of Australia's relationship with its region, and liberal or Marxist conceptions of material interests. In each case the driving factor is exogenous to the policy-making process. This paper proposes that applying the tools of institutionalism to the Australian policy-

making processes will yield a more fruitful analysis. Institutionalism is characterised by its consideration of a relatively wide range of independent variables, broken down into three categories: ideas, interests and institutions. By considering the regional security environment as an institutional arrangement alongside the material interests and ideas of the regional relationship as three dimensions of the policy process it affords the possibility of incorporating into a single analysis the insights of the three prominent schools. In so doing it can yield greater explanatory power than the sum of its parts by creating a framework within which the inter-relations of the institutions, ideas and interests may be explored. A wider range of independent variables leads to analyses that are more complex, drawing attention to the path-dependency of historical processes and unintended consequences of decisions, the asymmetries of power associated with political institutions and the tendency towards continuity in the face of change. This paper argues that these features of institutionalism can incorporate some of the particularities that tend to be overlooked in analyses of Australian policy making toward the Pacific states. Most notable among these are the great asymmetries of power in the relationships and the tendency towards bipartisanship and continuity.

THE BRITISH, SWEDISH, FRENCH AND AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, 2005-07: A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

Andrew Scott, RMIT

This paper discusses the re-election with a reduced majority (and on a very low turnout) of the Labour government in the 2005 British national election, the unusual defeat of the Social Democratic Party in the 2006 Swedish national election, and the Socialist Party's improved showing but eventual defeat in the 2007 French Presidential election. The focus of this comparative political discussion will be on the policy lessons these outcomes may have for the Australian Labor Party in the light of its own electoral history over the last two decades and given its current prospects of regaining office nationally. A particular question for enquiry is the extent to which change in the political economy of mainstream left of-centre parties in the different countries over recent decades, towards market liberalism, has contributed to the parties' loss of support within their long-standing core constituencies. A second central question is the degree of scope which the parties do in fact still have to pursue policies from a social democratic rather than market liberal political economy framework. In seeking to answer these questions the paper will consider available academic studies of election and referenda outcomes in Britain, France, Sweden and Australia; as well as commercial opinion polls concerning voting intention, issues of importance for voters and the perception of which parties are best to handle these issues, for the upcoming Australian national election.

'DELINKAGE' IN AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY

Richard Scrivener, ANU

Australian international trade policy was for many decades characterised by its high degree of independence from Australian strategic and international political concerns. This separation between trade and politics, or 'delinkage', facilitated Australia's entry into commodity markets in countries with which Canberra had no formal diplomatic relations, or more frequently into countries to which Canberra's principal strategic ally, Washington, was ill-disposed or openly hostile. Australian exports to these markets were commonly established and managed by Australian statutory authorities and overseen by the Australian Department of Trade. The Howard Government's conclusion of a Free Trade Agreement with the United States in January 2004 seems to have presaged an end to this pattern of separation between trade and politics in Australia's international affairs. This paper explores the origins of 'delinkage' in Australia's international trade policy, and the factors that have contributed to its decline. It contends that Australian 'delinkage' is the result of a political culture that has been conditioned by domestic political factors and was, for many decades, embedded in domestic institutional structures. It attempts to demonstrate this contention by considering in detail Australian wheat exports to the People's Republic of China during the 1960s and the Islamic Republic of Iran in the early 1980s.

PRESS COVERAGE OF AUSTRALIAN TELEVISED LEADERS' DEBATES

Phillip Senior, University of Sydney

Since 1984, every Australian federal election campaign except 1987 has featured at least one televised debate between the leaders of the major parties. The leaders' debates have always generated considerable interest and speculation, and received significant media attention. Overseas research suggests that coverage can influence perceptions of debates, for debate viewers and particularly for non-watchers. In Australia, whilst leaders' debates are a well established part of federal campaigns, viewing audiences have steadily declined in the last four campaigns, suggesting an important role for media coverage. However media coverage of Australian leaders' debates has received little academic attention. This paper aims to remedy this, by considering post-debate press coverage of the 1993, 1996 and 2004 debates. Firstly, the extent, type and prominence of coverage is examined. Secondly, the extent to which coverage focuses on

identifying a winner, and the basis on which judgments are made about leaders' debates is considered. Thirdly, the extent to which coverage discusses actual debate content, and the nature of that coverage are considered. Fourthly, the manner in which coverage focuses on aspects of presentation and style is assessed. Finally, the degree to which coverage discusses the potential influence of leaders' debates, and the effects most commonly ascribed to debates are examined.

