

Burgmann Journal

RESEARCH DEBATE OPINION

ISSUE V, 2016

The *Burgmann Journal* is a multidisciplinary, peer-reviewed publication of collected works of research, debate and opinion from residents and alumni of Burgmann College, designed to engage and stimulate the wider community.



BURGMANN COLLEGE

Affiliated with The Australian National University

Capture our imagination

EH BURGMANN 1944



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Published by ANU eView
The Australian National University
Acton ACT 2601, Australia
email: enquiries.eview@anu.edu.au
This title is also available online at eview.anu.edu.au

ISSN 2201-3881 (Print)
ISSN 2201-3903 (Online)

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Front cover: 'Change' by Sebastian Van Lieven, graphite and watercolour on paper, 2015.

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Editorial

It is with great pleasure that I present the fifth edition of the Burgmann Journal. This year's edition covers an especially diverse range of topics, which the reader will no doubt find both engaging and enjoyable. I am continually surprised by the range of academic interests which enliven the Burgmann Community, and of which this 2016 edition of the journal is no exception. Such an edition is a credit to all Burgmann residents, whose hard work and academic endeavours make such a publication possible.

This 2016 edition of the journal captures the imagination like no other before it; from Lars Moen's investigation of rationality and drug addiction, to Rebecca Blake's exploration of the French artist Eugene Delacroix's paintings, to Hannah Merchant's intricate collage work in her series 'Fading into the Night', the reader will find new and exciting approaches to a variety of subjects.

This edition can also be considered the first of a new generation of *Burgies*. The journal has matured since its inaugural edition in 2012, and with the departure of last year's editor Ella Relf, so the Journal lost its remaining link to the Journal's first Editor-in-Chief, Patrick Carvalho. As the journal looks to the future, it is only fitting that this edition should present new avenues for thought. I am immensely proud to introduce a new Creative Writing section to the Journal. If I should leave any editorial legacy, I should hope that Nicholas Antoniak's piece 'Evening Air' is the first of many fiction pieces to adorn these pages in future editions.

On a personal note, my two years on the Journal, and at Burgmann College, will come to an end at the completion of this academic year. Working on the Burgmann Journal has been a particular highlight of my time at the college. I am continually impressed by the intellectual aptitude of the Burgmann Community, and hope that I have played some part in contributing to the college's intellectual tradition – one that will no doubt continue for years to come.

Haydon Hughes

Editor-In-Chief

Section I: Research Essays

Good Addiction

By Lars J. K. Moen

ABSTRACT: This paper argues that drug addiction can be rational. The paper argues for rationality as a necessary component of a good life, and views paternalistic intervention as appropriate only if intended to prevent necessarily irrational behaviour. Drug addiction is not necessarily irrational. First of all, drug addicts do not lose the capacity to consider whether or not to consume their desired drug, and to act accordingly. And secondly, from a long-term as well as a short-term perspective, drug addicts may consider their addictions more beneficial than harmful. Interventions, then, should only be informative, not preventative. Paternalistic policies should only aim to inform addicts of the consequences of their addictions, they should not deny access to drugs.

Introduction

Drug addicts are commonly believed to compulsively consume drugs that are bad for them (Levy 2006, 429). Proponents of paternalism argue that such behaviour should be discouraged or prohibited because it is irrational and inevitably makes people worse off (Dworkin 1972, 36). Therefore, no one will truly object to regulations making these drugs less available (Goodin 1989, 34). Libertarians, however, reject paternalism. They believe that individuals should care for themselves, and argue that no one can know another's interest better than the person herself.¹ No matter how irrational their behaviour may seem, addicts have a right to act upon their addictive desires (Berlin 1969, 133-134). Depriving them of this right, libertarians argue, is degrading and never justified (Berlin 1969, 137, 157). Without denying the importance of rationality in human action, I will defend the freedom to consume addictive drugs. Paternalism may be permissible in other cases, but I reject paternalistic action aimed at protecting people from drug addiction. At the core of this essay is the following question: How can it be rational to consume addictive

¹ The gender neutral 'they' and 'he or she' sometimes cause obscurity or awkwardness. Where I consider it necessary, I will use a gendered singular pronoun when referring to a generic person, and alternate between the genders.

and potentially harmful drugs? Addiction is an urgent appetitive desire for a substance recurring periodically and can be satisfied only temporarily (Foddy & Savulescu 2010, 36). These desires can sometimes influence people to act contrary to their own true interests. Addicts find it difficult to ignore their desires, and long-term drug use may be harmful. But consuming addictive drugs can still be rational. The drugs do not make their consumers lose self-control, and they may cause more good than bad effects.

I will first consider John Rawls's understanding of rationality as a necessary part of a good life (1999, 392). He believes that irrational people should be helped to follow a rational life plan (1999, 218). Critics argue that Rawls imposes unacceptable constraints upon individuals, but I will defend Rawls's view by showing that he encourages individual deliberation. What is important here is that rationality merely requires individuals to consider the consequences of their actions before they act. It does not tell people how to behave. In the second and third sections I demonstrate how this understanding of rationality accommodates drug consumption. First of all, drug addiction does not mean loss of self-control. Although drugs may strongly influence their users, they cannot take control over them. People cannot become helpless to their drug desires without believing in the drugs' power to dominate them. In the last section, I argue that drugs can do more good than harm. Health and financial problems caused by long-term drug consumption may be a price addicts are truly willing to pay for the drugs' hedonic effects. However measures to inform people about these consequences are permissible. Ultimately I deny the permissibility of paternalistic policies preventing people from consuming drugs. However, I do not form a sufficient argument against prohibition and taxation of drugs. Such a claim requires a thorough consideration of possible harm to others and social impacts that I do not offer here. I only consider drugs' impact upon their users.

Rationality and the Good

We all seek rewards through our actions, but individually we are motivated by different kinds of rewards (Elster 1999, 141). So how can one tell another that his behaviour is bad for him? Paternalism, Gerald Dworkin explains, interferes with people's liberty 'to achieve a good which is not recognised as such by those persons for whom the good is intended' (1972, 69). Paternalistic action is intended to help people do what they would have done had they been fully rational (Dworkin 1972, 77).

What does it mean to be rational, and why is it so important? John Rawls's answer is that everyone wants to lead a good life, and a good life requires a rational life plan (1999, 79–80, 371). Rationality he explains, involves awareness and consideration of relevant information (1999, 358–359). It enables individuals to form their own conceptions of the good (Rawls 1999, 79–80). Similarly Jon Elster considers it rational to choose the 'best means of satisfying the desires of the agent ... grounded in the information available' (1999, 142–145). Rational action may not always lead to desired ends, but, as Rawls puts it, 'we do not regret following a rational plan' (1999, 370). I understand Rawls to mean that a rational decision is a decision whose consequences may be either good or bad, but we cannot look back at it and think that we, there and then, had a good reason to choose differently. This definition of rationality is the basis for Rawls's 'thin theory of the good' (1999, 348, 392). We should find the good in our own separate ways, he argues, but a conception of the good must be rational (1999, 393). If not, it is not good (1999, 393).

Rawls identifies certain goods that every 'rational man wants whatever else he wants' and calls these 'primary goods' (1999, 79). Regardless of the ends we pursue in life, we will always prefer more of these goods rather than less (Rawls 1999, 79). Rawls divides these goods into two subcategories: social and natural (1999, 54). The *social* primary goods are rights, liberties, opportunities, income and wealth, and self-respect (1999, 54, 380). And the *natural* primary goods include 'health and vigor, intelligence and imagination' (Rawls 1999, 54). Since the primary goods fit into every rational conception of the good, Rawls believes his thin theory of the good to be morally uncontroversial (1999, 354–355). Carelessness towards one's share of these goods cannot reflect one's own true will (1999, 219). Paternalistic interference preventing people from such action is therefore never truly objectionable, in Rawls's view (1999, 219, 366). Protecting people against their own irrationality promotes individual integrity and self-governance (1999, 220–225). To show our respect for each other sometimes obligates us to help a person avoid self-destructive actions, he argues (1999, 455).

However Rawls's 'uncontroversial' account of the good has been subject to much controversy. Adina Schwartz rejects the idea of morally neutral primary goods (1999, 300). Many individuals do not appreciate all these goods, she argues, and illustrates her point

with the example of an individual believing wealth to undermine communal values (1999, 307). R.M. Hare denies the possibility of an objective view of the good. To say that something is good, Hare argues, is to say something about its function (1957, 106). And since humans have no function they are meant to perform, we cannot understand a human action as good (1957, 109). To Hare, the good is good simply because it is sought (1965, 72). Hare's view thus rejects Rawls's objective understanding of a good life as a rational life. Similarly Isaiah Berlin argues that to emphasise the importance of rationality is to impose a false idea of a human purpose upon people (1969, 153–154). He warns against an objective conception of the good because he believes it enables people to impose values upon others they do not necessarily appreciate (Berlin 1969, 133–134). There can be no objective hierarchy of values, Berlin argues, because it would 'falsify our knowledge that men are free agents' (1969, 170). It is degrading to tell people that their ends in life are less important than someone else's (Berlin 1969, 137).

But I see these criticisms of Rawls's thin theory of the good as inaccurate. The theory is not as constraining as these critics believe it is. We should realise that to declare the primary goods important to all human beings is not to deny individuals the opportunity to value them differently. The person in Schwartz's example is free to give less priority to his wealth in his pursuit of other values. Rationality requires him only to consider the impacts of his decisions upon his share of primary goods. And he need not show equal concern for these goods. If a decision is likely to reduce his share of a primary good, he should consider this consequence before he acts. This consideration is what I take to be rational deliberation. If, based upon available information, a rational person knows that her action will threaten a primary good, she must consider this consequence before she acts. If she believes that her action will promote one primary good, say self-respect, she may perform it even if it reduces her wealth. This trade-off mechanism enables the individual to seek more of one primary good at the cost of another.

This mechanism is central to my understanding of drug consumption as potentially rational. It may be harmful to the addict's health, while enhancing her sense of self-respect. Rational deliberation and the ability to make one's own decisions free from external constraints is a source of dignity. Rawls's thin theory of the good is not the constraining moral prescription the critics understand it to be, but rather a flexible basis upon which a

responsible and dignifying life can be structured. '[S]elf-respect and a sure confidence in the sense of one's own worth' Rawls argues, 'is perhaps the most important primary good' (1999, 348).

Weakness of Will

In this section I will show that drug addiction does not prevent rational deliberation. Paternalistic action is therefore not permissible as a means to protect addicts' rationality. But whether it is permissible to intervene to protect people from irrational self-harm is a different question, which I will consider in the next section. First I shall focus upon drugs' effect upon their users' autonomy. I will reject the commonly held view of addicts as people incapable of self-governance (Levy 2006, 429). Robert Goodin, however, defends this view and understands addictions as 'necessarily bad' (1989, 100). Paternalism is therefore permissible to help addicts avoid a behaviour they cannot truly desire, he argues (1989, 36). But no loss of autonomy is solely due to drug consumption. Unless the addict believes in the drugs' power to make his addictive behaviour compulsive, he will not become helpless to his desires. Thus, drug consumption itself does not imply a loss of liberty. On the Rawlsian account of paternalism, then, there is no reason to intervene in others' addictive behaviour 'for the sake of liberty' (1999, 179).

An autonomous person governs herself and possesses the capacity to express her own will and true preferences (Levy 2006, 429). Addiction is often seen as inconsistent with autonomy because it involves strong desires for drugs believed to paralyse the addict's capacity to judge according to her own will (Elster 1999, 170). On this account, addicts are incapable of forming their own conception of the good as their obsession with drugs paralyses their free will. To consume the drug may seem rational at the time of consumption. But it is still irrational because the drug may make the person permanently incapable of revising her conception of the good and of pursuing a new life plan (Buchanan 1975, 398–399). Such a decision should not be treated as voluntary consent, Goodin argues, and compares it to the decision to sell oneself into slavery (1989, 28). Addiction therefore seems irrational. To agree to one's own enslavement is clearly to ignore the fact that one is likely to change one's own conception of the good later in life (Buchanan 1975, 398–399). It is a failure to treat one's opportunities as the primary good they are (Rawls 1999, 54). This view is supported by the fact that addicts themselves often

report a loss of self-control (Levy 2013, 2). According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, seven in ten American adult cigarette smokers want to quit but feel incapable of doing so (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2015), and four in ten have failed in their attempts to quit. Their decision to keep consuming the drug is therefore commonly understood as compulsive (Foddy & Savulescu 2006, 5).

Perhaps the most obvious reason to reject the compulsion thesis is the fact that many addicts quit. Most of us know an ex-smoker or an ex-alcoholic. And a frequently-used example to illustrate this point is the American servicemen who became addicted to heroin in Vietnam, but only 12 per cent of them continued to consume the drug after they came home (Goodin 1989, 25). But when Goodin understands the addictive drug to enslave its user, he means that it is very difficult, but not impossible, to quit (Goodin 1989, 97–98). ‘The issue is not whether it is literally impossible,’ he argues, ‘but merely whether it is unreasonably costly for addicts to resist their compulsive desires’ (1989, 25). The decision to quit may be very difficult to make because of the pains of cravings and acute withdrawal (Elster 1999, 193). Deciding between continued addiction and quitting may simply feel like a choice between drugs and suffering (Elster 1999, 193). The strong desire for drugs to put an end to the pain do not give the addict false beliefs, but it can shape his priorities (Foddy & Savulescu 2010, 39). Cravings tend to ‘crowd out’ other activities, meaning that addicts become obsessed with their desired drug (Elster 1999, 69). Addicts have developed ‘existential dependence’ when virtually all they care about is where and when the next dose will become available (Elster 1999, 198). Because cravings and withdrawal make quitting so difficult, it may seem like Goodin has a point when he says that addictive drugs make people act contrary to their true interests (Goodin 1990, 192).

The crucial fact refuting Goodin’s view is that a drug becomes the master of its user only if the user *believes* in her enslavement. Although the drug shapes the addict’s priorities, it is only one of several values capable of doing so. A drug may crowd out other values and become dominant, but this is no inevitable outcome of taking it. The fact that most drug addicts quit around age thirty is a good indication of this point (Heyman 2010, 263). This is the time in many people’s lives when they start a family or get a meaningful job (Foddy & Savulescu 2006, 5). These are important values with the strength of undermining the once so powerful desire for drugs. Drugs may be the dominant value, but

only because they lack competition from other values. The desire for drugs can also be crowded out. Cravings are usually triggered by associations with a desired drug, and can remain absent as long as these associations are avoided or forgotten (Elster 1999, 2). Addicts also deliberately abstain for long periods to lower their tolerance for the drug and decrease the dose required to achieve the desired high (Levy 2006, 17). It is true that some lack such self-control, and simply cannot stop despite their will telling them to do so. But as psychologist Gene Heyman points out, these people often suffer from an additional psychiatric disorder that prevents them from taking control of their addictions (2010, 82–84).

Social expectations may affect addicts' beliefs in the power of drugs. In societies where addiction is widely regarded as a likely consequence of drug consumption, there are many more addicts than in societies where such beliefs are less common (Elster 1999, 118). For example, a twenty-year-old drug user in the United States in 1990 was about eight times more likely to become addicted than a twenty-year-old American drug user in 1960 (Heyman 2010, 32). Between 1960 and 1990 the public view of drug addiction changed substantially (Heyman 2010, 32). This correlation suggests that addiction is largely caused by social beliefs, norms, and values influencing the addict's convictions (Elster 1999, 205). More generally it suggests that addiction is 'cue dependent' (Elster 1999, 66). As mentioned above, associations with a desired drug trigger addictive desires (Elster 1999, 2). These associations are referred to as 'cues' (Elster 1999, 66). They provoke the desire for a drug, perhaps merely by the addict thinking about it, and prime the body to consume the desired substance (Holton & Berridge 2013, 261). Becoming aware of these cues, and realising that one's addiction is largely a result of external impulses, can help addicts overcome their strong desires (Heyman 2010, 97).

