

From the editor

Chris Berg

'I don't apologise for being a conservative. I remember when the word "conservative" and the word "mother" were *nice* words'.

—Barry Goldwater, 1963

What help is conservatism in an era of 1980s' retro clothing? The conservative movement has to deal with a popular culture that produces T-shirts with the slogan 'impeach Reagan' printed upon them—worn with no political intention but with only irony in mind.

Despite its rich body of intellectual tradition and despite the success of conservative-aligned governments around the world, the word 'conservative' remains an outsider. Few of those engaged in public debate would willingly describe themselves as such, let alone the general public. In a world of unfathomable technological progress and even more unfathomable changes in trends and styles, to hark back to an earlier era is deeply unfashionable. Indeed, the word conservative is often used as code for somebody who *just can't quite keep up*.

But that is not to say that 'conservative' should be lumped in with 'telegraph' and 'horseless carriage'. Perhaps paradoxically, a conservative viewpoint of the world gives us a guide about how to change it. Rather than looking backward, it helps us look forward with greater certainty and confidence in our decisions. As Greg Melleuish argues in this issue, conservatism 'is about preserving values that have worked and ensuring that humans do not throw out the baby with the bath-water when they engage in change'. (page 11) Conservatism is about understanding how institutions developed rather than abandoning them on a whim.

On this reading of conservatism, it is not incompatible with reform; it is the only sure way of approaching it with conviction.

Much of this issue of the *IPA Review* approaches that question – what works? What doesn't work? Mike Nahan has grave doubts about the wisdom of maintaining federalist opposition to the proposed industrial relations reforms. (page 32) Jason Briant argues that the conservative framework has much to teach us about social and cultural issues. (page 8) And Ben Hourigan notes that conservative sentiment isn't limited to political commentators—much popular culture, including, surprisingly, videogames, reinforces conservative sentiment.

But if reform is universally recognized as A Good Thing,



Artwork by the Dissident Frogman, courtesy bureaucrash.com

then why is actually carrying it out so hard to do? Christian Kerr argues that the best thing the Prime Minister could do at the moment is 'let it rip'. (page 28) Economic reform, guided by a careful conservative deliberation, needs a sustained, principled approach.

The formation of good policy is only possible in an environment that understands the context of existing policies. What works? Alan Moran looks at the housing market and the future of planning laws. (page 24) Gary Johns looks at what works for developing communities and economies, and applies it to Aboriginal policy. (page 17) Jennifer Marohasy looks at the January 2003 bushfires and how outdated approaches to the environment contributed to unnecessary and avoidable destruction. (page 6) And Ken Phillips looks at our industrial relations system—which clearly doesn't work. (page 20)

A conservative approach has much to offer politics and public policy. To adhere to this approach is not to adopt a slavish defence of the status quo, but a principled analysis of what works and, most importantly, what doesn't. Conservatism in this context is a vital component of political action.

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REVIEW

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Where have all the conservatives gone?

John Roskam

The two great political traditions of liberalism and conservatism have underpinned the expansion of human freedom.

With its emphasis on individual rights, personal choice and limited government, liberalism is rightly regarded as the philosophy which provided the framework for the acceptance of political and economic liberty. Economic liberalisation has improved the living conditions for hundreds of millions of individuals around the globe, and the free market still remains the best hope for overcoming the poverty in which so much of the world remains mired.

Conservatism, on the other hand, hasn't had such a good press. Some of the problem is with terminology. When the words 'social' and 'conservative' are put together, the usual image conjured up is of Big Brother censoring choice and casting moral judgement. Often, those in academia or in the media who are neither liberal nor conservative, but who are simply left-wing, attempt to portray every social policy question as one between 'social conservatives' and 'social liberals'. Certainly there are many differences in the community over 'social' issues, but to frame social policy debate as having only two sides is wrong, just as it is to label those sides as either conservative or liberal.

In its true sense, and as expressed by its most significant theorist Edmund Burke, conservatism is actually a political philosophy. Political conservatives are not resistant to change but they are opposed to change for

the sake of change. If change is undertaken, the case for change must be clearly articulated. Changing political arrangements is particularly perilous. Systems of government affect every single person in a society, and the consequences of change in those systems are unpredictable and potentially irreversible.

But at its core, conservatism is not really a philosophy about change. Despite what their opponents might argue, conservatives are not obsessed with maintaining the *status quo*. Opponents of conservatism use similar tactics to those employed by critics of economic liberalisation when they claim that economic liberals are only concerned about money.

The basis of political conservatism is the recognition that the best way to make decisions is to allow individuals to make decisions for themselves. Individuals will act according to their own biases, preferences, traditions, and their collective and personal histories. The knowledge gained from the accumulation of those individual experiences will be a far better guide to future conduct than anything that could be provided by an external authority. Political conservatism is profoundly democratic because it embraces the idea that in the masses there is wisdom.

Individuals themselves not only know what is in their best interest, they also understand their own situation better than anyone else and, perhaps most importantly, they know what they don't know. Such information might be imperfect, but it will still be better than anything that could be collected by government. For these reasons, central planning, of any sort,

will always fail in the long-run.

The principles of political conservatism are precisely those of economic liberalism. The question that arises, therefore, is why doesn't political conservatism have the same sort of influence in politics as is enjoyed by economic liberalism in economics? *Where have all the conservatives gone?*

Some of the explanation is that because of the connotations associated with social conservatism, political conservatives have been reluctant to espouse their position openly. Another reason is that, in Australia, there is no intellectual heritage of conservatism as exists in Britain and the United States. Also, it shouldn't be forgotten that economic liberalisation of Australia in the 1980s was forced upon the country as a result of an acute financial crisis, and perhaps fortunately no such crisis has yet occurred to our political system. (1975 was a product of one political institution, the Federal Parliament—it was not the outcome of our political system as a whole.)

The consequences of Australian political conservatives' having gone missing are profound. Increasing regulation that hands decision-making powers from individuals to government means that company directors can't run their businesses, farmers can't manage their land, and consumers can't make choices. The gains of two decades of economic reform are being undone by regulation. The community simply cannot afford to have political conservatives missing from the public debate.

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John Roskam is the Executive Director of the IPA.