

# Young Liberal Review

*Looking Forward*

Featuring an exclusive  
interview with  
**Treasurer and Energy  
Minister The Hon Matt  
Kean MP**



"People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors...in what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain we are never wholly obsolete."

Edmund Burke

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# President's Welcome



**Deyi Wu**  
President, NSW Young Liberals

Dear fellow Liberals,

Whether you have been in the NSW Young Liberal Movement for six months or six years, I continue to be astounded by the extraordinary level of civic engagement, community contribution and policy discussion by our members.

Many of you joined the Liberal Party because you believe that the direction of our country should be pursued and guided by liberal values. I had the privilege of joining our Party in 2016, at a time when my values were more 'instinctual' than 'theoretical'.

Over the last six years, through Young Liberal Councils, Policy Series, and general discussions with other like-minded members, I have honed my policy views and developed greater nuance in my beliefs. It is one of the most priceless gifts our Party has given me, and I am thankful for the ability to now 'spar' and 'joust' with fellow members on a wide range of topics.

Young Liberal Review 2022 is another fantastic opportunity for our members to put forward their ideas in a more concrete form. These articles will be scrutinised and challenged by your peers, as all good policies should.

Debate and discourse are not only good intellectual exercises, but are wholly necessary, especially when we live in a time where ideas and cultural artefacts are being cancelled or erased, denying future generations about the truth of our past.

I commend all of the writers who have made contributions to this year's Review, and I encourage everyone to continue to critically examine the status quo and how existing policies can be improved for all Australians. Additionally, I ask that we all keep an open mind to other people's ideas and values whose experiences may be foreign to our own, but are valued equally within our great, diverse Party.

Finally, I'd like to congratulate Editor Chanum Torres for his efforts in spearheading and collating Young Liberal Review 2022, and also for his enormous contribution to the Movement especially in the policy space.

I hope you enjoy this edition.

With Kind Regards,

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink.

**Deyi Wu**





# A Message From The Editor

Chanum Torres  
Editor



Welcome to Young Liberal Review 2022!

There has been an undeniably strong sense of emergency, alarmism and decline in the public discourse of late, perhaps not unwarranted, for our generation faces issues of great gravity: learning to live with COVID, climate change, the spectre of inflation, housing (un)affordability, budget disrepair, toxic identity politics, the shadow of war...

That is why the theme of Review is 'Looking Forward'. Edmund Burke famously wrote that society is a partnership between the dead, living, and those yet to be born. So, in looking forward, we must look back at the timeless principles of liberalism that we have inherited.

And what are those 'timeless principles of liberalism'? Well, I venture to suggest a few pillars: the freedom to worship and associate; localised government before central power; private association before the state; bottom-up solutions before legal fiat; incremental change grounded in tradition before sweeping social engineering; a politics of aspiration and opportunity, not of resentment and envy. Above all, I think that liberalism is an unshakeable belief in the dignity of the individual, a dignity that springs from the noble idea that every individual is created in the image of God.

Grand theories of socialism submerge the individual in a tumultuous sea of revolution; liberalism grows from countless spontaneous interactions and private associations between citizens.

Within these pages, the diversity of thought and opinion of the Young Liberal Movement is showcased. Whatever the issue, we have sought to look forward, to the issues of tomorrow and have asked ourselves how the touchstones of liberalism can guide policymaking.

You might not agree with everything in here, but that's the point. My earnest hope is that Review stimulates healthy discussion, drawing on a shared stock of Liberal values. I hope that you will see how liberalism is not an abstract, inaccessible theory but a way of thinking that springs from seeking to live in harmony with one's neighbours and seeking to cooperate with fellow-citizens to ensure mutual flourishing.

I leave you with a thought-provoking quote from Sir Robert Menzies on how liberalism colours in a full and vibrant vision of freedom and the good life, befitting the dignity and capacity of every individual:

**"There may be some people who think that the only freedom that counts is to have a roof to sleep under, clothes to wear, food to eat. Those are very necessary; governments must be pledged to do all in their power to assist people to secure them; but they are not freedoms at all. Each can be obtained in a state of utter slavery.**

**The real freedoms are to worship, to think, to speak, to choose, to be ambitious, to be independent, to be industrious, to acquire skill, to seek reward. These are the real freedoms, for these are of the essence of the nature of man."**



# In Conversation With The Treasurer

Editor Chanum Torres chatted with the NSW Treasurer and Minister for Energy, the Hon Matt Kean MP, to get his take on a range of topics. From the issues of tomorrow, to bouncing back better after the pandemic, to workforce participation and net-zero targets, Matt is certain that Liberal values hold the key to progress.

**In your opinion, what are the defining features of Liberalism as a political philosophy? Why do Liberal principles provide the best foundation for government conducive to the common good?**

Well, there are the obvious features of the rights of the individual, freedom, a belief in the rule of law and democracy. But it's more than just those things. It's a belief in the power of the individual to achieve great things and flourish

In my view, liberalism is about embracing this in order to make our world a better place. The difference between us and our political opponents is that we trust individuals to do great things. That's why we believe in providing quality education to enable people to make the most of opportunity. That's why we believe in law and order because you can't be successful without being secure. That's why we believe in having a social safety net because we want individuals to be their best.

So I'd say liberalism is more than just the rights of one individual over the other. It's about all individuals having the right to flourish and we do that by creating a good framework that allows everyone to thrive. That's how we build a better society.

**It is often said that the Liberal Party is a broad church. Why is the Liberal Party still the natural home of those right-of-centre, be they traditional conservatives or more progressive liberals?**

I think that what brings these two streams together under the Liberal banner is that we both believe in and are committed to creating an environment where people can thrive, be more secure and more prosperous. True conservatives respect institutions that have withstood the test of time. They have long memories that understand why we have our particular systems of parliament, courts and representative democracy. These institutions provide for a well-functioning society.



Now, more progressive Liberals, who believe very strongly in the power of the individual, join with traditional conservatives in upholding these institutions as they understand that these institutions foster an environment which best enables individuals to thrive. Both these schools of thought agree that you can't be free if you aren't secure and you can't prosper if you don't have economic opportunity.

**Tell me about your time in the Young Liberals. How did your time in the YLs shape or equip you for what you're doing now as Treasurer of NSW?**

My time in the Young Liberals was vital. It's been absolutely critical to any sort of professional success I've achieved. It's where I learnt the skills necessary to function well in public life: how to build relationships, how to turn ideas into policy, how to work with people who didn't share my viewpoint and to find common ground to achieve outcomes. It's where I came to understand deeply the role our Party has in improving the lives of individuals. These skills and experiences serve me well to this day. For example, I could not have achieved some of the most significant energy reforms in NSW had it not been for the lessons I learned in the Young Liberals.



**What is your message to young people with an interest in politics, looking to get involved in the Young Liberals? How important is the Young Liberal Movement to the Liberal Party as a broader whole?**

To paraphrase former US President John F. Kennedy, the future prospects of our Party are directly linked to the current prospects of our youth. The Young Liberals really are the engine room of our Party. You provide the critical resources we need to campaign and win elections. You also provide new ideas reflective of a new generation of Liberals. Every generation has to rise to meet the unique challenges of its time. The challenges my generation faced and my parents' generation faced differ from the challenges your generation faces. So you provide an important channel that keeps our party relevant to broader sections of the community.

**What do you see as key threats or challenges to liberalism and democracy today?**

In my view, the rise of the Chinese Communist Party and other authoritarian regimes is a huge threat to our way of life and values. Whilst we should celebrate the rising living standards of the Chinese people, we need to at the same time defend the freedoms of the Chinese people. We should also be standing for the freedom of Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Japan and be willing to call out regimes that act inconsistently with international law.

We should also call out those who persecute religious minorities and political dissidents. What's happening to the Uighurs is appalling – it stands against everything that we as Liberals believe in. It will fall on younger generations to show once again that democratic societies are the path not only to individual liberty but to prosperity and security.

I also think that populism is a great threat. Respect for democratic institutions has fallen. The peddling of lies, division and conspiracies by populists like Donald Trump undermines facts, science and evidence in policy-making. Instead, I think that Liberals need to hold firm to their faith in the power of the human mind to innovate and to aspire. We need to hold to the power of rational thinking to solve the problems that we face.

**I could not agree more. Now, looking specifically at your role as Treasurer, what do you hope to achieve in your tenure?**

My immediate job is to make sure that our economy weathers the storm of the COVID-19 pandemic. We know that this latest Omicron wave is temporary. So we've got to make sure businesses get through this so that we can bounce back better and stronger. To that end, we need to preserve the fabric of the NSW economy and here is where government plays a role: preserving small businesses which are the engine rooms of employment and ensuring that they are able to continue operating and moving forward.

