

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

### Editor

#### *Troy Bramston*

Troy Bramston is a columnist and leader writer with *The Australian* newspaper and a contributor to Sky News.

He has worked as a policy and political adviser in government, opposition and the private sector. He is a former principal speechwriter for Kevin Rudd and an adviser to the Rudd Government.

Troy is the author of *Looking for the Light on the Hill: Modern Labor's Challenges* (Scribe, 2011). *The Canberra Times* described it as 'the best of the current crop of books charting new Labor'. *The Courier-Mail* said: 'Troy Bramston's book is a stand-out. His elegant prose and bold criticisms make it hard to put down, and its blend of history, current affairs and ideas for the future make it impossible to ignore.' *The Australian Journal of Political Science* said: 'This book is essential reading for Labor's true believers and more dispassionate scholarly observers.'

He is also editor of *For the True Believers: Great Labor Speeches that Shaped History* (The Federation Press, 2012), *The Wran Era* (The Federation Press, 2006) and co-editor of *The Hawke Government: A Critical Retrospective* (Pluto Press, 2003). His feature articles, opinion pieces and book reviews have been widely published in the nation's leading newspapers, magazines and academic journals. He is currently writing a book about Paul Keating.

Troy has an economics degree with honours from the University of Sydney and a master's degree in politics and international relations from the University of New South Wales.

In 2001, he was awarded the Centenary Medal by the Governor-General for his services towards the Centenary of Federation commemorations.

He lives in Sydney with his partner, Nicky, and two children, Madison and Angus.

### Contributors

#### *Patricia Amphlett*

Today, Little Pattie is as energetic as she was when she burst into the Australian music scene in the mid-1960s as a bright 14-year-old school girl from Sydney. With a succession of hits including 'He's my Blonde Headed Stompie Wompie Real Gone Surfer Boy' and 'Stompin' at Maroubra' and as

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a long-standing member of the Bandstand Family, Pattie established herself prominently in the Australian music industry. Her musical talents are credited with many industry awards including Best Female Singer, Most Popular Female Performer, TV Logie for Best Teenage Personality and a succession of Gold Records. At age 17, Pattie was the youngest Australian to entertain our troops in Vietnam. Pattie maintains a high profile in the music industry, with many live performances at festivals, corporate events, clubs and television shows. Pattie is currently Federal President of the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance, a position she has held since 2002. Pattie has held a number of other important positions, including as a Member of the Council of the Australian War Memorial, a Member of the Board of the National Film and Sound Archive and as a Member of the Board of The Whitlam Institute. Pattie was awarded a Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) in 2003.

*Jeff Angel*

Jeff Angel is Executive Director of the Total Environment Centre (TEC) based in Sydney. During the Whitlam years he was studying economics and politics at the University of Sydney and also volunteered to help TEC. Since then, he has campaigned on many environmental issues including forest and coastal protection, waste and recycling, air pollution, clean energy, climate change, threatened species and sustainable cities. He has also worked on legislation and economic policy to give a voice to ecologically sustainable development. In recent years he has been able to create alliances of business and environmentalists with common objectives to help convince government to change policy.

*Gordon Bilney*

Gordon Bilney (1939-2012) was a career diplomat on a posting to The United Nations when he was appointed to Gough Whitlam's personal staff, as Foreign Affairs liaison officer, in December 1972. At that time Whitlam held both the portfolios of Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, relinquishing the latter (to Senator Don Willesee) in late 1973. Gordon then transferred to Senator Willesee's staff until 1975, when he was posted as Minister and Deputy Permanent Representative to Australia's Mission to the OECD in Paris. In 1980, Gordon was appointed High Commissioner (Ambassador) to eight Commonwealth Caribbean countries, based in Jamaica, returning to Australia in 1982 to campaign as the Labor Party candidate for election in the southern Adelaide marginal seat of Kingston. His parliamentary career included serving as Chair of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade before being appointed, in 1990, Minister for Defence Science and Personnel in the Hawke Government, and in 1993, Minister for Development

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Cooperation and Pacific Island Affairs in the Keating Government. He held Kingston for a record five terms before being narrowly defeated at the 1996 election. After Parliament, Gordon wrote the regular language column 'Wordwatching' for *The Sydney Morning Herald* and served on the board of the publicly listed company Argus Solutions. During his retirement in Adelaide, he followed the Adelaide Crows and caught unwary fish.

*Frank Bongiorno*

Frank Bongiorno was born in Nhill, Victoria, in 1969. A graduate of the University of Melbourne and the Australian National University (ANU), he is Associate Professor in the School of History at the ANU. He has previously held lectureships at King's College London, the University of New England, Griffith University and the ANU. In 1997-98 he was Smuts Visiting Fellow in Commonwealth Studies at the University of Cambridge and Mellon Visiting Fellow at the University of Texas at Austin. He is the author of *The People's Party: Victorian Labor and the Radical Tradition 1875-1914* (Melbourne University Press, 1996) and *The Sex Lives of Australians: A History* (Black Inc, 2012) and co-author, with Nick Dyrenfurth, of *A Little History of the Australian Labor Party* (University of New South Wales Press, 2011). He is a regular contributor to the media, especially to *Inside Story* and *The Canberra Times*.