FROM SYDNEY GANG RAPES TO ANTI-AUSTRALIAN MUSLIM CLERICS: THE EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC DESCRIPTORS SINCE 9/11

Marian Simms, University of Otago

This paper examines the impact of 9/11 and the subsequent 'war on terror' on the public debate in Australia and internationally regarding the Australian Lebanese community. In the year prior to 9/11 a series of attacks by Lebanese 'gangs' upon non-Lebanese young women occurred in the western suburbs of Sydney, New South Wales. The trials and much community and political debate occurred after 9/11 and much of the language shifted palpably and dramatically away from racialized discourse to the use a Muslim versus non-Muslim frames. The Lebanese youth, depicted as lawless gangs before 9/11, were transformed into 'Muslim' youth, or young Lebanese attacking 'non-Muslim' girls. The war on terror promoted further shifts; Australian sheikhs were described by many as 'Muslim clerics' and violent demonstrations involving Lebanese, and non-Lebanese youth in Sydney were tagged as 'culture clashes'. The 'Muslimization' of the language intensified after the car bomb explosion in Bali Indonesia October 2002 that killed 202 people, including many Australians. The paper finds that just as in the United States where the political line of the White House determined the major frames used by the US media more generally, the political line of the Australian Government set the tone for national print and electronic media coverage of Lebanese issues. Given the globalization of the media, it was no surprise to discover the 'Muslim' frame applied by the US, UK and European media to the Australian events, however, discussion by NSW State politicians and NSW opinion leaders retained the original focus on 'policing' and 'gang warfare' 'race.'

ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT: CRITICAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVES FOR SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Adam Simpson, University of Adelaide

The concepts of energy security and industrial development are regularly deployed by governing elites in the less affluent South in order to pursue large-scale energy projects that are often inappropriate and unnecessary for local development needs. It is often the case that the environments inhabited by indigenous, dispossessed, or marginalised communities in the vicinity of these projects are adversely impacted, which can lead to significant environmental and human insecurity. These effects are compounded by civil conflict. This paper employs a critical security approach in analysing environmental security in the context of three transnational gas pipeline projects in South and Southeast Asia. Although this paper examines the impact of fossil fuel projects it does not, as is often the case, focus solely on the energy requirements of the nation-states for industrial development. Rather, it investigates the projects' impacts on local communities and their environments and the implications for their security. It concludes that, far from improving security for local communities, poor development decisions over these projects ensure that local communities bear the true costs of the developments while the benefits accrue further afield, resulting in increased human and environmental insecurity.

TERRORISM AND THE TRANSFORMATIVE SUBJECT

Debra Smith, Monash University

This paper sets out to critique mainstream approaches to the study of terrorism by challenging their excessive empiricism and by arguing for a new approach grounded in Critical Theory. As a small step in this direction this paper returns to insights offered by early Frankfurt School thinkers, especially their focus on the relationship between capitalism and human psychology, to argue that there exists a symbiotic relationship between Neoliberal globalisation, human agency and violence. In defence of this analysis this paper introduces the idea of the Transformative Subject as providing a useful conceptual tool with which to understand the holistic character of terrorist violence. The idea of the Transformative Subject draws on a materialist social psychological approach that is based on the critiques of modernity provided in the works of Marx and Freud. This approach is used to shed fresh light on the impact of some of the vicissitudes of our contemporary epoch on the human psyche. In particular, it shows how Neoliberal policies may contribute to the kinds of psychological tensions which sustain the process of 'becoming a terrorist'. Drawing on the Frankfurt Schools analysis of Fascism, this paper suggests that radical Islamist terrorism can be viewed as the result of a psychological mindset which has developed in response to the alienating and repressive effects of contemporary capitalist modernity.