But an addict's desire for drugs may be more than just another value. When a person believes that a reward has become available, dopamine, a chemical in the brain, is released (Ross 2013, 42). This reaction causes desire (Ross 2013, 42). Something vital, like food, can trigger this reaction, but it can also be caused by a drug (Levy 2013, 12). Since most of our desires are quite easy to ignore, and drugs cause the same reaction in the brain as other 'rewards,' why do drug addicts find it so difficult to disobey their desires for drugs? Bennett Foddy and Julian Savulescu see no difference between heroin and sugar's impact

upon the dopamine system, and suggest that the compulsion to consume the former is no more real than the compulsion to consume the latter (2006, 10). They point out that people have also developed 'serious addictions to hundreds of 'harmless' substances, from carrots to drinking water' (2006, 10). But drugs' impact upon the dopamine system is a controversial issue. Heyman, for example, understands addictive drugs simply to have a more powerful effect upon the dopamine system than other substances (2010, 142). And Neil Levy points to the fact that drugs, unlike most other substances, affect the dopamine system not only before, but also during consumption (2013, 12). In any case, addictive desires are not themselves powerful enough to take control over the addict (Holton & Berridge 2013, 240, 261–262). They affect the brain's dopamine system, but do not make their user lose his self-control. Addictive desires need not lead to action. Drug addiction 'is not compulsion, or coercion' Levy concludes, 'it is, in some sense, volition' (2006, 432).

Preferring Addiction

In the previous section I showed that drugs alone do not cost addicts their liberty. But drug addiction may threaten other primary goods. Drugs are often expensive, and an addict may therefore end up with financial problems. And perhaps most significantly drugs may seriously harm their users' health. To show that the consumption of addictive drugs can still be rational, I must demonstrate how its benefits may outweigh its costs. I will defend the view that the potentially harmful effects of drugs may be consistent with a good and rational life. It may be rational to consume an addictive drug even if it leads to a costly and harmful addiction. As mentioned above, I believe Rawls allows for trade-offs between primary goods. Such trade-offs enable individuals to value the primary goods differently and to pursue different ends in life. For example, they may risk their health to gain liberty or self-respect. I therefore believe Goodin is mistaken when he sees addiction as irrational because it jeopardises the addict's health (1989, 99).

Drug addiction causes serious health problems. Addiction is a large public health problem, and addicts commonly die younger than non-addicts (Levy 2013, 2). A rational decision to consume addictive drugs must take this fact into account. Allen Buchanan, in his defence of Rawls's thin theory of the good as morally neutral, argues that a conception of the good must remain revisable (1999, 398). Life plans change, and when they do, people need their primary goods intact to pursue their new ends (Buchanan 1975, 398–

399). Although individuals value the primary goods differently no one should undermine them because they are likely to be useful later in life (Buchanan 1975, 398–399). Since we cannot predict our future conceptions of the good, it is irrational to deplete any primary good because it restricts our opportunities to pursue desired life plans. And with financial and physical, and perhaps mental, capabilities reduced after years of regular drug consumption, people may struggle to pursue revised conceptions of the good. The fact that addicts are especially prone to regret their decisions suggests that this is a real problem (Heyman 2010, 173).

I will nevertheless defend the possibility of rational addictive behaviour. First of all, we must keep in mind that the addict is free not to repeat his addictive behaviour. But a rational person must still consider the likely and unwanted consequences of reduced wealth and health before he consumes his desired drug. Rationality involves keeping the future in mind when one makes important decisions (Elster 1999, 146). But although it is irrational to make a potentially harmful choice without consulting one's future self, it is rational to make such a decision following sincere consideration of both short-term and long-term consequences. After rational deliberation, a person is rational when she acts upon her convictions. Such action gives her a sense of self-respect, which Rawls repeatedly describes as probably the most important of the primary goods (Rawls 1999, 348, 386). A rational decision may not produce the good consequences the agent hopes for, but as long as she feels responsible for it, she may still gain dignity and a sense of self-worth (Rawls 1999, 370).

The pleasant effects of the drug may outweigh the harmful ones. A smoker, for example, is likely to enjoy the benefits of his addiction for decades before he may have to pay any significant costs. Smoking may therefore reflect his true interests. Imagine that he after a lifetime of smoking develops lung cancer, presumably as a consequence of his addiction. He may still think back to when he smoked his first cigarette and think that he would not have chosen differently today or at least that he at the time had no good reason to do so. Goodin, however, believes all decisions to smoke are bad because they reflect a lack of concern for long-term interests (1989, 22), and Rawls argues that 'we should arrange things at the earlier stages to permit a happy life at the later ones' and that 'for the most part rising expectations over time are to be preferred' (1999, 369). I think Rawls is

right to say that the present self is responsible to the future self, and that we therefore should consider long-term consequences before we make decisions (1999, 371). But to show concern for the future is not to ignore present interests. It rather means that future interests—not just present ones—should be taken into account in the rational deliberation process. And how these interests affect the outcome of this process is up to the individual to decide. Evidence shows that drug addicts to a greater extent than others, favour smaller immediate rewards to larger later ones (Heyman 2010, 158). As Elster argues, ‘time preference is just another preference. ... [S]ome like the present, whereas others have a taste for the future’ (1999, 146). Addicts may value the present higher than the future, but that does not make them careless about the future.

Drugs’ harmful impacts upon their users’ health may be rationally considered less significant than their positive effects. Goodin realises that drugs provide short-term benefits, but sees rationality in a choice to jeopardise one’s own health (1989, 100). But we cannot simply assume that health problems necessarily are more significant than the pleasure of consuming drugs (Foddy & Savulescu 2010, 38). Valuing the primary goods unequally enables the rational person to jeopardise her health as long she considers this consequence an acceptable cost of pursuing her desired ends. Health must be considered, but it need not be the factor that ultimately tips the decision in one direction or the other. The rational person must consider the information available and follow what Rawls calls ‘a subjectively rational plan’ (1999, 366). Applied to the addiction case, I take this to mean that both bad and good effects of drug consumption must be considered, and that the decision whether the health risk is worth taking is ultimately up to the individual to make. In this sense, rationality describes the deliberation process rather than its outcome.

It is also important to emphasise that a decision to consume drugs is likely to have no negative consequences (Rawls 1999, 183–184). In the United States, only 5 per cent of users of illicit drugs become addicted (Heyman 2010, 30–31). For heroin the share is 20 per cent, but a four-in-five chance of not getting addicted is substantial (Heyman 2010, 31). Even a first-time user of a highly addictive substance like intravenous cocaine has a two-in-three chance of not getting addicted (Elster 1999, 183). And people who do get addicted, even to heroin, often manage to maintain normal and productive lives, involving a job and a family (Foddy & Savulescu 1999, 616). By maintaining a source of income, drug

addicts need not end up with financial problems. Also health problems are far from inevitable. A 2006 study showed that only 4.5 per cent of American heroin addicts experienced 'worsening physical problems' due to their drug use (Foddy & Savluescu 2010, 38). In other words, most illicit drug users get a taste of the short-term hedonic benefits without having to pay the long-term non-hedonic costs. By taking this information into account, rational deliberation may allow for drug consumption.

It is a problem, however, that many addicts invest little in information about the drugs they consume (Elster 1999, 175, 178). Taking certain drugs can ruin their lives, and they do not act rationally if they fail to gather extensive medical information before exposing themselves to this risk (Elster 1999, 185). Heavy drinkers rarely check on the status of their livers, and smokers do not have their lungs examined as often as medical experts recommend (Elster 1999, 179). A defender of Rawls's view of the good and the rational as inseparable cannot find goodness in decisions made without consideration of available information. I must therefore emphasise here that although drug addiction can be rational, it can also be irrational. On a Rawlsian account, conceptions of the good based upon deliberation with inadequate information must be judged inferior (Arneson 1990, 449). A failure to show concern for one's primary goods is a failure to take oneself seriously. Such indifference reveals incapability or unwillingness to govern oneself. Rawls advocates paternalism to defend people against such indifference (1999, 219–220).

Rawls's argument for paternalism seems reasonable, but it does not justify coercion. Relevant information should be accessible, but individuals should not be forced to consider it. Perhaps we should follow John Stuart Mill, then, who argues for a form of paternalism that makes sure that people seek to inform people before they engage in harmful activities (Mill 2006, 109). '[T]he buyer cannot not wish to know that the thing he possesses has poisonous qualities' Mill writes (2006, 109). Without such information, a deliberation process cannot be considered rational. I think Mill's view is attractive, but we should keep in mind that some people do not want to be reminded of the harmfulness of their actions. Many drug addicts avoid medical checks because they fear bad news (Elster 1999, 179). Bad news may do more harm than good, especially to those who in any case have no intention of giving up their addictions. Making information accessible but avoidable seems like a reasonable compromise between informing those who want to

know, on the one hand, and not reminding those who know but prefer not to be reminded, on the other. Large warnings on cigarette boxes should not be permissible, but the same information in smaller, readable but avoidable, print should. Such intervention does not guarantee that the uninformed will be informed. But we cannot go any further in imposing the information upon drug users without disrespecting many people's rational decisions. The bad consequences are bad even if the good ones are more significant, and rational drug users should not have to be reminded of them.

Conclusion

Treating drug addicts with dignity requires us to trust their ability to lead their lives according to their own conception of the good. But we should declare rationality a necessary basis for a good and dignifying life. Critics have pointed out that Rawls's identification of primary goods, of which everyone would want more rather than less, is a way of imposing a controversial moral doctrine upon people. However, this criticism is based upon a too rigid understanding of the primary goods. I have argued that although these goods are important to everyone, Rawls does not constrain people to only pursue ends that will not threaten any of them. People should be free to pursue ends at the cost of one primary good as long as they believe it will increase their share of another primary good. To Rawls, experiencing the good requires self-government. And one governs oneself only through rational deliberation, which requires serious consideration of consequences that may affect one's share of primary goods. Addiction is irrational and incompatible with a good life if the agent fails to consider its likely consequences. However, a decision made upon a thorough consideration of the likely consequences is rational and therefore compatible with a conception of the good.

Addictive drugs do not cost addicts their ability to consider their own situation. Many addicts feel incapable of governing themselves, but loss of autonomy is not a consequence of drug use itself. Only if people believe that the drugs have this effect upon them can it become real. Protection of people's autonomy is therefore not a valid reason for preventing them from consuming drugs. However, intervention may be permissible to inform people about the bad consequences drugs may have upon their users' health and wealth. But paternalistic action remains unacceptable if people are aware of these consequences and consider them before they consume their desired drug. Ultimately this

essay presents a view of addictive drug consumption as potentially rational behaviour. It defends a respectful treatment of drug addicts that allows them to pursue their own conceptions of the good.

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Corporate Financial Disclosure: The Importance of GAAP Mandated Earnings Amidst Declining Value-Relevance

By Tom H. Lillywhite

ABSTRACT: The predilection of management, analyst, and investor alike towards non-GAAP earnings has queried the need for the regulation of corporate financial disclosure. Whilst non-GAAP earnings are increasingly value relevant, the need for regulation centres on the consistency, accountability, and impartiality required for investor decision-making. This paper reviews the literature surrounding value relevance and corporate financial disclosure, ultimately concluding that the regulation of corporate financial disclosure provides an important benchmark for non-GAAP earnings to be weighted against.

Bradshaw and Sloan's (2002) article titled 'GAAP versus The Street: An Empirical Assessment of Two Alternative Definitions of Earnings' has been pivotal in recognising the growing association between non-GAAP earnings and value relevance. Moreover, these findings are consistent with research documenting the declining value relevance of GAAP earnings (Bradshaw & Sloan 2002). As Albring, Caban-Garcia & Reck (2010) find, non-GAAP earnings, such as Street and pro forma, are more value relevant because reported earnings are robust and adjustable for potential outliers. Observing the predilection of management, analysts, and investors alike toward non-GAAP earnings, a strong theoretical case can be made for a free market approach to corporate financial disclosure. However, it would be irresponsible to completely deregulate financial reporting, given the risk of information asymmetry between principals and agents. GAAP standards create a benchmark that all financial information releases are weighted against. No other reporting mechanism offers the same level of consistency, accountability, and impartiality required for investor decision-making (AASB 2015). This essay will explore the arguments for a free market approach, as well as analysing the benefits of regulatory intervention in corporate financial disclosure. This essay finds that despite a free market approach offering superior value relevance, the existence of GAAP is required as a standards-based check to mitigate potential market failures and to

protect vulnerable investors. As Godfrey et. al. (2010) argue, however, 'optimal market regulation is an art rather than a science'.

The chorus of management, analyst, and investor criticism levelled at GAAP earnings is centred on its inability to characterise the true efficiency of the firm. Inherent problems include the incorporation of special charges, inconsistent capitalisation rules, and an ambiguous concept of other comprehensive income (Ohlson 2006). Non-GAAP earnings typically deviate from GAAP earnings through the omission of charges such as write-downs, as well as restructuring charges (Frederickson & Miller 2004). The result is the removal of transitory components from earnings, affording greater insight into the firm's future cash flows (Bradshaw & Sloan 2002). Despite the value-relevance of non-GAAP earnings measurements, bodies such as the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) have outlined concerns that non-GAAP earnings are not consistent in their presentation and there remains no consensus regarding the inclusion of performance measures in non-regulated financial statements (Cornell & Landsman 2003). This has led regulators such as former Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) Chief Accountant Lynn Turner to suggest creators and distributors of non-GAAP financial statements appear to be attempting to lead investors away from true net income (in Cornell & Landsman 2003). This trend may signal efforts by managers and analysts to attract higher valuations by reporting higher non-GAAP earnings numbers (Bradshaw & Sloan 2002).

In accordance with the efficient market hypothesis, Malkiel (2003) argues that efficient financial markets impede the ability of investors to earn above-average returns without the acceptance of above-average risk. It is assumed all financial information, regardless of its composition, is considered, weighted, and reflected accordingly. However, where management holds more information than other sources, and does not release said information to the market, information asymmetry exists. Firms are able to mitigate information asymmetry through the voluntary disclosure of information (Gasbarro, et al. 2013). Therefore, management's interest in the disclosed information is likely to render it biased (Gasbarro, et al. 2013). Moreover, the roles investors play in calculating non-GAAP earnings are not generated for the welfare of investors, but with their own self-serving interest (Lambert in Baik, et al. 2008). When different accounting

techniques are used to convey near identical numbers, naïve investors are unlikely to correctly compare accounting numbers (Briloff 1976 in Leftwich 1980). Therefore, 'governmentally enforced disclosure improves the ability of the capital market to discriminate between firms and to allocate capital appropriately' (Watts & Zimmerman 1986). Despite the superior value-relevance of non-GAAP earnings, the existence of GAAP mandated earnings releases ensures investors of all competencies are able to access accurate and consistent numbers pertaining to the firm. Further, the delivery of these numbers reduces the information asymmetry between principal and agent.

Proponents of an efficient market approach to corporate financial disclosure point to agency theory as the unregulated relationship between the principal and agent (Watts & Zimmerman 1979). Accordingly, any bias in reporting is nullified through the agent's interests being aligned with the firm (Watts & Zimmerman 1979). This is evidenced by the voluntary release of financial information by firms prior to the installation of GAAP mandated requirements. Within an efficient market, sufficient information could be generated to establish a socially ideal equilibrium point where the cost of collecting and distributing the information is equal to the benefits (Godfrey, et al. 2010). If the cost of distributing information were zero, the 'optimal allocation would call for unlimited distribution of the information without cost' (Demsetz 1969). However, risk minimisation is not attainable at zero cost, and firms will only produce information that transfers risk when the economic gain outweighs the expenditure (Demsetz 1969). Oppositely, in a regulated environment, a free-rider problem exists whereby the cost of providing information exceeds the marginal benefits (Godfrey, et al. 2010). The nonzero costs involved to produce GAAP mandated earnings are significantly greater than the equilibrium produced through the zero price mechanism. Despite the theoretical reduction in compliance costs and the alignment of principal-agent interests, regulated financial reporting ensures timeliness in how value is recorded and how promptly, as well as asymmetric timeliness, whereby bad news is incorporated relative to good news (Ball 2006). This serves to reduce managerial opportunism, as well as providing investors with a timely indicator of the firm's economic reality.