*Frank Brennan*

Frank Brennan is a Jesuit priest, professor of law at Australian Catholic University and Adjunct Professor at the Australian National University College of Law and National Centre for Indigenous Studies. He was the founding director of Uniya, the Australian Jesuit Social Justice Centre. He is a board member of St Vincent's Health Australia. When launching Frank's book *Acting on Conscience* on the place of religion in Australian politics and law, Kevin Rudd described him as 'an ethical burr in the nation's saddle'. He is an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) for services to Aboriginal Australians, particularly as an advocate in the areas of law, social justice and reconciliation. He has written extensively on Aboriginal land rights and reconciliation. The National Trust has classified him as a Living National Treasure. In 2009, he chaired the Australian National Human Rights Consultation Committee.

*Bob Carr*

Foreign Minister Bob Carr was the longest continuously serving Premier in New South Wales history. He served as Leader of the Opposition from 1988 until his election as Premier in 1995. He was re-elected in 1999 and again in

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2003, securing an historic third four-year term. He retired from politics in 2005 after over ten years as Premier. During these ten years the State government set new records for spending on infrastructure, became the first government in the State's history to retire debt, hosted the world's best Olympics in 2000 and achieved the nation's best school literacy levels. As Premier, he introduced the world's first carbon trading scheme and curbed the clearing of native vegetation as anti-greenhouse measures. He was a member of the International Task Force on Climate Change convened by Tony Blair, and was made a life member of the Wilderness Society in 2003. He has also received the World Conservation Union International Parks Merit Award for creating 350 new national parks. Bob has received the Fulbright Distinguished Fellow Award Scholarship. He has served as Honorary Scholar of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue. He is the author of *Thoughtlines* (Viking, 2002), *What Australia Means to Me* (Penguin, 2003), and *My Reading Life* (Penguin, 2008). In March 2012 he was designated by then Prime Minister Julia Gillard as Australia's Foreign Minister. He was elected to the Australian Senate to fill a casual Senate vacancy and was sworn in to the Senate and Cabinet on 13 March 2012.

### *Moss Cass*

Moss Cass was born in Narrogin, Western Australia, in 1927. He was educated in State schools before graduating in Medicine from the University of Sydney. During the 1950s and 1960s he worked as a registrar at hospitals in Sydney, London and Melbourne, where he moved after meeting and marrying his wife, Shirley. In Melbourne he worked as a Research Fellow at the Royal Children's Hospital. As a medical practitioner he conducted research into the development of the heart-lung machine for open-heart surgery. From 1964 to 1969 he was the Director of the Melbourne-based Trade Union Clinic and Research Centre, during which time he advocated for abortion law reform. He joined the Labor Party in 1955 and was the endorsed Labor candidate in Kooyong against Sir Robert Menzies in 1961 and in La Trobe against John Jess in 1963. He won the federal seat of Maribyrnong from the Liberal Party in 1969. He became Australia's first Minister for Environment and Conservation when the Whitlam Government came to power in 1972. He introduced legislation that laid the groundwork for ending sandmining on Fraser Island and the protection of the Great Barrier Reef. He later served briefly as Minister for the Media and negotiated the licensing of the first 12 public broadcasting stations. Moss retired from politics in 1983. He was chair of the Australian National Biocentre (2002-03) and is now a patron of the Sustainable Living Foundation and an Honorary Fellow at the Melbourne University School of Land and Environment. He had two daughters, a son and four granddaughters.

### *Nick Cater*

Nick Cater has been a senior editor at *The Australian* since 2004. He is a former foreign correspondent for News Limited covering Asia from Hong Kong from 1993-96. He has occupied senior editorial positions at News Limited for more than 15 years, working on *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* and as News Limited's Bureau Chief in Canberra from 1996-97. He was born and educated in England, studying Sociology at the University of Exeter. He began his career in the BBC's External Service and then as a London-based producer for Channel Seven. On returning to the BBC, he worked as a television journalist and produced the BBC TV documentary *Bridge Builders* (1989). Cater moved to Australia in 1989 where he joined News Limited. He is married to journalist and commentator Rebecca Weisser. Cater is editor of *The Howard Factor* (Melbourne University Press, 2006). His latest book, *The Lucky Culture*, was published in April 2013 by HarperCollins Australia.