But, my role as Treasurer is also about setting up NSW for the future, setting us up to be a stronger and more prosperous state for everyone. I want to see a little girl born today get access to the same opportunities as a little boy born in the room next door. I want to see us investing in ideas and research into the technologies and jobs of tomorrow. We know that the best way to win in a fast-paced, global economy is to outperform with a highly skilled and educated workforce. I want to see us transitioning to a lower-carbon future because the world is moving this way. If NSW leads the race to decarbonise, it will mean huge economic opportunities: a new era of jobs and investment into NSW.



**I really like what you said about equal opportunities for boys and girls born in rooms next door to each other. So, are we doing enough to remove barriers for women to enter or re-enter the workforce? Can state-based childcare subsidies be a solution? What more can we be doing?**

One of the key drivers of economic growth is workforce participation. Right now, we know that there is a large cohort that doesn't have access to the same economic opportunities because of carer responsibilities for example. Women's participation is significantly less than their male counterparts particularly between the ages of 25-40.

I really want to bridge this gap and I think that we can do that by providing more affordable and accessible childcare. Not only will this improve workforce participation, but it also means that by investing in early childhood education, you're getting a long term productivity gain. We know that the more we invest in educating children under 5, the more they are able to thrive: the less likely they are to enter the juvenile justice or child protection systems, or to have poor health outcomes. And this is all completely in line with our Liberal values. We want to maximise everyone's opportunity to participate fully in our economy and have the opportunity to thrive.

**As you'd be aware, housing affordability has been making headlines and it's an issue that strikes home for young people. Is stamp duty reform on the cards? Why is reforming stamp duty a policy that young people should get behind?**

Certainly, any reforms that will make our tax system fairer for individuals and more conducive to economic growth is a good thing. This government is looking at a range of measures to ensure that everyone can access their own slice of the great Australian dream. We know that younger generations are going to find it harder than any generation before them to buy their own home. We will need a suite of measures to address that barrier.

**Now, as Energy Minister you've been championing market-led policies to address climate change. From a Liberal standpoint, why should we be advocating for ambitious climate policy?**

Well, there's the economic case. The market is leading in this space. Capital markets see the risk in not decarbonising and are shifting towards businesses that are decarbonising. Capital is scarce and we need to put in place policies to attract it otherwise we'll miss out on jobs, growth and prosperity. That is a huge economic price to bear. NSW is well placed to be a major beneficiary of this global transition. We have an abundance of wind and solar that the world will need in reaching their decarbonisation goals. BHP tell me that in mining, there are more jobs in getting to net zero than not. We should be grabbing those jobs. Also, NSW can export the products needed for the grids of tomorrow, such as steel and aluminium.

There's also the philosophical case. Conservatives believe in a contract between the generations. We need to be good custodians of the present so that we hand our society and our environment to the next generation better than how we found it.

That's why taking action on climate change is absolutely in line with Liberal values both economically and philosophically.

**My final question for you Treasurer! What would you say was your proudest achievement as the Energy and Environment Minister?**

It would be legislating the Energy Infrastructure Roadmap in the Energy Infrastructure Investment Act 2020 (NSW). It's a plan to transition our electricity generation to one that is cheaper, cleaner and more reliable. We did it in a way that brought the conservative parties together (the Liberals and the Nationals), in a way that focused on creating jobs and driving investment into NSW, and in a way that underwrites the industries of the future. And, we got it through Parliament with multi-party support.

This is reform driven by someone who came up through the Young Liberals, who worked with others to do something that will transform our economy and our nation's direction for the better, to ensure that our kids and their kids are better off. So, going back to your earlier question on why young people should get involved in politics - the vehicle by which young people can effect real change to improve their country for better is through politics.





## Executive Reports

Members of the Young Liberal Executive Team give reports for their portfolios. From Young Liberal Council, to Policy Series to campaigns and socials, readers will get a taste of the broad range of activities that the movement engages in to advance the cause of Liberalism.



# Why Join The Young Liberals?



**Dimitry Chugg-Palmer**  
Vice President (Policy)  
Federal Young Liberal Secretary  
Kingsford Smith Young Liberals

Joining the NSW Young Liberals is one of the best decisions you can make while you are just getting started out in your career.

Whether you are interested in pursuing a political career or not, the network, skills and friendships you will build through the Young Liberals will undoubtedly prove invaluable well into the future.

In an age where political apathy has never been more common among young people, standing up for what you believe in has never been more challenging and important. The Young Liberals have always been proud advocates for the views of young Australians and continues to be an important training ground for the leaders of tomorrow.

As Policy Vice-President part of my role involves helping to develop the ideas and policies that reflect the views of our membership. We do this through regular debates on policy motions at Young Liberal Council meetings. These regular meetings are an absolute highlight for many members who enjoy being able to practice their public speaking as well as share their views on current affairs.

Other regular highlights include the Young Liberal vs Young Labor Mock Parliament, Young Liberal Convention, Young Liberal Ball and the Young Liberal Mentoring Program.

You will also find plenty of mentions of campaigning in this magazine and on our online social media. Simply put, campaigning is the most important thing we can do to ensure that our views and values are put into action by good Coalition Governments. A couple of hours on a Saturday morning does make an enormous difference and is the best way to see real politics in action.

I hope to see you at one of our events or a campaign day very soon and look forward to welcoming you to our great party!



Left: Young Liberals have the opportunity to craft, move and debate policy motions

Top Right: A Young Liberal Council meeting

Bottom Right: Young Liberals campaigning for Matt Kean MP

# Campus

Standing up for common sense, liberal values at university isn't always the easiest task: flying the flag of freedom through clubs, campaigns and activism is a huge lightning rod for socialists of all stripes (and other whacky types!). The past few years in particular have been even more challenging than most for an added reason, which is of course lockdowns forcing activity online and largely extinguishing the student culture in which our clubs thrive. That being said, our emerging leaders on campuses across the state have continued to do an outstanding job advancing our ideas and fighting the good fight.

Looking ahead to 2022, there is an air of such excitement for all university life has in store now that students will be returning to campus after so long. Not only will everyone be back physically, but with a federal election coming up and so much happening in NSW politics, Unis will be alive with debate and political jostling. With terrific enthusiasm to match the times, our right-of-centre clubs across NSW have all had cracking O-Weeks in February to start the year and are already leaning into jam-packed schedules of events throughout. I particularly wish to recognise the executives of the following clubs for their brilliant work: The University of Sydney Conservative Club, The Macquarie Freedom Club, The UTS Freedom Club and the UOW Liberal Club.

Finally, if you're a University student reading this and you're not already involved and active at your club, then reach out and get into it – you won't regret it!



**Lachlan Finch**

Director (Campus & Careers)  
President, Mosman Young Liberals

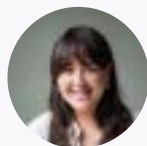


Young Liberals are at the beating heart of the battle of ideas across university campuses. Above: O-Week 2022 at USyd, UTS, UOW and Macquarie.



## Events

Our Movement is the driving energy of the Liberal Party, and our social events are the driving energy of our movement. While ongoing COVID-19 restrictions have limited our ability to meet in person we were able to come together for our 2021 Ball and have continued to engage members via online events.



**Georgia De Mestre**

Officer (Events and Senior Engagement)  
President, Paddington Young Liberals

### 2021 Ball

Every year the Young Liberal Movement holds its biggest event of the year- the Young Liberal Ball. Young Liberal Ball brings together hundreds of Young Liberals from across the State as well as Senior Liberal Ministers and Members to celebrate the accomplishments of the Liberal party over the course that year.

Young Liberal Ball saw then Minister for Energy and Environment Minister Matt Kean speak of the importance of Liberal values in both an Australian and global context, remarking that the Chinese Communist Party posed a "challenge to our values and our way of life".

For many the highlight of the night was Hugo Robinson and Dimitry Chugg-Palmer's roast. If you want to know what happened, well, you will need to come next time.



Above: YL Ball 2021 was a highlight in everyone's calendar.

### 2022 Events

Young Liberal Convention is back in 2022, with members having the opportunity to glean wisdom from thought leaders and hone their debating and public speaking skills. This year's convention will be held in Wollongong from Friday 24 June – Sunday 26 June. The Young Liberal Ball will also be back this year so get excited to get on the dancefloor.



Right: PM Scott Morrison addresses Young Liberal Convention 2020 via video.



# Policy Series



**Chanum Torres**  
Officer (Policy)  
President, Macarthur Young Liberals

My goal for Policy Series 2021 was simple, but important: to engage members with the fundamental tenets of liberalism and draw the curtain back on how those ideas shape contemporary policy.

