

Interest Groups in Australia: In Whose Interest?



Gary Johns is a Senior Fellow with the IPA. He will be heading the IPA's new Non-Government Organization (NGO)

Project, details of which are

soon to be announced. The project will look at the role of NGOs in our society, particularly in public policy and public debate. The IPA is an advocacy NGO itself, and very aware of the issues involved in funding, accountability and credibility. While it is not interested in expanding the ambit of government regulatory action, there are serious issues about accountability which need to be carefully considered, both within and without the NGO sector. The Project will seek to contribute to public debate on these issues.

THERE was a time when non-government organizations, or interest groups, looked ready to take over government, such was their power in the electorate. The term NGO was an affirmation of a moral superiority; government was bad, NGO was good.

The most obvious example in recent times was the fall in support for the Hawke Government between 1987 and 1990. For election purposes, Hawke devised a strategy to garner second preferences through the help of environmental groups. Any group that Labor felt it was losing on the

economic front was kept in the fold on environmental issues. As a result, outrageous decisions, such as the denial of mining at Coronation Hill, only served to ignite Labor Party-induced frenzy. The herd mentality of environmental politics was then at its worst.

Unfortunately, even in a democracy, there is no guarantee that any particular combination of interests represents the public interest. A market in interests may lead to irrational outcomes, where the trade of benefits between interest groups results in costs being passed to the whole population.

One means of ensuring that the market in interests works is to ensure some competition for similar interests. For example, in the environment, Robert Hill's *Environment Protection and Biodiversity and Conservation Act* was passed with the support of some groups—the World Wide Fund for Nature, the Humane Society International and various State conservation councils—and in the face of the torrid criticism of others—the Australian Conservation Foundation, Greenpeace and the Wilderness Society. This differentiation of the market in interests is a healthy sign.

There is also an assumption operating in the democratic market that interest groups represent who they say they do. For example, a very narrow range of views dominated the articulation of Aboriginal interests until 1996. The Dodson brothers *et al.* were held out as the embodiment of

Aboriginal interests. This narrowness was so extreme as to amount to misrepresentation; it was assumed that there was one Aboriginal voice when in fact there were many. The extraordinary access to government afforded to some voices, in effect, silenced others.

The status afforded interest groups begs a central question: what is their legitimacy? If groups have representation at public forums, they should be accountable to their members. Groups have a responsibility to their membership for the views that are expounded on their behalf. Unfortunately, the mechanisms by which voluntary associations are held accountable are not visible.

Illegitimate, unrepresentative or monopoly organizations should be

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challenged, but without damaging the important work performed by legitimate, representative and competitive groups. Governments, trusts and companies should attempt to promote a climate of policy competition, and have groups prove their *bona fides* in a public way. Such a policy would re-balance the relationship between governments (who are supposed to represent the public interest) and interest groups.

The danger posed by interest groups who threaten to engulf the public interest has not entirely receded, and the lessons of those times when interest groups appeared to dominate government should be used to rearm government and the groups themselves. Forcing them to establish their *bona fides* in public, as a prerequisite to access, may be a way to level the playing field between public choice and public interest. ■

IPA Dialogue

Dr George Pell

Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne

The Role and Perspective of the Church in Political Debate

The Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr George Pell, will be giving a Dialogue at the IPA's Melbourne Office on Wednesday, 17 November, at 6.00 pm.

Dr Pell will talk on the role and perspective of the Church in political debate. He will look at the question of who speaks for the Church and who the Church speaks for, as well as examine the limits to the moral authority and technical expertise of the Church, the Church's perspective on individual/family responsibility versus social responsibility for one's actions, and the Church's view of the role of the market place versus collective action.

RSVP (acceptances only please): 12 November 1999
to Ms Joanna Ingram on (03) 9600 4744, or fax (03) 9602 4989

Latest IPA Speeches Now Available on our Website at www.ipa.org.au

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND REGULATORY TAKINGS

Mike Nahan

Australia's founding fathers understood clearly that private property is the foundation not only of prosperity but also of freedom itself.