### *Bill Cope*

Bill Cope is a Research Professor in the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois. He is a former First Assistant Secretary in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and Director of the Office of Multicultural Affairs. He is also Director of Common Ground Publishing, which develops the internet publishing software, Scholar, for schools and scholarly publications. With Mary Kalantzis, he is co-author of *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia* (also with Stephen Castles and Michael Morrissey) (Pluto Press, 1988, 1990, 1992); *Productive Diversity* (Pluto Press, 1997); *A Place in the Sun: Recreating the Australian Way of Life* (HarperCollins, 2000); *New Learning: Elements of a Science of Education* (Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2012); and *Literacies* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

### *John Deeble*

Dr John Deeble is an Emeritus Fellow of the Australian National University (ANU). With Dr Dick Scotton, he was co-author of the original proposals for universal health insurance in 1968 when they worked together in the Melbourne University Institute of Applied Economic Research. He was Special Adviser to the Ministers for Social Security and Health in the Whitlam and Hawke Governments, Chairman of the Planning Committees for both Medibank and Medicare, and a Commissioner of the Health Insurance Commission for 16 years. Other appointments have included First Assistant Secretary in the Commonwealth Department of Health, Founding Director of the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, and, from 1989 to 2005, Senior Fellow in Epidemiology and Adjunct Professor of Economics at

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the National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health at the ANU. Dr Deeble has been a World Bank Consultant on health care financing in Hungary, Turkey and Indonesia and for over ten years to 2005, an adviser to the government of South Africa. He was made an Officer of Order of Australia (AO) in 1996.

*Michael Easson*

Michael Easson joined the ALP in 1973. In 1978, John Ducker hired Michael as Education and Publicity Officer of the Labor Council, succeeding Bob Carr. Later he was elected Assistant Secretary (1984-89) and then Secretary of the Labor Council of NSW (1989-94). As Secretary of the Labor Council, he edited or co-edited and contributed to various publications including *The Transformation of Industrial Relations* (Pluto Press, 1990), *Australia and Immigration* (Pluto Press, 1991), *Australian Industry Policy* (Pluto Press, 1992), and *A Hundred Years of Labor* (Pluto Press, 1991). He served as Senior Vice President of the Australian Labor Party, NSW Branch (1993-95) and Vice President of the ACTU (1993-94). In recent years Michael has worked primarily in infrastructure and property. In 1976, Michael graduated as a Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours in Political Science from the University of New South Wales. In 1989 he completed the Harvard Trade Union Program at the Harvard Business School and in 1997 completed the Finance Management Program at the Stanford Business School. His community involvements include being appointed as an inaugural member of the National Competition Council in 1995 and directorships of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra (1993-94), UNICEF Australia (1998-2002) and the Museum of Contemporary Art (2001-02). In 1997 Michael was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) and in the same year made a Fellow of the Australian Institute of Company Directors (FAICD). He gratefully acknowledges assistance from Catherine Harding, Donna McKenna and David Plowman in preparing this essay for publication. They were responsible for insight and wisdom whereas all faults belong to the author.

*Kep Enderby*

Kep Enderby was born in Dubbo NSW in 1926 and grew up there. He attended the Dubbo Primary and High Schools. His principal interests were sport, in his case golf, and he was an active member of the high school RAAF Air Training Corps. His family left Dubbo when he was 17 and moved to Sydney. When he turned 18, he joined the RAAF. After discharge, he studied law at the University of Sydney and he graduated in 1949. In London, he worked with solicitors for the next four years and acquired an LLM at the London School of Economics. He returned to Australia in 1955 and practised for

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a time at the Sydney Bar, doing mainly human rights work before going to Canberra in 1956 to join the Australian National University as a senior lecturer in law. He joined the ACT Branch of the ALP in Canberra. When Jim Fraser, the local member for the ACT, died in March 1970, he was elected to the Parliament to replace him. With the election of the Whitlam Government in 1972, he progressively served as Minister for the ACT, the Northern Territory, Secondary Industry and Supply, Manufacturing Industry, Police and Customs, and in March 1975 became Attorney-General, the position he held until the government's dismissal in 1975. He lost his seat in Parliament in the 1975 election, and he returned to Sydney to practise at the Bar. He was appointed a Justice of the NSW Supreme Court in 1982 and worked as a judge until he retired in 1992. He was Chairman of the NSW Serious Offender's Review Council between 1997 and 2000. He was a foundation member of the NSW Council of Civil Liberties when it was formed in 1955. He was president of the NSW Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs (1983-85), president of the Australian Esperanto Association (1992-98), president of the Universal Esperanto Association in Rotterdam (1998-2001), and president of the NSW Voluntary Euthanasia Society (2003-08).

*Vivien Encel*

Vivien Encel is a teacher and writer. She was born in Melbourne in 1953 and was educated at State schools in Canberra and Sydney. She graduated from the University of New South Wales in 1977 with a Bachelor of Arts and a Diploma of Education, and has since completed a Bachelor of Journalism at Murdoch University and an honours equivalent in English at the University of Western Australia. Moss Cass is a long-time friend of her parents, Sol and Diana Encel. In 2010, at a gathering following her father's funeral, Moss recounted an anecdote regarding the part played by Professor Encel in the introduction of the Medibank national health insurance scheme by the Whitlam Government. This led to a series of political discussions and a decision to work together on a book, tentatively titled *Revolutions in Ideas*, about Cass's experiences in politics. Her previous publications include *Australian Genius: 50 Great Ideas* (Atrand, 1986), a book of Australian inventions, and *Murder: 25 True Australian Crimes* (Kingsclear Books, 1997), co-written with Alan Sharpe. She currently lives in Perth where she works as a Vocational Education and Training co-ordinator at a government high school.