Critics of a free market approach to corporate financial disclosure are also concerned with the fervent pronouncement of non-GAAP earnings by firms. The

emphasis of non-GAAP earnings in press releases has led some to argue that companies are manipulating investors' perceptions of the firm (Pitt 2001 in Elliott 2006). Subsequently, the SEC adopted Regulation G that mandated rules for non-GAAP information to be reconciled with relevant GAAP information (Elliott 2006). This resulted in a decline of non-GAAP earnings releases in 2003, and the provision of greater information to accompany non-GAAP earnings releases to better enable investors to make decisions (Marques 2006). Recent corporate failures and the misuse of non-GAAP earnings motivated the legislation of Section 401(b) of the Sarbanes-Oxley (SOX) Act, devoted to the regulation of non-GAAP numbers (Kolev, Marquardt & McVay 2008). Heflin & Hsu further establish that SOX 401(b) produced a downwards trend in the enormity of GAAP and non-GAAP earnings differences as well as a modest reduction in the probability companies signal earnings that satisfy or exceed forecasts (2008). The timing and emphasis of pro forma earnings also have a greater influence on nonprofessional investors' judgements (Elliott 2006). However, this is offset by the reconciliation of GAAP and non-GAAP earnings, whereby nonprofessional investors perceive greater reliability in the reports (Elliot 2006). To this extent, it can be argued that the intervention from regulators in earnings measurement has created a greater safeguard against corporate collapses than a free market approach. Similarly, a recent publication by Gasbarro et. al. (2013) has found that during times of market volatility, such as the global financial crisis, investors are placing greater value relevance on GAAP earnings. This is further evidence of the assurances of balance and consistency provided by GAAP earnings comparative to non-GAAP earnings.

Recent literature has found a strong relationship between non-GAAP earnings and value relevance, as well as a sharp disassociation between GAAP earnings and user preference. In the wake of this research, a strong theoretical case can be made for the deregulation of corporate financial disclosure. However, the requirements for GAAP earnings serve to reduce the consequences of information asymmetry and to protect vulnerable investors. GAAP mandated earnings provide a benchmark for consistency, accountability, and impartiality, allowing users to determine the efficiency of the firm. Despite the compliance costs involved, financial information users are provided with consistent earnings measurements to ascertain efficiency between firms. Further, legal and professional requirements pursued by the SEC for the reconciliation of GAAP and

non-GAAP earnings, such as SOX 401(b) and Regulation G have improved the standard of financial reporting, ensuring firms are truthful in signalling their efficiency to investors.

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Interest Group Advocacy: An Analysis of Greenpeace Australia Pacific and the Minerals Council of Australia's Advocacy Strategies

By Benedict McCarthy

ABSTRACT: This article examines the advocacy strategies of two prominent interest groups in the Australian political landscape, one being a highly active environmental group and the other a mining lobby group. Whilst one enjoys a high public profile and is classified by many as an outsider group, the other is considered an insider by virtue of the way in which it strategises influence. It argues that their choice of strategy is what dictates their status as effective insider and outsider groups respectively.

Greenpeace Australia Pacific (Greenpeace) and the Minerals Council of Australia (MCA) are two highly active Australian interest groups. Both groups have been campaigning for some time on the issue of whether coal mining should continue in Australia. These interest groups employ different strategies to influence government decision makers on this issue. This essay will examine their advocacy strategies with respect to social media, activities in parliament and traditional media. Their choice of strategy is what dictates their statuses as effective insider or outsider groups respectively. As an 'outsider' group, Greenpeace's strategy is largely centred on the use of social media to influence decision makers. In contrast, the MCA focuses on using its 'insider' status to lobby politicians directly, as can be seen in parliamentary proceedings. Both groups also employ more traditional forms of media to supplement these main advocacy strategies.

Before engaging in substantive matters, it is important to define the key terms and set out the scope of this essay. An interest group can be defined as a collective, non-partisan, member-based organisation that aims to influence and shape public policy (Smith, et al. 2012). The classification of interest groups as either 'insider' or 'outsider' is widely used in academic literature (Maloney, et al. 1994). This analytic classification is determined by the policy makers that interest groups attempt to influence and reflects their level of legitimacy amongst these decision makers (Maloney, et al. 1994). Interest groups that employ strategies that engage directly with decision makers in the development of public policy are considered 'insider' groups (Halpin & McKinney 2007).

Whilst access to decision makers can sometimes be difficult to obtain, some interest groups employ strategies that necessitate their exclusion from policy engagement (Halpin & McKinney 2007). Groups that are considered excluded, or have excluded themselves, from this engagement are termed 'outsider' groups (Maloney, et al. 1994). Whilst they have a limited ability to directly influence policy because of this, outsider groups can successfully influence decision makers indirectly by running high profile campaigns that build public pressure on policy makers (Maloney, et al. 1994). Baggott (1995) argues that groups can also be categorised as 'thresh-holder groups;' that is, groups that oscillate between insider and outsider status. Whilst interest groups utilise various media as part of their advocacy strategy, the scope of this essay is limited to social media, parliamentary proceedings and traditional forms of media. These are the main media forms utilised by Greenpeace and the MCA.

The MCA and Greenpeace are both interest groups active on the issue of whether coal mining should continue in Australia. The MCA is nationally recognised as the peak interest group of the minerals industry in Australia (Deegan & Blomquist 2006). With a membership comprising large mining companies, it aims to engage with key government decision makers to provide direct input into public policy agendas (Minerals Council of Australia 2015). Greenpeace describes itself as an independent campaigning association that engages in non-violent direct action to expose environmental problems and to 'force solutions which are essential to a green and peaceful future' (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2012). The remainder of this essay will discuss and evaluate the different advocacy strategies used by these groups. The reason behind choosing these two interest groups with strategies was that they on face value had advocacy strategies that were clear examples of insider and outsider groups. They are useful case studies of insider and outsider groups because they are ideal typical insider and outsider groups. The methodology used in this essay involved analysing the social media profiles of both groups, as well as how often they were mentioned in mainstream Australian news media articles and the Australian Parliament's Hansard in a set period of 8 months. The strength of this approach is that it takes a pure quantitative approach to measuring the output strategies of each group. Additionally, some qualitative research was undertaken as a reference point throughout this process to flesh out and corroborate the quantitative research. The inherent weakness of this approach is that by looking at a particular time

period the trends might not be an accurate representation of other time periods. Nonetheless, it still gives some valuable insights into the strategies of both groups.

Social Media

Greenpeace's effective strategy of extensively using social media in its campaign against coal mining shapes its status as an outsider group. Maintaining a highly active media profile is a priority for many modern environmental groups; Greenpeace is no exception to this (Maloney, et al. 2004). Its social media strategy can be broken down into two key stages. Initially, it coordinates high profile public campaigns aimed at engaging its members and others to put pressure on decisions makers. It is clear across all three social media platforms that Greenpeace carefully manages its presence to maximise reach and achieve this goal. Once its campaign has sufficient traction, Greenpeace's aim is for government decision makers to be forced to implement anti-coal reform or fear political repercussions for not doing so. As Maloney, Jordan & McLaughlin emphasise (1994), this strategy is in accordance with Greenpeace's historical strategy of not publicly negotiating with business groups or government. Its large supporter base helps it to spread campaign content, and so reaching this base is clearly imperative.¹ Greenpeace has focused on developing this presence from an early stage. Its Facebook presence dates back to 2007, whereas the MCA's Facebook account was only made in 2012. To examine how Greenpeace uses social media to influence public opinion regarding coal mining, an analysis of their Facebook activity over a one-month period was undertaken. A tally was taken of the number of posts made overall, and those specifically related to coal mining. The same was done for the MCA for comparison's sake. The results are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1 - Facebook activity of both groups between 12/5/2015 and 12/4/2016

Name of Interest Group	Greenpeace Australia Pacific	Minerals Council of Australia
Total number of Facebook posts	119	16
Number of Facebook posts made in relation to Coal Mining	49	4

¹ For data comparing the followers of Greenpeace and of the MCA, see Table 2.

This data demonstrates how attempting to achieve high penetration campaigns is a fundamental part of Greenpeace's strategy, as compared to insider groups like the MCA. Instead of engaging directly with decision makers, it works to build public pressure to influence government decision makers. This exemplifies how Greenpeace's status as an outsider group requires it to perpetuate its advocacy strategy. Greenpeace claims that, in response to this campaigning, late last year the Queensland government passed legislation that prevents coal companies from dumping dredge spoil on the Great Barrier Reef (Greenpeace Australia Pacific 2015). It is difficult to determine the degree to which the campaign contributed to this outcome. However, given that the start date of the campaign was several months prior to the passage of the legislation, it is likely that it did contribute to the political pressure on the government. It is because of this effective strategy that decision makers consider Greenpeace an outsider group.

The modest presence of the MCA in mainstream social media platforms contrasts significantly to that of Greenpeace, suggesting that maintaining a high profile presence is not a priority for them. As an insider group that prefers to lobby government directly, it is much less important that the broader community is aware of their campaign messages. It is also arguably in their interest to lobby 'behind closed doors' to avoid publicity. One could argue that they are able to leverage decision makers privately and so can afford to place emphasis on their public activities. This comparison inherently displays how the MCA's strategy is a privately based one whereas Greenpeace's strategy is centred on the public dimension. Its Twitter account is fairly active, sharing news articles that discuss the benefits of coal. Interestingly, it also shares statistics that claim that renewable energy sources like solar and wind farms cause environmental damage. Where it does refer to the benefits of coal, a link is provided to a website that is solely focused on the positive aspects of coal, and this has no visible link or branding to the MCA. This is perhaps a strategy by the MCA to put space between its own brand and its coal campaigning. It appears more willing to share stories written by well-known and politically aligned newspapers like *The Australian* that discuss the economic benefits brought about by the coal industry. Instead of using social media, as a successful insider group the MCA's advocacy strategy is largely centred on direct contact with decision makers.

Parliament

The MCA's highly active advocacy presence in Federal parliament is a fundamental part of its powerful lobbying strategy as an effective insider group. Decision makers make numerous positive references to the MCA. Except for occasional accusations of harmful lobbying, these government ministers often portray the MCA in a positive light. For example, during debate of the proposed China Free Trade Agreement, a number of senior government leaders quoted MCA data, statistics and even one executive's opinion. These all occurred during debate in both houses of parliament. This evidence suggests that the MCA enjoys direct and persuasive engagement with government decision makers. And one could assume that the MCA uses its close connections with these decision makers to advocate for coal mining. It also demonstrates that the MCA is regarded as an insider group by policy makers. It is apparent how this close relationship with decision makers might be beneficial for the MCA. It also points to how the MCA is effective in using its insider status to influence decisions. Whilst it is quite difficult to provide examples of where the MCA has successfully lobbied the federal government, evidence of this can be found elsewhere. In one senate debate, a Greens party senator accused a senior government minister of 'buying the spin of the minerals council' in relation to the benefits of coal mining (Commonwealth Senate Hansard 2015). It is significant there are accusations within both newspaper articles and parliamentary proceedings that the MCA holds significant power over key decision makers in government. It seems conclusive that the MCA does lobby key government decision makers effectively. Greenpeace is rarely mentioned in proceedings, as its outsider strategy does not involve this. Both groups make occasional submissions to various parliamentary committees. Over a 9-month period, MCA was mentioned 21 times, usually in a positive capacity, whilst Greenpeace was mentioned on nine occasions. For both these groups, few of these mentions originated from a representative from each organisation. This evidence indirectly supports the contention that the MCA is highly active within parliament and thus is an effective insider group. This is in contrast to the Greenpeace strategy, which seeks to influence decision makers more indirectly. With the exception of its CEO's submissions at a committee hearing, all other references to Greenpeace portrayed it in a negative light during parliamentary proceedings. This ranged from government MPs criticising Greenpeace's anti-coal campaigning during an election to an MCA executive complaining how Greenpeace members enjoy a tax deductible membership fee. Perhaps yet another

explanation of Greenpeace's negative appraisal within parliamentary committees is that it is commonly associated with minor environmental parties like the Greens. In several committee hearings, though, Greenpeace was singled out as an interest group that encourages reckless and illegal activity. One could make the argument that these statements are in retaliation to Greenpeace's high profile criticisms of the government in public forums. This is also presumably fuelled by the fact that Greenpeace does not engage directly with the government on public policy development. Hence, it is perceived by decision makers as an outsider group. The MCA's direct contact with key decision makers earns it the label of an insider group. However, in addition to their main forums of influence, the MCA and Greenpeace both also rely to some extent on traditional media to influence policymakers.

Traditional Media

In advocating for and against coal mining, the campaign strategies of both the MCA and Greenpeace is supplemented by the use of traditional forms of media, namely newspapers and television advertisements. Despite its status, as part of its advocacy strategy the MCA uses traditional forms of media to push back against the public pressure created by groups like Greenpeace. This is reflective of Greenpeace's 'protest' model of advocacy that generates media coverage, as opposed to the MCA which is simply representing an industry's interests. It does this by both questioning the legitimacy of rival groups and disagreeing with their campaign content. The MCA is not mentioned in as many news articles as is Greenpeace. However, where it is mentioned, the MCA is generally the main feature of the article. An example of this is an article written in *The Australian* on June 1st 2016, entitled 'Miners give ACF scorecard a zero' (Maher 2016). The article featured numerous quotes from Greg Evans, the MCA's executive director of coal, rebutting a report by an environmental group that detailed the potential negative effects of coal mining in Australia (Maher 2016). Evans referred to the potential loss of jobs and tax revenue as a result of stopping coal mining, as well as the materials required to construct renewable energy infrastructure.

The MCA is also occasionally subject to criticism in newspapers. In a noteworthy example *The Saturday Paper* printed a scathing criticism of the MCA and the influence it wields over the federal government (Secombe 2015). The article included several

quotes from the CEO of Greenpeace, who was critical of the MCA's lobbying in the coal sector. The author of the article also suggested that coal industry interests are over-represented on the MCA's board (Seccombe 2015). As evidenced by this this article, journalistic messages can be difficult to control. As such, newspaper coverage can be harmful towards the MCA and its campaigns. This is likely part of the reason why it is not the centrepiece of their strategy.

To a greater extent than newspapers, television advertisements are a traditional media platform that the MCA employs to exert influence. Whilst it currently only advertises occasionally, it famously spent over 21 million dollars on television ads to lobby against the Resource Super Profits Tax proposed in 2010 by the then-Labor Government (Orr & Gauja 2014). In collaboration with other mining interest groups, the MCA was very successful in this campaign, with the tax all but nullified within a year of the ad blitz (Nicoll 2011). This campaign prevailed over television advertising campaigns run by both the Federal government and by a coalition of environmental interest groups (including Greenpeace) and unions supporting the tax (Vromen & Coleman 2015). This is a notable example where the MCA successfully engaged in large scale, outsider group campaigning. One could infer that the MCA saw the need to do this due to an inability to influence decision makers through its normal 'insider' means. This was arguably because the Federal Government at the time was committed to implementing the tax and so, by denying the MCA insider access, it prompted the group to advocate in the public realm. The success of this campaign points towards how effective the MCA's lobbying can be, and is a rare public example of such.

Whilst Greenpeace rarely engages in television advertisements as part of its outsider campaign strategy, it does utilise traditional news media for advocacy. As noted above, Greenpeace has previously engaged in television advertising campaigns. However, this was in coalition with numerous other environmental groups and unions. Apart from this, Greenpeace is notably present in news articles across various print media. Greenpeace is usually only mentioned once in each article, but is mentioned in more articles than the MCA. In the four-month period chosen, Greenpeace was mentioned in 20 coal-related news stories, compared to the MCA, which was only mentioned in four

articles.² In the majority of Greenpeace citations, the publication was a smaller local or specialised publication rather than a major newspaper. The fact that media outlets seek to interview Greenpeace could mean that, despite its status as an outsider group, it is a legitimate stakeholder. This is consistent with Greenpeace's identity as a mass membership, outsider interest group that utilises 'grassroots,' local campaigning. Greenpeace spokeswoman Shani Tager is quoted in many of the articles as arguing that State and Federal governments must do more to stop coal mining developments in Australia. She frequently emphasises the negative environmental impacts that coalmines are having on the Great Barrier Reef, consistent with Greenpeace's social media posts on this. These statements illustrate a widely used Greenpeace strategy to put pressure on decision makers. Occasionally, a major newspaper has quoted Tager, sometimes at great length. An example is *The Sydney Morning Herald* quoting her regarding the purported impact that the Adani Carmichael mine could have on the Great Barrier Reef'. Articles like these could exert pressure on decision makers at both a State and Federal level while reassuring Greenpeace members that the group's leaders are fighting in their interest. Similar to their social media presence, Greenpeace also uses quite adversarial language in many of these statements. It omits to mention any positive steps taken by these companies or indeed the government. Both Greenpeace and the MCA effectively incorporate traditional forms of media into their advocacy strategy for and against coal mining, mainly to supplement their respective major forms of lobbying.