With the growth of the modern state, governments at all levels today are eliminating these rights through so-called 'regulatory takings'—that is, by imposing regulatory constraints on people's property.

This process—which amounts to theft—is not unique to Australia but is a worldwide phenomenon, and has led to a vigorous property rights movement in the US.

This US movement is starting to have success and it is time that Australia contemplated a similar process.

The issue is ... vital to our individual and collective prosperity and will not be addressed without concerted efforts.

Extracted from the keynote address to the WA PGA's Property Rights Conference, Mandurah, 25 June 1999. The full speech is available now on the IPA Website: www.ipa.org.au

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND COMPETITION POLICY

Alan Moran

Over the longer term, successful economic performance requires market competition with established property rights. Competition means a ceaseless striving to steal a march on rivals by cost-cutting and better pleasing the customer. Established, secure property and contract rights offer the incentive of personal gain from searching out new and changing needs of consumers and continuously seeking ways to meet these more cheaply.

Stable institutions with the ultimate backing of law are essential to sustained growth in living standards.

As stable property rights and competition are the twin engines of prosperity, is there a role for government to intervene to promote competition? If such a role exists, will government intervention select the appropriate competitive model? And will it lead to the diversion of entrepreneurial energies into avenues that are unproductive?

Extracted from an address given to the Industry Economics Conference 1999. Now available on the IPA Website.

IPA STAFF AND GUESTS ON THE NET

Unpublished speeches, lectures, submissions and published media articles can all be found on our Website, including:

Preambulations, a speech by Michael Warby to the Samuel Griffith Society, Melbourne, 10 July 1999.

Saving Budgets, an article by Gary Johns in the *Adelaide Review* on 1st May.

Globalisation, Economic Rationalism and Public Policy, a lecture by Michael Warby to Deakin University Public Policy II Students, 18 May 1999.

Do We Need a New Bretton Woods? A public lecture by Lord Skidelsky jointly hosted by the IPA and the ASX in Sydney on Wednesday, 5 May 1999.

Further enquires about our Website material, or difficulties with the site, can be made by phoning us on (03) 9600 4744.

Health Reform Unit



Is Australia's health system in need of an overhaul?

After all, there are few places in the world where a person of modest means who is seriously ill will receive better treatment than in Australia. No-one is left stranded without health cover. Despite high quality and good access to care, overall expenditure on health—at around 8.5 per cent of GDP—is about on par with other developed nations (excluding the USA, which is in a cost bracket of its own). We have a health workforce that is abundant and highly skilled by international standards. Australia's medical research establishment is on a par with the best.

Moreover, successive governments have, for decades, been able to stave off crises with moderate change and additional funding.

So what is the problem? First, *ad hoc* government measures are neither satisfactory nor sustainable. Second, encouraging a bad system will beat good people in time.

Across all OECD nations, healthcare is the victim of its own success. Popular expectations far outstrip clinical and fiscal realities. Public discontent runs high when any aspect of healthcare falls short. This has created a political nightmare for the governments of every wealthy country in the world. In each Australian State, and nationally, public opinion polling regarding people's expectations of their governments regularly places healthcare among the top-ranked concerns.

All rich Western nations that base their broad economic success on liberal market economies have made an exception of healthcare. In the wave of reform that followed the Second World War, misguided idealists copied each other across international borders and wove webs of centralized bureaucratic control around health. This net has

been drawn tighter over the years. In Australia, the negative effects of this international trend were compounded by our federal system of government, following an amendment to the Australian Constitution in 1948.

In the half century that has followed, Australian health spending has kept up with the rest of the OECD, but we get far less than full value for the cost. Our medical workforce is big enough and good enough, but a crazy system beats them. Australia is not alone in this, but our talent for bureaucracy and protectionism gives the distortions in the Australian system a unique, antipodean flavour.