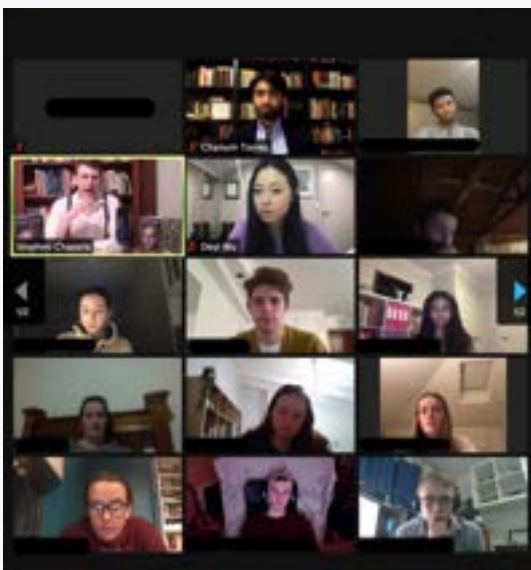
John Stuart Mill saw the power to “form opinions of [one’s] own” as invaluable and indeed fundamental to the working of any healthy liberal democratic society.

I am glad that Policy Series has had some part to play in providing a framework within which YLs can form their own considered and nuanced opinions, based off the timeless tenets of liberalism.

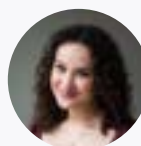
We were fortunate to have been joined by a range of guests over the year:

- **Nathan Deveson** (Managing Partner, MinterEllison Sydney) joined us to speak on the promises and pitfalls of stamp duty reform.
- **The Hon Mark Speakman SC MP** (NSW Attorney General) and **Jane Buncle** (Barrister, 10th Floor Chambers) joined us to discuss the Liberal approach to law reform - incremental, based on evidence, balancing competing rights.
- **Dr Steven Chavura** (academic and author) shared with us his insightful work on Sir Robert Menzies’ beliefs and the cultural forces that shaped him.
- **Dave Sharma MP** (Member for Wentworth) brought his considerable foreign policy experience to the table to help unpack the situation in Afghanistan and the shifting geopolitical order across the globe.
- **The Hon Philip Ruddock** (Former Minister for Immigration, NSW Party President) and **Julian Leeser MP** (Member for Berowra) joined us for a fascinating discussion around multiculturalism, First Nations recognition and how liberalism provides the grounding for a plural and open society.
- **Senator Andrew Bragg** (Chair, Senate Select Committee on Australia as a Technology and Financial Centre) spoke to us on the opportunities of cryptocurrency and fintech and appropriate regulatory approaches. My special thanks to **Joel Savage** and **James Skibinski** for taking the lead on this particular talk.

Thank you to all of our guests and attendees!



# Campaigning



**Julia Kokic**  
Flying Squad Director  
Throsby Young Liberals

Despite the uncertainties of COVID-19, the NSW Young Liberals have demonstrated an unwavering commitment to campaigning for our party and values.

There is no better way to meet people, learn how to communicate your convictions, and get a behind-the-scenes look at elections than by volunteering to campaign.

The campaign agenda for this executive term began with assisting our Tasmanian neighbours in re-electing the Gutwein government. Some of our members volunteered interstate to letterbox and campaign. Many Young Liberals also assisted from NSW through phone canvassing. The Tasmanian election was a great success and the Gutwein government was re-elected.

In May 2021, the NSW Young Liberals travelled to the Upper Hunter to assist our Coalition partners in delivering a victory for Dave Layzell MP, Member for the Upper Hunter. Retaining this seat for the National Party was key to the strength of the Berejiklian Government in the Legislative Assembly. Our members were spread across the electorate, from Singleton to Scone, supporting Dave Layzell and the Liberal-National team.

Finally, the NSW Young Liberals came out in full force during the NSW Local government elections. Many Young Liberals put their hand up to run for council and were elected. The engagement of young people with local government is essential in keeping councils in touch with the cross-section of their community. Members of the NSW Young Liberals have been elected in the Sutherland Shire, Canterbury-Bankstown, Wollongong, Hunters Hill, Campbelltown, Georges River, Burwood, and Ryde.

For those who have caught the 'campaign bug,' there is much more to look forward to in 2022. We have the by-elections for the seats of Strathfield, Bega and Willoughby coming up, as well as the Federal Election. Thank you to everyone who has assisted in these elections. You are part of the reason we are in government today.



Top Row: Out campaigning for our Coalition partners, the Nationals, in the Upper Hunter  
Bottom Row: Spreading the Liberal message in the Local Government Elections



## Socials

I encourage anyone who has an interest in Australia's political issues as well as an interest in developing their professional skills to join the NSW Young Liberals. There are many opportunities to voice your opinions and debate ideas at events like Young Liberal Council and the numerous Policy Events.

These events will give you a chance to practice your public speaking skills and presentation skills preparing you for your career. The NSW Young Liberals has members from all over New South Wales which offers you the opportunity to network with like-minded individuals from all walks of life. Members also work and study in a diverse array of fields which will provide you a degree of understanding of issues that impact industries that you would not normally be exposed to.

Being on the Young Liberal Executive and being involved with the Socials portfolio has given me the opportunity to facilitate networking opportunities for our members through various pub crawls, budget night drinks and zoom social events during the COVID lockdown period. The Young Liberal Movement has multiple opportunities to develop your political, professional and personal skills in a supportive environment which I have found to be very transferable to my career in the private sector.



**Dimitri Konstantinidis**  
Officer (Socials)  
Menai Young Liberals



Top Row: Enjoying a night of Kahoot trivia over Zoom. (P.S, the answer is Gough Whitlam!)  
Bottom: At the pub watching the Federal Budget





## Opinion Pieces

The NSW Young Liberals boast a unique and robust culture of policy debate and advocacy. These opinion pieces from across the movement, broaching a range of social and economic issues, are a testament to the fact that the Young Liberals are a powerhouse of ideas.

# Ideology Is Not A Dirty Word



Liam Kiss

President, Ku-Ring-Gai Young Liberals

Liam provides a timely reminder that principle is indispensable to good government.

Perhaps inspired by the success of global populist movements, many political leaders have over the past few years adopted a dismissive attitude to concepts of ideology or political philosophy in favour of pragmatism. Our party has not been immune to the temptation to disassociate from so-called high-minded ideals.

Guiding value sets have been consigned to the bench as an easy scapegoat for leaders who want to present themselves as sensible middle-of-the-road problem-solvers. This proposition is understandably attractive; if you'll permit me to mix metaphors, why would I want a leader with their head in the clouds or their nose in a book when there's another with their finger on the pulse and their feet planted firmly on the ground?

Because, to reluctantly quote economist John Maynard Keynes, "practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." This is to say, even the ardent pragmatist will inadvertently conform to the views of one ideology or another when they seek to solve problems. The proof of this can be seen in our Party's embrace of Keynesian big government spending in the wake of the pandemic; the same approach our party had, rightfully, spent over a decade decrying the Labor Party for adopting in response to the GFC.

One could even go so far as to say an anti-ideology pragmatism is in itself something of a modern utilitarian ideology. Pragmatism is essentially the weighing up of different policies based on which appears to give the most significant electoral gain for the most minor cost. This could easily pass for a reductive definition of utilitarianism in a "Political Philosophies for Dummies" guide.

In the face of the easy, no-frills allure of pragmatism, why does political ideology still matter?

Like it or not, ideology is an all-encompassing facet of political life. Much as some would have us believe otherwise, ideologies aren't merely some prescriptive set of rules an individual must follow; they are an indispensable lens through which we come to understand, interpret, craft and analyse policy responses.

For the environmentalist, this lens could be, "will this action hurt the environment?" For the conservative, "will it erode moral decency?" For the classical liberal or the more radical libertarian, "will it unnecessarily impede on civil liberties?"

Ideology is the ordering of preferences according to values. For example, is individualism more important than tradition? Is reducing inequality more important than protecting the environment? Obviously, real-world policy is rarely a clear-cut choice in these terms, but ideology provides a foundational basis for weighing these often competing objectives.

Furthermore, approaching problems from this perspective of ideology has the benefit of providing a genuine value proposition and vision for the future when communicating to voters. Giving the electorate a clear understanding of the values we support and the vision these values underpin allows for a more apparent distinction between our political opponents and us when we go to an election.

We need only look to our most successful and longest-serving Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, to see the success of this approach. Sir Menzies was stalwart in his admiration for the individual and rejection of the collectivist conformity of his Labor opponents, and the people of Australia agreed with this vision at every turn. Likewise with our friends in the UK, Margaret Thatcher and one of her own political heroes, William Gladstone, were tireless doctrinaires adhering to the ideological cause of classical liberalism or "19th-century-liberalism". This commitment to their values earned them 11 years and 13 years in office, respectively. Not to mention the persisting adoration of conservatives, classical liberals, and libertarians worldwide.

So, as we "look forward" - as this edition of Young Liberal Review calls us to do - let's stay true to being a Party of values and ideals and reject the calls to embrace populism or pragmatism.

**"We took the name 'Liberal' because we were determined to be a progressive party, willing to make experiments, in no sense reactionary, but believing in the individual, his rights and enterprise, and rejecting the Socialist panacea."**

**Sir Robert Menzies**

# The Liberal Ideology: An Inherently Tolerant Force In Australian Politics.



**Tamika Dartnell-Moore**  
Mosman Young  
Liberals

Tamika draws out the critical distinctions between a Liberal understanding of freedom and Labor's vision of freedom subordinated to external goals.