THEATRES OF CRUELTY: THE SAVAGERY OF COLONIAL RULE AND VICTORIAN ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Katherine Smits, University of Auckland

Recent studies of philosophical attitudes to imperialism in the post-Enlightenment period have emphasized the historical shift away from an Enlightenment focus upon cultural diversity, exemplified in the work of Burke and early writers on India, towards a monological account of human progress deployed to justify imperialism by Victorian liberals. As critics have shown, key Victorian liberal thinkers defended imperial rule on the grounds that enlightened and paternalist rule was required to assist historically backward peoples in their progress towards achieving the capacity for self-rule. Human progress was measured according a universal historical scale and defined in terms of British values and achievements, while assessments of the “savage” natures of subordinated peoples were accompanied by celebratory views of western and specifically British values. This view becomes particularly strong in the later nineteenth century, when it is yoked to scientific racism’s claims concerning the evolutionary and biological inferiority of non-Europeans. In contrast to the generally accepted view, however, was a dissident counter-discourse which maintained a critique of imperialism through the nineteenth and into the next century. Anti-imperialists rejected both the notions of a universal standard of human progress, and the assumption of British superiority, and argued that colonial rule provided the occasion for savagery and cruelty on the part of the colonial rulers. These concerns emerged particularly strongly in the face of British repression of the Sepoy Rebellion in 1857. Dissident Victorian anti-imperialists were less concerned with an ethnographic approach to cultural relativism, than with, increasingly, the brutalizing effects of colonial rule upon the rulers, and the impact of this upon social and economic progress. From Cobden, Bright and Manchester School polemicists, to later liberals such as Spencer, Hobhouse and Hobson, anti-imperialists argued that the opportunities offered by colonial rule for exploitation and cruelty threatened not only peaceful trade and commerce, but also Britain’s “national character.” These fears reached their height in reactions to the Jingoism of the late nineteenth century, which for its critics represented the brutalization of society driven by what Hobson described as a “cheap lust.” The very “savageries” that supporters of imperialism invoked to justify the subordination of colonized peoples were seen as increasingly characteristic of the British themselves.

VIEWING ‘ISLAM’ THROUGH ENLIGHTENMENT EYES

Vicki Spencer, University of Otago

Just as ‘Islam’ is not one single, all-encompassing, determinant entity, the Enlightenment was a period of European intellectual activity that encompasses a vast array of thinkers, many of whom also possessed conflicting views. In a climate of severe censorship, Montesquieu’s examination of Islam in his *Spirit of the Laws* begins with the standard condemnation of Islam compared to Christianity and yet if one reads further a far more complex appreciation of the role of Islam in curbing the worse excesses of a despotic regime combined with a wholesale condemnation of the Christian crusades becomes evident. Voltaire, too, generally depicted as a derider of Islam due to his satirical play *Mahomet le Prophète ou Fanaticism*, elsewhere claimed it was a superior religion to Christianity. Certainly not in a fictional work such as a satirical play but also in the ‘histories’ of the time the foremost intention of many of these thinkers was not to study other cultures in their own terms but to promote their own ideals. Yet against this general trend, there was a significant exception in the figure of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu whose stated aim in her *Embassy Letters* was to correct many of the misperceptions of Islamic countries in previous travel diaries. Her work not only exemplifies the greater depth of understanding gained of other cultures by employing a method more akin to the kind of empathetic identification developed in the late eighteenth century by Vico and Herder. Her attempt to introduce the Turkish practise of inoculation against smallpox in Britain in the face of an initially closed-minded and hostile scientific community also demonstrates how the European Enlightenment benefited when genuine intercultural communication was practiced.

DANCING TOGETHER: ENVIRONMENT NGOS AND AID ORGANISATIONS IN CLIMATE POLITICS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Cassandra Star, University of Southern Queensland

This paper investigates the politics of climate change in the United Kingdom, and in particular, the role of environment non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and aid and development NGOs. I argue that the drawing together of environment and development concerns is a natural progression in climate politics, given the interdependent nature of development and environmental issues, particularly in developing regions. In addition, this is not surprising given the social justice dimensions to climate change impacts and climate change adaptation, and the social justice focus of aid and development organisations. The political result of an alliance between environment groups and aid organisations in the UK context is a strengthened political impact given the wide community support for aid organisations and their established voice in politics in that country. The overall outcome of these moves has been to raise the profile of climate change impacts,

to reveal the social justice dimensions of climate change in the public debate, and to place pressure on both sides of politics and other major political players on the issue of climate change.

