

Greg Mackie ([00:00](#)):

My name's Greg Mackie. I chair the board of the Adelaide Festival of Ideas. And it's my great pleasure to welcome you here this afternoon for the Don Dunstan Oration, which will be of course, delivered by Barry Jones, the Australian living legend himself about it. It's my, just my very great pleasure and privilege to introduce a friend of mine who has with her organization, the HIPAA essay, the public sector peak professional development body have been a supporter of the Adelaide Festival of Ideas for many years. And they are of course responsible for the Don Dunstan Foundation that Don Dunstan oration get my orations and my foundation sorted out. And her name is Emma Ranieri. She's the South Australian Commissioner for Public Employment. Please welcome Emma Ranieri.

Emma Ranieri ([01:01](#)):

Thank you very, very much. It's a pleasure to be here and the, the I've just met Erin Brockovich. So I'm very excited. Look welcome to the 2016 Adelaide Festival of Ideas and today's session. The courage party. I'm very much looking forward to it. It is presented by the Institute of public administration, Australia with woman's lawyers, and I'm proud to be president of IPAA South Australia. Firstly, I'd like to acknowledge that today we're gathered on the traditional country of the Ghana people of the Adelaide Plains. We recognize and respect their cultural heritage, beliefs and relationships with the land. We also acknowledge that these are of continuing importance to the garner people living today, and that we respect their elders past and present a little bit of housekeeping. Please switch your mobile phones to silent during the session. We wouldn't want to switch them off.

Emma Ranieri ([01:50](#)):

We do have a tweet handle at Adelaide FOI and a hashtag Adelaide as well. Follow us also on Instagram, unauthorized recordings of any kind are not permitted during the session. And today's session is being recorded by radio Adelaide for broad broadcast and future podcasts. Barry will give a talk for most of the time. We might have some time for some questions at the end and we'll see how we're actually going for time, but let's get straight into it. Barry Jones, a courage party climbing out of the political ABAs. Don Dunstan is widely recognized for his role in re-invent reinvigorating the social artistic and cultural life of south Australia during his nine years in office, as premier of south Australia remembered as the Dunstan decade, he set new directions for public administration that had far reaching national impacts, a reformist Don Dunstan brought profound change to south Australian society, his social, his socially progressive administration.

Emma Ranieri ([02:56](#)):

So Aboriginal land rights recognized homosexuality decriminalized. The first female judge appointed the first non British governor. So mark Oliphant and later the first indigenous governor. So Douglas Nichols, he enacted consumer protection laws, reformed and expanded the public education and health systems abolished the death penalty, relaxed censorship and drinking laws created a ministry for the environment enacted anti-discrimination law and implemented electoral reforms, such as the overhaul of the legislative council of parliament lowered the voting age to 18 enacted universal suffrage and completely abolished melt apportionment changes, which gave him a less hostile parliament and allowed him to enact his reforms. A truly great man. He established under mall, which we're all very grateful for and acted measures to protect buildings of historical heritage and encourage a flourishing of the arts with support of the Adelaide festival center, the state theater company and the establishment of the south Australian film corporation.

Emma Ranieri ([04:05](#)):

He encouraged cultural exchanges with Asia multiculturalism and an increased in the state's Canary awareness and sophistication shortly before his death. Don Dunstan entrusted to the Institute of public adminis Australian Australia essay, the honor of carriage of the EDU Don Dunstan aeration and how fitting it is today to have Barry Jones. This year's oration is delivered by professor Barry Jones. Professor professor Oriol, fellow university of Melbourne. Barry has been a politician, a writer, teacher, quasi diplomat, lawyer, heritage administrator, and public intellectual, and the only person elected fellow of all four Australian learning academies, a state MP, then federal MP for labor Barry was Australia's longest surviving science minister. His most recent books include the shock of recognition and the dictionary of world biography. The title of Barry's aeration is the courage party climbing out of the political Airbus. Australia is in a political episode. How do we climb out of it? Do we need a courage party to address major long-term issues, such as refugees, climate change and taxation, please join me in welcoming Barry

Barry Jones ([05:24](#)):

