Howard Government Retrospective: 1996
UNSW Canberra wishes to thank the Museum of Australian Democracy for the generous loan of the prime minister’s desk from their collection.

The Museum of Australia Democracy at Old Parliament House unpacks the secret of our greatest national success story. Housed in the iconic Old Parliament House, the story of Australia’s democracy, what it is now, how it got to be this way and what it might become in the future is told in bold and arresting fashion. Hard conversations are embraced not shirked. Failures acknowledged, achievements celebrated and true, real democratic engagement deepened. Be inspired by the spirit of the Australian democracy and the power of your voice within it.

For more information visit moadoph.gov.au
The Howard Government Retrospective Conference Series

The Liberal-National Party Coalition was elected to office on 2 March 1996 and continued in power until 24 November 2007. To mark the twentieth anniversary of the Coalition’s election, UNSW Canberra will hold a series of retrospective conferences to assess the performance of the four Howard Governments. Each event will provide the basis for collections of essays contributed by principal participants, key public servants, leading commentators and notable scholars drawing on documents in the John Howard Collection held at the Defence Force Academy Library. The intention is for this series to become the ‘standard’ treatment of the Howard years.

Contributors have been asked to focus critically on the Coalition’s policies and performance to reveal the Government’s shortcomings and failures. This commitment to a candid critique will attract the attention of the press and current-serving politicians, guaranteeing the volumes a substantial public profile at the time of their release. UNSW Press will be the series publisher.

The first conference and volume covers the 1996 election, the Coalition's readiness for office, the main policy decisions and practical challenges of the first year of the Howard Government, including gun control and ministerial responsibility.

The second volume deals with the second and third years of the Coalition's first term in office (1997-98) and most of its second term (1998-2001). Volume II will include coverage of Wik and native title, the Patricks waterfront dispute, the constitutional convention, the Coalition's near defeat at the 1998 poll, the Government's response to post-independence violence in East Timor, and the introduction of the GST. The narrative will end in mid-2001, at the time of the Aston by-election, just before the collapse of Ansett Airlines, the ‘9/11’ terrorist attacks and the invasion of Afghanistan.

The third volume will focus on the controversial events leading to the 2001 election including the MV Tampa Crisis and subsequent foreign policy challenges in the Pacific, including Fiji and the Solomon Islands, and the decision to invade Iraq.

The final volume is concerned with 2004 to 2007 and will focus on Work Choices, Indigenous Reconciliation, the Northern Territory intervention and the election that saw the Coalition lose office and the Prime Minister his seat in parliament.

Working Volume Titles

I  The Howard Government: the Ascent to Power, 1996

II  The Howard Government: Marginality and Consolidation, 1997-2001

III  The Howard Government: Trials and Transformations, 2001 - 2004

Introduction

Perspectives and Polemics: Assessing the Howard Government

Professor Tom Frame

To say that something is being ‘consigned to history’ might infer that an object has no contemporary relevance or continuing significance; that it is best forgotten and wisely struck from memory; and, that its slide from the present to the past ought to be welcomed. Consigning something to history is analogous in many instances to saying ‘good riddance’ to an unwanted object unworthy of lament. But there is a positive sense in something being ‘consigned to history’. There is the inference that something has been placed beyond the uncertainty and confusion of the present; that it ought to be treated with dignity and respect because it provides a context in which the future might be anticipated; that its shape and substance can be more closely and conscientiously examined than before. In most Western societies, history is respected and revered, preserved and presented as a treasured storehouse of insights and wisdom, promise and possibility. Although the claim that those who are ignorant of history are likely to repeat its mistakes is met with some scepticism because students of history sometimes replicate its tragedies, there is no doubt that commentary immediately after an event will never stand as the final word. Dispassionate historical analysis takes time and the benefits ought to be savoured.