*Richard Farmer*

Richard Farmer has extensive experience in politics and journalism. He worked for Labor politicians Gough Whitlam, Bill Hayden and Bob Hawke as an adviser between 1977 and 1990 and for the fledgling government of

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Croatia in 1992. As a lobbyist his clients have included Rupert Murdoch's News Limited and the Voluntary Euthanasia Society. Over the years he has covered politics from Canberra for *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Australian*, *The Bulletin*, *The Canberra Times* and, most recently, *Crikey*.

*Graham Freudenberg*

Born into a staunch Tory family in Brisbane in 1934, Graham Freudenberg was converted to Labor in London during the Suez crisis of 1956. His father, national president of the Commercial Travellers' Association in 1952, served at Gallipoli. He worked as a journalist at the *Brisbane Telegraph* (1952-53), the *Sydney Daily Mirror* (1953-54), the *Mildura Sunraysia Daily* (1954), the *Melbourne Sun News-Pictorial* (1955, 1957-58, and 1966), and GTV9 News, Melbourne (1958-61). In June 1961, he was appointed Press Secretary to Arthur Calwell, leader of the federal Parliamentary Labor Party. He resigned during the ALP 'witless men' crisis of February 1966. He returned to Canberra as Gough Whitlam's Press Secretary on 8 February 1967. He was the principal speechwriter for Gough Whitlam throughout his leadership of the ALP from 1967 to 1977. He worked with Neville Wran, theoretically as his speechwriter, throughout his term as Premier from 1976 to 1986. From 1983 until Wran's retirement, he shared his services with Prime Minister Bob Hawke, continuing that arrangement under Barrie Unsworth until NSW Labor's defeat in March 1988. After Hawke was deposed as Labor leader in December 1991, he joined the staff of NSW Opposition Leader Bob Carr, retaining a speechwriting role until Carr's retirement as Premier in August 2005. His published works include: *A Certain Grandeur: Gough Whitlam in Politics* (Sun Books, 1977, Macmillan, 1987, Penguin, 2009); *Cause for Power: The Official Centenary History of the New South Wales Labor Party* (Pluto Press, 1991); *A Figure of Speech: A Political Memoir* (John Wiley and Sons, 2005); and his latest, *Churchill and Australia* (Pan Macmillan, 2008). He was awarded a Medal of the Order of Australia (AM) in 1990.

*Leigh Hatcher*

Leigh Hatcher has had a distinguished career in broadcast journalism for four decades. He began his career at radio 2GB. Within 18 months he was appointed chief political correspondent for the Macquarie radio network in Canberra, beginning work in the press gallery on budget day, August 1975. After covering the demise of the Whitlam Government and Malcolm Fraser's first year in power, he held a range of management positions in radio, returning to Canberra in 1981 and commencing a long career in TV journalism. There, he covered Fraser's last year in power as Prime Minister and Bob Hawke's first. Leigh then worked for two years as the Seven Network's

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European correspondent in London. Returning to Australia, he hosted a news-talk breakfast radio program in Adelaide, then worked for a decade in Sydney as an on the road reporter and chief Olympics correspondent for the Seven Network. Leigh has been a senior presenter at Sky News for 15 years and currently hosts the morning 'First Edition' program. He also hosts the national Sunday night radio talk program, 'Open House'. He has authored two books *I'm Not Crazy, I'm Just A Little Unwell* (Strand Publishing, 2005) and *Open House, a new era with Leigh Hatcher* (Strand Publishing, 2012). Leigh has been married to Meredith for 34 years and they have four adult children and two grandsons.

### *Gerard Henderson*

Gerard Henderson is Executive Director of The Sydney Institute. He writes each Tuesday for *The Sydney Morning Herald*, comments regularly on radio and appears on the ABC1 *Insiders* program as well as Sky News' *The Nation*. Gerard's Media Watch Dog blog goes up on The Sydney Institute's website each Friday. Gerard studied Arts and Law at the University of Melbourne before completing his PhD, and taught at Tasmania and La Trobe universities before working for four years on the staff of a Minister (Kevin Newman) in Malcolm Fraser's Coalition Government. From 1980 to 1983 he was employed in the Commonwealth Department of Industrial Relations and was Chief-of-Staff to John Howard between 1984 and 1986. Gerard is the author of *Mr Santamaria and the Bishops* (Hale & Iremonger, 1982), *Australian Answers* (Random House, 1990), *Gerard Henderson Scribbles On* (Wilkinson Books, 1993), *Menzies' Child: The Liberal Party of Australia* (Allen & Unwin, 1994, Harper Collins, 1998) and *A Howard Government? Inside the Coalition* (Harper Collins, 1995), in addition to numerous articles and essays. In August 1994 he profiled former Prime Minister Bob Hawke for the ABC TV *Four Corners* program.