The advocacy strategies of the MCA and Greenpeace are divergent. This is apparent given the status of the MCA as an insider, as opposed to the status of Greenpeace as an outsider. Greenpeace's strategy for its campaign to end to coal mining in Australia centres on an extensive use of social media, supplemented by some coverage in traditional media platforms. Similarly, the MCA also utilises traditional media formats as part of its strategy. Yet instead of social media, as suggested by its status as an insider group, it enjoys direct influence over key government decision makers. Both these groups have the ability to use these strategies effectively to influence public policy. These findings are limited in that they only analyse the strategies of two particular interest groups during a period of a

² It should be noted that for this analysis, whilst newspapers are referred to as traditional forms of media, research was conducted through the online Factiva search engine, which searches through online news outlets. It is likely though that many of these articles did go to print.

relatively inactive political climate. Obviously if the data was taken over an election year then it is likely that both interest groups would have been significantly more active. This in turn may have seen a change in the strategies of either group. A study that looked at a much larger time period, perhaps even including an election year, would likely expand on the findings in this essay. Other examples of insider and outsider groups would also likely prove useful, namely examining the strategies of many groups. However, the findings are still valid in suggesting that insider and outsider groups are characterised by these strategies in trying to influence public policy.

Table 2 - Social Media 'followers' comparison of Greenpeace and the Minerals Council of Australia

Interest Group	Minerals Council of Australia	Greenpeace Asia Pacific
Number of followers on Twitter	3,500	39,000
Number of 'likes' on Facebook account	13,000	249,500
Number of views on YouTube account	240,000	2,800,000
Number of videos posted on YouTube account	22	249

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Australian Strategic Policy in the Asian Century

By Neal Reddan

ABSTRACT: Crafting Australia's strategic policy involves difficult choices between imperfect outcomes. Though Australia is an island continent blessed with formidable geographic defences, it is also a maritime trading nation with significant interests and vulnerabilities extending far beyond its shores. Generally speaking, Australia's approach to security falls into two traditions: an 'expeditionary' posture that commits national power to extra-regional contingencies such as those in Afghanistan and Iraq, and a more regionally oriented 'fortress Australia' tradition that focuses primarily on the Asia-Pacific system we inhabit. Both approaches contain strengths and have ably served Australian security imperatives at different times in the past. During periods of national imperilment, such as the Second World War and a turbulent Southeast Asia in the 1950s–1960s, Australian strategic policy fixated on developments close afield. Today emerging US–China strategic competition heralds the return of great power politics in Asia and portends to regional instability. Accordingly Australia can ill afford to diffuse its national power across multiple strategic systems over the globe. Against a backdrop of relatively declining Western power in Asia, Australia must once more return to a regionally focused strategic policy and eschew commitments to extra-regional contingencies.

Throughout Australian history two broad schools of strategic thought have emerged on how best to assure national security: an 'expeditionary' tradition advocating extra-regional military deployments around the globe, and a more regionally focused 'fortress Australia' tradition (Smith 1997, 13). Australian political decision-makers face a dilemmatic trade-off between which strategic approach to prioritise in search of national security. Understanding Australia's shifting strategic environment is crucial to making informed and judicious decisions on the allocation of scarce resources. Despite geographic location lowering the risk of a conventional military attack, Australia faces formidable security threats close to home. This paper argues for a regionally focused strategic policy to counteract rising local security crises and looming regional instability which will be the greatest threats to Australian strategic interests over the coming decades. A relative decline in Australian and American strategic weight within the Asia-Pacific system means

that the current diffusion of national power across disparate strategic systems is no longer a viable option to effectively protect Australia's national security

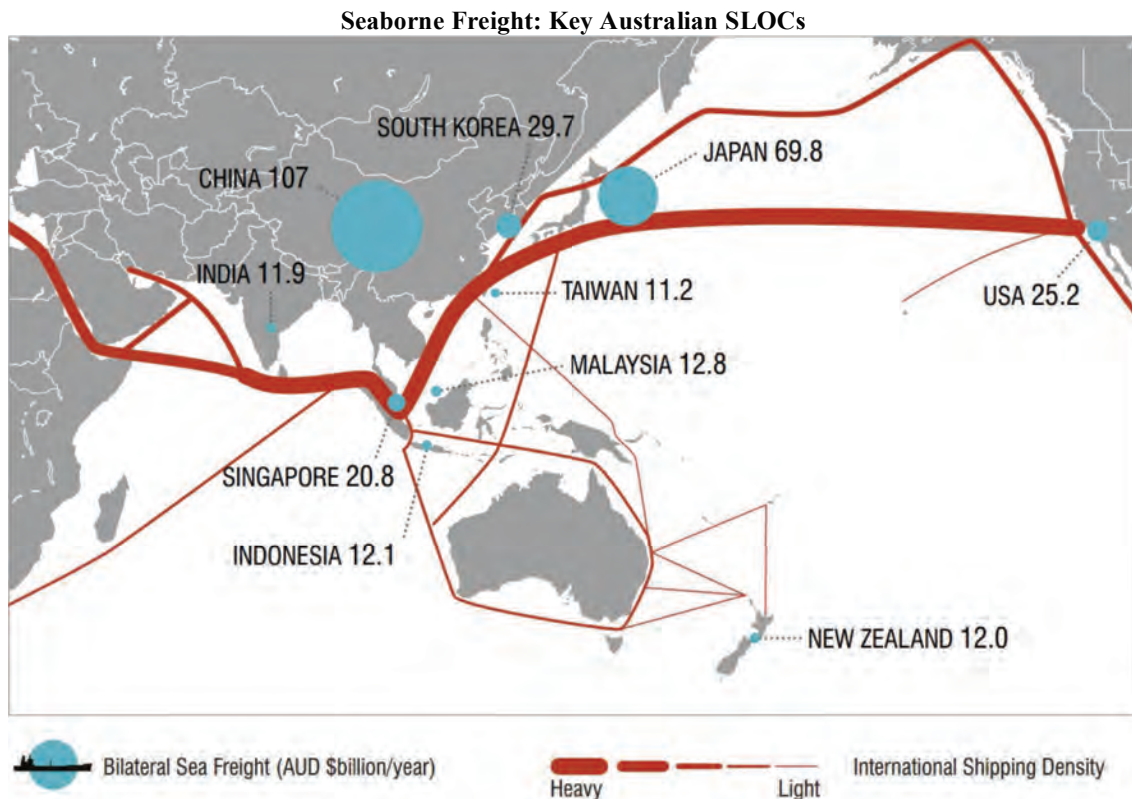
Strategic Interests & Objectives

Geography confers Australia considerable strategic advantages. As an island-nation the country is shielded from a major land-based attack. Armies cannot attack overland so they must transit oceans and seas to reach Australia. Maritime power projection presents significant administrative and technical hurdles, in addition to an immense economic cost (Till 2013, 279). These barriers to entry exclude most of Australia's regional neighbours from acquiring the types of military capabilities necessary to launch an attack upon the mainland. Furthermore, Australia's remote location at Asia's edge has historically insulated the country from armed conflict. Australia is not an overland corridor between strategic systems that foreign militaries traverse in their campaigns – unlike Poland or Ukraine for example. Moreover Australia is not a frontline buffer state between competing great powers, like North Korea or Afghanistan. Occupations, proxy wars and other forms of destabilising great power competition have never taken place directly on Australian soil.

Notwithstanding these upsides, Australia is not an unassailable fortress and does face serious challenges and drawbacks. Australia has a vast continental interior, extensive coastlines and thousands of islands, a small number of which are located hundreds of kilometres from the mainland. The Australian population is the 51st largest globally and 15th in the Asia-Pacific (United Nations 2015, 13–17). A population of 24 million must defend the 6th largest state in the world against potential adversarial states with populations exceeding hundreds of millions (C.I.A Factbook). Australia lacks sufficient manpower to assemble land forces that could reliably defend these possessions against attack from world's more populous states.

Strategic vulnerabilities also lie beyond Australia's territorial boundaries. The Australian Defence Force (ADF) must control or deny sweeping air and sea approaches across Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, operating from bases in northern Australia; an area sparsely populated and lacking significant infrastructure. The absence of overland trading routes, a small work force and limited domestic manufacturing output renders Australian living standards highly dependent upon seaborne trade. Agricultural

and mining products are exported to afford access to energy imports, final goods and capital investment. Goods transit sea lines of communication (SLOC) across the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and through Southeast Asian chokepoints such as the Strait of Malacca. Limited human and economic resources prevents Australia developing maritime forces to independently defend these far-reaching and highly exposed SLOCs.



The foregoing overview reveals that Australia's primary strategic interests are in defending its territory and keeping its sea lines of communication open. These core strategic interests inform three strategic objectives: a secure Australia; security in the immediate Southeast Asian and South Pacific regions; and stability in the wider Asia-Pacific system (Aus. Dep't Def. 2016, 68). This may appear straightforward, however as Clausewitz noted, the simplest things in war are exceptionally difficult (Clausewitz 1976, 119). As noted above, Australia's sprawling geography and small demographic base determines a relative weakness in land power, which impels us towards maritime power. Australia's naval and air forces possess surveillance and precision strike capabilities that can impose high costs sufficient to deter most would-be adversaries. The ADF cannot,

however independently deter a major conventional attack or nuclear attack from a great power state. Therefore, Australia has always and continues to seek its security through alliances with a great and powerful friend.

Extra-Regional Objectives

Australia has always sought a great power alliance to guarantee its security. In payment for the so-called security 'insurance policy,' the Australian government has regularly committed to extra-regional deployments in a variety of conflicts – the Second Boer War, both world wars, and more recently in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition to this 'alliance management' aspect, expeditionary deployments have also sought to reduce the burden upon Australia's security guarantor and help preserve a favourable global balance of power (Evans 2005, 29). Modern defence parlance euphemistically describes such balancing actions as 'maintaining a rules-based global order' (Aus. Dep't Def. 2016, 76). By entrenching our security guarantor's power through extra-regional deployments afar from home, we enhance their ability to directly intervene in our region should crisis surface. With extra-regional deployments, Australia may indirectly obtain a measure of security closer to home. British strategic withdrawal during the Second World War (WWII), and again in 1971, suggests this hypothesis requires continuous evaluation as regional strategic circumstances evolve over time.

Deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan did not directly support the strategic objectives outlined in the 2013 and 2016 defence white papers. They did not secure Australian territory from major conventional attack, nor did they protect SLOCs across Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, or directly contribute to the wider stability of the Asia-Pacific. The principal goals of these campaigns – alliance management and balancing actions – were to incentivise American strategic engagement in Asia and to provide wider support to the US-dominated global order. While these extra-regional goals might indirectly enhance Australian security, it must be asked whether a regionally focused approach would be more effective.

Australia made niche contributions to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This included offering greatly appreciated political support to the United States, but not operationally significant amounts of forces. In Afghanistan Australian forces 'relied on

enabling capabilities supplied by America or other NATO forces (such as battlefield airlift, air strike and indirect fire support)' (Davies, et al. 2014, 13). At the outset of the Iraq War Australia contributed approximately 2,000 ADF personnel, two AP-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft, three C-130 Hercules transport aircraft, fourteen F/A-18 Hornet fighters and three warships to the initial invasion (Aus. Dep't Def. 2006). The United States by comparison contributed almost 200,000 troops while the United Kingdom deployed 45,000.

American relative strength in maritime and air power quickly crushed conventional military opposition in Iraq and Afghanistan. Incidentally Australian air power came to the fore only after the Americans had effectively destroyed Iraq's air defence system (Davies, et al. 2014, 16). The United States' relative weakness was in assembling sufficient land forces to provide security for the occupied countries. Counter-insurgency campaigns also revealed the acute need for non-military capabilities such as humanitarian aid, economic development and civilian-led institutional reconstruction.

Australia's contribution did little to match America's relative weaknesses in its Middle Eastern campaigns. In order to avoid mass casualties, the Australian government committed a proportionately small land force component and restricted ADF operations to relatively low-risk areas within Iraq and Afghanistan. Australia's commitment was focused on military support, with little provision of non-military resources such as reconstruction specialists, humanitarian aid, civilian police and diplomats. This stands in stark contrast to the whole-of-government approach in deploying extensive military and non-military capabilities to regional contingencies in the Solomon Islands, 2003–2013, and East Timor 1999–2000.

The main contribution to Iraq and Afghanistan was not military it was political support. This enhanced America's legitimacy but did not purchase substantive leverage within the ANZUS alliance. If Australia withdrew at any point during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, the US possessed sufficient resources to cover the exposed area of operations. Threatening to withdraw could not be used to extract greater alliance benefits. As Peter Edwards observes, from the Korean War onwards Australia would 'talk a good war but limit the commitment' (Edwards 2015, 10). It is clear that such limited commitments

will not incentivise the United States to protect Australia above and beyond its own strategic interest in dominating the Asia-Pacific. The alliance management value of supporting extra-regional contingencies is therefore practically negligible.

Symbolic commitments to extra-regional contingencies have also had limited strategic impact and done little to preserve an American-dominated balance of power – regionally or globally – that could serve Australian security interests. The present situation in Iraq attests to this. Since the Coalition's withdrawal in 2011, civil war has effectively fractured the Iraqi state into three nations. The resulting conflagration across Syria and Iraq has created an unstable power vacuum and fuelled a regional geopolitical contest. Iraq and Syria now play host to intense strategic competition between regional powers such as Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, and external powers in the United States and Russia. The US may lose Iraq entirely should it become an ungovernable failed state or enter a strategic alliance with Iran and align against American interests in the Middle East. America may also see its chief Middle Eastern partner – Saudi Arabia – weakened in the emerging cold war between itself and Iran. It is far from certain this unstable geopolitical battleground will re-order to American advantage. It is clear, however, that Australia's extra-regional deployments to the Middle East have had trivial effect on enhancing American regional influence, let alone the United States' position in the global balance of power. It is doubtful then that the United States' ability to intervene in regional contingencies threatening Australia security has been improved.

Lastly another argument for supporting extra-regional contingencies is to fight terrorism at its source, in distant theatres, to prevent it spreading to our region. The empirical record of the past approximate fifteen years has raised serious doubts on this policy's efficacy. Over a decade of supporting the 'War on Terror' has had minimal impact on eradicating terrorism from Iraq and Afghanistan, or in ameliorating transnational terrorism. If anything the level of terrorist activity in Iraq has dramatically *increased* after the toppling of Saddam Hussein's regime. Western Middle Eastern campaigns have destabilised the region and created fertile breeding grounds and safe havens for transnational terrorism organisations such as ISIS. This example demonstrates the tremendous difficulty in extracting counter-terrorism (CT) benefits from a destabilised region consumed by intense geopolitical strategic competition. Australia is simply unable

to field the capabilities and resources necessary to stabilise the region, which is a necessary precondition for effective CT operations. Without regional stability CT efforts will deliver only ephemeral benefits. On the other hand, regionally focused counter-terrorist initiatives have yielded exceptional results for Australia. Intelligence sharing between the Australian Intelligence Community (AIC) and the Australian Federal Police (AFP) with Indonesia's security apparatus has brought 'years of victory' and 'resounding success' against Jemaah Islamiyah, but it remains an ongoing challenge (Cloyne 2016).

Emerging Trends – Local Security Concerns

Ongoing security concerns in Australia's neighbourhood are a more immediate threat to Australia than extra-regional contingencies in far flung locales such as Iraq and Afghanistan. Across the South Pacific and the southern edge of Southeast Asia lies an island chain forming a natural defensive barrier between Australia and Asia. An obvious military strategy for a hostile adversary would be to gain a military foothold somewhere within this island chain to be in a position to launch strikes, blockades, invasions or to otherwise coerce Australia. The Japanese did exactly this in WWII (Evans 2005, 34, 79). Regarding Indonesia – which constitutes the western and central portions of the island chain – this risk is low because the country is relatively stable and has a large land force to defend its territory. It is the multitude of small, impoverished, unstable island nations dotting the eastern portion that present the major risk.

From the early 1990s onwards many of these fragile states experienced increasing political instability and localised security crises. Defence expert Paul Dibb termed this security concern the 'Arc of Instability' and flagged the likelihood of Australia intervening in major contingencies close to its doorstep (1999, 18). Fiji has undergone four coups over the past two decades and periodic crises that have required the Australian navy to dispatch warships for potential evacuation of Australian nationals.