Burma. Thank you very much for the introduction. I want to begin by referring to Don Dunstan, his time and his courses. I was deeply touched to being invited to deliver the 20th Don Dunstan Oration. I first met Don Dunstan in King William Street in August, 1954, just before his election to the South Australian parliament and kept in touch until his death in February, 1999. I was part of his inner circle, but we shared common interests and common enemies. His rather more serious than mine, Gough Whitlam, and Don Dunstan both took 14 years to win the league Dunstan was there a Neison's man, lawyer politician writer, performer restaurant to cook champion of the downcast became attorney general when labor unexpectedly defeated. So Thomas Playford's government in 1965, after 27 years began a comprehensive program of legal reform. And in 1965 made himself accused sail alone. He rarely appeared in court when the eight Frank Walsh was pushed out as premier and leader of the South Australian labor party, Dunstan succeeded him serving as premier 67 to 68.

Barry Jones ([06:52](#)):

And again, 70 to 79. He was one of the most attractive figures the AOP ever produced nor the state premier, even Jack Lang had such a national impact on policy and he helped to promote many issues on the national agenda. Fire ahead of his time endured the Tarrant vindictive personal attack for years. However, when he retired his premiere in 1979, due in part to the devastating impact of migraine, his stature was widely recognized. If he'd chosen to enter federal politics, the prime ministership might've been within his grasp after he died from cancer, the Don Dunstan foundation was created to promote policies. He'd worked four and I became a foundation director where have all the issues gone okay. Off with them. Lionel Murphy, Jim Cairns, and at the state level, Don Dunstan Neville ran John Kane all had enthusiasms and eloquence on causes other than a narrowly economic, many of them great barley issues.

Barry Jones ([08:07](#)):

They were powerful agents for change and they succeeded in transforming the political agenda. Just consider the range of issues involved with my overlap, with what Irma has just said. White Australia, the arts law reform, divorce law reform, homosexual discrimination, death penalty, censorship affirmative action, Aboriginal causes, independent foreign policy, rational attitudes to China opposition to the Vietnam war and conscription. The first idea of an Australia as a Republic, expanding universities needs based educational reforms, protecting the environment. Land use planning, promoting world heritage,

freedom of information, consumer protection in several of these issues, not many. They were liberal liberals who played a pot, Harold Holt on white Australia and Aboriginal recognition. John Gorton, surprisingly on the arts Dick, Hayma on the art death penalty and environment, Don chip on censorship. And we need to acknowledge that Menzies wasn't enthusiastic for the expansion of universities, but it was labor, which set the agenda and ran with the debates as TSL, as in, I used to say all this was a long time ago.

Barry Jones ([09:32](#)):

I remember where are the comparable issues now? Where are the current labor equivalent, a Whitlam Hawke Keating or dunce? Don Johnson was a visionary and he was courageous. The current generation of political leaders might regard courageous as a term of abuse, something they could never be accused of in the super cautious pursuit of office reflected in 1983, the campaign to save the Tasmanian wilderness area was a major vote changer in the election that brought Hawk to par. Is it possible that a comparable issue could have been central to the elections of 2013 or 2016? The short answer is no because preserving environment, the biota would be seen as contrary to the providing mantra of jobs and growth. I'm deeply troubled by the paradox. Does level of education rise, an information is readily available on an almost infinite number of things. Debate becomes infantilized and reduced to it.

Barry Jones ([10:46](#)):

Narrowly economic and personal. There appears to be an inverse relationship between the available knowledge of the operation of political systems. This is certainly happening in Australia. Most of Europe and the United States with Canada being at least a blessing of the exception, let's compare 1860 and 2016 in the United States to break constellation. But it's fair to conclude that by compassion with the United States, the system is working better in Australia in 1860 Ram, Lincoln became the first Republican candidate to be elected president of the United States in that year, access to education. It was rather primitive, especially outside the great cities of the east coast in Chicago, extremely limited communication by railroads, right? By railroads, roads, canals, Telegraph newspapers, postal services. Nevertheless, the quality of political debate was sophisticated. Lincoln's views published on broadsheets were extremely subtle and nuanced without business personal attacks or exaggeration. He could always see the other side of an argument and often set it out fairly.

