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PRIME MINISTER

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THE INAUGURAL EDMUND BARTON LECTURE

THE STRENGTH OF LIBERALISM

I am honoured to have been asked to deliver the first Edmund Barton Memorial Lecture. I congratulate the Liberal Club of the University of Sydney for establishing the lecture. Edmund Barton deserves to be remembered, not only as Australia's first Prime Minister, but as one of the founding fathers of the Australian nation. In establishing this lecture the Sydney University Liberal Club is drawing attention to one of the greatest achievements of the Liberal movement in Australia - the Federation of the six colonies into one vital and dynamic nation.

Barton was one of that select group of outstanding men who had the vision, the character, and the persistence to bring this nation of ours into existence: to draw up a constitution which would make possible the coming together of states, and the skill to put in place the first functioning Commonwealth Government. It was Barton - the acknowledged leader of the Federal movement - who made the famous declaration: "For the first time in the world's history, there will be a nation for a continent and a continent for a nation".

It was Barton's Government which established the machinery of the Commonwealth of Australia itself. It is a measure of Barton's quality that he had such regard from the outstanding men in the Federal movement that he was regarded as the logical and obvious man to first lead the new nation.

A modern Australian Prime Minister cannot but regard with awe a man who could lead a Cabinet which contained six past or present state premiers - William Lyne of New South Wales, Sir George Turner of Victoria, Charles Kingston of South Australia, Neil Lewis of Tasmania, Sir John Forrest of Western Australia and Sir James Dickson of Queensland, and what is more, encouraged them to agree to work together to build up a Federal Government.

Barton was a man who believed in rational and sound argument rather than the emotive displays of the platform orator. As a leader of the Federal movement, Barton's techniques are described by his biographer as "quiet organisation, persuasion and argument". These techniques were effective

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in realising the vision which moved Barton through the great constitutional conventions. Barton's was a quiet passion, but a passion it was nevertheless. As he said during a speech in the New South Wales House of Assembly in 1891: "There is one great thing which ranks above any others in my political life, and will activate me until it is accomplished, and this is the question of the union of the Australian colonies".

Barton's Liberal ambitions are reflected in the program his Government presented to the first Parliament. It included:

- . federal old-age pensions;
- . a Commonwealth revenue tariff;
- . protection for Australian industry;
- . a federal conciliation and arbitration law;
- . a transcontinental railway;
- . manhood and womanhood suffrage;
- . establishment of the High Court; and
- . the Commonwealth Public Service.

With the exception of legislation for the White Australia Policy which has now passed into history, we see in the legislative program of Barton's government the ideals of a strong, independent, developing Australia in which there was a genuine concern for those in need. And the same ideals have continued to motivate Liberal governments to the present time. Some of the Barton government's legislative objectives took several years to achieve but the lasting triumph of that first Parliament was the building of the federal machinery which had been the objective of the visionary movement for a single Australian nation.

In 1903 Barton left the Prime Ministership to become a member of the first bench of the High Court. It is a further illustration of Barton's stature that before resigning he offered the Chief Justiceship to Sir Samuel Griffith, who accepted. It is my belief that the Liberal movement, of which Barton and Deakin, Australia's first two Prime Ministers, were then the leaders has been the great constructive political movement in Australia's history.

Not only was it responsible for the birth of Australia as a nation, but it has been responsible for establishing our institutions of government - the Federal Parliament, the High Court, and the Commonwealth Public Service, and for most of the great achievements which Australian governments have set in place:

- . the arbitration system
- . the old age and invalid pension schemes
- . child endowment and family allowances
- . health insurance
- . the Grants Commission and the financial agreement with the States
- . restrictive practices legislation

But the claim of the Liberal movement in Australia to be the great constructive political force does not rest only, or even primarily, on these achievements - impressive though they are. The greatest contribution of the Liberal movement to the building of modern Australia has been its ability to define and keep to a role for government which permits the Australian people to express in action their values and their abilities.

Liberalism has recognised what the Socialist Labor Party has never recognised that Australia can be great, can be strong, prosperous and humane - only if the capacities of the Australian people are used to the full. That does not mean policies which lead to an inexorably rising tax burden, constantly expanding bureaucracy, a growing centralisation of power in Canberra, an ever heavier and more costly burden of regulation - the hall marks of Labor's approach to the solution of any and every problem. It does not mean the suspicion and envy directed towards every expression of enterprise, achievement, and excellence so characteristic of Labor's socialists whose ideal is a nation where equality means conformity and the Labor Party and the trade unions reign over all.