The Arc of Instability



Source: Karl Claxton, *Securing the South Pacific: Making the most of Australia's renewed regional focus*

Papua New Guinea (PNG) – Australia's largest pacific neighbour – is arguably the biggest worry. Due to its relatively large population, compared to other fragile neighbours, ADF resources would be considerably strained in a prospective deployment. The Bougainville Civil War, 1988–1998, destabilised PNG and almost culminated in a military coup in 1997. Maintaining PNG's stability and managing the risks stemming from 'insecurity, weak governance and corruption' remains an ongoing concern for the Australian government (Aus. Dep't Foreign Affairs 2015, 3). Australia provides significant aid, \$519.4 million in 2013–14 — PNG's largest donor, and service delivery in a variety of PNG public sector domains including governance, education, health, law and justice (Aus. Dep't Foreign Affairs 2015, 2). Stabilisation campaigns in East Timor, 1999–2000, and the Solomon Islands, 2003–2013, are other examples of serious challenges faced by countries within the arc. In 2007 these issues prompted a sobering assessment from then opposition leader and now former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd:

across East Timor, Papua New Guinea (PNG), through Melanesia... over the last 10 years, that concept [the Arc of Instability] has become a reality (ABC Lateline 2007).

If Australia is to effectively 'play a leadership role in our immediate neighbourhood spanning Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste and Pacific Island Countries' then resources for expeditionary campaigns must be allocated preponderantly to *regional* contingencies (Aus. Dep't Def. 2016, 33).

Emerging Trends – Regional Power Shift

Following the Second World War for approximately three decades, the Australian economy was predominant within the Asia-Pacific. With the exception of Japan, Asia's most populous states were largely agrarian economies. On top of this, the 1950s and 1960s were a turbulent period in Southeast Asia. Decolonisation, wars of national liberation and communist insurgencies destabilised and impoverished many Asian states. It was during this period that Australian diplomatic clout and military power within Asia reached its apogee. Following this peak, Australia's relative economic position and military capability edge has declined and will continue to do so.

The past four decades has witnessed extraordinary stability and economic development across Asia, especially in rising great powers China and India. At present the Australian economy is ranked 19th largest in the world, and is projected to fall to 23rd largest by 2030 and 28th by 2050 (PWC 2014, 3). Similarly, in the Asia-Pacific the Australian economy is 7th largest but is forecasted to 9th place by 2030 and 13th by 2050 (PWC 2014, 3). Meanwhile China, India and Indonesia – all of whom have already surpassed Australia – will come to occupy three of the four largest economies in the world by 2050. A significant number of 'middle powers' including Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia and the Philippines are also set to overtake Australia. Although forecasting decades into the future does entail significant uncertainty the long-term regional trends are systemic and unlikely to cease. In what is termed the 'great convergence' Asia is industrialising and closing the productivity gap with the West (Grinin, et al. 2015). Increases in Australian defence budgets will not be able to match soaring military expenditures across Asia, which now eclipses Europe.

Rising Asian prosperity is underwriting widespread military modernisation, permitting various states to acquire military capabilities previously monopolised by only a handful of highly developed states (Mapp 2014, 17). Basic patrol vessels and training

aircraft are being replaced by advanced surface vessels, submarines and combat aircraft. A suite of surveillance platforms and precision-guided weapons, colloquially termed 'anti-access/area denial' (A2/AD), allows even modest military powers the ability to inflict deliver lethal damage against high-end surface vessels and aircraft operated by Australia and the United States. Hugh White observes that technological factors have fundamentally altered the balance in maritime warfare as finding and destroying ships has become incredibly easy and inexpensive (White 2015). Conversely the ability to project maritime power and assert command of the seas has become incredibly difficult and expensive.

The economic and military trends hold major implications for Australia. First, we can no longer take for granted Australia's technological edge and capability superiority over potential adversaries. The increasing military capabilities of our regional neighbours increases the risks and costs associated with diffusing national power across multiple strategic systems. Secondly we cannot expect the United States to maintain its previously unsurmountable military edge over a rising China that is modernising its military with potent A2/AD systems. The US will not be able to maintain *uncontested* strategic primacy based on maritime power projecting assets such as land bases, aircraft carriers and combat aircraft. These assets are increasingly vulnerable to Chinese precision strike capabilities. These developments do not necessarily foretell America's displacement from the Asia-Pacific, but it is certain that maintaining strategic primacy will no longer be the low cost proposition it has been ever since President Nixon and Henry Kissinger struck a grand bargain with Chairman Mao in 1972 (White 2012, 14). In that deal the Chinese acquiesced to American strategic primacy over the Asia-Pacific in exchange for integration into the international system and access to international markets, technology and capital. This quid-pro-quo arrangement aligned Chinese land power and American maritime power against the Soviet Union.

Since then the Soviet Union has collapsed and a rising China is seeking to revise the Asia-Pacific order. The United States has so far struggled to halt Chinese island reclamation activities, which contrasts sharply to the 1996 Taiwan Strait crises, where a carrier battle group was sufficient to intimidate the Chinese into backing down. With rising costs in maintaining strategic primacy in the Asia-Pacific, the United States will demand more

from its regional allies (Office Press Sec. 2015). It is imperative that Australia does all that it can to lower those costs and thus lower the risk of American strategic withdrawal.

Finally Australia cannot presume that Asia's relative stability over the past forty years will continue. Escalating strategic rivalry between China and the US is already a reality. In recent years China's newfound strategic weight has emboldened it to begin challenging the US led order in the Asia-Pacific and prosecute its disputed maritime claims in the South China Sea and East China Sea. China has adopted a so-called 'salami-slice strategy' that aims to 'slice off parts of the East Asian seas, bit by bit, until its neighbours have entirely accepted its naval power and influence' (Yon 2015, 46). At the forefront is a major island reclamation campaign that commenced in December 2013. The US government estimates that China has reclaimed '17 times more land in 20 months than the other claimants combined over the past 40 years' (US Dep't Def. 2015, 16). Many of these artificial island features have been militarised with bases, air strips, surface-to-air missile platforms and long-range radar systems.

In reply the US announced its strategic 'rebalance' and has begun responding to China's challenge with freedom of navigation operations. The rebalance illustrates America's expectations of its Asia-Pacific allies in the coming century: greater 'spoke-to-spoke linkages [between its bilateral allies] and allied interoperability' (Wainwright 2016). This regionally focused framework provides a guide for how Australia can maximise its standing within the ANZUS alliance, hedge the risk of our regional neighbour's rising military capabilities and manage looming regional instability.

Conclusion

The emergence of the Arc of Instability and changes in the Asia-Pacific's balance of power have increased security threats emanating from Australia's immediate region. The last time Australia faced such a threat – during the 1950s and 1960s – it adopted the regionally focused *forward defence* policy. In the Second World War, Australia brought its troops home to fight in the Pacific Campaign. Supporting extra-regional contingencies is only viable during times of relative stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Prevailing strategic trends means that Australia must undertake its own 'rebalance' and regionally concentrate its elements of national power to assure its national security.

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Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Relationship Between Nature and the Self

By Ingrid Mao

ABSTRACT: In his essays Nature (1836) and Self-Reliance (1841), Ralph Waldo Emerson phenomenally illuminates nineteenth century Transcendentalist philosophy through his divulgence of the occult relationship between Nature and the Self. In particular, the symbiotic collaboration between humankind and our natural world reveals physical objects as the earthly conduit for spiritual truths. Yet, such corporeality is only elevated insofar as it is realised independently by the imaginative, spiritual, and intellectual capabilities of the human Self — namely, the articulation of Truth through the vivid poetry of Language as well as the display of Virtue by all men and women. Should translations differ from one to the other, individuals should each be allowed their own authentic Truth — or, in Emerson's words, 'an original relation to the universe'. Indeed, the prescriptive lens with which society fashions humanity distorts our perception of reality, leaving us fettered to the tethers of Social Constitution and thereby reliant upon institutions to forge and mediate a connection with something to which we are so intrinsically connected. It is only when recognise our own constitution in — and seek communion with — Nature can we partake in a catharsis that purges the Soul of dross and thus brings us back to a pure state of being, akin to that of the child, which precedes the contamination of our consciousness by age, experience, and society

In his meditation on the immanence of the Divine within Nature, Ralph Waldo Emerson critically divulges the occult relationship between the human Soul and the Cosmos, Nature and the Self. With references to Emerson's two essays *Self-Reliance* (1841) and *Nature* (1836), this paper shall seek to explore the symbiotic collaboration between human beings and our natural world; in particular, the uses of Nature – Commodity, Beauty, Language, and Discipline – in its ministry to humankind, as well as the necessary reciprocation of such providence by all men and women via displays of Virtue. In light of Emerson's exposition of humanity's perception of Nature in his latter essay, I shall posit that the phenomenal world observed by the human eye serves as the earthly conduit for spiritual truths and a metonym for Transcendentalist philosophy. With regards to our understanding of the nature of Nature, let it be established that She embodies, in Emerson's words, all the 'essences unchanged by man' (1836, 6). As such, Nature can be

viewed as a frame of reference that discloses the extent to which humankind deviates from the 'Aboriginal Self' (1841), an untainted state of being that is renewed upon an individual's communion with Nature. It is when She is utilised to effect secondary desires – such as that of power, material wealth, and debauchery – that we cease to enjoy a primary relationship with the Universe, and, consequently, develop a reliance upon institutions to forge and mediate a connection with something to which we are so intrinsically connected. Only when we unchain our Self from the tethers of Social Constitutions can we recognise our own constitution in Nature, and thus realise the Self-Reliant Universal Being that reconciles our inner and outer senses – so too, the substance and essence of our Spirit.

In its lowest functions – that is, according to Emerson, Commodity and Beauty – Nature is rendered as a cathartic spectacle, the reception of which revitalises and restores health to the observer. Indeed, in Chapter III of *Nature* (1836), Emerson writes,

The health of the eye seems to demand a horizon.... I seem to partake [Nature's] rapid transformations: the active enchantment reaches my dust, and I dilate and conspire with the morning wind. How does Nature deify us with a few and cheap elements! Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous. The dawn is my Assyria; the sun-set and moon-rise my Paphos, and unimaginable realms of faerie; broad noon shall be my England of the senses and the understanding; the night shall be my Germany of mystic philosophy and dreams.

Emerson's account of his reverence for Nature in this passage encompasses landscapes that exist across time and space. His disregard for temporal and spatial limitations, moreover, evinces the eternal verity of Nature as a spiritual constant, integrating the different realms of human experience – such as the physical, astral, phenomenal, intellectual, and mystical – to descry the Unity that pervades all beings. Of this wholeness, Emerson proceeds to express the omnipresence of its parts through the analogy of 'a sphere, comprising all possible circles...[with] innumerable sides' (1841, 44). The presence of such analogies, metaphors, and metonyms are persistent throughout Emerson's oeuvre, the significance of which I will elaborate upon further in the latter section of this paper.

Furthermore, the influence which Nature has upon the metamorphic processes of the Soul is strongly evident as Emerson effuses the melding of man into his landscape, declaring that he wishes to ‘partake [Nature’s] rapid transformations’ and recognising the interconnectedness resulting from the ‘active enchantment’ of his physical being – ‘my dust’ – with the metaphysical elements. The speaker seems to ‘dilate’ with the elements, allowing a universal current to flow in and out of him, breathing life into that which surrounds him as they into him. Indeed, Emerson writes, ‘Nothing divine dies. All good is eternally reproductive’, referring to the eternal quality of Truth, its transmission between earthly vessels, and the notion of life as its own creative end. When the Self is, in Emerson’s words, ‘in alliance with truth and God’, it is able to receive Nature like a ‘transparent eyeball’ (1836, 10) that does not deflect, but rather embraces, the light of Truth which shines into the heart of humanity. In fact, the Self becomes the eyeball — a metaphor which upbraids the conditioned lenses that filter humankind’s immediate connection with God and subsequently distort their perceptions of reality. In many ways, those who view the world through such lenses of perception tend to allocate their inability to recognise their occult relation with Divinity to the baseness of physical and material objects. However, is Emerson merely denouncing the material world, or is he postulating that the intangible elements of the Soul are indeed manifested on the material plane of reality through tangible objects? Should we, then, reject their corporeality? Or should we observe them as the symbols and reflections of the God that is at once within and beyond our own Self?

In his work *Nature’s Economy* (1994), Donald Worster identifies the Transcendental idealism of Emerson as one which tends to ‘devalue the material world except insofar as it could be put to higher spiritual uses by the human mind’. Accordingly, in his exposition on the uses of Nature in Language and Discipline, Emerson proposes the following:

1. Words are signs of natural facts.
2. Particular natural facts are symbols of particular spiritual facts.
3. Nature is the symbol of spirit.

Indeed, observing Nature merely for its physical beauty falls somewhat short of the scope of the lessons humankind can take from our surrounding landscape. As he traces back to the genesis of language and the origin of each word in vivid poetry, the reader becomes aware of the idea of language as a rhetorical medium for material objects, which, in turn, serve as metonymic extensions of spiritual facts. The examples which Emerson provides to explain this empiricism include the linguistic normalities of 'straight' meaning 'right', 'twisted' meaning 'wrong', the 'wind' representing 'spirit', and 'the raising of an eyebrow' to denote superciliousness. He, moreover, praises the 'piquancy' (1836, 29) of a language sustained by Nature, in addition to the 'radical correspondence between visible things and human thoughts', thereby supporting Worster's position that the integrity of material existence is elevated insofar as it appeals to and engages with the intellect. This view is further espoused by Marissa Lopez who comments in her essay *The Sentimental Politics of Language* (2011) that it is indeed 'the imaginative power of the individual human being' that espies the subliminal qualities in Nature and translates them into God's will. Yet, this, I do not believe, affirm those readings – such as that which is held by Kris Fresonke – that trace Emerson's view on a tropical Nature to the theological argument for design and Nature as the empirical evidence for a Creator.

The aspects of design may have been alluded to by Emerson to explain the destiny of America as the chosen land and a promising new nation. However, I shall hold that supernatural qualities of Nature, that which ostensibly support the existence of God, are only present insofar as it is realised independently by the imaginative, spiritual, and intellectual capabilities of the human Self. This may portend a conflict between subjective translations of what is perhaps characterised as an objective external world; but individuals can only confirm for themselves what appears before their eyes. Should observations differ from one to another, the individual should be allowed their own authentic Truth — 'an original relation to the universe' (1836, 1). Indeed, references to youth throughout Emerson's writing suggest that the presence of the child can be seen as the physical manifestation of the purest state of humanity, prior to the contamination of our consciousness by age, experience, and society. The child lives in the present and pays no attention to the traditions which adults around him religiously preach. He is in many ways like the timeless Rose delineated in *Self-Reliance*; that is, a symbol of eternal perfection which 'make no reference to former roses or to better ones; they are for what

they are; they exist with God to-day. There is no time to them. There is simply the rose; it is perfect in every moment of its existence'. Here, the child, the rose, and Nature are said to transcend all traditional and foreign forces that exist in time and space. Indeed, the human mind itself is infinite, limited only by the reigns imposed by society, whose principle instrument of oppression is conformity. Thus, through the image of the rose, Emerson presents his readers with a blueprint for the self-sufficing and self-reliant soul, one that is capable of renovating a mendicant society of 'parlous soldiers' (1841, 161) and restoring the creative powers that foster progress in a new land of promises.

Ralph Waldo Emerson's iconoclastic manner of admonishing the dominance of the words, traditions, and perceptions of ancestors acts as a powerful vehicle by which he awakens intuition as the guiding wisdom in life. Such realisations, argues Emerson, are, furthermore, realised through one's observation of Nature and the imagination of physical objects as the earthly conduit for spiritual Truth on the material plane of human reality. In one's communion with Nature, the observer and the observed meld into one, revealing all objects to be the modifications of one verity, just as each human being is 'part or particle of God' (1836, 10). Therefore, through his exposition on the relationship of the Self to Nature, Emerson — above all else — brings to light the Truth that it is the amalgamation of mind and matter, so too Nature and the Self, and not its separation, that provides the basis for wonder in human existence.

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Changing Perceptions Over Time: The Influence of the European Fantasy of the Orient on Eugene Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger dans leur Appartement*.

By Rebecca Blake

ABSTRACT: The two paintings of Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement by the French eighteenth-century artist Eugene Delacroix reflect variations in the artist's desire for attempted realism and the implantation of fantasy. Primary evidence in the form of Delacroix's journal entries and correspondence reveal his aim to accurately capture his surroundings during his 1832 trip to North Africa. There is a disparity between the artists stated aspiration for a candid depiction of North Africa and his fantasised representation of the Algerian women. His desire for realism is ultimately only half-consciously articulated and overshadowed by the European fantasy of the Orient. This paper will explore how time, nostalgia, and fictional perceptions warped the artist's recollection of visual information from his 1832 trip, resulting in aspects of fantasy in his 1834 painting that become amplified in his later work.