Freedom of speech and individual liberties. These two foundations of the Liberal political ideology engender tolerance at the heart of the Liberal Party. It is these core tenets which have made the Liberal political movement the most tolerant of major political movements in Australia.

Amid the Religious Discrimination Bill 2021 debate and continued discussion regarding the use of a plebiscite to achieve marriage equality, there has never been a better time to reflect on the tenets of the Liberal tradition which continue to guide and bond our party and members. When the Liberal Party was founded in 1944, there was an increasing fear of the socialist and communist movements which had been steadily taking over Australia seeking to create the 'all-powerful State.' This opposition to socialism was instrumental in the development of the early Liberal platform. The early Liberals railed against the 'subordination of the individual to the universal officialdom of government' to give Australians an alternative which supported the individual's rights, protected freedom of speech, believed in the ability of an efficient free market and small government.

It is in these humble beginnings where the Liberal Party was infused with a fierce respect for free speech and individual liberties, a respect which has remained largely unchanged to that which Menzies' outlined in his 1949 'We Believe Speech', (Menzies, 1949). Menzies argued that the real freedoms are 'to worship, to think, to speak, to choose, to be ambitious, to be independent, to be industrious, to acquire skill, to seek reward.'

Today, like all political movements, the Liberal Party has had to grapple with complex social issues on which members have deeply held and often competing views. While much is said about the validity of perspectives on both sides of social issues, it is the Liberal tradition which continues to fiercely protect freedom of speech and individual liberties that engenders a deep respect and encouragement for debate, and with it, a tolerance for difference.

Parliamentary parties, on both sides, have at times, forsaken elements of their ideology for election winning policies (much to the protest of rank and file members). Menzies was no different when he made a failed attempt to outlaw communism despite the party's conviction to freedom of association. I, therefore, choose to focus on the virtues extolled by a party's constitution as the guiding document for members, rather than the views or actions of any one individual leading a Parliamentary Party.

Since Gillard, Labor as the main centre-left party of Australia, has attempted to position itself as socially progressive, tolerant, and inclusive in comparison to the Liberal Party. While they may attempt to represent themselves this way, their ideological objectives encourage tolerance - with limits.

The Labor Party's constitution in outlining its objectives, states that the Labor Party stands for 'social justice and equality for individuals, the family and all social units,' and the 'elimination of discrimination and exploitation on the grounds of class, race, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, religion, political affiliation, national origin, citizenship, age, disability, regional location, economic or household status.' (Australian Labor Party, 2018) While this appears on the surface to be a catch-all 'freedom from', the strength of these objectives is undercut by the qualifier, of the Party's 'recognition of the right of citizens to work for progressive changes consistent with the broad principles of democratic socialism.' (Australian Labor Party, 2018). This is emblematic of a movement which protects freedoms and the right to political affiliation so long as their use align with 'progressive changes consistent with the broad principles of socialism.'

**"The real freedoms are to worship, to think, to speak, to choose, to be ambitious, to be independent, to be industrious, to acquire skill, to seek reward."**





Contrasting Labor's constitution with that of the Liberal Party we can see the principles praised by Menzies in 1949, as they relate to individual freedoms and speech are still recognisable in the Liberal Party today. The Party's constitution states that the Liberal Party objectives are to have an Australian nation 'dedicated to political liberty and the freedom and dignity of man; in which an intelligent, free and liberal Australian democracy is maintained by... iii) freedom of speech, religion and association; iv) freedom of citizens to choose their own way of living and of life, subject to the rights of others.' (Liberal Party of Australia, 2017) Unlike Labor's constitution, the citizens right to work for change in society is not qualified by the need to adhere to any particular political affiliation.

The Liberal Party's inherent tolerance and respect for free speech is one of the many reasons we function as a broad church and will continue to do so as we move forward as a party. It is our unwavering commitment to these principles that ensures opponents of the Religious Discrimination Bill 2021, like myself, are given - and give - the same level of respect in a debate on its failures as any fellow Liberal advocating for its merits. If that's not something to be proud of, I don't know what is.

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"...the true end and final justification of the State - a full and good life for every individual citizen..." - Menzies speaking in 1942 on the 'spirit of democracy'  
Above: a thriving Sydney CBD in the 1950s.

# Green Is Good: Australia's Global Opportunity

Lachlan makes the economic case for an Australian clean energy transition.



**Lachlan Finch**  
President, Mosman  
Young Liberals

We've all heard Australia called "The Lucky Country" at one point or another - usually in reference to sunny skies, a free and multicultural society, or an abundance of natural resources. The great irony behind the famous quip is that its creator, author David Horne, actually meant it as a dig at our leadership and national character. The way Horne saw it, Aussie prosperity was simply the result of lucky timing, lucky international relationships, and lucky geography: all in spite of an unambitious and unsophisticated population. What a patriot!

Whilst we can agree to disagree on the spirit of Australian enterprise (a lot has changed since Horne's political burn in 1964), it's true that we've benefited massively as a nation from our natural endowments. From the pastures and gold fields of the 19th century through to the mining boom of the early 2000's, Australia has consistently found value in our land and opened our doors to the world to share it. Now, with the global green energy transition kicking off, Australia has an opportunity to continue this great tradition at a scale never seen before.

## Australia has all the ingredients for success

The global path to net zero requires a huge transformation to the levers of our economy: the ways we power our world, the way we transport people and goods, the ways we feed ourselves, the ways we manage our waste - it's all changing rapidly. Underpinning this change is a dire and growing need for technology, people and raw materials, and many clever punters have noted Australia has a competitive advantage in some of the right sectors, but it's not commonly grasped just how monumental the opportunity is.

Australia is not just in a good spot to benefit here, it is perfectly positioned to power the green revolution. The critical minerals required to produce and store renewable energy are found in abundance across our continent, and the companies best at extracting them all have a history of excellence operating here (indeed many are home grown success stories themselves). For alternative fuel creation we have the world's most favourable conditions to generate clean hydrogen, and the legacy infrastructure from decades of successful oil and gas operations we can repurpose to do so efficiently.

With our vast land mass and diverse coastal resources, we even have an unrivalled ability to remove carbon from the atmosphere and store it in soil and vegetation - including in lands managed by both our First Nations peoples and our industrious farmers.

As if all that wasn't enough, encompassing these incredible resources is a legal system and corporate environment that integrates well with the global economy and gives investors and operators confidence and security. This is particularly valuable when competing locations housing the same resources are often mired in either legal and geopolitical uncertainty, or ethical issues like modern slavery and child labour.

### **A pro-market government is crucial**

Unfortunately, it's not just all green power and super jobs: the risks of not getting it right are real and loom large on our future prosperity, with two red lights in particular. The first is a growing risk that we don't manage the transition from our traditional resources export base of fossil fuels to green commodities quickly and effectively: the opportunity cost of mismanagement on this front could be as high as \$123 Billion from 2030-2050. The second enormous risk is that we don't get enough investment from the market in the new green economy at the pace and scale required, which according to Bloomberg will need to be...wait for it... \$60 Billion annually by 2050 if we're to meet the net zero pathway.

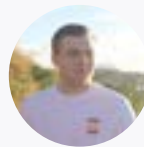


So what's the right move for government? It's true that the Coalition's net zero plan leaves a fair amount wanting in it's current form, but the technology not taxes route is exactly the right prescription, and industry has already favourably responded to the investment frameworks laid therein. In comparison, and without wanting to sound like a talking points reel, it genuinely is the case that the quickest way to jeopardise this nation's green opportunity would be a change of government this year to a Labor/Greens/Independent majority. During the last commodity boom in this country, coming off the back of record exports of our natural resources, Labor's grand policy was to slap on a mining tax and a carbon tax – the bluntest of all possible policy instruments – and punish the very same companies that today are driving the green economy forward. An implementation of a similar platform now would be catastrophic for our chances of managing the transition and attracting and retaining desperately needed investment.

We're entering the greatest economic transformation since the industrial revolution, and Australia finds itself, yet again, with all the right resources, and all the right relationships, at exactly the right time. With a forward looking, pro-markets Liberal-National Government, we need not simply be lucky, we can also be prepared.



# The Future Of The Liberal Party In Western Sydney



**Christian Martinazzo**  
Macarthur Young  
Liberals

Christian explores the electoral opportunities that lie in Western Sydney.

Having recently rewatched the acclaimed Broadway musical Hamilton for a third time, I came to a stark realisation. The 'young, scrappy and hungry' people of the fledgling United States of America would have been voters of the Liberal Party. Ambitious, determined, and young individuals and families have, for many years, been the swing demographic that has made up the bulk of Howard's 'battlers' or Scott Morrison's 'quiet Australians.' They do not throw away their shots for a better life, provided that the Government doesn't stand in their way while they take it.