The infuriating aspect of the problem is that there is a solution that is both simple and obvious.

It is to apply measures to healthcare that are identical to those that have transformed other sectors of the economy.

It is to use modern information technology, properly structured systems of insurance and incentives, and market forces to provide the consumer with information, funding and an institutional structure that allows them choice and control.

In other words, we are accustomed to being in control of most aspects of our lives; it is time that healthcare caught up.

The IPA plans to lead debate to reform the health system, through its newly formed *Health Reform Unit*.

The *Health Reform Unit* will be guided by an expert advisory group chaired by Professor David Penington, former Vice-Chancellor and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, at The University of Melbourne.

The Institute plans to appoint a Director of the Unit shortly.

For queries concerning the project, please contact Mike Nahan (mdnahan@ipa.org.au)

Invitation

Fall of the Wall Dinner

Tuesday, 9 November

The IPA invites all members and friends to participate in a dinner to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall.

There will be a distinguished panel of speakers to reminisce on the battles over the decades leading up to this singularly symbolic turning point in twentieth-century history and to discuss its aftermath.

Join in with:

The Hon. Tony Abbott,
Paddy McGuinness,
Peter Coleman,
Ray Evans,
Nicholas Rothwell
and Ron Brunton

and win the door prize for the best/worst quote from the Cold War era.

Reservations are essential. Only \$55 for the best night of the year to celebrate the best day of the decade.

Licensed bar (BYO wine only)

The dinner will be held at *Mamma Vittoria's* Restaurant in Fitzroy at 7.00pm.

RSVP by 2 November (acceptances only please) to Ms Joanna Ingram on ph: (03) 9600 4744, or fax: (03) 9602 4989

Genetically Modified Food Project Proves Timely

The Next Green Revolution

The world is witnessing a burst of technological advances in the area of food production. This new technology, genetically modified food, is the successor to the green revolution which helped double food production in the developing world from the 1960s, thereby dispelling earlier fears of global starvation.

Genetic modification of plants adopts similar approaches to that of the green revolution. During the green revolution, plant types were hybridized: dwarf varieties were grown, low-water-using rice varieties were planted, and so on. The technology required the plants to be developed using the same cross pollination techniques that had been the mainstay of plant varieties' creation since mankind commenced farming activity.

Genetic modification allows a far more precise change in a plant's genetic make-up than is possible with traditional breeding techniques. It allows the developer to change the make-up of a particular gene so that the plant can be adapted in highly specific ways that would be very difficult to achieve in the wider change to genetic structure that takes place with traditional cross-breeding. Commonly, genetic changes—and these changes already account for up to half of the North American crops of soya, maize and canola—involve manipulating a gene so that the crop better retains water or is able to grow with greater natural pest controls.

The Public Debate Hots Up

The revolution is still only a few years old. It has been 'discovered' by consumer and environmental activists in Europe who have developed scare campaigns which draw upon public discomfort with existing food law. These campaigns rest upon allegations of increased risk and upon the promotion of the 'precautionary principle', under which few innovations in any field of human activity would be accepted.

The IPA was rightly concerned that the ill-informed European campaigns against genetically modified foods would spill over into Australia. Our concern is to have the new technologies appraised by the appropriate scientific bodies rather than by green/consumer activist organizations. The latter have already signalled their intent to prevent the new technology being used and to throttle it with red tape.

To deny Australia access to the new technology would rebound severely on the consumer, who would end up paying more for food than overseas counterparts, and Australian farmers who would lose competitiveness in world markets.

IPA Makes Headway

We have brought together a group of specialists in science, politics and the economics of food law to produce a series of Backgrounders, to ensure that the facts on GM are not distorted. The first to be released will be by Aynsley Kellow, Professor of Politics from the University of Tasmania. Second in the series will be by IPA Senior Fellow John Hyde. Others will follow by ACiL Australia's Greg Cutbush; David Robertson, a Professor at Melbourne University and a trade specialist; David Tribe, Professor of Microbiology at University of Melbourne; and IPA Senior Fellow Ron Brunton.