This essay analyses the influence of nostalgia and fantasy upon the artist Eugene Delacroix's interpretation and representation of the Algerian harem in his two versions of *Femmes d'Alger dans leur Appartement*, or *Women of Algiers*. The two paintings depict three women and a black slave within an Algerian harem. This scene was viewed first hand by Delacroix during an impromptu visit to Algeria following a diplomatic mission in Morocco in 1832. The two paintings, created in 1834 and between 1847 and 1849, portray the same image but evoke two very different scenes (Fig. 1 & Fig. 2). Primary evidence in the form of Delacroix's journal entries, sketches, and correspondence reveal the artist's desire for an authentic rendering of his surroundings during his 1832 trip to Algeria. However, visual analysis of the paintings reflects a different image, one more concerned with depicting the European fantasy of the exotic 'Orient' than reality. This essay explores Delacroix's attempted articulation of realism, as well as the aspects of fantasy within his two paintings of the Algerian harem. Delacroix's social milieu as a European male, his position as a foreigner, as well as the influence of time and nostalgia, has warped his recollection of the visual information he collected during his 1832 trip. The artist's implantation of fantasy and attempted realism varies between the two works.

The later painting displays an increased portrayal of the European fantasy and a reduced depiction of female autonomy. The changes in the later work can be attributed to the influence of nostalgia and the European fantasy of the Orient. Through application of a broader analytical methodology this essay explores the attempted realism and varying severity of Delacroix's colonialist depictions in his two versions of *Femmes d'Algers* (Fig. 1 & Fig 2).

The influential 1978 work *Orientalism* by Edward Said has shaped analysis of eighteenth-century depictions of North Africa by European artists. Since its publication over thirty years ago *Orientalism* has radically altered the interpretation of the western depiction of the East. It was instrumental in recognising the binary that 'conceptualized the Orient as feminine, erotic, exotic, and savage, allowing the West to accede in position of superiority as Christian, civilized and moral' (Lewis 1993, 54). It was instrumental in highlighting the European fantasy of the Orient and the development of the 'East West paradigm' that has been the standard for reviewing Western depictions of the East for the last 10 years. As Edward Said highlights this in his work *Orientalism Reconsidered*, 'The Orient and the Occident are facts produced by human beings, and as such must be studied as integral components of the social, and not the divine or natural world. Because the social world includes the person or subject doing the studying as well as the object or realm being studied, it is imperative to include them both in any consideration of Orientalism' (Said 2013, 90). The social, political and religious beliefs of an individual's time strongly affect the manner in which they approach and interpret a subject. Subsequent readings and applications of his theology have at times created narrow interpretations that don't account for deviations from the east-west paradigm. Said's work is integral for the basic framework of this analysis however it has been expanded to recognise deviations that don't fit within the typical post-colonial analysis. This paper identifies the artist's personal intentions as well as the influencing factors to create a more complete idea of the reasoning behind Eugene Delacroix's depiction of North Africa in *Femmes d'Alger*.

The scholar Roger Benjamin has identified artists and works that fail to fit into the dichotomous constraints of post-colonial theory. He discusses the differing range of European representation of North Africa in his book *Orientalist Aesthetics*. This academic work

analyses paintings such as Renoir's *Odalisque (An Algerian Woman)* in an expanded form of post-colonial theory. He discusses the differing range of European representation of North Africa in *Orientalist Aesthetics*. His work is based upon thorough research documenting all possible influencing factors that may play upon the artist. A large chapter of *Orientalist Aesthetics* is dedicated to the depiction of French Algeria, studying the social circles these travelling artists moved in whilst in Algeria, the suburbs they resided in, and their personal comments from journals and correspondence. Benjamin uses artist's statements in personal journals and correspondence to highlight how their interpretations of North Africa don't fit into the monolithic theories of Orientalism. It is one of the first major applications of Said's theories to Art History and a valuable addition to this discussion of Orientalism. One of the main benefits of the Benjamin's text is his recognition of works that don't fit within a narrow application of the post-colonial binary. It is a 'series of micro-studies' that explores the differing influences and aims that factor upon depictions of French North Africa by European artists (Benjamin 2003, 6). Benjamin's study is noticeably missing research on the work and life of Eugene Delacroix. He is often referenced due to his importance during this and subsequent periods, but is not studied as a singular artist. This paper aims to apply Benjamin's methodology of expanded post-colonial theory to the analysis of Eugene Delacroix's two paintings of *Femme d'Alger*.

The European fantasy of the exotic 'Orient' created a preconception of North Africa that influenced the interpretation of sensory information for travelling European artists, writers and tourists. The fantasy was not the imaginative musings of an individual but rather the collective development of a false idea perpetuated over many centuries. The interest in the cultures of the 'East' began as early as the seventeenth century with the Jesuits and the introduction of Chinese and Japanese art, culture, and language to the western world through travel and trade (Le Cesne 1994, 30). This cross-cultural transition ignited a fascination with all things foreign. From here many travel accounts, as well as pieces of literature and art were created. Some intentionally used North Africa as a *mise-en-scene* for their own imaginative fantasies. Though a number of writers and artists in this period intended to recreate accurate and unadorned depictions of North Africa and the Middle East they inherently ended up reinforcing existing cultural stereotypes. These works paraded fiction as fact and each assisted in developing, and

then validating, a false idea. Literary sources, such as *A Thousand and One Nights*, created a fantasy world of opulence filled with scheming sultans and vulnerable odalisques. In addition, many works including Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, 1721, and Carle Van Loo's 1705–1765 Ottoman style paintings such as *Sultana taking coffee*, reflect the development of the European fantasy of the 'Orient'. The tourism industry also assisted in propagating the myth through the creation and promotion of an idealised North Africa full of eroticism, mystery, and adventure. They profited from this fantasy by promoting a romanticised image of 'Authentic' North Africa to curious travellers (Archer 2010, 72). These fantasies permeated into literature and art, perpetuating a cycle of false representation. As the myth developed each subsequent work drew from the same sources, validating and in turn spreading the false theory. The fantasy varied between individual travellers and genders as some male artists and writer's eroticised female forms. Women still applied their own form of fantasy to the local women such as paralleling them to mythological beings, such as pretty fairies: 'As the fairy palaces of the Arabian Nights are real, so must be their fairy owners' (Roberts 2007, 66). While the fantasy varied between genders and individual travellers, the mysticism and fictional aspects remained the same. Eighteenth- and nineteenth- century artists and writers travelled to North Africa with preconceptions dictated by the European fantasy of the Orient¹ This fantasy has subconsciously permeated into Delacroix's depiction of the Algerian harem, particularly in his later 1847–49 version.

In addition to the desires for exoticism and fantasy, there were also more sinister imperialistic fantasies of ownership and forced subservience. The colonisation of Algeria in 1830 represented among other things a European desire to infiltrate and dictate control over the colonised people of Algeria. The desire to exert power expanded into the Algerian home. Scholars have discussed the European male perception that the private Algerian home, and the veiled Algerian woman, was the last remaining frontier to be conquered.² This imperialistic concept interpreted Algerian women as imprisoned by the

¹ Eugene Delacroix travelled to North Africa for 6 months as an accompanying artist to a political envoy. In 1832 he accompanied Charles Conte de Mornay on the diplomatic mission to establish friendly relations and negotiate a treaty with the Sultan of Morocco.

²The French colonised Algeria in 1830. Zeynep Celik compares the nineteenth century European male fascination with Muslim women, and their desire to uncover private spaces and unveil the women, with the coloniser's desire to conquer. She recognised in European literature that the Muslim female is the most

Algerian patriarchy, needing liberation from religious and cultural constraints through penetration of private spaces and unveiling of the female's faces and forms (Celik 1992, 71). This fascination with exposing the faces of Muslim women was a visible thread through the art and writings of travelling artists, tourists, and writers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Henry Fielding, and Jean-Leon Gerome. The author Malek Alloula explored this concept further. He highlighted the European travellers interpretation and desires for the Algerian women to be imprisoned as slaves within their own homes.³ This is mirrored in the reflections of the travelling Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier who described houses on quiet streets of Istanbul as 'perhaps ... prisons of odalisques' (Celik 1992, 71). This Western desire to infiltrate and conquer the 'last remaining frontier' has previously been applied by a number of scholars in their analysis of works by Orientalist painters, presuming that all artists have such negative desires.⁴ Although this was often the case, it should not be automatically assumed. By temporarily removing this assumption during analysis the variations in the depiction of Algerian women by Delacroix can be analysed, enabling the recognition of the amplification of such fantasies in Delacroix's later 1847–1849 version.

By expanding beyond a traditional post colonial analysis the variation in the depiction of the fantasy may be recognised. If one were to read Delacroix's two paintings *Women of Algiers* through a rigid postcolonial analysis the scene would be interpreted as the purposeful depiction of this false fantasy, influenced by Delacroix's own western desires. The assumption that all Orientalist artworks are purposely influenced by a deceptive exoticism can result in 'undercutting one's sense of realizing' (Jenkins 2012). The recognition of false fantasy is important, but should not overshadow the possibility that some form of realism, or attempted realism, may be embedded in the depiction.

Delacroix's two versions of *Femmes d'Alger* have been selected for this discussion because of their varying representation of the European fantasy over time, and the wealth

loaded symbol of Islam. Highlighting the colonialist concept that if the women were conquered, the core structure of Algerian society would also be destroyed (Celik 1992, 71).

³ The staging of photographs of Algerian women by Western photographers often placing eroticised women into sequestered situations by placing them behind metal bars, or locked away in rooms (Alloula 1986)

⁴ Most applications of Said's *Orientalism* have interpreted European depictions of North Africa as a negative desire to dictate control over the foreign culture.

of primary evidence. The first hand information in the form of journals, sketches, and correspondence informs us of the artist's interpretation and recollection of Algeria, and his desires in depiction. This primary evidence for Delacroix contradicts the assumption of a purposeful negative depiction in his 1834 painting. The journal from his Algerian trip records his desire to depict his surroundings in a realistic manner. His diary suggests he was in awe, and inspired, by his surroundings in Morocco and Algeria during his six-month trip. In his 1832 journal from North Africa he wrote:

I'm even sure that the considerable sum of curious information that I shall bring back from here will be of little use of me. Away from the land where I discovered them, such particulars will be like trees torn from their native soil; my mind will have forgotten it's impressions, and I shall distain to give a cold and imperfect rendering of the living and striking sublimity that lies all about one here, and staggers one with its reality (Le Cesne 1994).

Delacroix was aware of his fleeting ability to accurately remember the scenes he saw in North Africa and he endeavored to capture his surroundings through sketches to create a perfect rendering of Algeria and Morocco as he saw them. During his trip he filled fifteen small diaries as well as seven small sketchbooks.⁵ This attempt at realism is hinted at in the earlier 1834 painting where Delacroix has rendered the finer details of the painting in great detail. The necklaces of the women, the sumptuous silks, and the rich colours are all accurately depicted. Delacroix's sketches thoroughly catalogued the colours and objects of the scene so that he may better translate these sketches for a final work upon his return (Fig. 4 & Fig. 5).

Despite the artist's attempt at an authentic depiction of his surroundings in North Africa, his interpretation of Algerian culture and art was marred by the influence of the European fantasy of the Orient. Delacroix's interpretation of his surroundings in Algeria was distorted by his position as a foreigner previously exposed to the European myth of exoticism. As stated by the artist in his journal entries, he was fascinated and appreciated his surroundings in Algeria. On April 28, 1832 he wrote 'They are closer to nature in a thousand ways: their dress, the form of their shoes. And so beauty has a share in everything they make. As for us, in our corsets, our tight shoes, our ridiculous pinching

⁵ He also created an album of eighteen watercolours for his travelling companion, Charles Comte de Mornay, as a memento of the trip (Lemaire 2013, 212).

clothing, we are pitiful. The graces exact vengeance for our science' (Delacroix, et al. 1980, 122). However, he gravitated towards aspects of Moroccan and Algerian culture that paralleled and validated his western fantasy. In his correspondence back home to friends and family Delacroix's accounts retold aspects of real life that reflected his preconceived understandings. In a letter to Alexis de Tocqueville several years after his trip he reveals the influence that a previously read text had upon his perception of Algeria and Morocco:

Never in my life have I observed anything more bizarre than the first sight of Tangier. It is a tale out of the Thousand and One Nights ... A prodigious mix of races and costumes ... This whole world moves about with an activity that seems feverish. (Noon, et al. 2016, 25)

This book *Arabian Nights* (or Thousand and One Nights) had a profound influence on the European concept of the 'Orient'. Translated to French between 1704–1717, and then to English in 1885, it was immensely popular in both Britain and France in the eighteenth- and nineteenth- centuries. This book was a composite of fantasy tales of the east. The text had a profound influence on many travelling artists and writers. For the European reader it conjured a timeless world of exotic adventure filled with scheming sultans, sexualised odalisques, violence and abundant wealth. The tales stimulated the reader's imaginations and created preconceptions of a magical, exotic, realm. Mary Roberts highlights how a number of female travellers interpretations of the harem were framed through preconceptions developed from the *Arabian Nights*.⁶ Emily Hornby frequently referenced the text during her 1856 visit exclaiming: 'Our visit seemed very like a tale of the Arabian Nights' (Roberts 2007, 69). The book created a dream-like fantasy of the Orient, which added to the perpetual cycle of the Oriental fantasy.

Recently, there has been scholarly discussion suggesting that culturally charged objects were artistically inserted into the scene of Delacroix's two versions of *Femme's d'Alger*. A rigid analysis of the two works through post-colonialist theory interprets the depiction of North Africa by European artists as works bearing no resemblance to reality, influenced with stereotypes and images of fantasy. Previous analyses of Eugene Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger* have discussed the possibility of additions of symbolism into

⁶ Emily Hornby's visit to the harem of Riza Pasa in 1856 was framed by comparing her experience in Ottoman Istanbul back to the book (Roberts 2007).

the works. For example, scholars such as Thomas B. Cole have read the narghile pipe, charcoal burner, Islamic tiles and the sumptuous furnishings as stereotypical motifs inserted to set the scene.⁷ The addition of the narghile pipe has also been paralleled to other Orientalist works of a false fantasy such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres *Grande Odalisque* (Fig. 3).⁸ This overtly eroticised work bears little resemblance to reality and relies upon the false insertion of stereotypical objects such as the narghile pipe and the women's costuming to set the scene, adding mysticism and arousal through association to the exotic fantasy.⁹ Both the depiction of the figures, and the title, are colonialist representations of the European male fantasy.¹⁰ In such works the addition of the pipe was interpreted as a stereotypical setting of the scene as an exotic space of moral depravity. The nineteenth-century European viewer would likely parallel the females smoking to moral looseness, associating it with smoking hashish or opium. Previous scholarly analyses such as Mary Harper have linked the paintings *Women of Algiers* and *Grande Odalisque* as mutually colonialist works due to the addition of the motifs (Ma 2011, 8). However, this assumption runs the risk of categorising the works under a single construct, assuming the same intensity of colonialist thought.

Although these culturally charged objects appear in Delacroix's *Femme's d'Alger*, their representation slightly varies in comparison to the work of his peers. These objects do evoke the stereotypes of the 'East'. The rich silk fabrics, ornate Islamic tiles, the narghile pipe, and the jewellery of the women set the *mise-en-scene* of the 'exotic orient'. Although these objects were often added to paintings to create the exotic fantasy, evidence suggests that they might have been part of the scene Delacroix viewed. In

⁷ Thomas B. Cole interprets the addition of the narghile pipe as a false addition in the aims of setting the scene, as well as the connotation of moral depravity through the depiction of smoking hashish or opium. This had negative perceptions for the nineteenth century European viewer (Cole 2011, 1).

⁸ The scholar Mary J. Harper compared Delacroix's addition of the narghile pipe and charcoal burner to the same addition in *Grande Odalisque* by Ingres (Figure 3). She paralleled the addition the pipe in this work to Ingres setting of the scene with stereotypical Oriental props.

⁹ Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), Jean-Leon Gerome (1824-1904) and Auguste Renoir (1841-1919) are just a small number of artists who created a purposefully objectifying representation of the North African harem. The women are often westernised and the artists use stereotypical motifs to set the scene (Lemaire 2013, 242).

