

### **Kyoto Crunch Time**

### Why something urgent needs to be done

This will be a critical year for Australia with regard to the Kyoto protocols. Last year there were no fewer than three jumbo-jet fed international gabfests for the representatives of over 170 nations. This year, there will be the South African World Summit on Sustainable Development in September (the 'Rio plus 10') where screws will be tightened on recalcitrant countries not yet committed to ratification, and yet another in New Delhi in November. The aim is to have participating countries cut their greenhouse-gas emissions to below 1990 levels. This is a given. The talk at each international meeting each time is about variable targets, carbon trading mechanics and haggling over specific country quotas. No-

## HOT AIR DANGER

### The 60,000 delegates

to the Earth Summit in Johannesburg will produce nearly

### 500,000 tonnes

of carbon dioxide.
This equals the amount of carbon dioxide produced by

450,000
Africans
in one whole year

where is the real and destructive cost, or effects, of Kyoto mentioned.

As crunch time approaches, there is increasing evidence of growing schizophrenia in the signatory nations. Even as Japan signs on to Kyoto, its very own industry is privately conceding it will not work. German industry is realizing it can't work and Canada has also done some real sums. Only Australia, for the moment, and the United States appear to be able to come to an honest conclusion. The US Senate voted emphatically 95-0 to reject any climate treaty that would do 'serious harm' to the US economy. Bush has now definitively rejected Kyoto, claiming it is 'fatally flawed'. For the moment the Howard Government has said no and the Minister, Dr David Kemp, has just signed an Australian/US Climate Action Partnership in February which will focus on more realistic and practical approaches towards dealing with climate change.

Two essential issues in this Partnership directly underline the contradictions of Kyoto. Both the US and Australia are committed to reducing green house emissions, but any effort to reduce emissions must be consistent with these fundamental issues. There must be continued economic growth, and, to make any sense, any action must involve developing countries. The Australia GDP decline will be, according to a detailed model developed by ABARE, around one per cent. The treaty obligations would, incidentally, wipe out the brown coal industry in Victoria, writing off both

the Latrobe Valley's national asset of limitless supply of coal, and the power stations themselves, valued at \$11 billion. Electricity cost would double throughout Australia. Along with Canada, Australia would be the only country to see a declining GDP. Japan, the European Union, Eastern Europe, Russia and the Ukraine would all benefit from Kyoto.

What of the science? This planet has always known enormous heating and cooling in cycles between glacial and inter-glacial periods. In the last century, surface temperatures have risen half a degree centigrade, an increase that has probably caused more good than harm. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC] report acknowl-

# in SIDE

Immigration Dialogue	3
Latest Publications	4
Lectures and Conferences	5
IPA Events	6
IPA News	7
Latest on the Web	7
STOP PRESS	8

edges that it is difficult to determine how much of this slight warming is the result of human CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and how much is natural—perhaps produced by variations in solar energy. Even if every last clause of Kyoto were followed to the letter, the effects of such expensive cutbacks on temperature would be negligible.

In less than eight years, according to ABARE,. developing countries will already overtake the developed world and contribute a majority of all the world's emissions.

It is clear, when you look at those vociferating against the Howard Government, that there is more ideology, politics and anticapitalist rhetoric at work than scientific evidence. Biørn

Lomborg, in his important new book The Skeptical Environmentalist said that the IPCC wants 'a society which is less resourceoriented, less industrialized, less commercialized, less productionoriented.... It is important to realize that the discussion is no longer primarily about energy.'

What is positive about the Climate Action Partnership between Australia and the United States is that it is proposing a more realistic political, social, and economic vision for the future—a program to reduce global poverty. Kyoto will

have the opposite effect. As James Glassman (The American Enterprise Online) points out, to respond to any environmental calamity—warming or cooling, floods or droughts-nations need the resilience that comes from a strong economy.

between economic prosperity and

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the developing countries bizarrely are left outside the Kyoto loop. In Washington in February he said of the Action Partnership, that it is 'designed to introduce new technology and maintain and be consistent with continued growth. very pleased at the element of the President's state-

talked about the engagement of the United States with developing countries because developing countries are not part of the Kyoto agreement in its first commitment stage and at the moment there's no clear pathway for the involvement of developing countries in Kyoto. The President has indicated that there is going to be an American engagement with developing countries and that's an area where we would very much like to be in partnership with the United States because we think that in our own region we could have a con-

Dr Kemp has understood the link

that economic We're ment where he

structive role to play there.'