Liberals, by contrast, have pursued policies designed to let Australians as consumers express themselves through free choices in the market place, streamline and make more efficient the federal bureaucracy, encourage the development, capacities and efficiency of the States, reduce, wherever clear benefits are to be gained, the burden of regulation, simplify and lighten the burden of taxes, protect the public interest against the power of sectional interests, protect the rights of individuals against both governments and powerful private interests.

Each of these policies has had as its aim the unleashing and mobilising of the talents and abilities of the Australian people themselves, in the sure knowledge that this is the one way in which Australia can provide a decent life for all its people, maintain its independence and be strong enough to make a constructive contribution to the massive problems of poverty, disease and oppression which exist in other countries.

The constructive achievements of Liberalism grow out of a vision of what this country can be, and the belief that it is only through Liberal policies that this vision can be realised. Australians now find themselves in a world in which the strength that Liberalism can bring to a country is more needed than ever. The world situation is troubling on at least two counts. In the first place, there is the relentless, militarism and opportunism of the Soviet Union. The Soviet push concerns not only the West but Third World states in and outside the Commonwealth, and now other communist countries in Eastern Europe and China.

In Poland, and in the Soviet Union itself, the reasons for Russia's reliance on force and coercion is apparent. Russia's rulers are unwilling to accommodate change. Their economic policies are impoverishing the communist nations precisely because they crush that enterprise and initiative which the institutions of the West encourage - and on which Western prosperity is built. Out of this impoverishment arise the forces for change, demanding greater freedom. Poland, before martial law, showed that evolution towards greater freedom could occur in communist states.

But Russia's rulers are far too rigid to allow such evolution to take place. In their inability to bend, they run the risk of breaking when the winds of change blow stronger - as they surely will.

The second aspect of the international situation which gives rise to concern is the world recession. Between 1963 and 1970, while the volume of world output grew at an average rate of 5.6%, the volume of world exports grew by 8.6% per annum. But during the 1970s, the growth of world output and exports both significantly slowed and as a result unemployment in many countries started to rise.

Even before the first oil price increase in 1973, inflation had become more or less endemic in most industrialised countries. Excessive growth of government spending and inappropriate use of deficit financing played a major part in this. The oil price increases compounded these problems, making growing unemployment and growing inflation the order of the day. Even then, most countries did not recognise what was needed in terms of restraint of government spending, in terms of firmness of monetary policy and in terms of wage restraint.

Although there are now signs in a number of countries of a determination to pursue more economically realistic policies, natural economic processes have run their course. In Europe and North America, economic growth has virtually come to a standstill in the last two years and unemployment is high, and rising. In France unemployment is 8.7%, in the USA it is 8.8%, in the United Kingdom it is 11.7%. Because of the interdependence between our trading countries Australia cannot help but be affected by these trends. Nevertheless Australia is able to regard the future with a confidence not possible in some other countries because we are now moving into the seventh year of a period in which constructive liberalism has once again guided national policy.

This inaugural Edmund Barton lecture provides an opportunity to set out the ideals for Australia which motivate Liberalism today to record the practical expression of those ideals in concrete policies, and to sketch out some of the implications of those ideals for the future.

1. The first ideal is one I have already mentioned, but which I refer to again here, because it is at the very heart of Liberalism in this country: a belief in Australia, in Australians and in what the Australian people can achieve when government permits them to strive after the things they value, rather than trying to impose some political ideology onto them.

It is impossible to think of a field in which Australians have not recorded outstanding achievement, but there is one field where achievement underpins opportunities in most others - the field of economic life. Government can and should encourage and provide incentives but excessively big government can cause damage where it means to help.

Our policy of reining in government has had profoundly positive objectives to make room for the private initiatives so vital to increase economic growth, job opportunities, and real incomes. One fundamental lesson can be drawn from the experience of the last six years. We have shown that economic growth can and does take place when government expenditure is reined in. More than that, economic growth in modern circumstances requires restraint in government spending. Until we argued this case in 1975 the Labor Party had deceived itself, and attempted to deceive the Australian people that it was government spending that stimulated economic activity.