Barry Jones ([12:13](#)):

He appealed. We might say to the highest common denominator he was widely read and kept his religion. If any, to himself in 2016, 156 years later, Donald Trump run the presidential nomination of Lincoln's party. America had been transformed by the it revolution with its capacity for instant retrieval of the world's knowledge. Americans had universal access to education of varying cons. Us had the world's best universities and some of the worst. It was number one in Nobel prizes for chemistry, physics, and medicine, and also first in technological development. And yet to describe its quality of political discourse, as appalling is actually too overpricing candidates for public office felt obliged to declare their religious faith. Although Trump has made no admissions here was shifty on key questions like the age of the earth, hostile to Darwin's theory of evolution. There's serious doubt about whether Trump has ever read a book, even buys with his name on the title page.

Barry Jones ([13:32](#)):

His campaign was surreal, aggressive misogynist, demonstrating truth entry to a post truth era. There's no argument, just a session after session with a straightened appeal to the lowest common multiple

Lincoln was reflective south self-doubting and he talked in testable proposition evidence-based with sentences paragraphs chapters. He appealed to the better angels about nature. He never used his own name and the speech you can't imagine saying Lincoln Lincoln, Lincoln. He wrote wonderful letters. Trump is unreflective posturing in a way that might cancel my conceal deep insecurity. Narcissistic always personalizing issues. The hero versus the devil talking shouting Ramy and slogans endlessly repeated with no evidentiary base. He appeals to fear anger, envy and conspiracy theories. He is an incorrigible tweeter Trump's capture of the Republican party is actually trashed some of its key beliefs, globalization free markets, the trickle down effect at American triumphalism com welcome Brexit hates the UAE.

Barry Jones ([14:57](#)):

The EU empathizes with Putin thinks the U S is trailing behind Mexico trades on fear of Muslims and other ethnic groups hates Obamacare and concerns about climate change and the gun culture dismissed out of hand and derided. As I said, he demonstrates the post-truth era in politics to him. Evidence simply doesn't matter. He will say anything. Now we then find that the, the reaction you see with the decline of manufacturing and manual employment has led and the role of angry white males has led to a reaction against the advice of elites there's mountain, mountain hostilities. We went to lake Charles universities, corporations, and international institutions. It turned out Australia. You can say that two major elements in British settlement of Australia after 1788, where the convict system and the dispensation of indigenous that contributed to an authoritarian strain in the Australian system, which remained, although there wasn't more liberal open democratic, sometimes larrikin national narrative as well.

Barry Jones ([16:21](#)):

In recent decades, authoritarianism was justified by the explanation we're doing it for their own good rigidity. Hospice cruel, even sadism in institutions forces, churches, schools, orphanages, political parties, parliaments, the media elements and the police liquor, tobacco and junk food corporations, all promote community to squat with histories of corruption, suppression, secrecy, and then some cases violence, correct Royal commission about institutional child, sexual abuse presents evidence with horrifying consistency. Treatment of asylum seekers shows unconscionable, but bipartisan hospitals Vista's interest is far easier to promote unsecure than community interest. There are exceptions public. So it was mostly the courts, universities, medicine, emergency relief, but step by step under both of them labor and the coalition Australian government is becoming increasingly secretive. And in rights by criticism, don't mention the war. There are many issues. Politicians never talk about a code of silence of matter has been adopted in Australian, which the Sicilian Matthew would feel very comfortable with these issues.

Barry Jones ([17:55](#)):

And because of the constraints of time, there'll be no doubt a version that you can get your access to, but I'll just give the headings rather than the, what I've written out in, in some detail, these issues were ignored or suppressed by the major parties first class and its implications for health and education. Those of you who heard Michael mamma deliver the memorable boy lectures this year, we'll be able to pick up many of the issues that he raised. We never talk about never talk about the social impact on health at as critical problem gambling and the swings, the drugs, crime, and suicide. The economist says that Australia is number one in the world in terms of the proportion of income that goes to gambling. Number one in the world and governments are addicted to gambling revenue, the influence of lobbyists and pressure groups on the major parties.