Let the Europeans go their own way. Their leaders preach downsizing, small thinking, pain, and fear. Australia has more in common with aspiring Third World peoples, who know that the key to better health and a cleaner environment is economic growth. For Australia, pretending that Kyoto is a solution is plain madness.

Andrew McIntyre is editor of InTouch and Public Affairs Manager of the IPA.

> **IPA Backgrounder** [Soon to be released]

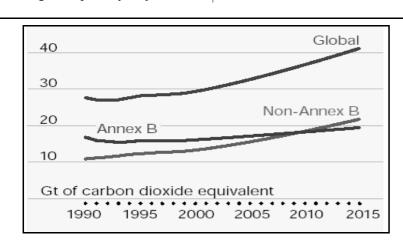
The Kyoto Protocol and Beyond: **Economic Impacts on EU Countries, Canada** and Australia

### By Dr Margo Thorning

**Director, Center for Policy Research** American Council for Capital **Formation** 

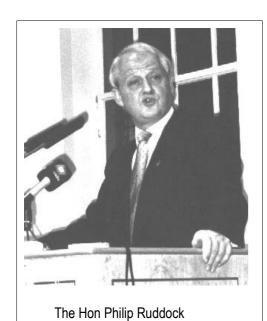
This Backgrounder presents new research by DRI-WEFA, an internationally known economic forecasting firm, on the impacts of the Kyoto Protocol's emission targets on four EU countries in 2010 and 2020. The study predicts that none of the four (UK, Germany, Netherlands or Spain) will be able to achieve the emission reductions mandated by the Kyoto Protocol without imposing large carbon trading permit fees, raising all energy prices, slowing economic growth and reducing employment. This new research also analyzes the economic impacts on the four countries of the more stringent CO<sub>2</sub> emission reductions after

the first commitment period. The Backgrounder will include a description of new research on Kyoto's impact on Canada and on Australia. The growing concern of many in European industry about the effect of Kyoto and "Kyoto Plus" on European competitiveness is presented along with a description of some of the technology based approaches to reducing CO<sub>2</sub> and other greenhouse gases favoured by business.



This graph shows that emissions from the developing and undeveloped countries, excluded from Kyoto, will overtake those of all developed countries combined, including the USA, (Annex B) before 2010. Graph courtesy of ABARE

### **DEBATE ON IMMIGRATION**



### The five core values that I believe good immigration policy should be based on are as follows:

- first, immigration policy must be non-discriminatory in terms of race, religion, colour and ethnicity;
- second, it must be demonstrably in the national economic and social interest:
- third, we must assist close family reunion to the extent that this is reasonable and sensible:
- fourth, we must contribute our fair share to the resettlement of those most in humanitarian need;
- and last but by no means least, we must retain the capacity to manage the movement of people across our borders in an orderly and efficient manner.

Philip Ruddock

The full speech is available on our website at www.ipa.org.au

### Democracy thrives 'biting' for free speech fails

In the long-run, democracy was the winner on Friday 31 May, when the IPA was able to hold a large *Dialogue on Immigration*. Triple-billed with speakers Dr Bob Birrell from the Centre for Population and Urban Research, Monash University, Andrew Bolt, lead columnist from the Melbourne *Herald Sun*, and the Hon. Philip Ruddock, Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and





Indigenous Affairs, the event brought out the ire of the fascist Left, who, in good imitation of the brownshirts in Germany in the early 1930s, but with no understanding of the history, saw nothing more urgent than to 'shut down this racist meeting'. Thanks to a considerable police presence, that actually allowed guests to enter the picketed building, the meeting was able to go ahead and members were able to hear a coherent account of the issue.

Dr Birrell gave an outline of the subtly changing attitudes over the last century to immigration and explained the complexities of what constituted the notion of an Australian identity. An understanding of this identity goes a long way in understanding the support for the current policy.

Andrew Bolt had a close look at the warped thinking and attitudes of the refugee protesters which he summed up accurately as, 'biting for free speech and kicking for free speech'. In the context of September 11 he reiterated the urgent need for moderate Australian Muslims to dissociate themselves from the extremist views still being promoted in mosques in Australia

With considerable sensitivity and compassion, the Minister outlined the logical and moral thought behind his highly popular immigration policy.