The Howard Government is now being consigned to history. I base this statement on four observations. First, the Howard Government was elected more two decades ago and defeated nearly a decade ago. The passage of time has allowed the dust to settle making the genuine successes and actual failures of the Coalition a little easier to discern. Only some of what appeared to matter between 1996 and 2007 now matters. Decisions that were hailed as triumphs and policies derided as failures are now free from the forces that obscured their character and the immediacy that concealed their significance. The introduction of the GST, for instance, did not produce the range of adverse outcomes forecast by pundits. Although supporting the new tax in the Senate contributed to the demise of the Australian Democrats, the party’s leader Meg Lees continues to believe the country needed a consumption tax. The passage of time has made it possible for historians to apply the principles of their discipline to the place of the Howard Government in the nation’s life.

Second, the Howard Government is no longer the ‘previous Coalition Government’ against which the performance of subsequent governments is compared. The performance of the Rudd and Gillard Governments was routinely compared with the achievements of the Howard Government. These contrasts may have been unfair and the conclusions drawn inaccurate but they were still made. Commentators noted the buoyancy of the economy during the Coalition’s rule under John Howard and Peter Costello (1996-2007) with its health under Kevin Rudd and Wayne Swan (2007-10), and then Julia Gillard and Wayne Swan (2010-13), and finally (and briefly) Kevin Rudd and Chris Bowen (2013). But after the Liberal Party’s decision to substitute Malcolm Turnbull for Tony Abbott as leader in September 2015, the Turnbull Government has been more frequently compared with the Abbott Government, with Coalition parliamentarians...
regretting the leadership spill emphasising the contrasts. In the same way that the Coalition could criticise the Keating Government by comparing it to the performance of the Hawke Government, thereby effectively consigning the Whitlam Government to history, the continuing tension between Tony Abbott and Malcolm Turnbull has effectively hastened the eclipse of the Howard Government’s significance as a political yardstick and allowed more measured and less polemical historical assessment.

Third, the publication of first-hand accounts of the Howard Government has considerably enlarged the source materials upon which historians must necessarily rely to make judgements and draw conclusions. John Howard has been the subject of biographies by David Barnett with Pru Goward published in 1997 and by Wayne Errington and Peter van Onselen published in 2007. Notably, the first appeared not long after John Howard became Prime Minister; the second not long before he became a former Prime Minister. John Howard produced his own very substantial account, Lazarus Rising: A Personal and Political Autobiography, in October 2010. Memoirs and diaries from senior ministers have been produced or published by Peter Costello, Tony Abbott and Peter Reith. In each instance, these works are explanations or clarifications of decisions and events that the participants expect historians to take into account when assessing the Howard Government. They are better treated as historical resources rather than as histories in their own right.

Fourth, the official records relating to the Howard Government’s first year in office will be made available to researchers on 1 January 2019. This might seem an odd moment – 23 years after the Coalition was elected in March 1996. Under amendments to the Archives Act 1983 approved by the Federal Parliament in May 2010, the closed period for Commonwealth records will be gradually reduced from 30 years to 20 years by 1 January 2021. As a function of the reduced waiting time, records from 1996 will be available in 2019. It is, of course, very difficult for historians to produce critical and comprehensive assessments of the Howard Government without access to official records which will disclose confidential advice, guidance and the warnings that were provided to the Government, the timing of particular announcements or the basis for certain decisions, and the names and motivations of those members and senators who agreed or disagreed privately with policy options. Official records may also hint at controversies that were avoided, scandals that were concealed and disagreements that were subdued. Reducing the closed period also increases the opportunity for researchers to conduct interviews with surviving participants based on primary source materials. With the release of official records not far away, historians will be able to assemble the best picture possible of the Howard Government.

In assessing the years 1996-2007, researchers also need to be self-aware and conscious of that well-known taxonomy that suggests the historical record passes through at least three well-defined stages. In the first stage, history is written by the victors or survivors, largely from published sources, within a framework of ‘conventional wisdom’ shared by the participant writers. In the second stage, the conventional paradigm handed down from the participant writers is challenged, often a priori, by a later generation of non-participant writers. In the third stage, non-participant writers not only challenge the received paradigm, but perceive the evidence (and the questions to be asked of it) in entirely different ways from earlier generations of participant writers.