The IPA has already made an impact. Articles by Alan Moran, John Hyde and Mike Nahan have been published in *The Herald Sun*, *The Australian Financial Review* and the *Brisbane Courier Mail*, and electronic media presentations have been made on several ABC and local talk-back stations. Aynsley Kellow has had an important letter published in *The Australian* rebutting some of the misinformation on the subject by the consumerist Mara Bun.

The issue is a major one for Australia in view of the importance of agriculture to this country and for a world where concerns are still ex-

pressed about its ability to feed itself. The IPA will continue to promote the use of technology which has passed the appropriate scientific approval processes and provide sound advice to maximize the safe use of the new technology.

IPA Backgrounder on GM food available soon

Risk Assessment and Decision-making for Genetically Modified Foods

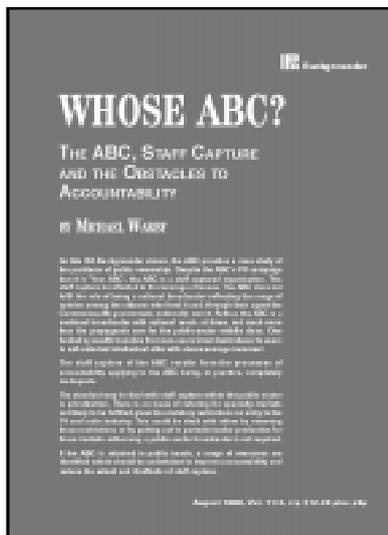
by Professor Aynsley
Kellow

Professor Kellow, of the School of Government, University of Tasmania, will outline the need for and principles of assessing the risk of genetically modified food. The analysis will explore the reasons for public concern, the scientific difficulties and the political incentives for misinformation.

Professor Kellow will compare approaches to risk assessment in Australia, North America and Europe with respect to GM, and will argue the need for sound, peer-reviewed science; for a thorough consideration of the costs and benefits; for openness and transparency; and the need to ensure public trust in the decision-making process.

The IPA will be releasing this analysis as a Backgrounder.

Forthcoming Publications from the IPA



Whose ABC? Staff capture and the obstacles to accountability

by Michael Warby

Michael Warby is currently finalizing an IPA Backgrounder on the ABC. In this account, he looks at the limitations of public ownership on the ABC, and concludes that public ownership has led to the ABC being captured by its staff. The study severely criticizes the inadequate accountability procedures which operate on the ABC and recommends a range of measures to improve accountability if the study's preferred solution—privatization—is not adopted.

The suggested measures include: suitable appointments to ensure that a tough-minded ABC Board is in place; large-scale change in management; a new or amended Charter imposing a statutory commitment to be fair to contesting views and genuinely pluralistic in its broadcasting and commentary; increased corporate sponsorship to broaden the ABC's income base and make the current revenue structure less regressive; greater ease of outside scrutiny; and not being, directly or indirectly, the judge in its own cause.

The study cites a range of comments by inside and outside observ-

ers of the ABC all of which allude to problems of staff capture or systematic bias. It builds further on the work done by the IPA's Media Monitoring Unit.

Economic Freedom of the World: 1999 Annual Report

Soon to be released, this definitive study of economic freedom throughout the world, includes detailed measures and analysis of over 100 nations. This latest edition, like those in the past, will be an invaluable source for studies of the determinants of economic growth, and for understanding the relation between economic, political and civil freedom.

The IPA is a co-publisher of this book, along with think-tanks from around the world.

IPA Backgrounder

Genetically Modified Food in Australia: Questions, Answers and Uncertainties

by John Hyde

This document will be a clear, succinct and objective summary of the main questions and concerns that the public raise about genetically modified food. The document will include an extensive bibliography as well as examples.