### *Michael Hogan*

Michael Hogan is an Honorary Associate in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney, where he taught from 1972 till he retired in 1997. He is the author of a number of books, including *The Catholic Campaign for State Aid* (Catholic Theological Faculty, 1978), *The Sectarian Strand: Religion in Australian History* (Penguin, 1987) and *Local Labor: a History of the Labor Party in Glebe 1891-2003* (The Federation Press, 2004). He is also co-editor of a number of works, including four volumes of *The People's Choice*, a chronicle of electoral politics in New South Wales from 1843 to 1999 (The Federation Press, 2001 and 2007).

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*Brian Howe*

Brian Howe was appointed a professorial associate at the Centre for Public Policy and within the Department of Social Work at the University of Melbourne in 1996. Elected to the Federal Parliament in 1977, Brian represented the seat of Batman until 1996. Elected to the ministry in 1983 and appointed as the Minister for Defence Support, he subsequently served in social policy related ministries, including social security, health and housing. Brian was one of only four ministers who served continuously in the Hawke and Keating ministries, from 1983-96. He was Deputy Prime Minister from 1991-95. Since leaving politics Brian has researched and taught social policy at the University of Melbourne and at Princeton University (The Woodrow Wilson School) in 1997 and 1998. Author of *Weighing Up Australian Values* (UNSW Press, 2007), Brian chaired the Independent Enquiry into Insecure Work in Australia which reported to the ACTU Congress in May 2012, *Lives on Hold: Unlocking the Potential of Australia's Workforce*.

*Carol Johnson*

Carol Johnson is a Professor of Politics at the University of Adelaide. She has written numerous articles and book chapters on the history of Australian Labor governments, and on the ideology of Labor leaders in particular. She is also the author of two books that deal with the policy positions of Labor governments and their leaders, namely *The Labor Legacy: Curtin, Chifley, Whitlam, Hawke* (Allen & Unwin, 1989) and *Governing Change: From Keating to Howard* (Network Books, 2nd ed, 2007).

*Barry Jones*

Barry Jones has been a public servant, high school teacher, television and radio performer, university lecturer and lawyer. He joined the ALP in 1950, took a leading role in campaigns to abolish the death penalty and revive the Australian film industry and achieved some reputation as a quiz champion. Member of Parliament for Melbourne in the Victorian Legislative Assembly (1972-77), he transferred to the Commonwealth Parliament as MP for Lalor (1977-98) and was Minister for Science (1983-90), Prices and Consumer Affairs (1987), Small Business (1987-90) and Customs (1988-90) under Bob Hawke. He served on the Executive Board of UNESCO in Paris (1991-95) and was Vice President of the World Heritage Authority (1995-96). He became National President of the ALP (1992-2000 and 2005), was Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Convention on the Republic (1998), and a Visiting Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge 2000-01. His books include *Dictionary of World Biography* (Information Australia, 1998) and he edited *The Penalty is Death* (Sun Books, 1968). *Sleepers, Wake!: Technology and the Future of Work* was

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published by Oxford University Press in 1982, a best seller, was translated into Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Swedish and Braille. He is the only person to have been elected as a Fellow of all four Australian learned academies: FTSE (1992), FAHA (1993), FAA (1996), FASSA (2003). His autobiography, *A Thinking Reed* (Allen & Unwin), was published in 2006. He chairs the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority and Vision 2020 Australia. He was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) in 1993.

### *Mary Kalantzis*

Mary Kalantzis is Dean of the College of Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. She was formerly Dean of the Faculty of Education, Language and Community Services at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia, and President of the Australian Council of Deans of Education. She has been a part-time commissioner of the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission and chair of the Queensland Ethnic Affairs Ministerial Advisory Committee, advising the Queensland Premier. With Bill Cope, she is co-author of *Mistaken Identity: Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia* (also with Stephen Castles and Michael Morrissey) (Pluto Press, 1988, 1990, 1992); *Productive Diversity* (Pluto Press, 1997); *A Place in the Sun: Recreating the Australian Way of Life* (HarperCollins, 2000); *New Learning: Elements of a Science of Education* (Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2012); and *Literacies* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

### *Paul Kelly*

Paul Kelly is Editor-at-Large on *The Australian*. He was previously Editor-in-Chief of the paper and he writes on Australian politics, public policy and international affairs. Paul has covered Australian governments from Gough Whitlam to Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard and is a television commentator on Sky News program, *Australian Agenda*. He worked in the Press Gallery from 1971 to 1991 as Political Correspondent for *The Australian*, Political Correspondent for *The National Times*, Political Correspondent for *The Sydney Morning Herald* and then as National Affairs Editor of *The Australian*. He is the author of seven books including *The Unmaking of Gough* (Angus & Robertson, 1976), *The Hawke Ascendancy* (Angus & Robertson, 1984), *The End of Certainty* (Allen & Unwin, 1992), *November 1975* (Allen & Unwin, 1995) and *100 Years – The Australian Story* (Allen & Unwin, 2001). His most recent book, *The March of Patriots* (Melbourne University Press, 2009), offers a re-interpretation of Paul Keating and John Howard in office. He is currently working on a new book on the politics of the past decade. Paul was Graham Perkin Journalist of the Year (1990). He holds a Doctor of Letters from the University of Melbourne and in 2010 was a Vice Chancellor's Fellow at that University. He is a Fellow of the