The rise and fall of the Howard Government has already been described by a handful of active participants including journalists (who made the news as much as they reported it), public servants and cabinet ministers. These are essentially personal accounts of what was seen, heard and done although the publication of political memoirs relies upon familiarity with matters that, in some instances, remain the subject of confidentiality or security provisions. Most of these works appeared in the aftermath of the Coalition’s electoral defeat in November 2007. In my view, the transition through the first stage of the taxonomy is now largely complete.

The history of the Howard Government is presently located between the first and second stages. Because it held power for nearly twelve years, it is possible to approach the early years in a different way to the later years, especially as the release of official documents will allow researchers access to previously unavailable material. The ability to conduct primary archival research will mark the beginning of the third stage of the taxonomy. It appears as though the second phase will probably be the shortest
in duration although it has been the subject of much more terse political commentary than measured historical assessment.

Most appraisals of the Howard Government are better termed ‘commentary’ than history. Although some commentaries deal with matters of historic significance, commentary is not history. The handling of sources, the weighing of evidence, the devising of conclusions reflect well established disciplinary rules. I would argue that most appraisals are commentary because they either lack perspective or reflect bias – either for or against the actions and achievements of the Howard Government. Some assessments of the Coalition between 1996-2007 were limited by the inability of commentators to stand back from unfolding events. Other assessments were shaped by the commentator’s political sympathies. Because commentators are obliged to go beyond reporting into the realm of critique, assessments invariably reflect personal values and ideological commitments. It is difficult, of course, to evaluate the significance of a decision or an event when the consequences, intended and unintended, are unknown and remain matters of speculation. And there are commentators who are unable to transcend their private beliefs in the cause of impartiality.

When, then, is a matter of purely historical significance? Perhaps never. The past is always enlisted to serve the present and to shape the future in some way – reasonably or otherwise. For instance, the Whitlam years are not merely historical relics given that political scientists continue to talk about ‘Whitlamism’ as a distinct approach to the business of national government. When it comes to examining politics and politicians in an adversarial setting, assessments are always liable to contain a polemical element. Historians have their own political philosophies quite apart from any partisan sympathies. When writing a biography of Harold Holt, I found myself wanting to explain in contemporary terms why Holt’s approach to Cabinet decision-making and public sector finance was more democratic and more effective than those of his principal political opponents, the Labor leader Arthur Calwell and the DLP Senate leader Vince Gair. I could not avoid explaining why Holt’s approach was, in my judgement, to be preferred as a matter of abiding principle. My point is simply that assessments of the Howard Government ought to become less partisan and less political given the passage of time.

To date, the Howard Government has been the subject of two kinds of commentary. The first are essentially political tracts written to be part of contemporary political discourse in the hope of producing a political outcome. Although these works focussed on the past and offered something resembling historical analysis, they were and are not history. The second were analytical works from scholars representing a range of academic disciplines. They were primarily interpretative, focussed on public policy and sought to provide an informed perspective for political debate although the writers professed no avowed political intention, that is, they were outwardly indifferent to electoral outcomes.

As expected, the Howard Government was the focus of closest attention when first elected (1996), when finally defeated (2007) and in 2001 when intense political controversy prompted substantial critical commentary. Analysis has waned since its defeat and, other than the appearance of Peter Reith’s papers in 2015, has not been the subject of close or continuing consideration over the past five years in the form of a major monograph or collection of essays. Much of the Howard Government’s performance has yet to be described let alone made the focus of detailed analysis. With the release of the first official papers in the near future, the time is right for scholars of Australian political history to reassess the Howard Government and to determine its proper place in the national narrative.

(Endnotes)
Howard Government Retrospective: 1996 - Conference Program

Wednesday 16 November

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<th>Speaker</th>
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<tr>
<td>8.30am</td>
<td>Registration – Lecture Theatres South, Lecture Theatre 1, UNSW Canberra</td>
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<td>9.00am</td>
<td>Welcome to UNSW Canberra, Professor Tom Frame</td>
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**Session 1 - Purpose and Principles**

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<tr>
<td>9.10am</td>
<td>Menzies’ Forgotten People and Howard’s Battlers</td>
<td>Hon. Dr David Kemp</td>
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<td>9.40am</td>
<td>1996 Federal Election Campaign</td>
<td>Hon. Andrew Robb AO</td>
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<td>10.10am</td>
<td>The Howard Transition</td>
<td>Mr Paul Kelly</td>
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<td>10.40am</td>
<td>Morning Tea</td>
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**Session 2 - Policy and Practicalities**