Over 120 people attended, and most questions were directed to the Minster for clarification on the finer points. The contrast between light and reason in the meeting could not have been more poignantly contrasted to the forces of darkness and violence and contempt for democracy on the outside.



Police protecting free speech

TOUCH JUNE

2002

## FORTHCOMING IPA PUBLICATIONS

### **IPA Backgrounder**

# THE FINANCIAL SERVICES REFORM ACT

### **REGULATING MORALS**

### by Dr Jim Hoggett

The Commonwealth Parliament passed the Financial Services Reform Act into law late last year. With pressure from well-known interest groups, a disclosure provision was included which required managed funds to disclose the extent to which they take into account labour standards and environmental, social and ethical considerations in their investment activities. The provision is a tougher version of one recently enacted in the UK. It echoes a theme taken up by many non-government and international organizations and in its extreme form is hostile to business and the free market system.

This seemingly innocuous provision will have wide ranging effects, given the leverage of managed funds in the investment market used by almost all major corporations. It will lead to demands for much more monitoring of business behaviour by so-called stakeholders who often have no substantial stake in the business concerned.

The result is likely to be confusion at best and significant economic damage at worst. Interpretations of the four criteria, especially social and ethics, diverge widely depending upon culture and value systems.

Governments are poorly placed to monitor or judge the morality of private activities and generally breach important freedoms when they try.

Applied to declared ethical funds this provision could be acceptable, but in the form of a general rule it ought to be repealed.

#### **IPA Backgrounder**

# THE NEW IMPERIALISM:

# CALPERS, UNIONS AND NGOS

### by Dr Mike Nahan

The union movement and its allies in the NGO sector have for decades been trying to impose labour standards on developing countries. They have pushed for labour standards to be incorporated into trade arrangements. They have promoted laws that impose labour standards on domestic firms operating in developing nations. They have pushed international agencies, in particular the United Nations, to promote labour standards. They have pressured firms to adopt codes of conduct. And they have promoted 'ethical investment' which includes labour standards.

They have now added another bow to their campaign by getting superannuation or pension funds to impose labour standards through their investment decisions in emerging countries.

Last February, California Public Employees Retirement System or CalPERS—the world's largest pension fund with assets in excess of US\$50 billion—declared its intention to withdraw its investment from Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. While market and political risk factors were the dominate concerns in respect of Indonesia and to a lesser extent Thailand, the decision to withdraw from Malaysia was based on an assessment of labour standards undertaken by a number of NGOs. Other union linked funds in the US and Australia are considering CalPERS' lead.

Dr Nahan provides a detailed analysis of CalPERS' decisions and methodology, both as a primer of things to come and as a case study of the new imperialism.

### LECTURES & CONFERENCES

### HAROLD CLOUGH LECTURE AND LUNCHEON

Corporate Citizenship: Democracy Gone Mad

to be delivered by

### **DR GARY JOHNS**

Western Australian Club 101 St George's Terrace, Perth

> Friday, 16 August 2002 12:00 for 12.30pm until 2:00pm

The application of democratic principles to corporations and markets is a flawed concept. The use of protocols as a tool to manage NGOs and their agendas in the corporate sector and Foundations could be a way of improving accountability.

Dr Johns will examine several case studies.

# THE SENATE OCCASSIONAL LECTURE

Government and Civil Society:
Which is Virtuous?
to be delivered by

### DR GARY JOHNS

Parliament House Canberra Friday, 23 August 2002

An exploration of the key virtues of the two competing forms of liberal democracy, representative—the process of the formation of government—and associational—the process of activism in civil society. The aim of civil society activism is the democratisation of the state and the economy. The present liberal democracy is predicated on a more limited politics, and on allowing civil society and the economy to make their own contributions to society, outside the political system.

# THE BENNELONG SOCIETY Second Annual Conference

30 – 31 AUGUST 2002 TATTERSALL'S CLUB, 215 QUEEN ST, BRISBANE

## CELEBRATING INTEGRATION

Friday 30 August 2002 7pm Dinner

The Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and Indigenous Affairs, the Hon. Philip Ruddock MP, will open the conference and present the Bennelong Medal.