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Academy of Social Sciences in Australia and in 2006 was a Visiting Fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. Paul is a long-standing participant in Australian-American Leadership Dialogue and served for many years on the Australia-Indonesia Institute board. He has been a Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

*John Kerin*

John Kerin left school aged 15 in 1952 and worked in forestry pursuits, in a steam laundry and in a brickworks, gaining funds to gradually build a poultry farm (eggs, broilers and a dressed poultry business) and orcharding enterprise in the NSW Southern Highlands until 1971. During this time he matriculated (1962) and acquired an Arts degree with the University of New England by external study (1963-67). In April 1971, John commenced employment with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE) in Canberra in the Australian Objective Measurement Project (wool). In December 1972 he was elected to the House of Representatives as Member for Macarthur, losing the seat in 1975. From 1976 to 1978 he again worked with the BAE as an economic researcher in areas involving dairy, horticulture and grains. He gained a BEc from the Australian National University during this time by part-time study. In September 1978, John was elected to the House of Representatives as Member for Werriwa at a by-election, consequent on the retirement of Gough Whitlam. He was appointed Opposition spokesperson for primary industry by Bill Hayden in 1981 and subsequently became Minister for Primary Industry (1983-87) on the election of the Hawke Government in 1983. He then became Minister for Primary Industries and Energy (1987-91), Treasurer (1991), Minister for Transport and Communications (1991) and Minister for Trade and Overseas Development (1992-93). John resigned from parliament in December 1993 and since then has been actively engaged in a range of private, statutory and public organisations with some emphasis on natural resource management, research administration and aspects of the agricultural and mining sector.

*Michael Kirby*

Michael Kirby was a solicitor and barrister in Sydney before, in 1975, he was appointed by the Whitlam Government as a Deputy President of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and subsequently as inaugural Chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission. He went on to serve as a judge of the Federal Court of Australia, President of the New South Wales Court of Appeal and Justice of the High Court of Australia. In addition to these posts he served on three governing bodies of Australian universities, including as Chancellor of Macquarie University in

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Sydney. Concurrently, he filled a number of international positions, including as President of the International Commission of Jurists (1995-98), Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations for Human Rights in Cambodia (1993-96) and Member of the International Bioethics Committee of UNESCO (1996-2005). More recently, he has served on the Eminent Persons Group reporting on the future of the Commonwealth of Nations (2010-11) and the UNDP Global Commission on HIV and the Law (2010-12). In 2013 he was appointed Chair of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea. In 2010 he was named a laureate of the Gruber Justice Prize.

### *Geoff Kitney*

Geoff Kitney is a senior political writer for *The Australian Financial Review*. He has covered Australia politics for more than 25 years, with two interludes totalling nearly ten years working as a foreign correspondent in Europe. Geoff first worked in the Parliamentary Press Gallery as Canberra correspondent for the now defunct Perth *Daily News*, arriving for his first day at work on the weekend of the Bass by-election in 1975, and then covered the downfall of the Whitlam Government. Since then he has covered the Fraser, Hawke, Howard, Rudd and Gillard Governments, countless leadership challenges and changes, the era of great economic reform, and the ebb and flow of the ideas and the personalities that have shaped Australia since the mid-1970s. He has also reported on major world events, including the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks, the launch of the euro, the changing role of Europe in world affairs, the arrival of Vladimir Putin as the new strongman of Russia and the most recent major European conflict, the war in Kosovo, and the Blair prime ministership in Britain. Geoff grew up on a farm in South Western Australia and worked as a bank clerk before switching to journalism in 1970, doing a cadetship on *The South Western Times* in Bunbury, then transferring to Perth to work as a State political reporter before being posted to Canberra. After completing a Commonwealth Press Union fellowship in London in 1980, Geoff returned to Canberra and became political correspondent for *The National Times*. He subsequently worked as the head of bureau and Chief Political Correspondent for *The Australian Financial Review* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. In 1997 he was appointed European correspondent, based in Berlin, Germany, for *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*. He became International Editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, on his return to Australia in 2000, then returned to Canberra as Political Editor of *The Sydney Morning Herald* before returning to London as Europe Correspondent for *The Australian Financial Review*. He returned to Canberra in 2009 to take up his present position and to write commentary and analysis for *The Australian Financial Review*.

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*Malcolm Mackerras*

Malcolm Mackerras was born in Sydney in August 1939 but has lived in Canberra since 1965. He graduated as Bachelor of Economics from the University of Sydney in 1962 and all his subsequent employment positions have been in politics of one kind or another. He has been a political science academic since 1974 and his current position is Visiting Fellow in the Public Policy Institute of the Australian Catholic University, Canberra Campus. In 2006 he was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO). The citation for the honour reads: 'For service to the community by raising public awareness of and encouraging debate about the political process in Australia and other western democracies, and through commitment to reform and improvement of the electoral system, and to education.'