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<tr>
<td>11.00am</td>
<td>Labor: Possibilities and Challenges in 1996</td>
<td>Hon. Dr Gary Johns</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.30am</td>
<td>‘The Black Hole’ and Economic Management</td>
<td>Professor Warwick McKibbin AO</td>
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<td>12.00pm</td>
<td>The Journey into Government I: A House of Representatives Experience</td>
<td>Hon. Kevin Andrews MP</td>
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<td>The Journey into Government II: A Senate Experience</td>
<td>Hon. Margaret Reid AO</td>
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<td>12.40pm</td>
<td>Howard Government Display - Academy Library</td>
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<td>Future Directions Announcement - TBA</td>
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<td>Lunch</td>
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**Session 3 - Polls and Platforms**

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<tr>
<td>1.40pm</td>
<td>Who voted for the Coalition in 1996?</td>
<td>Professor Ian McAllister</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.10pm</td>
<td>A Vision for Government</td>
<td>Professor Michael L'Estrange AO</td>
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<td>2.40pm</td>
<td>‘The Class of 1996’: Panel conversation</td>
<td>Hon. Gary Nairn AO</td>
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<td>Ms Jo Gash</td>
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<td>Hon. Dr Brendan Nelson AO</td>
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<td>3.20pm</td>
<td>Afternoon Tea</td>
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**Session 4 - Partisanship and Polemics**

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<tr>
<td>4.10pm</td>
<td>1996 in Review: the View from the Lodge</td>
<td>Hon. John Howard OM AC</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.30pm</td>
<td>Closing Remarks: the challenges for 1997</td>
<td>Mr Nick Cater</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.00pm</td>
<td>Close</td>
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Howard Government Retrospective: 1996 bios

Hon John Anderson AO
John Anderson is the former Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the National Party of Australia (1999-2005); Minister for Primary Industries and Energy (1996-1998); Minister for Transport and Regional Development (1998-2005); and served on Expenditure Review (Budget) Committee, National Security Committee and Standing Environment Committee while in Cabinet. He was the member for Gwydir, New South Wales 1989 to his retirement in 2005. John has returned to farming, and is also active in the not-for-profit sector: Chair of the Crawford Fund’s New South Wales Committee and a member of the Board of Directors, and is Chairman of Overseas Council Australia (OCA). John also chaired the Inland Rail Implementation Group for the Government, and is the Chairman of ACRI (Australasian Centre for Rail Innovation).

Hon Kevin Andrews MP
Kevin Andrews has been a member of the Australian Commonwealth Parliament, since 1991, serving as the member for the Victorian seat of Menzies in the House of Representatives. Mr Andrews has held a number of Ministerial appointments during his time in Parliament, including serving as Minister for Ageing (2001-2003), Minister for Employment and Workplace Relations and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Public Service (2003-2007), Minister for Immigration and Citizenship (2007), Minister for Social Services (2013-2014) and Minister for Defence (2014-2015). Mr Andrews studied Law and Arts at Melbourne University before completing a Master of Laws at Monash University. Before his election to parliament, Mr Andrews served as an Associate to Sir James Gobbo in the Victorian Supreme Court before practicing law at the Victorian Bar.

Mr Nick Cater
Nick Cater is Executive Director of The Menzies Research Centre. He writes regularly in The Australian, Spectator Australia and The Sunday Times and is a frequent contributor to public policy debate on television and radio. Cater began his career with the BBC in London before moving to Australia in 1989 to work for News Corp Australia including senior positions as Hong Kong correspondent and Editor of The Weekend Australian. He is author of The Lucky Culture, editor of The Howard Factor, advisor on the ABC documentary, Howard on Menzies and series editor for the R. G. Menzies Essays, published by the Menzies Research Centre and Connor Court.