This backgrounder will be published in electronic form on our Website at www.ipa.org.au with links to other sites, books, people and chat lines.

DIARY notes

September 29

IPA Dialogue:

Whose ABC?

Speaker: Michael Warby

October 12

IPA Dialogue:

**Risk-Assessment for
Genetically Modified Foods**

Speaker:

Professor Aynsley Kellow

November 4

IPA Dialogue:

**Trial and Tribulation Along the
Path from Communism to a
Market Economy**

Speaker:

Dr H Gronkiesick-Waltz,

Director of the National Bank
of Poland (equivalent to the
Governor of the Reserve Bank)

November 9

**IPA Dinner to celebrate the
Fall of the Berlin Wall**

Speakers: Distinguished panel
of commentators (see page 3
for details)

November 17

IPA Dialogue:

The Church in Political Debate

Speaker:

Archbishop George Pell

November 23

IPA Luncheon Dialogue:

**Melbourne's CityLink in an
International Context**

Speaker:

Peter Samuel

(Editor, US Toll Roads
Newsletter)

12.15 pm for a 12.30 pm start

Unless stated otherwise, *Dialogues* will take place at the IPA office, Level 2, 410 Collins St, at 5.30 pm for a 6 pm start (sharp) and will close no later than 7 pm.

For further details and bookings, please contact Joanna Ingram in the Melbourne office on (03) 9600 4744

IPA UNDER ATTACK YET AGAIN

The IPA comes under regular attack in the press from its opponents. Robert Manne, in an *Age* piece on 19 July discussing the John Laws payola issue, linked the IPA with talk-back hosts' practices: he implied that private funding inevitably pollutes and influences what the IPA says. This is strange coming from Manne, ex-editor of the privately-funded magazine *Quadrant*, who, during the 1980s, campaigned for private-sector funding as a means of maintaining independence. One can only wonder what ideological force-field this man, who is now a board member of the Brisbane Institute, possesses to avoid polluting his own ideas. As an author who is noted for his understanding of the mechanisms used by totalitarian states, he should know better.

KELTY'S LEGACY

Bill Kelty's announcement in August that he plans to step down from his position as Secretary of the ACTU early in the new year produced a flood of encomiums from his large band of loyal supporters.

As Mike Nahan pointed out in a debate on Radio National, although Kelty did much for the Labor Party and fellow union leaders, his record for the union movement and the working man is a complete failure. During his 17-year reign, union membership dropped by more than half and long-term unemployment for what was the core of the union movement—semi-skilled, middle-aged men—skyrocketed. The movement became dominated by middle-class, soft-collar professions who, in reality, are hostile to the views and aspirations of the working class. Even Kelty's contribution to superannuation was flawed by its use as a tool to save unions. His greatest contribution to the decline of the union movement was his push for large industry-based unions, the antithesis of what is required in today's decentralized world.

THE MEDIA AND THE REPUBLIC

Michael Warby (*The Age*, 20 August) challenged an apparent rule governing the opinion pages of the 'quality' press.

He observed that any monarchist article that happens to get in must be matched by a republican one, but that the converse does not apply. Much media commentary, particularly from the Canberra Press Gallery, is written as if the only proper position is support for a republic with an indirectly-elected President and the only proper outcome on November 6 is a 'Yes' vote. John Howard's monarchist convictions are regularly treated by the media as if they are a barely-legitimate fringe position. Given that overall sentiment in favour of a republic only manages at best bare majorities, this is a nonsense. It is another manifestation of 'Rat Pack' mentality, where only one opinion can apparently be held by Gallery journalists if they want to be regarded as 'kosher' by their peers. This is not only a failure of professionalism, it undermines the public scrutiny which is at the heart of democracy, of 'government by discussion'.