Barry Jones ([18:51](#)):

You can see why it is that both major parties are very called, if not cool about the idea of setting up something like the new south Wales ICAC, because they see the prospect of an ICAC with its capacity to name and shame as something that threatens the mall. And certainly the way in which the political parties actually operate is growth. An end of itself is all growth, good cancer off girls growth, quite a spectacular growth. We don't necessarily want to encourage it junk food and the need to curb sugar consumption. Again, there's a very fundamental issue about the future of health. And it may be that the next generation, the next generation of Australians will be the first, which life expectancy is flattering. If not falling. Did we talk about that in the election campaign? Of course we didn't, but it's an absolutely critical significance human rights that fell off the political agenda in 2001, the year of Tampa and the year of our cards, this attack on the twin towers, the environment, we never talk about the environment anymore.

Barry Jones ([20:04](#)):

The law, the last time that we, the verb was talking about seriously in the federal parliament was in 2009. Since then, there's been complete silence on the issue. There was in the last federal election, some leg attempt to raise the issue, but all the climate change, but I wouldn't say it was carried out at a very sustained level. You can see that depends policy, the surveillance site, immigration detention, even crave deals going to war or kept secret. We've become a relatively closed society, even compared to the U S or the UK. You can imagine an Australian equivalent of the Chilcot report in Britain. Then if you think about the defense issues, how many submarines does Australia need? 12? Why 12? Why not? 10? Why not? 14? I have no idea. None of us had any idea because the justification for 10, rather than 12 or 14 has never been discussed the whole rationale behind it.

Barry Jones ([21:16](#)):

And yet the sheer cost involved it's think of a couple of universities or massive, massive research that's being carried out. If the difference would change from, from, from 12 to 10 or whatever the appropriate number is, even the details of the 2015 Trans-Pacific trade partnership. We kept secret and could only be revealed to a limited degree after frustrated sign up. So he signed up in the sense with our eyes closed. One of the ways there's features we're adopting a bipartisan policy on 10 backs for butts, Kang, refugees, asylum seekers, it's the Kilz bait on the issue. Treatment of refugees is described as operational coded language for saying the subject simply can't be debate. Can't be debated. I think that I'd have to say of my own. Pardon. Dave is moral. Nadia was in support of the Australian border force act 2015, which provided jails for whistleblowers doctors, nurses, social workers, teachers who observed cases and the neglect or abuse of refugees held us prisoners on Nauru, because I thought you'd all hear me even without the without the microphone.

Barry Jones ([22:42](#)):

So the observing prisoners on Nauru or manners island and went public with their observation, even though, of course, it's not silent whistleblowers who have horror stories to report, it's hard to imagine an Australian jury convicting them or judge saying the jail. So labor lost moral credibility. I was in ministry. He relieved the tiny habit did not propose re-introducing the death penalty for acts by terrorists or for a referendum I'm far from confident. The ALP would have opposed it, especially with news Paulo, focus groups found that the idea had widespread support. Now there are inbuilt tensions between the nature of major challenges and the attempt to understand them or address first are political cycles, a very short three-year parliament for the Commonwealth three or four year

parliaments for the states media cycles are very short term news editors get very of the story after 24 hours or so digital media is even shorter turnaround time measured in hours and minutes.

Barry Jones ([23:54](#)):

And then social media is shorter, still with messages, often having a half-life in seconds. So it means that understanding complex issues is outside the range of social media, where the emphasis, for example, with tweeting is on immediate reaction in the 140 characters or less the great Harvard biologist Theo Wilson observed that humans have paleolithic emotions, medieval institutions, and God-like technologies. Fundamental mistake was made by many writers, myself included about the impact of the it revolution. We assumed that access to new technology would open up people to the world. The people will be seeking out the universal in the term. Instead technologies such as the iPhone have reinforced the realm of the personal as exhibited in social media with its emphasis on the immediate of the personal concentrated on film on family, close friends, reinforcing existing views. The iPhone has changed social relationships that have more than any other single technology, even the car and just become the new best friend.