Professor Tom Frame
Tom Frame is Professor of History at the University of New South Wales, Canberra and Director of the Australian Centre for the Study of Armed Conflict and Society. He was the Anglican Bishop to the Australian Defence Force (2001) and then Director of St Mark's National Theological Centre (2007). Tom is the author or editor of many books including Anzac Day: Then and Now (2016), Moral Injury: Unseen Wounds in an Age of Barbarism (2015), The Life and Death of Harold Holt (2005), Living by the Sword: The Ethics of Armed Intervention (2004), HMAS Sydney: Loss and Controversy (1993) and Where Fate Calls: The HMAS Voyager Tragedy (1992).

Ms Jo Gash
Jo Gash was the Member for Gilmore in the House of Representatives from 1996 to 2013. During her 17 years in Parliament, Jo served as Government Whip, spent three months at the United Nations, and was witness to the first free elections for Iraq. In 2012, Jo was elected as the Mayor of the City of Shoalhaven, and in 2016, was elected as a Ward 2 Councillor.
Hon John Howard OM AC

Mr Howard was the 25th Prime Minister of Australia, leading the nation from March 1996 to August 2007. He served in the House of Representatives (as the Member for Bennelong) from 1974 to 2007 and filled several ministerial and shadow ministerial posts prior to 1996. Re-elected in 1998, 2001 and 2004, his government authorised Australian military operations in Bougainville, East Timor, the Solomon Islands and the Middle East. He was made a Companion of the Order of Australia (AC) in 2008 and a Member of the Order of Merit (OM) in 2012. He is the second longest-serving prime minister of Australia.

Hon Dr Gary Johns

Gary Johns is a member of the Prime Minister’s Community Business Partnership, a director of the Australian Institute for Progress, and is Visiting Fellow at QUT Business School. Gary served in the House of Representatives from 1987-1996 and was Special Minister of State and Assistant Minister for Industrial Relations from 1993-1996. He served as an Associate Commissioner of the Commonwealth Productivity Commission 2002-2004. He received the Centenary Medal and the 2002 Fulbright Professional Award in Australian-United States Alliance Studies. He was Senior Fellow Institute of Public Affairs, senior consultant ACIL Tasman, Associate Professor, Australian Catholic University. Gary is also a columnist for The Australian and The Spectator.

Mr 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 Malcolm Turnbull. He is a regular television commentator on the Sky News program, Australian Agenda. He is the author of nine books including the End of Certainty on the politics and economics of the 1980’s, Triumph and Demise on the Rudd-Gillard era and The March of Patriots, providing a re-interpretation of Paul Keating and John Howard in office. Paul holds a Doctor of Letters from Melbourne University and in 2010 he was a Vice-Chancellor’s Fellow at Melbourne University. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia. Paul is a long-standing participant in the Australian-American Leadership Dialogue. He has been a Fellow at the Lowy Institute in Sydney, the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and the Menzies Centre, King’s College London.
Hon Dr David Kemp

David Kemp was a Cabinet Minister in the Howard Government, holding portfolios in the areas of Education and the Environment, and was member for Goldstein 1990-2004. He was Professor of Politics at Monash University 1979-1990, President of the Liberal Party of Australia (Victorian Division) 2007-2011, and conducted the review of the 2014 Victorian election result. He is currently Chair of the Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House, of the Australian Heritage Council, and is a Board member of the Grattan Institute for Public Policy. He has a Ph.D. from Yale University in Political Science and is the author of Society and Electoral Behaviour in Australia (QUP), Foundations for Australian Political Analysis (Oxford), edited and introduced The Forgotten People and Other Studies in Democracy (2011), and has a chapter "The Political Philosophy of Robert Menzies" in J.R. Nethercote (ed.), Menzies and the Shaping of Modern Australia.

Mr Michael L'Estrange AO

Michael L'Estrange was a Rhodes Scholar (1976-79) and a Harkness Fellow (1987-89). He joined the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet in 1981 and later worked on the staff of a number of Leaders of the Opposition (1989-94) before becoming the Inaugural Director of the Menzies Research Centre in 1995. In 1996 he was appointed by the Prime Minister as Secretary to Cabinet and Head of the Cabinet Policy Unit. He served in that role until he was appointed as Australia’s High Commissioner to the United Kingdom (2000-05) and thereafter he was Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2005-09). Michael was Professor of National Security at the Australian National University’s National Security College (2009-16) and the inaugural Head of the College from 2009-15. Michael is currently a Non-Executive Director on the Boards of Rio Tinto and Qantas as well as a Member of the Board of Directors of the University of Notre Dame Australia.