CONTRACTING OUT GOVERNANCE: THE IMPACTS OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITY AGREEMENTS ON INDIGENOUS POLITICAL STRUCTURES

Elizabeth Strakosch, University of Queensland

The abolition of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission in 2004 disturbed and dissolved most of the indigenous funding and governance structures at the community, regional and national level. The new approach of the Howard government has involved 'mainstreaming' basic services, while using the policy tool of 'Shared Responsibility Agreements' (SRAs) to allocate discretionary funding. These agreements formed the centrepiece of government indigenous policy through most of 2005, despite allocating a very small proportion of indigenous funding. In the past 18 months, the policy has been less prominent in government rhetoric, and the number of agreements signed per month has halved. Independent evaluations have found that the programs are by and large failing to produce concrete benefits or behavioural changes. Still, greater amounts are being allocated per contract, and government focus has shifted towards signing 'broader and more comprehensive agreements'. So despite their shortcomings as rhetorical tools and practical interventions, SRAs are clearly producing some benefits. Termed by the government 'process outcomes', these benefits are related to the actual act of contractual agreement, and the bodies and political processes that it calls into being. Such benefits are distinct from 'outputs', which are the concrete consequences of the specific programs implemented. This paper will argue that, as an intended or unintended consequence of their implementation, SRAs build new governance structures and open new lines of political communication between indigenous people and government. It goes on to discuss how these new processes position indigenous communities in the Australian nation-state, and in particular to consider the place of dissent in structures built around acts of consensus.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRALIA: A MODEL AND THEORY OF THE RELATIONSHIP TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY.

Joan Staples, University of New South Wales

Over the past decade, civil society in Australia has been significantly impacted upon by the Howard Government's application of neo-liberal public choice theory. The result has been a diminution in the advocacy role of the sector and in its legitimacy as a key player in Australian democracy. At the same time, parts of the sector are proposing an 'accord' or 'compact' between civil society and the government, similar to those enacted in Canada and the UK, respectively. With the possibility of a change of government, where should civil society be looking to reclaim its legitimacy and to strengthen and deepen democracy in Australia? This paper will argue against a model requiring a 'compact' or 'accord' with the Government, proposing instead that the sector should seek legitimacy by promoting a renewed model of democracy which incorporates an independent role for civil society, not by asking Government to endow the sector with legitimacy. In exploring what this renewed model might be, the paper looks to deliberative democracy which would seem to be the natural home of civil society, despite the fact that many deliberative democracy theorists ignore civil society. It will propose a return to Habermas' early interpretation of the public sphere, combined with the discursive strand of deliberative democracy, as being the most likely model of civil society/government relationships that would strengthen and deepen democracy in Australia.

THE DIFFUSION OF INTERNATIONAL NORMS OF CLIMATE CHANGE: THE AUSTRALIAN CHALLENGE

Hayley Stevenson, University of Adelaide

Over the years since climate change was first recognised as an issue worthy of international political attention, a set of norms defining appropriate national responses to the problem have slowly diffused throughout the international system. These norms collectively stipulate that industrialised countries should take the lead in reducing greenhouse gas emissions, without disrupting economic growth, via the use of market-based instruments. These norms have, on the whole, failed to achieve a high degree of salience in Australia. In this paper, I draw on both rationalist and constructivist approaches to the study of international relations to account for Australia's resistance to these dominant international norms concerning climate change. I argue that the diffusion of this set of norms into the Australian context has been obstructed by its incongruence with the domestic social structure and the identities and interests of the key actors embedded in this structure. The paper begins with an overview of the consideration of norms in the discipline of International Relations, followed by a discussion of the emergence of international climate change norms. Next, I assess the degree of domestic salience of these norms in Australia. The final sections of the paper account for this assessment by examining the Australian domestic social structure and the conditioning effect this has had on the reception of international climate change norms.

A CROSS-PROVINCIAL STUDY OF HEALTH CARE REFORM IN CANADA

Stephen G. Tomblin, Memorial University

The primary objective of the paper is to shed light on the determinants of reform and the role of ideas, institutions, and interests in producing different outcomes. In the public policy literature, there has been much discussion on the role of ideas, institutions, and interests on patterns of reform. These frameworks (institutional; ideational; and interested-based perspectives) will be relied upon to guide the analysis. The health restructuring paper is designed to investigate the various causal factors thought to be connected with patterns of formal health reforms or lack thereof. Our focus is mapping out and explaining any changes that have occurred since the 1990's. The paper will draw upon three years of comparative research to highlight key determinants or conditions that facilitated reform. For example, competitive federalism makes it difficult to impose institutional change, or universal frameworks on provincial or aboriginal communities. It should be noted that I am part of two Canadian Institute Research Teams (CIHR) dealing with the issue of health policy reform, and much of the analysis will be informed by years of case-study research (waiting list reform, For-profit delivery, drug reform, alternative systems of payment, regionalization, and needs-based budgeting. The findings of my work have never been presented at a conference before, and this will provide an excellent opportunity for promoting policy learning in the Southern hemisphere.