FOOD LABELLING

Alan Moran joined the debate with an article in the *Herald Sun* (4 August), following the meeting of Commonwealth and State health ministers on the issue of labelling foods. He pointed out that the costs arise, not from the label, but the vast new auditing and duplication of handling required to ensure that the label is accurate. Some experts in Britain say that this would increase the cost of basic food by 50 per cent. If the information is too costly to produce, then it will prevent the technology from being used; a minority's abuse of regulatory measures will have prevented the gains in terms of lower prices that the majority would want. For these reasons, no other country has introduced the requirement for comprehensive labelling. According to Alan, three things should be done to resolve the labelling issue: first, ensure that all GM products are known, registered and widely tested for health and environmental safety; second, see whether there are any differences between GM crops and those now in production; and third, any differences should be noted, but if there

is no difference, no special labelling should be required.

HINDMARSH REVISITED

Over the years, Ron Brunton has meticulously documented and analysed the litany of distortions, falsehoods and plain misinformation that has been pouring out from anthropological advisers on behalf of Aborigines. In a May 1999 *Quadrant* article, 'Hindmarsh Island and the Hoaxing of Australian Anthropology', Ron detailed the numerous omissions and misrepresentations in yet another manifestation of this Australian illness: a recent book by Professor Diane Belle which attempts to whitewash those responsible for the Hindmarsh Island Bridge scandal. At the end of his article, Ron mentions, almost in passing, that Dr Deane Fergie, whose consultant's report on 'women's business' was comprehensively discredited by the South Australian Royal Commission into Hindmarsh, was recently appointed to the three-person Ethics Committee of the Australian Anthropological Society.

GAMBLING ADDICTION

Alan Moran added to the controversial issue of gambling in an article in *The Australian* (3 August) 'Hyperbolic flim-flam on gaming goes over the odds', which stemmed from an earlier submission by the IPA to the Productivity Commission whose draft report was issued in July. In it, Alan promoted the view that people have a clear right to gambling and the activity should be free of government interference. Although the IPA recognized that a very small number of people are 'problem' gamblers, we took the view that expanded gambling opportunities have not greatly enlarged this group and that the pleasures sought by 98 per cent of the population should not be extinguished because of a two per cent tail. We also saw no evidence that the apparent increase in gambling activity over recent years had led to a more venal, self-centred community. The IPA will continue to press the case for freedom of people to gamble.

intouch EVENTS

May 18 Michael Warby gave a lecture on *Globalization, Economic Rationalism and Public Policy* to Deakin University Public Policy II Students, in which he outlined the nature of globalization, what drives it and the forces which foster it. He outlined Australian public policy towards globalization over the course of the twentieth century and the forces which led to the change of public policy direction which are often referred to as 'economic rationalism'.

June 4 In his round of the universities, Michael Warby was invited to the University of Melbourne to comment on World Environment Day. In an address, 'Our Earth, Our Future, Are We on Track to Saving It?' he had some reassuring things to say to the students. Notable amongst them was that we are not in the midst of environmental collapse nor, indeed, anywhere close to it; that unlike certain past human societies, we are not facing large-scale human die-back due to environmental failures; and that, finally, population and human life expectancy are increasing. Michael, by this prudent contribution, has helped, one imagines, the detoxification of at least one university campus.

June 24 Mike Nahan gave a talk at a luncheon hosted in the boardroom of Clyde Woodrow at the invitation of John Corser. In his talk, Mike discussed the economic outlook for the Western Australian economy and tax reform.

June 25-26 Mike Nahan was the keynote speaker at a conference organized by John Hyde for the Pastoralists and Graziers Association of Western Australia in Mandurah. He spoke on the increasing tendency for governments to attenuate or reduce people's rights in relation to property without adequate or timely compensation. Although his talk was specifically related to problems in the Peel Inlet at Mandurah, the problems are gen-

eral. The paper traced this tendency both in Australia and abroad, and suggested legislative means to begin to address them. The implication he drew is that if governments want people's land or rights then they must compensate them for it. More than 150 people attended the conference.