Professor Ian McAllister

Ian McAllister is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at The Australian National University. He previously held chairs at ADFA and the University of Manchester. His most recent books are Conflict to Peace: Society and Politics in Northern Ireland Over Half a Century (Manchester University Press, 2013), The Australian Voter (University of New South Wales Press, 2012) and Political Parties and Democratic Linkage (Oxford University Press, 2011). He has been director of the Australian Election Study since 1987, a large national post-election survey of political attitudes and behaviour. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia and a corresponding Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His scholarly research covers Australian politics, comparative political behaviour and post-communist politics. He is currently completing a book on Russian voting and elections.

Professor Warwick McKibbin AO

Warwick McKibbin has a Vice Chancellor’s Chair in Public Policy and is Director of the Centre for Applied Macroeconomic Analysis (CAMA) in the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University (ANU). He is also an ANU Public Policy Fellow; a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Social Sciences; a Distinguished Fellow of the Asia and Pacific Policy Society; a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C and President of McKibbin Software Group. He was awarded the Order of Australia in 2016 “and the Centenary medal in 2003. He has published over 200 peer reviewed papers and 5 books.
Hon Gary Nairn AO

After a 25-year career as a surveyor in Australia, United Kingdom and Europe, including 13 years as Managing Director of his Darwin based surveying and mapping consultancy, Gary Nairn served as the Federal Member for Eden-Monaro from 1996 to 2007. During his parliamentary career he was the Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Howard from 2004 to 2006 and Special Minister of State from 2006 to 2007. His responsibilities in these roles included water reform, e-Government, Commonwealth properties, the Australian Electoral Commission and five Government Business Enterprises. Gary Nairn has been the Chairman of the Northern Territory Planning Commission since 2013 and is a Board Member of the NT Environment Protection Authority. He is also the Chairman of the not-for-profit Mulloon Institute undertaking landscape regeneration and rehydration. He was chair of the Tasmanian Spatial Information Council (TASSIC) from 2010 to 2106 and is the immediate past chairman of the Spatial Industries Business Association (SIBA). Mr Nairn was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) in the June 2015 Queens Birthday Honours.

Hon Dr Brendan Nelson AO

Brendan Nelson was elected to the Federal Parliament of Australia in March 1996. After the 2001 election, he was promoted to Minister for Education, Science and Training. In 2006 he became Minister for Defence when troops were deployed to Iraq, Afghanistan, East Timor and the Solomon Islands. In November 2007 Dr Nelson was elected leader of the Liberal Party of Australia, serving as Leader of the Opposition until September 2008. The following year he retired from federal politics before taking up his appointment Australian Ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg, the European Union and NATO. In 2012 Dr Nelson was appointed to his current role as Director, Australian War Memorial.

Hon Margaret Reid AO

The Hon Margaret Reid AO LLB was a practising Solicitor in Adelaide after graduating from Adelaide University before similarly practising in Canberra. She represented the ACT in the Australian Senate from May 1981 until February 2013. During that time, she served on Senate Committees and was whip for her party in the Senate from 1988 until 1995 when she was elected Deputy President of the Senate and then was elected President of the Senate in 1996, serving in that role for 6 years. Since leaving the Senate, Margaret has maintained an active role in a number of community organisations and was awarded Doctor of the University (honoris causa) by Charles Sturt University in 2006 and Doctor of the University (honoris causa) by University of Canberra in 2014.

Hon Andrew Robb AO

Andrew has had a career in politics since the early 1990’s and in 2004 was appointed to the seat of Goldstein. From 2004 and up to his recent retirement from politics, he held a number of positions including Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and Minister for Vocational and Further Education. In 2013 he was appointed as Minister for Trade and Investment and successfully negotiated the Free Trade Agreements with South Korea, Japan and China. In 2003 Mr Robb was awarded the Office of the Order of Australia for his service to agriculture, politics and the community.
Notes
Notes
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