In 1975, we set out to show the fallacy, the two fallacies, in Labor's view of the world. What had been forgotten, and is still forgotten today by Labor, is that higher Government spending can only come about in two ways; by higher taxes, or be deficits and printing money.

The first leads to higher wage demands to compensate for the higher taxes, stifles initiative and weakens the incentives so essential to private enterprise and economic growth.

The second also leads to inflation and the two combined, taxes and inflation, destroy profits, capital and jobs.

In doing so, such policies actually destroy growth, reduce real incomes, and impoverish the country. That was their effect between 1972-75 and that would be their effect if ever that philosophy were to guide government in the future.

In the last three years Australia has swum against the tide of the world recession. Our economy has grown, real incomes have grown and almost 400,000 new jobs were created in the three years to the December quarter, almost 90% of them in the private sector.

This has taken place at a time when a tighter rein has been kept on government spending in Australia than in probably any other industrial country.

Over the last six years Federal Government spending in Australia has grown in real terms by about 1.5% per annum, a rate much less than growth in the economy as a whole. Over the same time the economy has grown by about 2.5%. We have shown the key requirement for growth is not government pump printing, but the creation of conditions in which business has the confidence to invest, and in which individuals have the confidence to spend.

Australia faces the world recession with an economy which is far stronger than in 1975, in which growth is soundly based, in which inflationary pressures are less, in which exploration and development is pushing ahead at historically high levels, and in which the huge domestic deficit left by Labor has at last been eliminated.

It is of the greatest importance for Australia that these gains should be maintained and strengthened. That we should redouble our determination to live within our means as a nation, and reject the fantasy that letting spending run out once more will stimulate the economy.

In the last six years a massive renovation in the economy has taken place, and the cracks in the foundations repaired. Sound government has made it possible by unleashing the abilities and enterprise of the Australian people themselves.

2. A second ideal which motivates Liberals is a belief in excellence.

We believe it is in the interests of everyone if individuals are encouraged to achieve to their utmost according to their abilities.

Many of our policies have expressed this ideal. In fact we have given such high priority to the pursuit of excellence that there are a number of areas where we have actually increased spending, within the context of our overall policy of restraint, to achieve this goal.

Excellence has had priority and we have transferred resources to where excellence can be encouraged. The Government has fully backed the great revival in Australian films. In sport, we established and have funded the Australian Institute of Sport. In medical research, NHMRC grants have increased from \$14 million to \$26 million in the last two years. We have just announced grants for centres of excellence in Australian universities.

Beyond this focussed support for excellence, in the field of tertiary education more broadly, we have held a tight rein on spending. Believing that after the rapid expansion of the sixties and early seventies, a period of consolidation and internal re-adjustment is warranted.

Here our priorities also show in the pattern of spending. We have emphasised the expansion of opportunities for young Australians to acquire the technical and other skills they need to take full advantage of the resurgence of enterprise and development our policies have encouraged. Since 1975, Commonwealth spending on technical and further education and on training schemes has increased by 83.2% in real terms.

3. A third belief which underlies the policies of modern Liberalism and which has found expression in many ways is the belief that the cultural and ethnic diversity of Australia can be a source of great strength and creativity.

This ideal has led us to try to change attitudes and perceptions of Australia born in the old days of Anglo-Saxon dominance, and to put in their place the ideal of a multicultural Australia.

Recognising the value of diversity is one of the main supports of the Liberal belief in freedom and is in no way incompatible with a common commitment to Australia on behalf of all Australians, whatever their country of origin.

The ideal of the multicultural society has been expressed in many ways in our policies. I mention here the range of policies implemented under the Galbally Report on migrant services which we commissioned; the establishment of the Institute of Multicultural Affairs

which is helping people to understand the value of cultural and ethnic diversity in Australian life, the establishment of multicultural television, immigration from a wider range of countries, including Asian countries; the National Aboriginal Conference and the Aboriginal Development Commission, which are doing so much to promote the interest of the Aboriginal members of our community and self-management by Aboriginals of their affairs.

I believe the scope of our policies in this area is without parallel in the world and Australia is undoubtedly deriving great strength from the rich cultural resources now to be found among the Australian people.

4. A fourth ideal which has motivated this Government is a strong and safe Australia.

Strength and safety are to a significant extent, of course, functions of defence and foreign policy. Our commitment to the Western alliance, and to the modernisation and build-up of our independent military forces is well known. We are now in the middle of a defence re-equipment program costing more than \$5 billion. Our priority here is shown by the fact that defence is one of the very few areas of the Budget that is increasing substantially each year.