BACK TO THE ROOTS: JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH AND ITS INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL CONFLICTS IN INDONESIA

Dirk Tomsa, University of Tasmania

It has been almost two years now since the last large scale terror attack by Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Southeast Asia's most prominent terrorist organization. Following the second Bali bombing in October 2005, the organization appears to have been significantly weakened, not least due to the ongoing and often highly effective cooperation between the Indonesian and Australian police. While some analysts believe that despite the successes in the fight against terror another spectacular bomb attack is only a question of time, others point to factional splits in the organization and argue that at the moment JI possesses neither the capacity nor the will to blow up yet another Western target. Based on the assumption that the latter interpretation of the situation is more accurate, this paper will argue that the threat potential for Western interests in Indonesia has indeed been reduced quite significantly, mainly because the dominant faction within JI wants the organization to return to its original key objective, which has always been to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia. In order to achieve this goal, JI has apparently intensified its efforts to consolidate its organizational infrastructure in areas which its leaders believe are particularly open to the organization's radical ideas of jihad. One of these areas is Poso in Central Sulawesi, a region that has long been plagued by communal violence and by JI's involvement in this violence. Using Poso as a case study, this paper will look at the implications of JI's ongoing activities for democratization and reconciliation in Indonesia. It will be argued that JI's renewed focus on its original goals poses a significant threat to Indonesian efforts at building a stable democracy because it perpetuates religious conflict and directly challenges the authority of institutions representing the state.

LEO TOLSTOY, ANARCHISM AND EDUCATION: THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION?

Luke Trenwirth, University of Adelaide

The historical claim by anarchists that a 'libertarian' education can instigate a radical shift in consciousness, in tune with anarchist principles in general, is best evaluated in the context of practical experiments where theory and practice can be assessed. An examination of Leo Tolstoy's educational experiment, on his estate at Yásnaya Polyána, provides one such historical example. I argue that, on inspection, Tolstoy's radical educational experiment was plagued with inconsistency. In using the positive/negative liberty framework as a navigational tool, it becomes clear that an irreconcilable tension emerges in his educational programme. On one hand, Tolstoy attempted to create a permissive environment in his school while, on the other, he also set in place teaching methods that aimed to develop all faculties of students. The emphasis on both concepts of liberty resulted in his school programme being somewhat problematic: in a seeming contradiction to his avowedly eclectic and flexible methodology, Tolstoy encroached upon the autonomy of his students by employing authoritarian methods, sometimes out of necessity and sometimes because he saw no methodological alternative. He thereby compromised his staunch position on non-interference, albeit unwittingly. This tension raises the question of whether anarchist education can, in fact, be realistically imbued with a responsibility to radically transform society, particularly if this tension cannot be resolved at a practical level.

AN ANALYSIS OF HOW GLOBALISATION POSES A DEVELOPMENT PARADOX FOR THE SOUTH PACIFIC: A CASE STUDY OF TONGA

Joanne Wallis, University of Melbourne

Tonga – like other South Pacific small island developing states (SIDS) – is pursuing its development in a globalising world. While some commentators argue that globalisation poses challenges for SIDS, much conventional development theory, which is generally propagated by international development institutions and the Australian government, encourages them to embrace globalisation. The Tongan government has done so, adopting modernization and neo-liberal approaches. Despite this, Tonga has been characterized as a MIRAB economy, reliant on foreign aid and remittances, with its development described using dependency and world-systems theories which are critical of globalisation. As these development approaches are contradictory, this thesis argues that globalisation poses a paradox for Tonga: it may be both the cause of, and part of the solution to, its development challenges. This paper argues that post-development theory should be utilized in order to question the applicability of conventional development theories to Tonga and to the South Pacific more generally. In particular, this paper re-visits South Pacific commentator Epeli Hau'ofa's 'sea of islands' thesis, and argues that the modern definition of 'development' should be critically examined to determine its relevance to Tonga. Based on this analysis, this paper argues that taking a broader view of development may lead to a conclusion that the geographically-bounded 'nation state' of Tonga has less meaning than the global 'nation' of Tongan people. On this basis, this paper concludes by proposing a wider view of Tonga's potential, which may resolve the paradox posed by globalisation so that Tonga can advance its future development.