To the west of the A6, an arterial road running from the north to south of Sydney, lies a land of opportunity. This is true not only for the people that live there but for the Liberal party that you, the reader, hopefully, are a part of. The A6 forms an imperfect line between Greater Western Sydney and Eastern Sydney. The 'battlers' and 'quiet Australians' in New South Wales are made up, in a large part, of the residents of these communities. These people are diverse in backgrounds and economic makeup. Many descend from families with blue-collar backgrounds. Many are either migrants or the children and grandchildren of migrants trying to do everything from studying to saving for a home or finding a job that they enjoy. Growing up in Liverpool, it was not uncommon for my classmates graduating high school to have been the first in their family to study at University.

## The State of Play

Of the 16 federal electorates whose bulk mainly falls to the east of the A6 line, the Liberal party either holds or has historically held, 11. Whereas to the west of this line, out of 11 seats the Liberal party holds only 2. In a similar story, of the 27 state electorates whose bulk falls mainly to the east of the A6, the Liberal party currently holds 17. Whilst in the 24 seats to the west, the Liberal party holds 10.

The stark voting differences simply should not be so. Aside from the record investments by Liberal State and Federal Governments into communities on either side of the A6 line, the 'young, scrappy and hungry' new residents are making traditional Labor areas more amenable to voting Liberal in ways that have never been seen before.

An illustrative example was seen on December 4 2021, where swings to the Liberal party were recorded in western Sydney councils like Campbelltown, Camden, Penrith, Hawkesbury and Liverpool. In Liverpool, the Liberal party won the mayoralty after an extended period of Labor rule. This was only the 2nd time the Liberal party has managed to do so. Notably, booths in perennial 'Labor suburbs' such as Miller (we're talking Labor 2PP margins rarely falling below 60%) were split 50/50 for both parties. In Campbelltown, the Liberal Party recorded an 8.2% swing towards its candidates, mirroring results seen in 2012, when public sentiment towards the Labor party was at a historic low, to record the best result for the party in history. The campaign promised efficient economic management, effective infrastructure and experience from a diverse candidate base of nationalities, ages and genders which more closely mirrored the demographics of the area. In both cases, their campaigns amounted to a resounding success with Liberal mayors installed in both Councils.

## How the West Was Won Then, and How We Do It Again

When I set out to write this piece, it was intended to be a call to campaign for the Liberal party message in battleground seats in Western Sydney both state and federally. In that respect it still is. Marginal federal seats held or formerly held by the Liberal party such as Lindsay, Macquarie, Parramatta, Macarthur and Greenway are key to achieving a fourth term in government during the upcoming federal election. Likewise, marginal state seats held or formerly held by the Liberal party such as Londonderry, Parramatta and Penrith will be crucial for the Liberal party if it is to achieve an unprecedented fourth term in 2023.

However, think back to the results mentioned earlier in Liverpool and Campbelltown. In both campaigns the Liberal party ran on a right-of-centre message which advocated for good and accountable government, financial responsibility and 'getting things done' with sensible infrastructure works. The reward for this platform came in the form of electoral success. In 2019, the Liberal party's message, which advocated in many ways for the same positions, reverberated in long time Labor-held federal electorates like Chifley, Werriwa and Parramatta to bring the latter two into marginal seat status. The same is the case for the state electorate of Londonderry.



What this means is twofold; first, the future of the NSW Liberal party remains in its moderate and sensible approach to the issues that lurk in the back of the minds of the 'quiet Australians.' Second, the future of the NSW Liberal party rests in attracting the votes of the young and ambitious voters reshaping our electoral battlegrounds. This is proven possible by prosecuting right-of-centre policies that evidence has shown the communities west of the A6 line are receptive to. This also applies to long-time residents of western Sydney who, due to investments by State and Federal Liberal governments in areas ranging from health, education, infrastructure and the removal of barriers to success like higher taxes, have seen upward class mobility or more avenues for class mobility open up to them.

Looking forward, it is unreasonable to expect that prosecuting our policies in seats held by Labor since federation would automatically lead to them voting Liberal at the next election. However, if we rise up to the occasion and take a shot at building inroads in these communities and engaging as a movement with young, right-of-centre Australians in western Sydney today, we will see the message of our party run competitively in the battlegrounds of tomorrow.



Opportunity for the Liberal Party abounds in a growing and thriving Western Sydney. Top: Parramatta CBD. Bottom: Western Sydney Airport under construction.

## A Word On Disability Policy



Justin Hill  
Hornsby-Berowra  
Young Liberals

Justin draws us back to Liberal first-principles: maximising opportunities for all individuals to flourish .

Disability Policy is an issue that isn't covered in Australian politics enough. Not many Parliamentarians know what it is like to live with a disability.

I was born with an intellectual disability. Growing up, I faced many issues in the education system and employment. I had an unusual education where I went through a Steiner school, home-schooling, special school, and a public school. Many students with disability face exclusion where they are put into special education units away from other students. This means they lose social skills and the chance to interact and socialise with others.

The problem extends beyond education, and into employment. Australia ranks 21st out of 29 OECD Countries for labour force participation for people with disability. This means many people with a disability are missing out on the dignity of employment and the opportunities that arise from it. My own experience of finding employment has been a struggle and the lack of disabled people in the workforce means that the issue goes unnoticed.

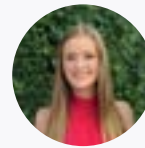
Perhaps the solution lies in better representation in Parliament. Perhaps the solution lies in people with disability getting involved in political movements, like the Young Liberals. Whatever it is, we need to be doing everything we can to give people with disabilities the same opportunities to live a fulfilling life as every other Australian citizen has.

For the true measure of a liberal society is how it opens up opportunity for all of its citizens, especially its most vulnerable.

**"[Despite] all their inequalities  
of mind and body, the souls of  
men stand equal in the sight of  
God."**

**Sir Robert Menzies**

# End Of The Road For Voluntary Assisted Decision Making



**Georgia Lowden**  
Ku-Ring-Gai Young  
Liberals

Georgia asks whether power is too centralised in the context of Voluntary Assisted Dying legislation.

Voluntary assisted dying (VAD), more commonly referred to as euthanasia, has garnered significant support amongst Australian society. According to Vote Compass, in 2019 support for euthanasia amongst Australian voters was almost 90%, up from 77% in 2016 and 75% in 2013. This support transcended demographics such as age, gender and political alignment, with over 70% of respondents in all categories expressing support for it.

The strong support for VAD has been reflected in its legalisation in every Australian state except for NSW, where a VAD bill recently passed the lower house. Victoria was the first to legalise it in 2017, followed by Western Australia in 2019, and Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania in 2021. Australia is at a turning point in the legalisation of VAD. But our territories are being left behind.

Australian territories are vested the right in the Constitution to create laws that promote peace, order and good government. The Rights of the Terminally Ill Act 1995 (RTI Act) made the Northern Territory the first jurisdiction in the world to legalise VAD. However, in 1997 the Howard Government overturned this with the Euthanasia Laws Act (The Act), amending the Acts of Australia's territories by removing their power to enact laws "which permit... the form of intentional killing of another called euthanasia." In effect, power was shifted from more local (and hence more accountable and responsive) legislatures to Canberra.

A touchstone of liberalism is decentralised power. Yet, the Act denies territory legislatures the same ability state legislatures have by prohibiting them from passing legislation that makes VAD services available. It continues to deny terminally-ill territory citizens the choice to die with dignity purely based on where they live. It is the fundamental unfairness of this that motivated NT Senator Sam McMahon to move a bill to overturn the Act in 2021.

Beyond the point of equity, the Act is at odds with objectives in the National Palliative Care Strategy (NPCS). Goal 3 of the NPCS, 'access and choice', posits that individuals with terminal

illnesses should receive care that aligns with their needs and preferences, and includes addressing limitations to access and choice.

A clear contradiction is evident between the NPCS' advocacy for patient autonomy and the federal law that deprives territories of the ability to provide their terminally ill citizens with the choice of VAD. A fundamental issue here is the concern that VAD is incompatible with palliative care and can adversely impact palliative care sectors. However, a 2018 report by Palliative Care Australia (PCA) highlighted how many palliative care sectors have benefited from integrating VAD as an option in end-of-life care.

The report found each jurisdiction studied throughout Europe and North America required patients to be informed of alternative treatment options prior to accessing VAD services. In fact, high levels of patient involvement in palliative care were consistent across jurisdictions. For instance, 91% of patients in Oregon, 88% in Washington State, and 71% in Belgium were enrolled in these services at their time of death.

European countries permitting VAD also record higher per capita access to palliative care than their counterparts, contradicting the concern that VAD may be used for patients without access to palliative care.

Another common concern surrounding the legalisation of VAD is that it is a 'slippery slope' toward abuse and non-voluntary euthanasia. However, PCA's report found no evidence of the erosion of safeguards surrounding VAD. Various strategies have been adopted to mitigate the risk of euthanasia abuse, such as scopes of eligibility being explicitly defined in legislation, requirements for doctors to participate in compliance reporting, and monitoring of trends in utilisation of VAD services. Similar safeguards are evident in Australian state legislation on VAD.