June Alan Moran wrote a submission, *Firm Access Rights: The Key to Efficient Management of Transmission* for the NECA Transmission Pricing Review. His key points were that regulated determination of new transmission links is distorting the electricity supply industry, that placing all cost recovery of purchased infrastructure directly on customers is unlikely to be the optimal means of financing these costs and that future decisions on augmentations should be made by market participants on a commercial basis.

July 10 Michael Warby gave a speech to the Samuel Griffith Society in Melbourne on the silly business of preambles to the Constitution. Suitably entitled *Preambulations*, the talk was an appropriate send-up of the sententious nonsense we have been reading in the press. As Michael said in his speech, 'to discourse on such an object is to be landed, without effort at all, in the land of the surreal. As strange a place as one can imagine, outside the party room of the Australian Democrats. Humour must inevitably follow, of some variety or other. In fact, Natashas and Natashas of humour, which can but Lees one in huge Kernots of mirth before one can say 'all change', like a carrot from its virtuous, noble raw untaxed nirvana to its nasty, shredded, fast-food, taxed purgatory. But I have to Stott there, or I will Despoja the joke.'

July 12 Alan Moran gave an address on Property Rights and Competition Policy to the *Industry Economics Conference 1999*. In it, he

claimed that, over the longer term, successful economic performance requires market competition with established property rights. Competition means a ceaseless striving to steal a march on rivals by cost-cutting and better pleasing the customer. Established, secure property and contract rights offer the incentive of personal gain from searching out new and changing needs of consumers and continuously seeking ways to meet these more cheaply.

August 2 The IPA Energy Forum met and discussed the issue of Australia's greenhouse commitments in relation to the energy industries. There were two guests from the Allen Consultancy Group, Mr Jon Stanford and Mr Kerry Barwise. Allen Consultancy has done extensive work for the Commonwealth Government and has recently been commissioned to compile a major report for the Victorian Government on behalf of other State governments to determine the likely emission levels in the years to 2010, and possible strategies for addressing these levels in the context of the Kyoto agreement.

August 14 Dr Cento Veljanovski, author of the IPA Current Issues *Pay TV in Australia*, was in Australia attending the Trade Practices Seminar at Surfers Paradise. It seems that the ACCC, which was roundly criticized in the book for its decision to block the merger between Foxtel and Australis, is a little upset and emotional about its contents. Ross Jones, an ACCC commissioner, had written a defensive article in *The Age* about the book, but on this occasion Cento was able to have a frank discussion with the chairman of the ACCC, Allan Fels, and with Ross as well. Many people have expressed the view directly to Cento that his book has put the correct interpretation on the ACCC ruling. It would seem that the issue is due for a bit more of a run.

The IPA's Major Media Activities

12.5.99 *ABC Radio 6WF, Perth drivetime*, WA Budget discussion, **with Mike Nahan**

13.5.99 *The West Australian*, Court called out on budget, **Mike Nahan quoted**

14.5.99 *The Australian*, Low tactics mar towering opinions, **by Michael Warby**

15.5.99 *The Canberra Times*, United we own, united we fall, **by Michael Warby**

15.5.99 *Courier Mail*, Activists are playing the share game, **by Ron Brunton**

17.5.99 *The Australian*, Aunty's poor record on bias, **letter from Michael Warby**

19.5.99 *The West Australian*, Accrual proves too kind to WA Budget sector, **by Mike Nahan**

20.5.99 *Radio Gippsland*, Shane Elson interviews **Michael Warby** on Kosovo

20.5.99 *The Age*, A victim of the shame game, **by Ron Brunton**

May 1999 *Quadrant*, Hindmarsh Island and the hoaxing of Australian anthropology, **by Ron Brunton**