CATHOLICS IN FEDERAL PARLIAMENT: POLITICS, PERCEPTION AND SELF-IMAGE

John Warhurst, ANU

A quarter of the membership of the current Federal Parliament is either Catholic or of Catholic background. This is about the same as the Catholic percentage of the wider population. This paper reports on a series of interviews during 2007 with some of those 55 MPs, drawn from backbench members of each of the political parties. Two political developments, in particular, provide the context and inspiration for the project: the changing partisan composition of the Catholic component of the parliament from predominantly Labor to an equal distribution between the parties; and the controversies, some focusing on high-profile Coalition Catholics like the Minister for Health, Tony Abbott, surrounding the connections between Catholic beliefs, parliamentary voting and ministerial performance. The MPs were asked to address the following questions: Does being a Catholic influence your approach to politics? What is it like to be a Catholic in your political party? Do you have specific Catholic contacts within your party? Do you have cross-party contacts with Catholics in other parties in parliament? Are you lobbied in a specific way because you are a Catholic? Do you have particular contacts with Catholic agencies or representatives?

The resulting conversations aimed to explore how the chosen MPs saw the relationship between their faith and their own politics, and how their identification as Catholics played out within their own party and within the parliamentary process as a whole.

NON-COMPLIANCE AND INSTRUMENTAL VARIATION IN EU DEMOCRACY PROMOTION

Alexander Warkotsch, UWA

This article analyses the EU's response pattern to events of democratic wrongdoing in third countries. Why does the EU in some cases take a harsh position by using coercive measures and confines itself in other cases to soft instruments such as rhetorical engagement? It sheds light on this issue by employing an original dataset of non-compliance events and in the ex-Soviet republics between 1993 and 2005. While existing scholarship lacks precision and is often biased towards making self-regarding motives within the foreign policy machinery the main subject of the discussion, this article widens the focus to resource, institutional and normative explanations.

"EFFECTIVE MULTILATERALISM" OR RELUCTANT BILATERALISM? THE EU, UNHCR AND THE BURDEN-SHARING "SUCCESS" OF THE FRANCISCO Y CATALINA INCIDENT, JULY 2006

Frendehl Warner, University of Canterbury

This paper analyses the EU-UNHCR cooperation in responding to the illegal entry of asylum seekers into the EU by sea, specifically looking at the Francisco y Catalina incident of July 2006, hailed as the first successful case of "burden sharing" in the development of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). Declaration 17 of the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty gave the UNHCR a formal role in asylum affairs in the EU, and "effective multilateralism", which places the EU within the wider United Nations system, has become an important factor in the EU's external policies. The incident, which began with the Spanish fishing trawler's rescue of 51 mainly African asylum seekers off the coasts of Libya and Malta, and ending with the "sharing" of asylum

seekers between Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and Malta, demonstrated a strengthened and more active role for the UNHCR, which in recent years has been criticised for being weak vis-à-vis its EU “partner”. Unlike other numerous cases of boat arrivals in the EU, the UNHCR was approached by EU institutions and Member States to intervene, and its active involvement helped save the lives of the migrants on board the fishing trawler and facilitated access to asylum procedures in the EU. This paper seeks to examine the EU-UNHCR responses using “effective multilateralism” as its theoretical framework, and look at competing arguments in regard to the reasons behind the Member States’ “cooperation” with the UNHCR. It will argue that despite the growing importance of multilateralism in the EU’s external relations, the traditional bilateral commitments of the Member States to the UNHCR and the 1951 Geneva Convention continues to be relevant, and this accounts for the sui generis nature of Francisco y Catalina affair.

JOHN HOWARD AND KOIZUMI JUNICHIRO: MEN OF THEIR TIME OR A TIME FOR THESE MEN?