PCA's report also found that VAD legislation may improve the quality of palliative care. For example, 76% of physicians in Oregon claim to have actively sought out information on palliative care since the legalisation of VAD there in 1997. Oregon has also seen increased palliative care referral rates, and higher rates of do-not-resuscitate orders amongst nursing home residents.

These changes, amongst others, demonstrate movement towards several goals outlined in Australia's NPCS: increased understanding of palliative care services amongst doctors and patients, increased capability of healthcare workers in providing information about them, and subsequent enhancing of access and choice for individuals.

Repealing the Act would restore the rights of territories to create laws pertaining to VAD that they deem appropriate in order to promote peace, order and good government. It would also grant terminally ill citizens in Australia's territories greater access and choice to services that meet their physical and psychological needs and preferences, in line with the NPCS.

There is strong support for VAD amongst the Australian public. Denying territories the right to legislate on it is frankly undemocratic and more than a little bit patronising. The Australian Government should repeal the Act and enable the territories to decide for themselves whether to provide services that are strongly supported by their citizens.

It is time for the Government to listen to those within its ranks like Senator McMahon, and do away with an outdated vestige of the Howard years – one that is not something to be proud of.



Goal 3 of the NPCS is 'Access and Choice'

## Harder And Smarter: Tackling The Ice Epidemic

Cooper investigates avenues of law reform to better tackle the ice epidemic.



**Cooper Gannon**

Miranda-Cook Young Liberals

It cannot be denied; New South Wales is ensnared by a health crisis of a greater magnitude than COVID-19, one beyond the reach of vaccinations, health orders and, historically, political motivation to implement meaningful solutions. With the turn of the year comes the opportunity for a data-driven, rational Liberal government to implement once-in-a-generation criminal law reform that confronts the core of the crisis: ice.

Despite an infamous reputation, the deleterious effects of crystal methamphetamine ('ice'), have not been sufficient in slowing the epidemic of its uptake. Numerous studies identify that Australia has the highest rate of amphetamine dependence in the world, and in NSW (between 2010 and 2019, our latest figures) the number of deaths involving methamphetamine have rapidly expanded from 95 to 357. For reference, this is eight and a half times higher than the equivalent statistic for MDMA (ecstasy), the exemplar drug amidst our state's infamous 'pill-testing' debate. Deaths, however, are but an acute snapshot of the broader health and social toll. In 2018-19, there were 3,243 hospital admissions with a primary diagnosis related to methamphetamine. Compounding this strain on our health system, amphetamines accounted for the second largest proportion of illicit drug arrests in NSW, a figure of approximately 8000 per annum. Of this 8000, BOCSAR reports 77% (of those 18+) proceed to court.

The data expounds but one conclusion: the current framework for responding to methamphetamines is flawed. This was also the finding reached in the New South Wales government's Special Commission of Inquiry into the Drug 'Ice', led by Professor Dan Howard SC. The proliferation of ice use across the state, leading to thousands of hospital admissions accompanied by an equally unbridled volume of court appearances, raises the following question: is there a better approach?



It is in response to this question that many immediately turn to the simple appeal of the 'd-word': decriminalisation. Let it be outright clear – decriminalisation is not the solution to any drug which wages open warfare on our communities to the same extent as ice. Instead, another 'd-word' presents the opportunity for logical reform: diversion. Legislation from the New South Wales government enabling, in instances of personal use, a process of initial diversion from contact with the court system is worth pursuing, as this submission intends to persuade.

Understanding the need for a diversionary focus begins with appreciating the distinction between criminal justice and health responses. It is the rightful obligation of the criminal justice system to incapacitate and punish drug suppliers; the provision of ice to another, regardless of scale, must remain accurately identified as the direct endangerment of another's life. On personal possession and use, the existing law (being largely consistent since the 1980s) irrationally applies these same anti-supply objectives of incapacitation, retribution and deterrence to personal users; section 21 of the Drug Misuse and Trafficking Act 1985 (NSW) offers a \$2,200 fine, up to two years imprisonment or both combined for individuals found with less than one gram of ice for personal use. How such an approach serves to mitigate recidivism and disrupt methamphetamine demand escapes, among others, the President of the New South Wales Bar Association, Michael McHugh SC, and former NSW Police Commissioner Andrew Scipione. Unsurprisingly, both figures support reform.

Q: What then does effective law reform addressing ice practically involve?

A: A bold legislative agenda which recognises personal use for first-time offenders as a health issue – not as a matter for the further congestion of courts across the state.

Diversion into health-based programs is not an unproven concept and has observable results both within New South Wales, through the MERIT program in particular, and across Australia in numerous jurisdictions. A recent comprehensive study by the University of New South Wales observed that one health program slashed reoffending by as much as 62 percent, whilst simultaneously 'saving' millions in taxpayer dollars once lost to the criminal justice system.

Plainly, as a cornerstone item forming part of a broader approach, the New South Wales government would benefit from introducing a legislated police diversion scheme for use and personal possession of ice. As opposed to referring ice offenders directly to the courts, police would instead mandatorily refer them to an appropriate health, social or educational program best suited to their needs. This scheme would also hold the potential to expand and eventually include a range of similar drugs. As a further option, in accordance with recommendations 9 and 10 of The Special Commission, the New South Wales government has an opportunity to lead the charge in developing a model whole-of-government response to drug and alcohol abuse, integrating law reform tackling ice as just one component of a broader strategy. A review of current allocations from the Confiscation of Proceeds of Crime Act 1989 (NSW) and the Criminal Assets Recovery Act 1990 (NSW) could partially fund the plan.

Ice law reform, whether it be establishing mandatory referral into a health-based program for first time ice offenders, altering current penalties or legislating a whole-of-government action plan, is not about capitulating to drugs. Rather, the New South Wales government will be ensuring ice users receive the support they need in order to avoid cycles of recidivism. Unnecessary contact with, and the clogging of, our state's courts will be reduced, reversing an alarming current trend away from diversionary programs. The evidence is clear nonetheless: the one thing we cannot do is fail up to 8000 people per year by maintaining the status quo. A data-driven, rational Liberal government must take the opportunity to battle ice harder and smarter in 2022.



Ice addiction is a blight on Australian society. But what is the best legal framework to address it? Above: \$87m of ice confiscated by police in April 2021

# Health Reform Without Health Experts

David calls for greater oversight of the health bureaucracy.

We know many policy decisions over the last 24 months have 'followed the advice of health experts'. When formulating policy in response to a global pandemic this is a reasonable proposition.

But many of health experts have played a role in shaping health policy long before the pandemic and its questionable whether the advice being given is strictly health advice.

Many in our movement have campaigned for the Oral Contraceptive Pill (The Pill) to be made available over the counter (OTC), without the need for a repeat script from a GP. I preface that OTC medication requires a pharmacist to ensure that The Pill is being used as intended.

This is a common sense campaign built on the frustration those who take The Pill. When I asked one friend for their opinion on the matter, they instantly told me "[I] have many opinions about being forced to get a new script every 12 months".

The simple fact is that there is no benefit for the patient to have to see their GP to renew a script for a medication they have been taking for years. It also restricts access to The Pill in rural and remote communities, where GP accessibility is not on par with major capital cities.

Despite these frustrations in December 2021, the Therapeutic Goods Administration (TGA) ruled against making The Pill available OTC. The decision was made by the Delegate of the Secretary Department of Health and Ageing on the basis that; "[T]he benefits of supply from a pharmacist outweigh the risks to women's health when supplied without consultation from a medical practitioner".

The identity of the delegate is not disclosed in the TGA decision, but according to the Federal Department of Health he is Deputy Secretary for Health Products Regulation, Adjunct Professor John Skerritt (Delegate Dude). Being an Adjunct Professor I have no issue with Delegate Dude being part of the decision-making process. But given the fiscal implications of Delegate Dude's decision I do take issue with him being the key decision maker.

Delegate Dude made his decision based on the advice of the Advisory Committee on Medicines Scheduling (ACMS).



**David Nouri**

President, Hornsby-Berowra Young Liberals

The ACMS was established in July 2010 to advise and make recommendations to Delegate Dude on the level of access to medications.

The 17 members of the ACMS have a diverse set of medical qualifications. However, I could not identify a single member with experience outside of the health space, let alone in economic policy. When considering the decision to prohibit making The Pill available OTC, the issue is that Delegate Dude and the ACMS are making major health spending decisions without proper oversight.

Between October 2020 to September 2021 88.6% of all GP visits were Bulk Billed, costing Medicare \$17.90 per visit. Given 17% of Australians are estimated to take The Pill, and with 15% of them use Bulk Billing the current regime is a guaranteed cost of \$67.5 Million to Medicare. Of course a GP should be involved with the prescribing of The Pill, especially given its application beyond a contraceptive. But requiring patients to visit their GP specifically for a repeat script, for a medication that many have taken for years, if not decades, is an unreasonable burden on patients and Medicare.