Saturday, 31 August 2002

Exploring the Meaning of Integration:
Aboriginal Australians tell their story

Anthony Dillon, Wesley Aird, Tiga Bayles and Stephanie Jarrett

### Pathways to Integration: Educators and employers discuss success and failure

Philomena Downey, Nerida White, David Kemp

- Lunch -

Strategies for Integration: A case study of an Aboriginal community

Col Dillon, Doug Ğladman, Boni Robertson

Policies for the Future:

Hon Judy Spence, MLA, Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy, Queensland **Panel Discussion** 

5.00 pm Annual General Meeting Bennelong Society

TOUCH JUNE 2002 5

# ipæVENTS

### HR Nicholls Conference, IPA in Washington, Kyoto, Economic Freedom Forum in Bali

### IPA AT HR NICHOLLS CONFERENCE

Whilst the role of trade unions cannot be easily dismissed, it is also true that the environment that confronts trade unions in 2002 is extraordinarily different to that which they faced at their origins, and in their heyday.

Gary Johns was talking at the HR Nicholls Society's XXIII Conference, *The Changing Paradigm: Freedom, Jobs, Prosperity*) on 23 March 2002 in Melbourne. His talk, *Trade Unions and Civil Society,* pointed out that if trade unionism can reinvent itself, it will probably be as a collection of service providers rather than as a political force. It cannot persist as it is.

At the same conference, Alan Moran spoke on *Compulsory Work-place Insurance and its Effect on Productivity*. Dr Moran suggested that a free market for workplace insurance would reduce costs, by leaving it to the employer to determine what insurance he should prudently take out. Employees would assess this against the general liquidity of the employer and their own risk/reward trade-off. As has been demonstrated overseas, it would likely bring advantages, particularly in savings and lower costs.

#### **IPA IN WASHINGTON DC**

Next September, no fewer than 60,000 NGO activists are expected to descend upon Johannesburg for a vigorous week of networking and solidarity against capitalism. The expected attendance illustrates both the wealth (estimated cost \$250 million) of the NGOs and their global reach.

In contrast, last April, the world-wide think-tank fraternity had its own much more modest gettogether in Washington .DOC, hosted by the Atlas Foundation and Heritage Foundation. 450 representatives from about 250 think tanks meet to discuss issues and tactics and to network.

While attendance was largely from North America, their was also a healthy number of organisations from non-Anglo Saxon countries and from developing countries. There were even a couple from a French free-market thinktank. Mike Nahan attended as the IPA's and Australia-Pacific's sole representative.

Relative to the anti-globalization mob, our movement may be thin on the ground and our budgets small, but we are growing and we punch far above our weight.

#### **IPA ENERGY FORUM**

The energy forums at the IPA, hosted by Dr Alan Moran, are continuing successfully. On 13 May, with the NSW Opposition looking in better shape than it has for a while, Mr Duncan Gay, the NSW Opposition spokesman on Energy was invited to share his views. The meeting offered an excellent opportunity to get his perspective as well as influence his thinking on policy.

He explained that the NSW Opposition is keen to improve the competition framework for energy supply in NSW, but, due to electoral, has decided against a general privatisation of the industry. Members pressed on Mr Gay the benefits of privatization.

### ECONOMIC FREEDOM NETWORK MEETING IN BALI

If one had to identify the core ideal of the IPA, it would be the promotion of economic freedom. But what does it mean in practical terms?

The Economic Freedom of the World Project was created, and now produces a comprehensive annual assessment of the trends in economic freedom around the world. The 2002 Report is available on *www.freeworld.com*, and is outlined in the latest edition of the *IPA Review*.

The Project has a network of 56

participating think-tanks for which the IPA is the Australian representative. We not only help ensure the integrity of data and analysis but help to sell the message in often unfriendly territory.

The Network is particularly useful in Asia, with few, struggling, think tanks.

Thanks to the Friedrich Naumann Foundation—the Asian Chapter of the network met in Bali this May. Mike Nahan attended and gave a talk on the Use of Economic Freedom Index by investors.

#### AN ILL WIND...

Wind is intrinsically less efficient than a more concentrated form of solar energy, like coal or oil. It is akin to harnessing a hundred cats to achieve the same pulling power as a horse.

Alan Moran was explaining the impracticalities of wind generated electricity in an address to the National Trust's Wind Power Forum on 20 April, at Geelong. He said actual power generated by wind is much lower than its capacity, because even the best wind stations can only operate 25% of the time and then not at full capacity. For these reasons, wind is twice the cost of coal power.

Though some of us are prepared to pay a premium for what we perceive is a contribution to preventing a global catastrophe or simply because it makes us feel good, it is doubtful that wind power will ever add up to more than a per cent or so of total energy in Australia. Even if one per cent were achieved by 2010, the cost would amount to around \$70 million per annum, in subsidies, by the Commonwealth alone.