Donna Weeks, University of the Sunshine Coast

This paper aims to look at developments in the Australia-Japan relationship through a slightly different lens. The two nations, both considered variously as outsiders in the Asia-Pacific region, have forged a critical alliance in recent years. Many commentators in their analyses tend to focus on the broader themes of alliance relationships such as the economic compatibilities or growing defence cooperation. My recent work on this relationship, however, has led me to speculate on the nature of the leadership of Japan and Australia at this particular time in history. Prime ministers Howard and Koizumi share a number of leadership characteristics which have played out most remarkably in both domestic and international spheres. Drawing on Richard J Samuel’s study of Italian and Japanese leaders, Machiavelli’s Children (Cornell UP: 2003), this paper addresses the questions of leadership, structure and agency inherent in a comparison between these two leaders and the implications for ongoing developments in the Australia-Japan relationship and the region more broadly.

A PUBLIC INTEREST FRAMEWORK FOR PUBLIC POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Carolyn Wells, University of Technology Sydney

This paper describes an approach to increasing the likelihood that the public interest is well served by public policy, given that ‘the public interest’ is an abstraction, perceptions of which are constantly changing, and there is limited agreement about what it is, both conceptually and substantively, or how it might be identified or constructed. Despite these impediments, clarification of the concept of the public interest is needed as the term is widely used by politicians, lobby groups, journalists and the public, sometimes in ways that are justifiable but often in ways that are not. Because of the definitional difficulties the popular understanding of the concept of the public interest is poor and the concept is therefore open to misuse in rhetorical claims for the legitimacy of sectional interests or government policies. The concept is also misused in many so-called ‘public interest tests’ that assume that a particular policy is in the public interest and then set about to test minor aspects of its implementation (see for example Hess and Adams (1999) on the National Competition Policy). Furthermore, despite the impediments, there are numerous calls for the development of the concept of public interest to continue. In urban planning for example, Sandercock & Dovey (2002) have called for a resurrection of the concept, Campbell & Marshall (2002) for the resuscitation of the idea, and Moroni (2004) for its rehabilitation. More balanced approaches to public interest testing have been sought by Hess and Adams (1999) and Johnstone & Wimbush (2002). Practitioners attempting to determine the substantive content of the public interest would benefit from renewed attempts to operationalise the concept. This is especially pressing in NSW where over 190 Acts require that the public interest be considered when implementing the Act or when making particular administrative decisions under the Act (Wheeler, 2006). This includes the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979, which is the main legislation dealing with urban and regional planning in NSW. Planning has traditionally made strong use of the concept of the public interest when dealing with the externalities of private actions and with the tensions between public spaces and private spaces. Therefore in this paper several references are made to the work of planning theorists. This paper presents an approach to the operationalisation of the public interest for practitioners who are seeking to develop policies and make decisions that serve the public interest. Section 2 considers five perennial questions about the public interest and briefly sketches the main issues. Section 3 reports current research on identifying discourses about the public interest that are occurring in the planning and property development sphere, and Section 4 outlines the implications of these discourses for the development of a public interest framework. Section 5 returns to the five questions to propose answers, and Section 6 presents the proposed framework. Section 7 presents an example and Section 8 draws conclusions about the public interest and public policy. It has been suggested (Gunn, 1989) that the concept of the public interest was often identified as a political expression whose demise would unclutter the mass of unresolved meanings that bedevil our language, but “we have now, no doubt, passed through the worst of the obsession with scouring political words in order to render them operational and so the danger of

discarding 'public interest' because people used it in different senses is more likely now to seem quaint rather than threatening" (Gunn, 1989, 194). My aim is not to scour the concept of the public interest to render it operational, but to help busy practitioners to manage and benefit from its richness and complexity.