¹⁰ Delacroix's contemporaries, such as Ingres, used fetishised words such as 'odalisque' and 'Harem', in their titles. Delacroix's titles are noticeably absent of such impassioned words. He opts for the more neutral terms of apartment and women. His shift in title and depiction from his contemporaries does not reflect the absence of colonialist thought but it does suggest a desire for a more sensitive depiction.

Algeria in 1832 Delacroix created two sketches of the Algerian harem.¹¹ They contain both the narghile pipe and the charcoal burner (Fig. 4 & Fig. 5). In addition, Charles Cornault's recount of Delacroix's visit to the Algerian harem also referenced the appearance of the pipe. He recalled that in preparation for the artists visit: 'The wife, warned by her husband, prepared pipes and coffee, donned her finest dress, and waited, sitting on a couch [for their arrival]' (Archer 2010, 77). However, the validity of this quote is questionable and it should be treated cautiously.¹² As discussed by Roberts, the *narghile pipe* and charcoal burner were objects that were often used in Algeria, and regularly appeared in the harems of elite society.¹³ Together this information presents a possible argument that the objects did exist as part of Delacroix's glimpsed scene. It is by no means enough evidence for a definitive argument but rather opens the discussion.

By recognising the possible realism in the depiction of these objects we can identify the rendering of these objects in finer detail in comparison to the rest of the scene. Regardless of whether the objects were real or inserted, Delacroix has amplified them through attention to detail in comparison to his representation of the rest of the scene. In the 1834 version Delacroix painted the clothing and adornments of the women, and the Islamic aspects of design, with an emphasis on detail. This emphasis reflects his personal fixation on the objects. By recognising the possible realism of these objects it enables the reader to recognise the emphasis of detail upon these stereotypical objects. Delacroix's attempt at realism is ultimately only partially fulfilled due to his personal adaption of the scene through amplification of culturally charged objects. This depiction can be seen as a form of 'counterfeit realism', where an image displays specks of truthfulness to validate and mask the fantasy of the work.¹⁴

¹¹ Delacroix was invited to enter the harem of an Algerian port official when he was in Algeria for three days in 1832.

¹² The quote is not directly from Eugene Delacroix's diaries or letters. Instead it is a recount of Delacroix's visit through a third party, and it should be treated cautiously. The flaws in this text as a source are discussed by Harper (1996, 54).

¹³ Roberts discusses the stereotypical associations of the pipe with the perceived sexual abandon of the females of the harem, and the dominant perceptions of smoking among British society (2007, 75).

¹⁴ The term was created by the scholar Malek Alloula in his description of fictional works that use small, superficial aspects of realism to bolster a scene as without it a 'whole endeavor would degenerate into gratuitous fantasy' (Alloula 1986, 52).

Analysing Orientalist paintings through an expanded post-colonial context enables the identification of additions of realism to support the European fantasy of the 'Orient'. Melek Alloula's *The Colonial Harem*, explores the concept of counterfeit realism in colonialist photographs and postcards of Algerian women. Investigating the representation of the women, Alloula explains how an ethnographic alibi is constructed through the addition of small aspects of truth (Alloula 1986, 52). In addition, this work explores the colonialist photographer's repetitive depiction of the harem, a space that the European male would not usually have access to. It can be argued that counterfeit realism is occurring within Delacroix's two paintings *Femmes d'Alger* through the artist's use of aspects of realism to bolster the scene. Delacroix's earlier stated desire for an honest rendering is ultimately a 'half-conscious articulation' of realism (Nochlin 1971, 105). His implantation and amplification of exoticism, either purposefully or subconsciously, reflects his desire to separate what he saw in Algeria in 1832 with his fantasy preconceptions of the exotic 'Orient'. A relative lack of privity and sensitive understanding of the subject matter could account for his failure to fully comprehend the subject matter.

It is perhaps this lack of complete understanding that accounts for Delacroix's amplification of detail. This is evident in other nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings. Without being able to examine such private spaces in real life these works often had large voids in narrative.¹⁵ Such works fail to portray a strong story line, instead depicting North African men and women as stagnant forms failing to engage with one another. In her analysis of John-Frederick Lewis's paintings, Roberts discusses the lack of narrative and depiction of cultural customs in the artist's paintings of the harems of Istanbul (2007, 21). She links the noticeable absence of any social narrative to the artist's lack of understanding of the private space. Barred from penetrating the harem, Lewis was unable to depict the social interactions of the space from personal experience. This resulted in stagnant narratives in his harem paintings. Robert's interpreted Lewis' elaborate decoration as a form of counterfeit realism, applied to strengthen his work and validate its authenticity through an honest depiction of the decorative aspects of the scene.

¹⁵ A small number of travelling female artists were allowed to visit the Harems of elite society. They recounted their visits by creating literature and artworks inspired by their experience. A small number of male travellers also visited brothels, and looked through peepholes, but this scene would have been dramatically different to the private harems of typical Algerian society (Rahmlow 2011–2012, 153).

In relation to Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* there also appears to be a bolstering of the scene through attempted realism. The artist amplifies certain aspects through a more precise rendering. Culturally charged objects such as the women's ethnic clothing and the interior décor are empathised through attention to detail. It's possible that Delacroix's one glimpse into the Algerian harem failed to provide a solid understanding of the social space. Delacroix was only in Algeria for three days and his visit to the Algerian harem was likely but a glimpse (Khanna 2008, 150). The harem was an active space and the hub of the household for the Algerian female. This active space is depicted in Henriette Brown's 1861 painting of a Constantinople harem, *Une Visite (Interieur de Harem, Constantinople, 1860)*. It depicts the busy, bustling nature of the harem. The women are depicted partaking in day-to-day life, conversing with friends and attending to their children. In comparison Delacroix's portrays the women in *Femme's d'Algers* as stagnant figures. Depictions of realistic harem social interactions are noticeably absent in both versions of Delacroix's *Women of Algiers*, in particular the later 1847–49 painting. In the first version the women are portrayed as motionless figures, rather than living autonomous individuals. There is a small depiction of in the autonomy from the woman in the left hand corner. She looks towards the viewer with a strong stare, perhaps due to the intrusion of the private space by the male European artists. In the later 1845–7 painting these small aspects of narrative are lost. In this version the women do not converse or appear to recognise one another. Instead they are resigned to being inert figures, as though they are waiting for the arrival of the viewer. Although it is enhanced in the later work, both paintings reflect a void in narrative. This is possibly due to a void in understanding. Aspects of realism have ultimately been used to validate the fantasy, and bolster the voids of narrative, within the painting.

The small aspect of narrative in the original 1834 painting resides mainly in the depiction of the autonomy of the seated female. Her resistance to the artist's intrusion, and the removal of this emotion in the later work is a small but important shift in Delacroix's depiction of the Algerian women. The visual display of emotion by the reclining woman can only be recognised through analysing the work through an expanded form of post-colonial theory. By recognising this small appearance of

autonomy in the earlier work, the reader can in turn identify the removal of the autonomy of the females in the later work.

The small shift in representation signifies a change in the artist's recollection of visual information, and their desires in representation. The strong, challenging stare of the reclining woman in the original 1834 painting is a display of female autonomy. Her face reflects her hostility towards the penetration of the private space by the European male artist. This small appearance of autonomy by no means signifies the artists desire to represent the women as completely autonomous individuals without objectification or underlying desires of ownership. The 1834 painting *Femmes d'Alger* also contains elements of the typical imperialistic harem. However, it is important to recognise this small aspect of narrative and female autonomy, especially to recognise the removal of these aspects in the later 1847–49 painting.

The variation in the depiction of narrative, and the autonomy of the females, highlights the changes in recollection that an artist may encounter through the passage of time. Through an expanded post-colonial analysis, the viewer can identify the artist's removal of the women's sovereignty. In the second 1847–1849 painting the Algerian women no longer communicate any unease towards the penetration of the space. Instead the reclining woman on the left now invites the viewer closer with a suggestive, beckoning smile. She has become objectified as her décolletage is exposed through her loose clothing, revealing her naked form underneath. The women have been reduced to a less assertive size and they fall back into the space. The room itself has been transformed from the light filled space of the earlier painting into a dark cloistered room that evokes a feeling of imprisonment. The relative autonomy of the woman in the original painting has now been removed. The black slave who was previously in motion moving across the room now merely acts as a prop, assisting the objectification by pulling back the curtain to better reveal the women. These changes alter the scene from the attempted realism in the 1834 version into a work of fantasy.

While postcolonial analysis enables the identification of colonialist ideas in both of Delacroix's works, it does not enable recognition of the aspects of realism (or attempted realism) in the earlier work. Delacroix's second painting contains similarities to the

original, but differs from its precursor in many significant details. It is only through expanding post-colonial analysis that the similarities and differences between the two works becomes apparent, enabling the recognition of the influence of time, nostalgia, and the European fantasy upon the second work. The changes of the second painting can be attributed to the influences of nostalgia and the perils that re-imagination play upon recollection. Roberts discusses the dangers of reminiscing when attempting to depict realism, stating that memory ‘has a fictional dimension, it can be constructed, represented, and reestablished with nostalgia playing an important role in its retrospective evocation’ (Roberts 2007, 10). Delacroix himself recognised the influence of nostalgia upon his recollections of North Africa. He wrote in his journal in 1853 that:

I began to make something tolerable of my African journey only when I had forgotten the trivial details and remembered nothing but the striking and poetic side of the subject. Up to that time I had been haunted by this passion for accuracy that most people mistake for truth (Zieve 2009, 4).

Delacroix was aware of the shift in depiction in his later painting, but he saw it as a positive move. His depiction of the women has moved away from attempted realism into the depiction of fantasy, ultimately creating a more whimsical and emotive painting but also overly sexualised and objectified the women. A rigid application of post-colonial theory masks the important differences between Delacroix’s two works, such as the influence of nostalgia upon the later 1847–49 painting.¹⁶ Analysing colonial artworks through a rigid, preconceived binary can create gaps in analysis. It collapses the analysis into two separate factions: the depiction of the oppressed and the depiction of resistance, and fails to address any convergence from these positions. This can narrow the analysis into only discussing aspects of the art that validate these preconceptions. Expanding the binary theory can create a more sensitive analysis, revealing the variations between two orientalist works that both show aspects of imperialism and objectification.

Through an expanded form of post-colonial theory one can recognise the web of influences that affected Eugene Delacroix’s depiction of Algerian women in *Femmes d’Alger*. The depiction of North Africa by European artists during the nineteenth century

¹⁶ The scholar Jeff Karem discusses the possible flaws of postcolonial theory in his article ‘On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Postcolonial Theory for Pan-American Study’ (Karem 2001)

was convoluted with the sway of the artist's position as a foreigner, their European social milieu, and previous exposure to a fantasy interpretation of North Africa. Delacroix's documented personal desires for realism were ultimately only semi-articulated in his 1834 version due to his habitus. His later 1847–1849 version of the same scene is an even greater deviation from his original aims due to the influence of nostalgia and time upon the artist's personal recollection of visual information. As an artist of the romanticist period his amplification of fantasy was ultimately interpreted as a positive creative move. Through an analysis of these two works and the primary evidence of the artists desires, one can recognise that the influences in the nineteenth-century depiction of North Africa was at times more complex than purely imperialistic desires of ownership.

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Appendix

Figure 1



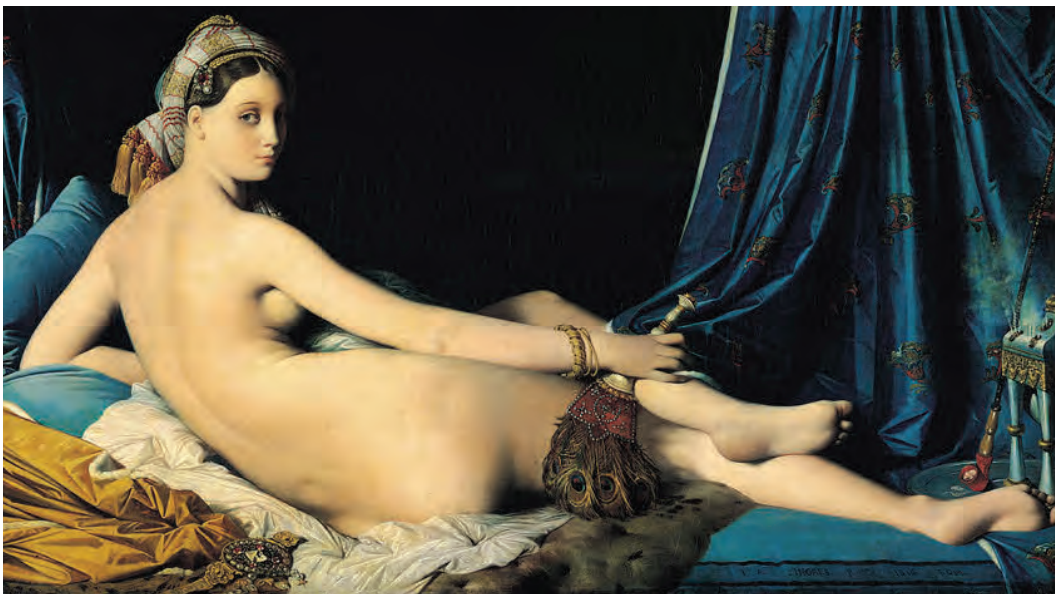
Eugene Delacroix 1834
Femmes d'Alger dans leur Appartement
Oil on Canvas; 1.80m x 2.29m
Musee du Louvre, France

Figure 2



Eugene Delacroix c. 1847–1849
Femmes D'Alger dans leur Appartement
Oil on Canvas; 111.13 x 84.14 cm
Musee du Fabre, France

Figure 3



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres 1814
Grande Odalisque
Oil on canvas; 91 x 162 cm
Musee du Louvre

Figure 4



Eugene Delacroix 1832
Two Arab Women Seated (Study for Algerian Women in Their Apartments)
Watercolor over graphite drawing; 10.7 x 13.8 cm
Musee du Louvre, Paris

Figure 5



Eugene Delacroix 1832
The Women of Algiers (Study)
Watercolor over graphite drawing; 10 x 13 cm
Musee du Louvre, Paris

Section II: Opinion

Sino-American Nuclear Relations: The Need for Calm as China Becomes A 21st Century Nuclear State

By Jarrod Fraser

ABSTRACT: The re-emergence of China as an economic powerhouse has given it new levels of boldness in claiming what it sees as its rightful territory in the South and East China Seas. China's claims have been seen by many in the United States and Asia as a policy of expansionism, comparable to Imperialist Japan in 1932-45. These disputes have coincided with the modernisation of China's nuclear forces. However Sino-American relations can be managed despite ongoing tensions in Asia. This article will make a number of recommendations to build Sino-American relations whilst China undergoes its nuclear modernisation and mutually fuelled Sino-American security fears.

Chinese Nuclear Doctrine and Modernisation

China has been modernising its nuclear forces to catch up to the other nuclear weapon states. China perceives modernisation as allowing it to safeguard its economic growth. The US has perceived China's modernisation and territorial disputes as trying to create a Soviet Union-style buffer between it and the West. The US has been trying to counter this by re-engaging in the region to defend the rules-based global order which is nested in US primacy. China has subsequently perceived the US as a foreign power trying to interfere with Asian affairs, similar to nineteenth-century European colonial powers.

China's past nuclear doctrine has been governed by a No-First-Use policy. China's force was designed to be strong enough to ensure that it could prevent another state from using its nuclear weapons to coerce it as occurred during the first Taiwan Straits Crisis. The US was able to threaten the use of nuclear weapons to discourage China from invading Taiwan. China's nuclear forces needed to be large enough to inflict an unacceptable level of damage. This would prevent coercion while utilising the fewest number of weapons possible, a strategy known as minimum deterrence. Minimum deterrence suited the perception held by Chinese leaders, such as Mao Zedong, who believed that nuclear

weapons were predominantly suitable for preventing nuclear coercion. China has omitted the No-First-Use principle from its recent Defence White Paper creating a concern its nuclear posture will become more offensive.

As China modernises its forces, other Asian states are unsure if China will maintain a minimum deterrence posture, or evolve its policy to support its perceived expansionism. A change in nuclear doctrine will require a change in China's force composition. China's nuclear forces had been predominantly land-based, consisting mostly of de-mated warheads for medium and long-range missile systems. A new force composition would dissipate deployment of nuclear weapons across aircraft and submarines to ensure they could survive an attempted disarming first strike by China's adversaries. It is unknown, however who will have the authority to launch a retaliatory strike if the Chinese government has been destroyed. Mutual stability is lost as it relies on both parties understanding what could start a nuclear conflict and therefore what must be avoided.