Although improving technically, wind power will remain dependent on government regulations and subsidies.



# Fulbright Award for Gary Johns



Gary Johns, senior Fellow with the IPA, has been awarded a Fulbright Professional Award for Australian-United States Alliance Studies sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He attended an award ceremony at The Great Hall, Parliament House, Canberra on 23 May where all 25 of Australia's 2002 recipients of the Fulbright were presented by Peter McGauran, Minister for Science.

The Fulbright Program gives exceptional scholars and professionals a chance to study and enlarge their knowledge and experience overseas. In the past half-century, more than 250,000 awardees from 140 countries have taken part in the program, established to promote mutual understanding through cultural exchange between the United States and other countries.

The Fulbright Professional Award will give Gary an outstanding opportunity to continue the work he has been involved in at the IPA on the NGO Project. He will be based at Georgetown University, Washington DC for three months. He explained that whilst there, he will be able to explore his ideas with academics who "share my concern about the NGO challenge to the formal institutions

of democracy". He adds, "I will have a chance to study the procedures followed by the US Federal Government agencies, Congress and the Senate, the United Nations and the World Bank and visit selected charitable Foundations which fund NGO activity, and to a range of NGOs themselves". Whilst in Washington Gary will also present a paper, NGO Protocols, at a number of universities and think-tanks.

This new opportunity for Gary is a continuation of his long experience of the practice of politics and his work in public policy over some 30 years, including almost a decade as a Member of the House of Representatives. His political career was crowned by his appointment as Special Minister of State, Deputy President of the Executive Council and Assistant Minister for Industrial Relations from 1993 to 1996 in the Keating Labor Government. Since leaving Parliament he has completed a Doctorate in Political Science at the University of Queensland.

## All the latest available items on our Website www.ipa.org.au

Apart from listing our publications, the IPA website contains the many non-published speeches and submissions by IPA staff members.

There are also complete, up-to-date copies of all newspaper articles published by IPA staff.

### Recent submissions, speeches and on-line releases:

International Criminal Court: Wrong for Australia: Three important reasons for not signing
Has WWF Lost the Plot? – Jennifer Marohasy and Gary Johns
Who Gets to Stay? Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Unauthorised Arrivals in Australia – Tess Rod & Ron Brunton
Trade Unions and Civil Society – Gary Johns
Compulsory Workplace Insurance and its Effect on Productivity, by Alan Moran
InTOUCH for February is now available online
IPA REVIEW for December 2001 is now available online



# IPA Media

5.02.02 *The Australian* Another US group pulls plug on local power [IPA information used] **Nigel Wilson** 11.02.02 *ABC Radio* Peter Clarke program **Mike Nahan** 

16.02.02 *Herald Sun* Japan is key to crisis **Mike Nahan** 

26.02.02 *Radio National* Sandy McHutcheon Program, Should exgovernment ministers have cooling-off period before entering private enterprise? **Mike Nahan** 

28.02.02 *The Australian* Blame unions for Ansett's collapse **Mike Nahan** 2.03.02 *Herald Sun* Good jobs get the chop **Mike Nahan** 

chop **Mike Nahan** 13.03.02 *ABC Radio Brisbane* WWF & Great Barrier Reef **Gary Johns** 13.03.02 *ABC Radio MacKay* WWF &

Great Barrier Reef **Gary Johns** 14.03.02 *ABC Radio Cairns* WWF & Great Barrier Reef **Gary Johns** 14.03.02 *ABC Radio Mt Isa* WWF &

Great Barrier Reef **Gary Johns** 14.3.02 *BRW* Balancing act [Gary Johns Backgrounder 'The protocols with NGOs'] **David James** 

16.3.02 Herald Sun Polish on a rough trade Alan Moran

26.3.02 *ABC OnLine* Aboriginal Self Determination **Gary Johns** 

27.3.02 *Herald Sun* Clothing industry in tatters **Ken Phillips** 

28.3.02 *The Australian* Gone with the flow [Mention of Alan Moran] 30.3.02 *Herald Sun* A crisis of our own

making **Mike Nahan** 4.4.2002 *AFR* Lomborg's impressive & cool analysis

Letter by Alan Moran

8.4.02 *Herald Sun* No need for dressing down [IPA Work Reform Unit and Report] **Annie Delaney** 