Delegate Dude and the ACMS might be forgiven for making an isolated decision, without considering the cost to Medicare. But this is no isolated incident.

In December 2020, Delegate Dude and the ACMS implemented regulations, requiring a prescription for the personal importation of Vaping Juice containing nicotine (Vape Juice) from October 2021. It was only when I had to get a script for Vape Juice did I realise just what a waste to the taxpayer the process is.

In the published TGA decision for Vape Juice, Delegate Dude highlighted the need for a patient's regular GP to be actively involved in determining whether to prescribe a patient Vape Juice. Ironically, thanks to Delegate Dude and the ACMS, my regular GP couldn't write me a script, as only Authorised Prescribers can prescribe Vape Juice. Currently there are 593 Authorised Prescribers out of 34,742 GPs. When I got my script in November 2021, there were around 70.

After an extremely brief, but professional consultation with an Authorised Prescriber via Telehealth I received my Vaping Script. Medicare covered \$39.10 of the cost, an avoidable cost, from unnecessary regulations.

The continued prescription requirements for both Vape Juice and The Pill only work to the detriment of Medicare. The reasons given by Delegate Dude are devoid of the everyday experiences of patients, and are more akin to a detached intellectualism.

As Liberals we believe in Medicare by virtue of our belief in equality of opportunity. Importantly, we also believe in responsible government. The echo chamber of the Delegate Dude and the ACMS is hindering responsible government by placing unnecessary bureaucratic and fiscal burdens on Medicare.

Removing these burdens isn't an assault on Medicare, but quite the opposite. Removing these unnecessary costs, would allow for vital medicines to be available through the PBS, allowing greater access to life saving medications.

If Delegate Dude and ACMS made their decisions in partnership with a Policy Officials from outside of the Medical Profession, maybe The Pill and Vape Juice would be available OTC. The advice of the Health Experts is important, but they shouldn't be the only experts we listen to.



Spending and scheduling decisions without proper oversight can lead to unnecessary and burdensome costs.

## Super Reform: A Remedy For The Housing Crisis?

Tom broaches the possibility of early access to super to give young people a leg-up.



**Tom Cleary**

Pittwater Young Liberals

The "Australian dream" is largely understood to be the concept of owning your own home and having living standards better than those of your parents. For generations, this has been what many Australians have strived for.

And yet, Generation Z (largely understood to be people born between 1997 and 2012) are, according to the Grattan Institute, in danger of being the first generation since World War II to have lower living standards than their parents. Housing affordability, especially in major cities, has proved to be a challenge for young people entering the market. Housing prices in the Sydney metropolitan area are currently at an all-time high in 2022, with seemingly no signs of slowing down any time soon as supply stagnates while demand remains high.

Realestate.com.au's Renter Report of 2019 found 20 per cent of young people aged between 18 and 29 were content with renting forever, not expecting to own their own home at any stage in their lives. This is a statistic that myself, as a young person, finds disconcerting, yet somehow able to relate to.

I find it difficult to relate with my parents, who in their late twenties purchased a house in a good area at a bargain bin price. Young people are just as entitled to "the Australian dream" just as much as their parents which is why super reform is necessary in resolving this decades-long crisis.

Each year, working Australians save billions of dollars in super funds and pay \$30 billion in fees. The concept of 10% employer paid superannuation is a noble and efficient one - it reduces the number of retirees dependent on government payments through the pension and helps set up Australians for retirement. However, with housing prices as high as they are today, and wages growth remaining weak, the option to tap into super contributions to put down a deposit on a home is a radical yet logical concept that can prove appealing to young people.



Withdrawals of super money to pay for a house deposit allows one of two things to happen - the house could be an owner-occupied property, affording young Australians the chance to own their own home, or could be used as an investment property, a simple yet effective way to develop a stable, passive income for young Australians who wish to grow their own wealth to pass onto future generations.

The arguments against such reform are flimsy at best. The McKell Institute, a Labor-affiliated think tank, argues that Australians who opt for a house deposit instead of keeping their money invested in super would retire worse off. When comparing major super funds, the rate of return of an average growth fund over a 10 year period from 2011 to 2021 was 8.6% - an impressive figure on its own, but in terms of an investment, property has a slightly weaker yet comparable rate of return as Westpac research found housing prices in the Sydney metropolitan area grew at a rate of 7.6% each year in the same period. And while superannuation funds will attack these ideas arguing that property won't appreciate forever, the GFC proved that not even the superannuation system is a stable investment.

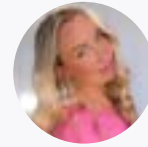
The difference is negligible. Why should young working Australians' money be locked away in the super system well into their seventies when it could be used on a home deposit which provides a similar return on investment. In some cases, housing can offer a better deal than super funds. For example, the Northern Beaches, where I have lived for all 21 years of my life - the price of a house has grown at an annual rate of just over 10% for the last 10 years - a rate stronger than that of most super funds.

The assumption that the spending of super money on a home deposit will somehow throw a spanner into retirement, an argument that the superannuation industry goes down all too often - poorly assumes that young people will ultimately mismanage their money and put themselves in a poor position for retirement. Why is this assumption considered valid by the eyes of many? Millennials consistently outdo their senior generational groups in studies covering household budgets and saving rates, and the younger Generation Z won't be any different in a few years' time.

At the end of the day, the liberal principle when it comes to super is that super savings should fall into the hands of the individual responsible for saving that money - not in the hands of a superannuation company that in many cases invests hard working Australians' money into dubious initiatives and with a lack of appropriate oversight. Without the necessary reform to the super system, I can't help but wonder if the "Australian dream" will be of reach for my generation.



# Reflections On Joining The Young Liberals



**Mikayla Barnes**  
Shoalhaven Young  
Liberals

Mikayla discusses putting belief into action and getting involved in politics.

When I was campaigning in the 2019 Federal Election, I was approached by an older member of the New South Wales Labor Party. He sneered at me and asked me why I joined the Liberal Party. Being so passionate and confident about our Party and its values, my response came instinctively: "I would like to represent and lead like-minded women on the political floor, particularly within the Liberal Party itself," I said.

He seemed shocked at how high my head was held and how tall I stood, intimidated almost. His reply, at the time, shocked me: "Good luck getting anywhere as a woman in the Liberal Party". I went on to serve as President of the University of Wollongong Liberal Club. I told this exact story in my succession speech. I finished the speech with, "I wish that member of the Labor Party could see me now."

With more women in the Liberal Party than ever before, I am proud to say that I am a part of a Movement that is only progressing forward. Now, we all know that there is far more work to be done to increase women's participation and opportunities in our Party. Our Party needs to be one that is reflective of a broad cross-section of Australian society. This ensures that our policies continue to reflect the hopes and dreams of everyday Australians.

But I have great hope in the future. To stand up to those that criticise from the sidelines and to walk into something that many young people disapprove of takes courage, courage that many women before me have shown and will continue to show.

Politics isn't necessarily to do what is most popular, but what you believe in, what I as a woman believe in. I got involved in the Movement, in politics, so that I could make a real difference. I got involved so that I could lead and most importantly so that I could encourage more young women to push for their own success and blaze their own paths in the Party.

The Liberal Party has its roots deep in the belief of the value and worth of each and every individual. The wonderful and powerful Young Liberal Movement that I know is a fierce advocate for this belief. This is the side of the aisle that I love. This is the side of the aisle where I can, sit, stand, walk, talk, and make a real difference to the future of our wonderful country.

In my time in the Party, I have seen talented women make moves, accept jobs, stand up, and say what they believe in and not back down – something the Movement supports time and time again. This is the Party at its best, providing an environment for women to flourish. So I will accept copping "good luck getting anywhere as a woman in the Liberal Party" one million times over if it means that I can inspire even more women to take a chance, to be confident and achieve something incredible by engaging in politics.



Liberal women at the helm.

Left: Foreign Minister Marise Payne (President, NSW Young Liberals 1987-88) meets with the US Secretary of State.

Right: Former NSW Premier Gladys Berejiklian (President, NSW Young Liberals 1996-1997) on the front cover of the AFR.

# Why The 1990s Are More Important Than You Think

Keenan appraises the post-1990 geopolitical landscape and calls for greater alertness.



**Keenan Smith**  
Epping-Eastwood  
Young Liberals

The Ninth of November 1989 was a moment that changed the annals of history. The fall of the Berlin Wall, both literally and metaphorically represented the tolling of the final death bell of the Soviet Empire. In little over two years, Muscovites would be lining up to buy Big Macs near Red Square as the sickle and hammer was lowered for the last time. Democracy at last had prevailed. It appeared as though an inexorable tide of democratic ideals had swept the world; markets were liberalising and the future of the liberal democratic order had never seemed so secure.