*Bill Morrison*

In 1968, when he was Counsellor in the Australian High Commission in Kuala Lumpur, Bill Morrison (1928-2013) was asked by Gough Whitlam to consider entering politics. He won the seat of St George in 1969 and in 1972 was appointed Minister for Science in the Whitlam Government, as well as Minister for External Territories. When the latter position was abolished in 1973, Bill was appointed Minister Assisting the Minister for Foreign Affairs in matters relating to Papua New Guinea and in 1975 for matters relating to the Islands of the Pacific. In 1975 he was appointed Minister for Consumer Affairs, and then Minister for Defence. Bill lost his seat after the dismissal of the Whitlam Government, but successfully contested the seat of St George in 1980. He first became a member of the Joint Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, and Deputy Chairman of its Defence Sub-Committee, and in 1983 was elected Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee. He left Parliament in 1984. In 1985 he was appointed Ambassador to Indonesia and retired in 1989. In 1988 Bill was made an Officer of the Order of Australia for service to the Commonwealth Parliament and to international relations.

*J R Nethercote*

JR (John) Nethercote is Adjunct Professor, Public Policy Institute, Australian Catholic University. Educated at the University of Sydney, the Australian National University and the London School of Economics, he was on the staff of the Public Service Board from 1970 until 1987. During this period he worked for the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration (1974-76) and, later, for the Public Service Commission of Canada (1979). He was subsequently Secretary, Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration (1987-88) and the Senate Select Committee on

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Uranium Mining and Milling (1996-97). In 1988-89 he headed a review of the Australian Safeguards Office. He edited the *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration* (1980-2000); *Australasian Parliamentary Review* (2001-03); and was Consulting Editor, *Australian Journal of Public Administration* for seven years. Among the books which he has edited or jointly edited are: *Reforming Australian Government: The Coombs Report and Beyond* (Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1977); *Parliament and Bureaucracy* (Hale & Iremonger, 1982); *The Menzies Era* (Hale & Iremonger, 1995); *Liberalism and the Australian Federation* (The Federation Press, 2001); and *Restraining Elective Dictatorship* (University of Western Australia Press, 2009). He is currently editing *The Seven Dwarfs and the Age of the Mandarins* (forthcoming).

### *John O'Mahony*

John O'Mahony was a Senior Economic Adviser to Prime Ministers Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard and Labor Leader Kim Beazley from 2005-10. John has previously worked for *The Australian Financial Review*, the University of Sydney's Faculty of Economics and Business, and Leading Edge Education. In 2002, he was awarded a University of Sydney Medal for his First Class Honours Degree in Commerce (Liberal Studies). John is also the co-author of Australia's two best-selling economics textbooks, *Australia in the Global Economy* (Pearson Australia, 2012) and *The Market Economy* (Pearson Australia, 2012), which are now in their 11th editions. John is an Associate Director at Deloitte Access Economics.

### *Susan Ryan*

Susan Ryan was appointed as Australia's first Age Discrimination Commissioner on 30 July 2011 for a five-year term. Up until her appointment as Commissioner, Susan was the Independent Chair of the IAG and NRMA Superannuation Plan; Pro-Chancellor and Council member at the University of New South Wales 1999 to 2011; chair of the Australian Human Rights Group since 2008; and Women's Ambassador for ActionAid Australia. She was CEO of ASFA, the Association of Superannuation Funds of Australia from 1993-98 and President of AIST, the Australian Institute of Superannuation Trustees, from 2000 to 2007. She was a founding member of ACSI and of the ASX Corporate Governance Council. From 1975 to 1988, Susan was Senator for the Australian Capital Territory, becoming the first woman to hold a cabinet post in a federal Labor Government. She served in senior portfolios in the Hawke Government as Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women and Special Minister of State. As Education Minister, Susan saw school retention rates double and universities and TAFEs grow significantly. She pioneered extensive anti-discrimination

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and equal opportunity legislation, including the landmark *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the *Affirmative Action Act 1986*. Susan was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) for her services to the Australian Parliament in 1990.

*Michael Sexton*

Michael Sexton SC is the NSW Solicitor General. A graduate of the law schools of the universities of Melbourne and Virginia, he spent some years as an academic lawyer before taking up practice at the NSW Bar. He was appointed Solicitor General in 1998. He is co-author of the Australian text on defamation law and the author of several books on Australian politics and history, including a study of the Whitlam Government, *Illusions of Power: The Fate of the Reform Government* (George Allen & Unwin, 1979), revised and reissued as *The Great Crash: The Short Life and Sudden Death of the Whitlam Government* (Scribe, 2005). In the area of public administration he has been chairman of the NSW State Rail Authority and a board member of the NSW Public Transport Authority, the NSW Library, the Sydney Writers' Festival and the University of Technology Council. He is an Adjunct Professor in the Law School of the University of Technology.