Beyond defence forces and alliances, our security as a nation depends to a great extent on our unity at home and our ability to arrive at a common assessment of international events.

It is not necessary for a government and an opposition to agree on everything for there to be a substantial bi-partisanship in foreign and defence policy.

I believe it is a matter of genuine national concern that the Opposition - alone among major Western socialist parties - has chosen to denigrate peace-keeping efforts in the Middle East (and to call Mr Begin the greatest threat to world peace). That it derides the Commonwealth, which represents a quarter of the world's people, and attacks aspects of our relations with the United States.

The influence of the Socialist Left with its P.L.O. sympathies on Labor foreign and defence policies is clear and damaging, and has produced a divergence between the parties which is unnecessary and troubling.

5. Our commitment to a safe and secure Australia is linked to a fifth ideal which has motivated the policies of this Government. The ideal of an Australia which can do something positive to help in relieving the terrible conditions of poverty, disease and oppression which exists for hundreds of millions of the world's people.

In the last six years Australia has been a leader among industrialised countries in getting a fairer deal for developing countries in world markets. It was Australia that helped break the dead lock on the common fund. Through the Commonwealth of Nations, Australia has been a leading source of initiatives including the investigations into protection and into North-South negotiating processes.

The historic Melbourne declaration came at a strategic moment last year before the Cancun Conference.

Australia has also become known as one of the leading opponents of racism, in South Africa and elsewhere. At home the Government has been a consistent and strong supporter of Aboriginal land rights and of Aboriginal self-management. At home and abroad every action of this Government has been aimed at strengthening human rights and combatting racism. A Minister who sought to qualify the Government's stand on these matters was immediately dismissed.

That our constant pursuit of these ideals has had a great effect on the understanding of Australia overseas was evident in comments made at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Melbourne.

I will quote only one of these, the comment of President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: "Before this Government", said President Kaunda,

"I personally did not know what Australia was except as a country where there was indifference to suffering people of the rest of the world. I am being very frank, you have brought us to an Australia that we never knew - of decent human beings - an Australia with which we are very proud to be associated".

Australia's capacity to help people in other countries as well as at home is very much related to our economic strength. The solution to poverty is not higher taxes and bigger bureaucracy, it is economic growth and a proper concentration of help on those in need.

6. This brings me to a sixth ideal reflected in the priorities of modern Liberalism - the ideal of an Australia where economic strength enables ever improving provision for the disadvantaged and those in need.

As Liberalism in Australia established the system of federal old age and invalid pensions, modern Liberalism remains committed to a strong and effective system of social security.

Our priorities are indicated by the fact that social security and welfare spending is the largest single item in our Budget, and amounts to \$11.4 billion.

Despite economic conditions and despite the great increase in social security and welfare spending in the early seventies we have actually increased the total real level of spending in this area (even excluding family allowances and unemployment benefits) while concentrating assistance more on those in need.

The replacement of the tax deduction for dependent children by the family assistance scheme was of direct benefit to 300,000 low income families and 800,000 children.

The income testing of the increase in the pension for those over 70 is directly helpful in securing the concentration on resources of those in need.

We have given particular priority to helping the handicapped and disabled and in the last six years assistance has increased 34% in real terms.

The principle of concentrating assistance on those in real need is also expressed in the health insurance scheme, which provides for completely free health care for three million Australians, while giving incentives to those on higher incomes to insure for themselves.

Australia has one of the most comprehensive income support systems in the world. Practically everyone, other than those who are able, but choose not, to work are guaranteed an income. This system has always been supported by Liberal governments and always will be. Its maintenance and improvement has been, and remains, one of the top priorities of modern Australian Liberalism.

7. Liberal programs have expressed another ideal which is now added to the list: The ideal of an Australia which is governed in the interests of all, in the public interest, and not on behalf of special interests.

The pressure on government by special interests for privileges is unceasing. A government which believes in ever more regulation or ever higher spending is particularly vulnerable to such pressures. By conceding a privilege in the form of restrictive legislation or a new concession, such a government not only satisfies its philosophy but gains a client. In the end the public interest is submerged as spending gets out of control and restrictive regulations multiply inefficiency.