CONTEXT AND DELIBERATION: MAKING REASONABLE CHOICES UNDER VALUE PLURALISM

Benjamin Whiteley, Monash University

The ethical theory known as value pluralism, expounded in the work of Isaiah Berlin and others, presents significant obstacles for traditional modes of ethical thought and agency. The key tenets of value pluralism, including the relationship of incommensurability that often exists between values, can thwart attempts to rationally arbitrate when presented with conflicts of value. This has led some commentators to suggest that value pluralism can lead only toward irrationality and relativism in ethics, and that it forecloses on any possibility for systematic and meaningful moral thought and discourse. A common response to this accusation in the value pluralism literature has been to advocate the adoption of a 'contextualist' approach to moral choice, rooted in the tradition of practical deliberation that finds its origins in the work of Aristotle. However, existing treatments of this question have not appreciated the substantial difficulties involved in such an appropriation, including the fact that significant parts of Aristotle's thought are simply inconsistent with a pluralist approach. The central focus of the current paper then is to salvage the 'contextualist' approach by exploring and clarifying some of these issues. The paper is therefore concerned with laying the groundwork for the development of a model of moral agency that will allow us to better understand how we can make reasonable choices among incommensurate values. To this end, the paper advocates the adoption of moral strategies that are broadly flexible, pragmatic, contextual, and deliberative in nature that will ease the 'irrationalist' dilemma of value pluralism, and reinvigorate debates about its significance for moral and political thought and action.

Howard's Way

Dennis Woodward, Monash University

This paper looks beyond the obvious explanations for Howard's electoral success to date – his presiding over a prolonged period of economic expansion and being faced by a lacklustre ALP opposition, to focus on linking his operating style to the Liberal Party's 'electoral professionalism' and 'whole of government' media management. It is argued that underpinning Howard's string of election victories is a consistent pattern of behaviour that devotes enormous energy to 'permanent campaigning' and never losing sight of the demands of re-election. This involves meticulous attention to ensuring that the government's media messages prevail (the 'PR state') and that criticism is marginalised. The advantages of incumbency are ruthlessly exploited for partisan purposes and policies are crafted (and adjusted) mindful of their electoral impact. Strict controls have been exerted over a more 'politicised' public service to prevent unfavourable 'leaks' and ministerial resignations have been rare from a government that denies any wrongdoing or errors. Election campaigns become merely the concentrated culmination of the 'permanent campaign' but they are highly centralised, tightly controlled and well targeted. It is this approach to government as much as its achievements, that is responsible for Howard's seeming electoral dominance.

"HOWARD'S SOCIAL POLICIES CONCERNING RELATIONSHIPS, WORK AND FAMILIES"

Liz van Acker, Griffith University

In Australia, the federal government is attempting to strengthen families at a time when women and men have greater choice in terms of how they conduct their personal relationships. This article compares the 'soft' social policies that provide family relationship programs with the 'hard' economic policies of labour market reforms. It analyses some of the policies that affect work life balance, demonstrating that while the federal government is prepared to invest in programs to strengthen family relationships, it does not invest sufficiently in other measures such as family friendly work policies and paid maternity leave. The government's rhetoric promotes 'the family'; its policies do not. On the one hand, the government attempts to encourage robust relationships by investing in early intervention programs. It has also recently invested in Family Relationship Centres to facilitate the process of family relationships breakdown. On the other hand, it is increasing the demands on labour. These policies are inconsistent in supporting families. In fact, there is a lack of whole-of-government policy development dealing with work and family issues. Consequently, individuals attempting to manage their private relationships and working lives often have inadequate options when endeavouring to balance the two.

**'MEN AND WOMEN OF AUSTRALIA': POLITICAL RHETORIC IN AUSTRALIAN
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND COMMUNICATION**

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Popular interest in political language has risen dramatically in the last few decades in the Australian media, publishing and in popular culture. This interest can be linked to the growth of 'meta-coverage' in political and election news (originating in the United States but apparent in Australia), which popularises the 'behind-the-scenes' strategies and personalities of politics and election campaigns as the subject of media coverage. Political advisors and speechwriters are increasingly the subject of interest; the publication of a number of collections of 'great' Australian speeches and the memoirs of political professionals reflect this trend, as does the popularity of television programs such as *The West Wing*, *Brothers and Sisters*, *Grass Roots* and *The Thick of It*, which follow the internal workings of daily politics and election campaigns. Given this, how are researchers in Australian political science and communication studying political and election campaign language? This paper will trace the small yet vibrant tradition of research into political language in Australia, examining the field in comparison to the vast body of work produced in the North American and European traditions. Contemporary research has largely focused on campaign tactics and strategies or taken an analytical approach to a single campaign; it has been influenced by broader research in media and communication, as well as work in linguistics and classical rhetorical studies. The paper will ask what theoretical and methodological approaches have informed political science and communication analyses of Australian political language; it will outline the development of work in the field, highlight some of the practical obstacles facing researchers in the area, and propose new directions for research.