*Rodney Tiffen*

Rodney Tiffen is Emeritus Professor of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. He has written around 60 scholarly articles on media and politics. His books include *News and Power* (Allen & Unwin, 1989); *Scandals: Media, Politics and Corruption in Contemporary Australia* (UNSW Press, 1999); and (with Ross Gittins) *How Australia Compares* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). His other professional activities include being Visiting Professor in Australian Studies at the University of Tokyo, as a consultant for the ABC on Radio Australia and international broadcasting, as an observer at South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, and acting as a consultant on the Finkelstein inquiry into the media and media regulation.

*Peter van Onselen*

Dr Peter van Onselen is a Contributing Editor at *The Australian* newspaper and a Winthrop Professor of Politics and Foundation Chair of Journalism at the University of Western Australia. He hosts three weekly programs on SkyNews: *Showdown* on Tuesday evenings, *Contrarians* on Friday afternoons and the networks flagship political interview program, *Australian Agenda*, on Sunday mornings. Dr van Onselen is the author or editor of four books and dozens of scholarly journal articles on Australian politics, including the best-selling *John Winston Howard: The Biography* (with Wayne Errington) (Melbourne University Press, 2007). He previously held the position of

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Associate Professor of Politics and Government at Edith Cowan University, having taught politics before that at the University of New South Wales and the University of Sydney. Dr van Onselen holds a Bachelor of Arts (with first class honours) and a Masters of Policy Studies (with distinction), both from the University of New South Wales. His PhD (UWA) was an examination of the role of major party senators in the context of professional political campaigning.

*Eric Walsh*

Eric Walsh began in journalism at Murwillumbah on the NSW north coast and later worked on the trade union paper, *The Barrier Truth*, in Broken Hill and *The Canberra Times* in Canberra. He was, for some years, the political correspondent for the Sydney *Daily Mirror* and the Adelaide *News*, and later was the first political correspondent for the nationally circulating Fairfax weekly, *The National Times*. From June 1972 he worked on Labor's campaign for the election on 2 December that year and later joined Gough Whitlam's staff as Press Secretary. He has since worked as a political consultant in Canberra.

*Evan Williams*

A former newspaper editor and Walkley Award winning journalist, Evan Williams wrote speeches for Gough Whitlam from 1973 to 1977 and held the position of Press Secretary in the Prime Minister's office. He was head of the NSW Government's arts and cultural sector from 1977-2001, and served on the boards of the Sydney Festival, the Sydney Olympic Cultural Committee, the Australian Museum, the Biennale of Sydney and the Archives Authority of NSW. He was a member of the Sydney Opera House Trust from 2006-11 and of the board of the Australian Chamber Orchestra from 2001-07. Appointed a senior adviser in the NSW Cabinet Office in 2001, he wrote speeches for Premiers Bob Carr, Morris Iemma, Nathan Rees and Kristina Keneally. He has been a film critic on *The Australian* since 1981. He was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) in 2006. He lives in Sydney.

*George Williams*

George Williams AO is the Anthony Mason Professor, a Scientia Professor and the Foundation Director of the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law at the Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales. He is also an Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow and has held visiting positions in Toronto, New York and London. He has written and edited 28 books, including *Australian Constitutional Law and Theory* (The Federation Press, 5 editions) and *The Oxford Companion to the High Court of Australia* with Tony Blackshield and

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Michael Coper (Oxford University Press, 2001), and has appeared as a barrister in the High Court in a number of major constitutional law cases, such as the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Case. He has also appeared in the Supreme Court and Court of Appeal of Fiji, including on the legality of the 2000 coup. George has served on a number of public inquiries that have brought about important reforms, including Australia's first State bill of rights and the historic referral of State industrial power over the private sector to the Commonwealth. He is a columnist for *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

*Ralph Willis*

Ralph Willis was educated in government schools and at the University of Melbourne. He obtained a Bachelor of Commerce degree in 1958. He was employed by the federal Department of Trade and the federal Department of Labour and National Service in 1959, before being appointed in January 1960 as Assistant to ACTU Research Officer and Advocate, Bob Hawke. In December 1969, he was appointed ACTU Research Officer and Advocate after Hawke was elected as ACTU President. In December 1972, Ralph was elected to the House of Representatives as the Member for Gellibrand. From 1976 onwards he held a number of shadow ministry positions, including spokesman on employment and industrial relations, shadow Treasurer and spokesman on economic development. In government, Ralph held a number of ministries: Employment and Industrial Relations, Industrial Relations, Transport and Communications, Finance, Treasurer, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Matters, Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Industrial Matters and Vice-President of the Executive Council. He was an Opposition backbencher from March 1996 to October 1998, and retired from Parliament at the 1998 federal election. Post Parliament, among other things, Ralph was Chair of CBUS (the Construction and Building Industry Superannuation Fund) from 2000 to 2009. He was also a member of the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Youth Employment from 2001-06. He is married to Carol and they have two daughters (Sandra and Fiona) and one son (Evan). Ralph was awarded the Order of Australia (AO) in 2011 and an Honorary Doctorate by Victoria University in 2010.