22.5.99 *Herald Sun*, Taking GST off the menu, **by Mike Nahan**

24.5.99 *The Canberra Times*, A major blunder by the Coalition, **by Michael Warby**

25.5.99 *The Australian*, Crossed wires threaten energy privatisation, **by Alan Moran**

26.5.99 *AFR*, Frankenfood alarmists winning the day, **by Mike Nahan**

2.6.99 *The Canberra Times*, IMF's role bubbles along, **by Michael Warby**

3.6.99 *2GB Mike Jeffries Show*, Comments on draft reconciliation document **by Ron Brunton**

5.6.99 *Herald Sun*, Tax bid's grim fallout, **by Mike Nahan**

7.6.99 *Radio National, Australia talks back*, Comments on reconciliation document, **with Ron Brunton**

8.6.99 *Courier Mail*, Nothing to fear from genetically modified tomato paste but fear itself, **by John Hyde**

June 1999 *Adelaide Review*, The folly of special ownership, **by Michael Warby**

12.6.99 *Courier Mail*, Mainstream lost in the slipstream of reconciliation, **by Ron Brunton**

16.6.99 *Herald Sun*, Two can play the protest game, **Michael Warby**

19.6.99 *Herald Sun*, Free rein on super, **by Mike Nahan**

22.6.99 *Herald Sun*, Salary cap duds fans too, **by Alan Moran**

23.6.99 *AFR*, Forget the ideology, look at the facts, **by Michael Warby**

24.6.99 *ABC TV, Tom Braddelley talks to Mike Nahan* about Property Rights

24.6.99 *West Australian*, Red radicals find fertile ground in green causes, **by Mike Nahan and Michael Warby**

25.6.99 *ABC Radio WA*, Property Rights **discussion with Mike Nahan**

26.6.99 *Courier Mail*, Mandela fallacy clouds sins of KLA, **by Ron Brunton**

26.6.99 *Courier Mail*, Compensation for victims of crime, **by Gary Johns**

29.6.99 *The Australian*, Future investment on line, **by Alan Moran**

3.7.99 *Herald Sun*, Exploding myth of bank avarice, **by Mike Nahan**

7.7.99 *Courier Mail*, Monitoring detects bias, **letter from Michael Warby**

9.7.99 *The Age*, New report challenges ACCC role, **report on pay-TV book**

9.7.99 *Courier Mail*, Exploding myth of bank avarice, **by Mike Nahan**

9.7.99 *West Australian*, Exploding myth of bank avarice, **by Mike Nahan**

10.7.99 *Courier Mail*, Covering up a multitude of social, ethical sins, **by Ron Brunton**

12.7.99 *The West Australian*, Uproar at Peel land grab, **Mike Nahan quoted**

13.7.99 *The Australian*, ACCC 'failed own tests' on Foxtel merger, **report on Cento Veljanovski book**

20.7.99 *The Age*, We all loosen up when opinion is concerned, **by Mike Nahan**

22.7.99 *ABC Radio*, Peter Clarke interview **with Mike Nahan**

24.7.99 *Canberra Times*, Decades on, Reid's ideas are triumphant, **by Michael Warby**

24.7.99 *Courier Mail*, Time is right for debate on ethics, **by Ron Brunton**

30.7.99 *AFR*, Shoot the commentator, **letter by Mike Nahan**

31.7.99 *Herald Sun*, Reform theory passes the test, **by Mike Nahan**

July 1999 *Courier Mail*, Trade hypocrisy, **by John Hyde**

August 1999 *ABC Lateline*, Discussion **with John Hyde**

2.8.99 *The Age*, The truth about guns, **by Michael Warby**

3.8.99 *The Australian*, Hyperbolic flimflam on gaming goes over the odds, **by Alan Moran**

4.8.99 *Herald Sun*, Don't hobble our smart food, **by Alan Moran**

7.8.99 *Courier Mail*, Indigenous policies upset Left and Right, **by Ron Brunton**

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