Most interests argue, and believe, that they are acting in the public interest, but the truth is they are often acting in their own.

While we have been uncommonly successful in holding spending in check, these pressures remain and resisting them has I believe, been one of the real achievements of the Government.

I believe we have had real success in spreading a greater sense of realism in the community about what is possible and desirable.

A government which does not support and strengthen this sense of realism not only imperils its own survival but the health and well-being of the country it tries to govern.

Labor is of course, particularly vulnerable here, not only because demands for more money and restrictive regulation are music to its ears, but because it is actually the political agent for one of the most powerful interests in the country, the trade union movement.

8. This brings me to another of the ideas we have sought to realise in government - the ideal of a society in which there is a balance in the power of the large private institutions of business and trade unions, in which neither is strong enough to dominate, and in which both are checked by the power of government, the rights and freedoms of individuals, and their own good sense and co-operative attitudes.

Up to 1975 Australia saw a great increase in the power of trade unions in our society.

Under Labor, Government became a partisan on behalf of the trade union movement, supporting massive wage increases and the obstruction of business profits, and granting new legal privileges to the union movement.

The Government believes that the excessive power of unions relative to other interest groups in Australia was one of the deep-seated sources of cost push inflation in Australia during the 1970's. Unions were encouraged to seek, and had the power to obtain - wage increases far above those the economy could afford.

Righting the balance is a complex task because power has many facets and sources. The ideal of achieving a better balance has been expressed in many policies. Some have sought to increase the relative power of the arbitral authorities and the courts, some to increase the ability of union members to choose leaders who will express more accurately the views of the rank and file, some to diminish the ability of unions to coerce individual members, non-members and third parties to disputes, some to increase the relative powers of employers in disputes, and some to expand the relative powers of government in disputes.

The list of measures aiming at these objectives includes the Industrial Relations Bureau to better secure the enforcement of awards and to act as an ombudsman, secret postal ballots in union elections conducted by the electoral office, the concept of conscientious objection to union membership, the C.E.E.P. Act.

We are presently proposing measures to give employers the right to stand down employees who cannot be usefully employed due to industrial action, encourage the formation of enterprise and industry unions, and to assist voluntary unionism.

We are also addressing a number of industrial relations issues in co-operation with the States, including the options to facilitate handling of demarcation disputes and the development of a complementary industrial relations system.

It is, of course, entirely predictable that Labor as a special interest party has undertaken to repeal much of our legislation, and remove the checks and balances we are building into the system in the public interest.

A future Labor Government would mean a massive turning back of the clock and the shelving of the ideal of re-asserting a proper balance between the large institutions of Australian society.

In the Liberal view it is only under such conditions of balance that we will see conflict more often replaced with a spirit of compromise and conciliation. Such a willingness to compromise and co-operate is necessary if, for example, there are to be realistic prospects of extending collective bargaining in Australia.

9. Strengthening the rights of individuals against large organisations - whether business, union or government - has long been a Liberal ideal.

Apart from the measures in the trade union field I have mentioned, we have taken a number of historic measures designed to protect individual rights.

We set up the Commonwealth Ombudsman and the Administrative Appeal Tribunal. We established last year the Human Rights Commission which will help promote the observance of human rights and our Freedom of Information Legislation will be the first to come into place nationally in a Westminster system.

10. Our belief in ensuring that rights and freedom are protected and power is decentralised has particular bearing on our ideals in relation to the structure of government itself.

Our ideal is government which is strong, efficient, economical and effective, but not centralised in Canberra; not bureaucratic or domineering.

I mention two of the major ways in which we have given practical expression to this ideal for government in the last six years.

One is by returning to the states significant independent powers in financial matters, and in the control of offshore lands. Between 1975-76 and 1981-82 the proportion of untied Commonwealth payments to the States has risen from 51% to over 65%, and the proportion of total Commonwealth Budget outlays accounted for by untied payments to the States has also risen.

The other has been through the most extensive ministerial review of the functions of the Commonwealth Government in the history of Australia - The Review of Commonwealth Functions.

As a result the number of Commonwealth employees under staff ceilings is now actually smaller than it was six years ago, and many activities previously undertaken by Government are now contracted out to private enterprise.

It is characteristic of Liberalism that it should always be prepared to review the achievements of the past and to adjust them to modern requirements.