Barry Jones ([25:10](#)):

The last thing seen and touched at night. The first thing seen in time in the morning, Mark Thompson, you know, enough said, what's gone wrong with the language of politics wrote that it has given political actors, the capacity to reach more people more of the time, more places than any stage of human history, but are the messages accurate? Are they based on evidence? How can they be tested in a post-truth era in politics and public discourse? The accurate accuracy of a statement. Barack Obama as a Muslim is barely relevant as Donald Trump has demonstrated the demand for instant responses through social media, with musher information about the world is now received as weakened a sense of, or empathy for the other, the remote, the unfamiliar, and all, but destroyed our sense of community being members of a large group. Now, individualism is not just the primary vote motivated, but the owner, any one political discourse, no law.

Barry Jones ([26:18](#)):

It depends on reasoned argument and evidence. The word meme M E M E is a useful coin is by Richard Dawkins defined as an idea, behavior or style that spreads rapidly from person to person within the culture. Memes are self-replicating like genes in biology, Frank mentoree, easy to disseminate by writing cartoon poster, speech or gesture of wave, a wink or a smirk propagated widely by social media, defying analysis, emphasizing cliches and slogans, the integral to band to brand recognition, sporting or tribal loyalties or styles, selfies, football, colors, logos, tatters slash jeans, dark glasses, smoking. Yeah, politics slogans like free speech, political correctness, elite and feminism memes sometimes called Fort bubbles are often incoherent or disconnected, but powerful within particular age, ethnic regional or social cohorts, they're essentially non-literal, but even preliterate that there are no ideas or concept in them. And they're not susceptible to analysis political correctness originally a coin coinage by the stylist file lift in the 1940s, it's been hijacked by the populist, right to reduce the false antithesis that elites are denying citizens, their capacity to make choices by agreeing that some attention should be paid to evidence or expert opinion in the United States, the Trump phenomenon fit on concerns about political correctness.

Barry Jones ([28:15](#)):

And in Australia, the issue has been taken up by the national party Pauline Hanson and some protest groups. So essentially this voters have been asking, what would the bureau of meteorology know about

climate change? What would doctors know about vaccination? What would lawyers know about human rights? What it was experts the right to tell me how to run my life. They have evidence, but we have strong opinions.

Barry Jones ([28:45](#)):

He used to be a great enthusiast, frustrated with system of compulsory registration and voting and for the public funding and we'll mention campaign. But I find I've got some doubts about the letter too. It means that public funding means that to a large extent, community, public political parties do not really have to engage with the electorate directly. Face-To-Face they get their \$2 and 62 cents for every vote cast. And because they've got compulsory, biting pig will roll up to vote anyway. And that provides a kind of armor plating, an armor plating that protects the two existing major political structures and makes them very, very resistant to any kind of reform because of time constraints. I'm going to have to incant paraphrase. Some of the things I was going to say most voters are so far loyal to the major parties on polling day, but many costs.

Barry Jones ([29:46](#)):

They vote with pigs on their noses. They have no interest in joining the party, a major parties to claim, to have a total membership on paper. Anyway, total of about 80,000, that is 0.6% of voters. In reality, it's more likely to be less than 30,000. Not all of whom will know that they actually hold party tickets by contrast, total membership of sporting, especially football clubs would be somewhere north of 800,000. People differentiation differentiation of either one to 10 or one to 26 trade union membership used to account for more than half the labor force. Now it's down to something like 17%. But the aggregate band is something in the order of 1.6, 1.7 million people. Within fact, there's been very striking that once when, even when membership was greater people were drawn from a variety, a disparate range of professions and backgrounds in order to go into parliament.

Barry Jones ([31:00](#)):

If you don't think of the composition of the, say the ministers in the Whitlam government or the first or Hawk government, you'd have to say there's very little doubt that under the existing system of factional control, there could be little doubt that Whitlam Hayden blood button, Duffy, Gareth Evans, John Karen, Don Dunstan, John Kane, or indeed Barry Jones could not have won. Pre-Selection no question. We've not a one pre-selection under the present under the existing system. The creation of nationwide factions in the late 1980s led to the privatization of the party in which faction leaders became traders and conviction. Politics was replaced by retail politics or transactional politics. The central issue about a policy was not, is it right? But will it sell? And the factions are essentially executive placement agencies and the members of each of their primary allegiance to the faction or the sub faction.