It was in the 1990s that the historian Francis Fukuyama proudly declared the end of history with the collapse of communism being "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government". Recently declassified cabinet documents from leading democracies including the United States and United Kingdom have given us insights into a leadership doped up on the euphoria of democracy's inevitable triumph. Russia with a blabbering alcoholic at the helm of a rudderless ship was defeated, and China was following the model of other developing nations in liberalising both politically and economically. The advent of the internet was seen as a gust of strong wind that would push the forces of democratisation further then ever before.

This liberal democratic world was defined by a hubris that has cost us dearly. Today, the vision of the 1990s lays in shambles. Democracy has been in decline globally for over a decade. The Varieties of Democracy Institute has found that from 2009 to 2019 the amount of people globally under Authoritarian rule has grown from 6% to 34%. The United States is crippled by bitter internal division. The internet has now become the chief propaganda tool of dictatorships to sew disinformation, and China has embarked upon a process of centralising power and repression not seen since the days of Chairman Mao.

**"Get active in your own rescue -  
if you care for yourself at all -  
and do it while you can."  
Emperor Marcus Aurelius**

The key message of the past three decades is that democracy is not indestructible, or to be taken for granted. It is an exceptional by-product of institutions and a respect for the inherent dignity of individuals. Our generation is facing the most consequential threat to the survival of liberal democracy in nearly a century. For Australia's part, we must co-operate closer than ever with our democratic partners in our region to support the cause of democracy and push back against an increasing tide of Authoritarianism. This does not mean blind intervention in futile crusades. The days of simply hoping for problems to "solve themselves" is over. Appeasement cannot be an option, nor can turning a blind eye on the plight of sovereign people's right to self-determination.

A final thought to leave you all on. Through the ebbs and flows of history, Liberal Democracy has shown itself to be remarkably fragile in the short term, but stable in the long term. Get the institutions right and there is no other system capable of facilitating similar innovation, rising living standards and long term stability. It is for this reason that we must be vigilant and unapologetic in our support for Liberal Democracy, in all its complexity, moving into the future.



Democracy faces enemies from without and within.  
Top: the CCP. Bottom: Jan 6 Insurrection



# The Future Of Voter Engagement



**Joel Johnson**  
Throsby Young Liberals

Joel dives into the disconnect between young people and politics.



with contributions from **The Hon Tim Wilson MP**  
Federal Member for Goldstein

Over recent years there has been a noticeable decline in voter participation across Australia. Answering the challenge of reengaging the voting population, and in particular young people, is no easy task. In this piece I aim to provide some level of analysis on the issue and offer the insights of others on justifying voter participation.

I strongly feel that each and every Australian should relish the opportunity to influence and have agency in the governance of their country and democracy. I strongly believe that what is crucial in reengaging voters is teaching people, particularly the voting youth, about our electoral system, politics and the way government in which government influences their lives.

Politicians such as Senator the Hon. Penny Wong have previously spoken quite aptly on the importance of government in the lives of voters: "you can choose not to be interested in politics, but you can't choose to be unaffected by it." It is in the best interest of each and every able individual to exercise that right, with an informed background of the nation's electoral system. Voter participation dwindles not through lack of effort to enfranchise the youth. Instead, lowered voter participation exists as a result of governmental inability to necessarily relate to its population.

In grappling with the issues of voter participation and ensuring youth participation within politics I sought the opinions of an elected representative. I interviewed the Hon. Tim Wilson MP, Assistant Minister to the Minister for Industry, Energy and Emissions Reduction and Federal Member for Goldstein.

I in essence wanted to gain a wider perspective on the topic. Minister Wilson made clear that engaging young people in politics is incredibly important, echoing the opinions of Senator Wong in his own words saying "Whether or not you're interested in democracy, your democracy is interested in you".

**"Whether or not you're interested in democracy, your democracy is interested in you" Tim Wilson MP**

Minister Wilson emphasised the need to have a government that is accountable, open and hears the concerns of its constituents. He noted that this is all achieved through voting and participating in our representative democracy. He also noted that ensuring that our government fulfils all aforementioned functions it is able to foster intergenerational equity as a truly free, open and most importantly liberal society.

I additionally asked Minister Wilson how he suggests we engage young people in voting and politics again. He provided what I feel is greatly encouraging advice saying; "The answer is one which is quite simple. We need to be upfront with the country on issues we face and allow people to live their lives through the success of the nation and government." Minister Wilson notes that to reengage voters, it is necessary to relate government to the people. To discuss and face prominent issues in their lives such as educational reform, job security, housing affordability and other issues that young people looking to the future would seek to have taken care of by their government. The government must obviously relate to the people, but more so the people must live their lives through the success of the government. Minister Wilson also comfortingly noted that "policy is the combined voice of every Australian and vote..." and "to say one vote won't make a difference is a falsehood and quite frankly is absurd." He emphasised the importance in dispelling misconceptions of such a nature. The point by Minister Wilson that I think best resonates with the present issues of voter participation is that of allowing voters to live through the success of the government. If we are able to enable young voters to do this, that being to view their successes as synonymous with the success of the government, voter participation would inevitably and drastically improve again.

The great Roman statesman Cicero in 'On Duties' noted that it is justice to prevent others from harm and wrongdoing where possible, to maintain truth and fidelity and most fittingly use common property for the common interest (good) of the people. Here we find a powerful philosophical justification for voting. Government and our electoral system are indeed the common property of all Australians. Cicero would argue that it is indeed just to cast your vote to ensure truth and fidelity in governance, to prevent others from harm and wrongdoing and to make use of the electoral system, our common property, for the common good.

# The University Problem

Alex diagnoses the malaise in our Universities.



**Alexander Back**

Eastern Suburbs Young Liberals

For some time now it has been as clear as the sun in a clear blue sky that the West faces a higher education crisis. The point of tertiary education, and its outcomes, have become muddy and unclear subjects, and universities in the West are generally overrun and infected with a mode of thinking and learning that is stifling creativity and inventiveness, depriving students of the ability to engage with and in turn develop the cutting edge ideas that will advance human civilisation. The problem is not the production of 'left-wing' content; if ideas are rooted in the traditional university system of logic, evidence and fact-based procedural thought, those ideas have a place at the table. The problem is the deeper erosion of those very standards themselves.

This erosion is, I believe, being caused by the idea of 'the university business model'. The relentless and soulless process of corporatisation within our universities has been going on for some time. But shouldn't corporatisation be something we as Liberals, conservatives, free marketeers endorse as a good step, a breaking free of state control and a challenge to the left? Well yes, market forces do have a role to play in tertiary education, but there are other considerations.

As a Liberal formed by our special Australian mixture of Burkean conservatism and Mill's liberalism, I cannot support the process of over-corporatisation. Universities are meant to be institutions that form good, rounded, broad-minded citizens, willing and able to contribute to communal and national life. Universities, as originally conceived, from the time of Classical Greece, are not supposed to be mere markets or factories for degrees, but guardians of storied traditions of thought. Some goals and traditions are so special that they must be maintained, because the value that they offer cannot be quantified in dollars and cents.



The 'business model' phrase aptly captures an ongoing process over the last decade or more. We have universities kowtowing to the infiltration of the Chinese Communist Party, from ghastly exhibitions of architectural ineptitude to dangerous Institutes – but if it's bankrolled, regardless of its cultural, social and geopolitical danger, it fits the 'business model,' so what's the problem?

Academic rigour is being shot full of holes, left, right and centre. Standards are lowered in order to attract as many students as possible; administrators see a successful economic business model in bringing in and retaining a controlled mediocrity with just enough leniency and support to keep people in, but never enough to help them excel. Students rote learn and then regurgitate content, never actually engaging with the substance of humanity's great ideas and movements.

Content is being generalised to the point of deadening dullness. Gone or going are subjects taught by passionate experts that plant a lifelong love of learning and investigation in students. They are replaced with generalised 'market-ready' courses. Mere trifles like Shakespeare supposedly need to be replaced with something that fits the 'business model' better.

I'm not just a bitter humanities man. Every faculty, every school, every discipline under the sun, is being reduced into intellectual porridge. Graduates are jettisoned out into the world with no deep knowledge or passion of anything. But they (ostensibly) meet university outcomes that look very impressive to middle-management.

The spirit of learning is being crushed. People are not receiving the promised inheritance of the West. The experience of encountering bold and dangerous ideas that have shaped our world, the exploration of new horizons of the mind, the formation of ourselves into functional citizens; all is being robbed from us.

The Roman Senate survived beyond the sack of Rome in AD 476. It kept up its debates, its resolutions, the election of consuls and magistrates. But the Empire that that Senate had sat at the heart of had ceased to functionally exist. So, like Augustine surveying the destruction of that great city across the seas, we sit here, watching the slow, grinding destruction of the University. This Rome, however, doesn't even need the barbarian hordes to come and sack it.

Left: The Main Quadrangle at the University of Sydney, Australia's oldest university.