13.04.02 *Herald Sun* Bashing via the courts **Alan Moran** 

13.04.02 *Courier Mail* WWF and the Barrier Reef **Gary Johns** 

13.04.02 *Courier Mail* Reefing up the lobbying [Gary Johns report on WWF] **Craig Johnstone** 

15.04.02 *The Australian* Give smokers some respect **Don D'Cruz** 

16.04.02 *The Australian* [3 letters on D'Cruz article]

16.04.02 ABC Radio National Sandy

8

McCutcheon, Shane Stone's comments on Canberra Press Gallery with **Gary Johns** 

17.04.02 *Courier Mail* Reef always prime concern [IPA Report on WWF and article on 13.4.02]

#### **David Butcher**

18.04.02 *The Australian* Scribblers get caught in web of self-delusion [IPA mention] **Tim Blair** 

18.04.02 *ABC Radio Brisbane, 4QR* Steve Austin debates the WWF and the Great Barrier Reef paper with

**Gary Johns** 

19.4.02 *Courier Mail* Reef at risk from rhetoric [Gary Johns and IPA report]

**Ove Hoegh-Guldberg** 

27.04.02 AFR Lies and Statistics

#### Alan Moran

27.04.02 *AFR* China and the new economy could be Tokyo's salvation

#### Mike Nahan

30.04.02 *AFR* Questions raised by workplace deaths bill **Ken Phillips** 30.04.02 *The Australian* Immigration fears prove to be rational, not racist [IPA quoted] **Alan Wood** 2.05.02 *Herald Sun* Keeping a check

on charity **Mike Nahan** 2.05.02 ABC TV 7.30 Report Kerry

O'Brien, Privatization of Medibank with **Mike Nahan** 

4.5.02 *Herald Sun* Oil smear campaign-**Mike Nahan** 

10.5.02 *The Australian* Acquila leads charge of power's plug-pulling brigade [Alan Moran] **Nigel Wilson** 

9.5.02 *Herald Sun* Campaign based on facts [Criticism of Mike Nahan article on 4.5.02] **Gareth Walton** 

9.5.02 *Herald Sun* Early test results no longer apply, **Mike Nahan** 

10.5.02 *The Australian* Aquila leads charge of power's plug-pulling brigade [Alan Moran] **Nigel Wilson** 

13.5.02 *The Australian* Foreign aid bodies need close scrutiny

### Don D'Cruz

15.5.02 Radio Singapore International Discussion on NGOs Mike Nahan May 02 Electricity Supply The market power controversy: taking on a modelling of a straw man Alan Moran 17.5.02 The West Australian On target, health aside Mike Nahan

18.5.02 *Herald Sun* The tax man groweth **Mike Nahan** 

20.5.02 *Malaysian Daily* US activists funding anti-dam groups [based on IPA NGO report]

20.5.02 *New Straits Times* Local dam opponents receive US Funds [IPA NGO report]

22.5.02 *AFR* ALP tussle bares union struggle for future

#### **Ken Phillips**

23.5.02 *The Australian* PR firms cop flak for befriending familiar foes [Don D'Cruz and NGO Unit]

#### Paul McIntyre

24.5.02 *Malaysian Daily* SAM accused of lying about funding [IPA NGO report]

24.5.02 SBS About Us – Without Prejudice on the Reconciliation Deliberative Poll [Gary Johns] 30.5.02 The Australian The inmates

30.5.02 *The Australian* The inmates are still running the asylum

#### Mike Nahan

31.5.02 *Channel 9 News* [IPA immigration dialogue reported]

1.6.02 *AFR* Is the national broadcaster biased, or just dong its job?

#### Alan Moran

1.6.02 *Herald Sun* Power without reason **Alan Moran** 

1.6.02 *3AW News* [IPA Immigration dialogue]

1.6.02 *Channel 7 News* [IPA immigration dialogue]

1.6.02 *Channel 9 News* [IPA immigration dialogue]

1.6.02 *The Age* Ruddock smuggles past blockade [IPA dialogue] 3.6.02 *AFR* Mahathir lashes out at overseas-funded NGOs [quoting IPA work]

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In Touch is published every four months by the Institute of Public Affairs Ltd (Incorporated in the ACT) ABN 49 008 627 727

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ISSN 1325-6564 Print Post Approved 34276/00075

in Touch June 2002