Barry Jones ([32:08](#)):

Well, that sounds like 21st century feudalism. It would have been a reasonable assumption that his membership of trade unions contracted its share of positions would have fallen. Not at all this, in fact, an inverse relationship as party membership becomes aging and vested you. One might expect that the role of party and union officials would be less dominant, but it's greater odd that obviously in my experience at Melbourne university, I've had at least 20 students who come to see me and say, look, I'm considering a career in politics and I'd like your advice. And I'd say, well, so I meet them and courteous to them and say, which way do you, do you lean towards the individual end of politics or the collective?

And they say, well, I've never really thought about it. And you say, well, what are the issues? You seem passionate? What you, what are the issues you feel passionate about?

Barry Jones ([33:07](#)):

And they almost word for word the same response they say, well, I haven't thought about that. Is that important? So there's all this. I see it as a nice clean job with no heavy lifting and the fearless devotion to the faction or the sub faction will lead to a reward in the end. But and they're prepared to do it, but there's no conviction or no hint of conviction in it. Robert Ray, formerly a Senator from Victoria and an excellent minister with expert knowledge affections, right? A whole production line of soulless apparatchiks has emerged highly proficient and professional with no labor soul control freaks with tunnel vision ruthless leakers in their self-interest individuals. Who'd rather party losing the election doesn't they lose their place in the pecking order with the liberal party. There are in effect factions, but based essentially around personalities, the membership is aging and contracting there too.

Barry Jones ([34:17](#)):

And oddly attempt to democratize the party by increasing branch membership is advocated by the far right, who seem attracted to the labor model of branch. There were a group such as a ruritanian soccer club can be signed up on block and fight for me to deliver votes and a pre-selection paradoxically with the liberals. It's the conservatives who argue with democracy, the moderates and self-described progressive resistance party discipline. And the Australian parliament is applied with an almost north Korean rigidity. It's rare for coalition MPS to cross the floor abstain on an issue. They feel strongly about an unknown with the ALP conscience votes are extremely uncommon in the house of commons. Debate is superior because the outcome of votes can be uncertain. It often depends on the quality of the debate. Jeremy Corbyn. Now labor's leader voted against his party in the house of commons, 482 times as a back bencher.

Barry Jones ([35:25](#)):

Blake had lost votes in the house on Iraq and Cameron muster in Syria, but they governments survived. Now, of course, in the election of 2016, Malcolm had a very narrow win. This was the revenge of the voters, but it has to be said his is the first government to be re-elected with a majority since 2004, every government in Blake's. And since 2000 is either lost or come back, come back with a hoe. And they've been a very rapid political churn in the period, 2006 to 16, there've been six prime minister ships, five prime ministers, three removed by their own parties. And the aggregate vote for the two major parties has steadily fallen. I mean, it hasn't fallen right down to the basement. It's currently 76.7% in the house of representatives in the Senate. It's down to 65%, but what's more significant. What's more significant is that polls indicate that almost half of voters don't think it matters, which is the two major party groupings wins the election.

Barry Jones ([36:38](#)):

It's really a choice between the timid party and the tepid party. It's like choosing between calls and Woolworths. You've got essentially two, two political group, two outfits, which are offering essentially the same product. I can see that in the campaign itself. There's no doubt that labor won the debate. Bill shortens the surprise of some ran rings around Malcolm Turnbull. That seemed oddly disengaged. Chris Barton was far more effective than Scott Morrison the coalition policy and mantras, really the vacuous or alienating. And I concede that labor was courageous in campaign to cut back on Navy negative gearing, a common means of avoiding taxation by claiming the cost of investing property as a deduction.



And this was promoted by Chris Bo and Jim Charmaz. Andrew Lee labor made the right noises on climate change failed to cut through, but there are signs of massive disillusionment with existing parties.