It is evident from what I have said that Liberals in Australia have aspirations for the country which are by no means fully realised, but which are better and better realised as Liberal programs of reform are developed and implemented.

The historic commitment of the Liberal movement in Australia to moderate and evolutionary reform has been an essential element in putting together its record of constructive achievement.

The commitment of Edmund Barton to high ideals realised by "quiet organisation, persuasion and argument" epitomises the Liberal approach to reform.

It is a realistic approach which builds on the achievement of the past, while striving towards ideals yet unrealised.

It is appropriate in this inaugural Barton lecture to make a few comments on reforms of the Constitution itself.

Liberal Governments have a good record of constitutional reform. Of the 17 constitutional amendments put before the people by Liberal governments since Federation, seven have been successful, and the Government I lead has introduced more successful amendments to the Constitution than any Government in Australia's history.

I cannot refrain from saying that Labor's record has been remarkably poor. Of 19 amendments placed before the people, by Labor, only one has succeeded. There is a reason for this contrast.

Successful constitutional reform requires that the proposed amendments express, or are not obnoxious to, the values of the Australian people. The Australian people value the regime of decentralised Federal Government bequeathed to us by Barton and his colleagues, and have rejected again and again Labor's proposals to concentrate more power in Canberra's hands. Effective constitutional change can of course come about by judicial interpretation and by new financial arrangements between Commonwealth and States.

Through deliberate amendment and by other techniques the Australian Constitution has actually evolved so that it differs in significant ways from the original intent of the founders. In effect, it is not the same instrument now as it was in 1900 because of the development that has taken place. It is proper that our Constitution should evolve and that it should continue to evolve. It is unrealistic to think it can change in any other way.

There is no prospect of a new constitution by 1988 as some are suggesting. Nor is a totally new constitution in any way required. The effort to achieve such an objective is indeed one of the most divisive proposals that can be contemplated in Australia. There are many real and pressing problems and choices which Australia faces in the next few years - a new constitution is not among them. It is a matter which can only distract the nation's attention from issues of substance. Alfred Deakin wrote of the immense difficulties in producing the original Constitution:

"Regarded as a whole, it is safe to say that if ever anything ought to be styled providential it is the extraordinary combination of circumstances, persons and their most intricate interrelations of which the Commonwealth is about to become the crown. To say it was fated to be is to say nothing to the purpose. Any one of a thousand minor incidents might have deferred it for years or generations

"To those who watched its inner workings, followed its fortunes as if their own, and lived the life of devotion to it day by day, its actual accomplishment must always appear to have been secured by a series of miracles".

(Federal Story, p. 173)

In its day, the federal movement dominated Australian politics. We are fortunate that the founding fathers were so skilled in their task that they achieved the intricate balance of circumstances which our Constitution contains, and which has been so instrumental in making Australia a stable, prosperous and progressive nation. There are too many other important issues for constitutional change to loom so large again. A new constitution is not a priority nor a goal for Liberalism in Australia. Our goal is a continuance of the process of evolutionary constitutional reform where change is needed.

12. This brings me to the last of ideals we have sought to put into practice in the last six years - the ideal of an Australia which has the foresight to conserve its heritage and to hand on what is of value to future generations.

In referring to conservation we automatically think of the natural environment and our historic heritage. Our record in conserving Australia's magnificent natural heritage takes second place to no Australian government, federal or State at any time. Fraser Island, Kakadu National Park, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park, anti-whaling legislation and many other initiatives all stand as symbols of a practical ideal realised, despite opposition in some instances from selfish and powerful private interests.

But there is more to our historic heritage than our natural environment, or historic artifacts and buildings. Our most valuable inheritance from the past, and the most valuable bequest we can make to the future is the heritage of humane values and ideals, passed on to us by men such as Barton and Deakin, and passed down through their families by all those who came to Australia seeking freedom, opportunities, and self-respect for themselves and their families.

Those values are our real treasure. Tens of thousands of Australians have died to defend them, and if we were ever to lose them it would be because one generation failed to re-commit itself to them. We who practice our policies in the Liberal tradition believe that it is Liberalism whose ideals and understandings can best realise those values. Our political opponents believe otherwise. Because each Australian generation has re-dedicated itself to those fundamental values, and has passed on that vision of Australia, you have the right to decide who is right, and you also have the obligation to make a decision which will preserve for your children the same right.