Barry Jones ([37:43](#)):

And I now proceed very rapidly to the yeah, natural title that I had today. The courage party, praise him, Malcolm Fraser and his controversial period from 1975 to 83, it was as prime minister was often seen as rigid and remote, although always got on right and refugees after leaving parliament in 1983, he became increasingly progressive resigning from the liberal party in 2009. And on some issues such as the Republican referendum, 1999, he formed an unlikely Alliance with golf with them and collaborated in campaigns. Malcolm fought the both parties to become corrupted and timid looking for immediate advantage. Adopting a narrow focus on economics is if humans could be defined as consumers only as homo economicals, that the goals of life are entirely material and the right long-term issues involving the fate of the planet and non-commercial values could be ignored. This was during tiny habits, prime ministership when morale in the political class was particularly low.

Barry Jones ([38:59](#)):

Of course, the problem is not confined to Australia as a crisis of confidence in democratic practice and the quality of leadership in the United States, despite Obama's eight principles. He is presidents, the United Kingdom, Germany, where Angela Merkel's courage on refugees was being punished by voters, France, Italy, many other European states, Russia. Most of south America, the global scene was marked by the rise of authoritarian rule, corrupted elections, the emergence of kleptocracy kleptocratic rulers suppression of free speech suspension of the rule of war resort to violence and adoption of the surveillance state on the corruption perception index produced by transparency, international Australia ranked April 15th in 2015 in 15, but in 2012, it had been number five. Australia's had a long history of racial intolerance and indigenous roots, earliest victims. After 1788 later, hostility to new settlers has been invariably directed towards the latest wave Chinese and the gold rush Jews before and after world war II, then Italians and Greeks, then those groups were accepted and hostility was directed towards later waves.

Barry Jones ([40:24](#)):

Many of them victims, Cambodians and Vietnamese Somalis, and most recently Muslims who now amount to 2.5% of Australia's population because of the horrors generated by terrorism in the middle east as is export to Europe, north America, Asia, and Australia. Most of them are vulnerable to suspicion of the attack when antagonists make no distinction and friends supporters. And she had victims opponents who fled here to get away for intolerable suffering Malcolm. And I often discussed Australia's political health with a mutual friend, Mike Richards. I was then, and still am an uneasy member of the Australian labor party. Malcolm hypothesized that a new political force could emerge out of the ashes of the two major parties. I was doubtful. I crisis was not big enough to break or change the existing system. We did not have an Algeria nor the goal, but we agreed on the issues to the potential new, but so far nameless party would have to address first.

Barry Jones ([41:32](#)):

I called it the tackling the abyss party, but the mixed metaphor wouldn't work later. I proposed the courage title as a working title, why Malcolm had the steps. It would not have been a center party, which explored the policy differences between the major parties, where any could be fun, then split the difference, opting for something safe in the middle offending. Nobody. It would have been more radical,

more so on issues other than, than other parties dedicated to quite the Polish political philosophy that cheque Kolakowski to a number of basic values, hard knowledge and rational calculation. Malcolm price was spiculated when the time was right, Malcolm Turnbull might lead progressive out of the liberal party and hit the new group. Malcolm Fraser, big Malcolm uses formidable networking skills to ask, ask him it's in foreign policy, taxation, defense environment, science, health education, law reform, including drug laws.

Barry Jones ([42:37](#)):

If they would prepare detailed position papers, analyzing evidence proposing long-term solutions to intractable problems, they all agreed. Each of the exits was dismayed by the fader about government and opposition to act courageously on the great issues of our time. Then in 2015, came to dramatic changes in March. Malcolm Fraser died unexpectedly after what was thought to be relatively minor elective surgery in September Malcolm Turnbull displace Tony Abbott become prime minister after a and bargain with elements of the right inside the liberal party and the national party trading support in promise in return for a promise of the inaction on contentious issues, such as climate change and the Republic that he had advocated in his first period, this a liberal leader to succeed in 2015 meant adopting most of the Tony Abbott's policies. ABAC was quick to point out the major issues that the survey Fraser Richard Lee returned on remained unresolved.

Barry Jones ([43:47](#)):

These included Australia taking a leading role in setting high targets for tackling global warming, phasing out coal, rethinking out foreign and defense policies along the lines set out and phrases, book, dangerous allies, a radical change in our treatment of asylum seekers, generally, you know, names, faces identities of access to the law, becoming a Republic, a thorough revision of the taxation system, a bill of rights now, and this, if this comes out in a printed form, us I'm sure will that we, I set out policy positions on issues of the major partisan compared and what a courage party would do. And again, I'll have to just summarize, because I know that time is ticking by, but I tried to calibrate with two major party gripping sand on 35 policies and contrast that with positions that would have been advocated by a card's party. And then the printed version, you'd see that in a whole number of very important issues where I think the courage party would need to sand and where you've got comparative positions of the two where the two existing major patterns have to say, just to conclude, there are two possible alternative models for third force model.

Barry Jones ([45:07](#)):

A this could be the courage part who would be significantly based on our 4.5 million graduates, coding professionals, teachers, performance, writers, artists, social workers, scientists, doctors, intellectuals, and other knowledge workers. It might incorporate the greens, progressive reformers from labor. Some from liberals, some unions, especially if skilled professionals might affiliate its policies would be essentially evidence-based. And it would emphasize finding solutions to what are called wicked problems, refugees, taxation, climate change. And so on model B, however, model B could be, you could call this left behind potty and its common elements. So identifying victims and announcing enemies resentful about rapid change nostalgia about the past apprehension about the future and many aspects of modernity responsive, responsiveness to fear about the unfamiliar, especially mixing with other races and cultures, particularly muzzles, finding simple explanations for complex problems, a model B part. He has these characteristic rejection of evidence and reliance on a Finn opinion, feeling gut reaction, low levels of formal education, resentment of elites and political correctness.

Barry Jones ([46:29](#)):

Seeing the 1960s was a golden age of full employment with a heavy emphasis on nativism as they call it in the U S many of these voters used to be with the ALP and Democrats in the us, but now are often not always accurately identified with the far right. The model B phenomenon resonates in areas of most states unhappily. One might think it's the more likely prospect, all the major parties for their deficiencies fail, tackling complex problems, such as refugees and climate change will demand complex solutions. It can't be reduced to Paris in a few simple slogans. The problem for me is how's an 84 year old radical to vote. If he wants to reform the world and gets the answers to basic questions such as how many submarines relate, how do we change the military culture and plan for post carbon future and protect the environment and preserve the roof, the rule of war and entrenched support for research CSIRO preserved the ABC of the bureau of meteorology recognized growing needs of an aging population and have a root and branch reform the tax system and put creativity and greater opportunity into the school system and moved from hoard to Republic and tackle reform on issues ranging from citric sexuality, urban land management, bad.

Barry Jones ([47:53](#)):

He had good in England challenge. The obsession with growth is an internet. So, and democratize our major parties and have open accountable government. You tell me great crises often produce great leaders, Lincoln Churchill, Roosevelt Stalin too, for all his brutality, but Australia like most Western nations does not have heroic leadership. On often in sin, we have leaders who are essentially followers. They lack vision and culture and failed to explain, explain, explain to win public support on difficult issues and said, they read news Paul obsessively and say, timidly, I am the leader. The paper will tell me what I must do. Despite all the odds against the lack of an opposition leader we need, perhaps the courage party after all and needed urgently. A precondition for the courage party would be to have courageous people with strong convictions prepared to sacrifice time, effort, money source. The political system is producing more cynicism and withdrawal than action and outcomes. We need to engage in a deep analysis of where we go and take, take appropriate action. What will be our legacy? It's up to all of us, especially you and me, especially you to say to the major parties. Things must change. Posterity will be very harsh on this generation. If we file [inaudible]

Emma Ranieri ([49:33](#)):

Unfortunately we don't have time for questions, but I believe that we have done Don Dunstan, very proud, and he is to the courage party.

Speaker 4 ([49:49](#)):

[Inaudible].