There has been an ongoing review of Chinese nuclear doctrine to increase mobility reliability readiness, accuracy and the size of the force. The new doctrine would be facilitated by new missile technology guidance systems and delivery platforms like submarines. Given the current Sino-American tensions over disputes in Asia, managing the relationship to prevent the escalation of an arms race becomes important to avoid further straining the relationship. Managing the perceptions of the other therefore becomes crucial.

Current Climate

The modernisation of China's nuclear forces may have less to do with the US and more with China's need to modernise. Political scientist Jeffrey Lewis stated, 'if China's modernization seems unusual, perhaps it is because China is only now completing the deployment capabilities that other countries have possessed for decades' (Lewis 204). Though the timing of these events makes developments look offensive, China's nuclear forces have been playing catch-up with the US. Instead of China trying to prepare itself for expansion, a more realistic interpretation is that it is trying to not be left behind amongst major nuclear powers. Although this modernisation coincides with Chinese President Xi

Jinping's 'period of strategic opportunity' of 2000–20, China is aware a Sino-American war would be disastrous for its economy population and national development.

In the past, nuclear relations have been guided by the mutual assurance of retaliation. Even if one side can cripple most of its adversary's nuclear weapons, it will still be able to inflict disproportionate casualties on the other through retaliatory nuclear strikes. Strategic stability is created as no side wishes to suffer a nuclear attack; this exists despite the distinct US nuclear superiority with 7,100 nuclear weapons to China's 260 (Arms Control Assoc.). States have cemented strategic stability by introducing arms limitation and non-proliferation treaties to develop trust and mutually reduce nuclear weapons and associated delivery systems. If a state can limit the damage that the other can inflict, for example through an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defence system to shoot down incoming nuclear missiles, that state develops an advantage and strategic stability lessens. The reinvigoration of the US ABM system creates fear within China that the US will no longer be held back by the fear of China's strike capabilities. China fears that without its retaliatory capabilities, the US will coerce China to prevent it from claiming its perceived rightful territory in Asia.

Nuclear proliferation academic Dingli Shen states that, 'As proliferation *per se* is a response to threat perception, to render non-proliferation successful it has to address national security without nuclear weaponry' (Shen 2008, 651). Thus, to prevent Sino-American disputes from escalating to nuclear levels in a potential fourth Taiwan Straits Crisis, mutual security fears need to be solved. The author will make a number of recommendations to help manage the Sino-American nuclear relations.

Recommendations

Both China and the US need to acknowledge the necessity of addressing mutual security concerns. The US and China need to recognise the escalating tension between them and engage diplomatically on issues such as the South and East China Sea. China has often refused to recognise the authority of international arbitration for territorial disputes in areas such as the Spratly/Nansha Islands. If both sides are not able to develop meaningful diplomatic engagement over these issues, the two sides could continue down a path of continued escalation, or enter into a stability/instability paradox. The Sino-American

stability/instability paradox might be similar to the India-Pakistan paradox that would likely see an increase in low-level conflict without nuclear escalation. There has already been low-level conflict during US Freedom-of-Navigation Operations and Chinese land reclamation projects. A miscalculation in resolving a Sino-American crisis could, unlike the India-Pakistan relationship, lead to a major conflict carrying the high risk of nuclear weapons devastation. Continued Sino-American engagement does not need to involve large deals or treaties immediately however the two states need to increase bilateral conferences, talks, and visits for mutual issues. This would develop a cooperative diplomatic environment where the two states could begin resolving political disputes.

The establishment of a Sino-American presidential hotline, similar to the Russo-American presidential hotline, would be crucial for facilitating crisis management. There is currently a hotline between the US Department of Defence and Chinese Ministry of National Defence, as well as a number of cross-military engagements. Though Sino-American bilateral military exchanges are significant, the relations built to facilitate crisis management may not be enough. The creation of this hotline is a public gesture for the commitment of addressing mutual security concerns and facilitates direct communication between leaders. This direct communication becomes particularly important as withdrawing embassy staff and ambassadors has long been a diplomatic tool for escalation to signal resolve during a crisis. The hotline would allow direct communication to be maintained even while crisis tensions are at their highest.

Negotiations

The final recommendation would be development of a Sino-American led Nuclear Arms Limitation Treaty Both the US and China have made their commitment to Asia public. Sino-American cooperation is therefore going to be needed to decrease tensions and limit the potential for nuclear escalation. If diplomatic momentum can be created and maintained through bilateral engagement, nuclear cooperation and trust-building, the two states can move towards an arms limitation treaty which should be supported by non-proliferation organisations. As states have broader security concerns, the success of a Sino-American treaty would rest upon either contributing towards resolving regional disputes prior to the treaty or the creation of a 'grand bargain'

A 'grand bargain' might be similar to that struck in the late 1970s where the US recognised the authority the government of mainland China instead of the Republic of China (known as Taiwan). In exchange, China agreed to not challenge US primacy in Asia. A future 'grand bargain' would need to address both China's fear of a potential limitation to its economic growth and the US fears of Chinese development undermining US primacy in Asia. A treaty otherwise may require the US to permanently abolish its ABM defence system in exchange for limitations on Chinese nuclear stockpile size.

Conclusion

If the Sino-American relationship can adapt its bilateral engagement by recognising mutual security issues, the relationship may be able to transition towards strategic stability. Though this may seem like a short-sighted goal, it is focused on real-world feasibility and is fundamental if the relationship is to move towards anything resembling cooperation or peace. The previously mentioned recommendations have highlighted the need for Sino-American engagement. Sino-American nuclear relations can be managed despite the current environment, where neither side trusts the other. Three means of managing this are creating a cooperative non-proliferation environment, creating a Sino-American presidential hotline and establishing a Sino-American led Nuclear Arms Limitation Treaty that also addresses mutual security concerns.

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Section III: Creative Writing

Evening Air

By Nicholas Antoniak

Evening air settles thin on the quieter side of a second hand's flirtation with three. Eyes, choosing to abandon dreams, are left alone on mattresses dressed only in single white sheets. In the night, the windowsill of 412 frames a face and titles it 'Perplexed'. Look at its gaze. How it moves between the swing set and its rust soaked skin. The radio tower resting on the pinnacle of the towns stone and dirt, and the light emanating from buildings not yet succumbed to sleep. The rays make the pavement glow an early shade of dawn. The face, belonging to Simon James Kingston, produced jointly by Amelia Thorne Kingston and (the late) Robert Dave Kingston lowers the corner of its lips a barely discernible amount. For a moment, you'd think it was about to cry.

He lent down, arms encasing a wiry frame. Felt as though a grip any tighter might have shattered her brittle bones so he was tender, and though it was his hands that rested on a spine covered by nothing more than skin, he did it mostly to comfort himself. Past the opaque window and murky blinds pulled tightly shut, the world had almost fallen still. Brittle winds, the only things that moved, rushing through alleyways, touching upon the rusted lids of old garbage cans before continuing into a night that seemed held by nothing more than the tones of grey, which coloured its skies. Slowly, he began to say goodbye.

In October, dull light broke beneath the doorway fracturing listless sleep. The months had passed in heavy, quick strides and Simon James had not gone with them. Dishes stacked themselves precariously in crooked piles amongst loose change, empty pill packets, and the card his Mother sent last Christmas reaffirming her seemingly unconditional love and belief. The year had gone. Lost itself within the dull hum of the television screen and movements pale, slow and dead. The only thing he had done of note

in all this time was bear witness to a meteor shower from the East. Wrapped himself in cotton blankets as the fading, bright lights fell from the sky above.

On the counter Simon placed his wristwatch, identification, and an apology scrawled on paper ripped from the confines of an exercise book, stained with the remnants of day old coffee. He ventured outside, down the concrete steps and onto the lawn. Standing there, he could've sworn he heard it. Through the earth. Through the gumtrees stationed on sunburnt hills. The freshly cut suburban lawns, rows of perfectly trimmed hedges, TV dinners on Friday nights, and families arguing behind closed doors. Everything that had been left behind on the nights when the raucous noises inside his head had stopped him from seeing them. They sang.

A woman passed your house later that evening, stopping to appreciate your neighbours Petunias on her way home from work. She had always admired their deep shade of purple. Glancing up, she noticed the stillness of your four walls. Shrugged it off as nothing. Didn't know. Couldn't have. She hadn't seen you pack belongings into a bag. The way your left hand twitched apprehensively as you turned the key. The final look you had taken, to say goodbye, and the way a face pressed against the cold glass of a train leaving for the furthest station on the map.

Radiance: A Review

By Matthew Clifford

In 1991, when Rhoda Roberts and Lydia Miller went looking for a playwright to help redefine the role of Aboriginal women in theatre, they sought out the well-renowned non-indigenous playwright Louis Nowra. They asked for a theatrical effort that would showcase the emotional and intellectual depth of Aboriginal women and stand in stark contrast from the racial profiling of Aboriginals in theatre as drunkards or victims of abuse. Now, almost 25 years later, Leah Purcell's revival of Belvoir's original *Radiance* is an elegant, moving, and striking effort that unites by not just showcasing Indigenous issues, but by exposing the pain and struggles of the human experience; in particular the way we deal with the ghosts from our past.

Through the story of three distant half-sisters returning to their family home for their mother's funeral, the play explores the effect of a fraught upbringing on one's identity. Mae (Shari Sebbens) is a sullen figure blinded by resentment and insecurity, whose anger stems from being left alone to tend to her difficult and dying mother. Cressy (Leah Purcell) is a successful Opera singer who has moved to London as a coping mechanism, whilst Nona (Miranda Tapsell) is a quixotic, sexualised and insouciant spirit who appears apathetic to the opinions of others. The sister's only bond is the dark wraith of their childhood, and Nowra's emphasis on these contrasting characterisations is the driving force behind the tension in the play, highlighted beautifully by Purcell's direction of her actors.

Purcell cleverly emphasises the character's reliance on their imaginations to reconstruct their childhood identities, suggesting that all that these sisters can helplessly clasp onto for any essence of family are lies, unsubstantiated hopes, and white washed memories. But it is when the sisters seek a fiery reprisal for their broken past that Purcell's production gains true power and might. Truths are exposed and Purcell demonstrates that the revealing of secrets and the resultant acceptance is the only way that the disconnected sisters can enter adulthood, and rekindle the only family they have left; each other.

Purcell highlights the disjointed lives of the sisters by placing them apart, rarely touching or sharing the same part of the stage. When Cressy reveals her true relationship with her father, peering out across the mudflats, forcibly fixated on the billowing wind and waves, she stands alone, not daring to turn back and face her siblings. Toward the end of the play Purcell cleverly subverts these early directorial choices. The sisters stand as one, the flames of their childhood home illuminating their faces as they put the past behind them; Purcell's final image suggesting that familial connections are the true pathway to forgiveness.

Purcell is blessed to have some of Australia's most promising young actors on board. Tapsell brilliantly captures the youthful energy that defines the character of Nona. Sebben's bottled resentment for her siblings in the first act is highly confronting and moving, despite her reinvention for the second act not being quite sufficient to overcome her character's previous indignation and to fully embrace Purcell's vision of forgiveness and reconciliation. If there was one quibble, however, Purcell's role as both a director and actor has made her performance self-conscious and sometimes one-dimensional. Whilst Sebbens and Tapsell become truly lost in their roles, we never forget that Purcell, the director, is hiding behind the face of Mae throughout the production.

Dale Ferguson's set design for *Radiance* is brave and ultimately successful. Nowra shows his interest in the natural world as the holder and releaser of suffering through the symbolically powerful setting of the Queensland mud flats that brings the sisters back to their childhood milieu. Ferguson separates the stage into two halves with one for each act, with the back half dominated by the splintered, wooden verandah of a family home, whilst the front of the stage is crafted beautifully as the cold, shallow rock pools of the Queensland mud flats. The distance between the audience and the actors in the first act serves to remind the audience of the ignorance and desensitisation we have towards the pain and livelihood of others. Ferguson breaks down this distance barrier in the second act, allowing the characters to spill onto the rock pools, creating a more intimate atmosphere as the play dramatically unfolds.

Ferguson's costume design is relatively simple but appropriately so. Whilst Mae's conservatism is represented through her longer, more traditional dress, Nona's idealism and youth is conveyed through her more provocative outfits. Damien Cooper's lighting

design stylishly captures the transition between night and day, mimicking the sun's movement and bolstering the production's close relationship with the natural world, and providing symbolic depth to the production by following the sister's journey from emotional darkness to a sense of light and renewed hope.

It is hard to imagine that Nowra's original could have had more depth and pain than is uncovered in this production. Through the emotional ordeals, hurts, adversities and surprising humour of these women, the audience feels the complexity, substance and depth we all share with them. From the outset, this production was never meant to be inherently Indigenous, and speaks to many cultures and backgrounds. It instills a sense of invigoration about the human experience and shows the unstoppable powers of those who wish to overcome, place their pasts behind them, and rise to become greater. It is in this way that *Radiance* emits its true light.

Section IV: Visual Arts

20 Minutes Faces

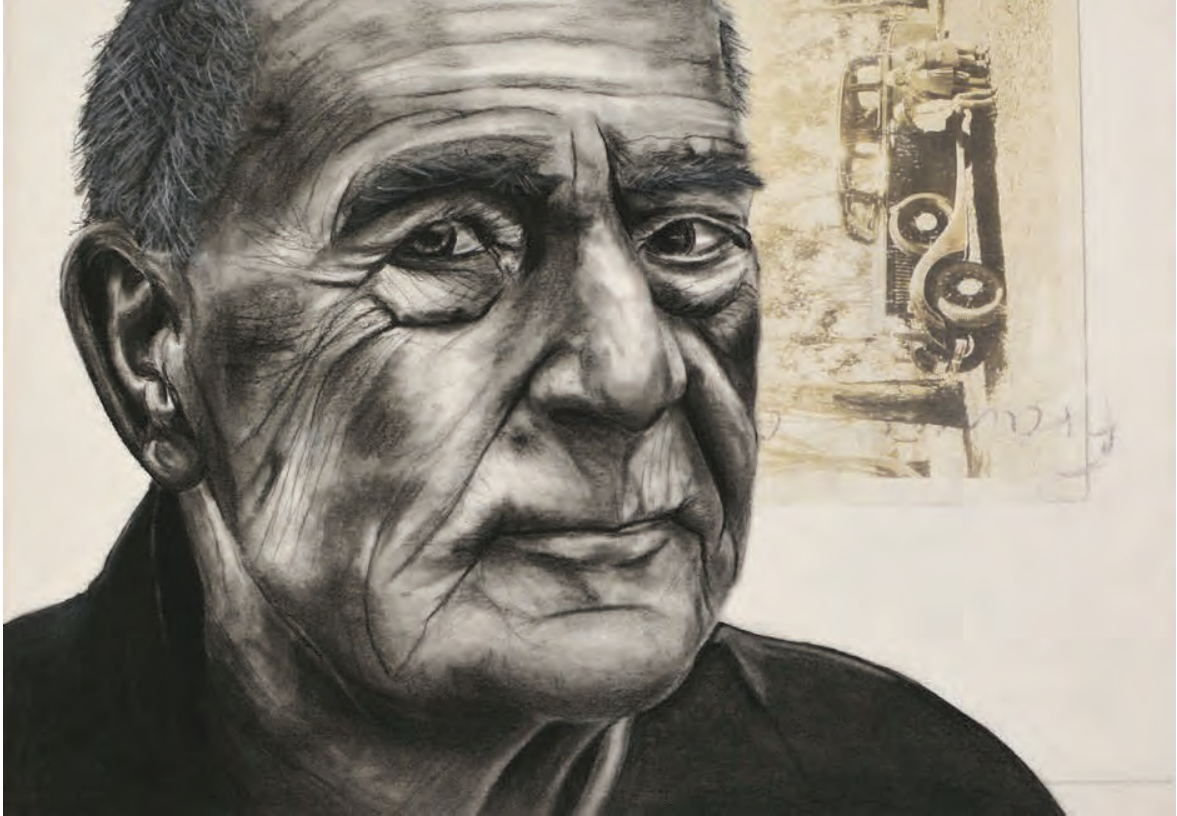
By Kate Garrow



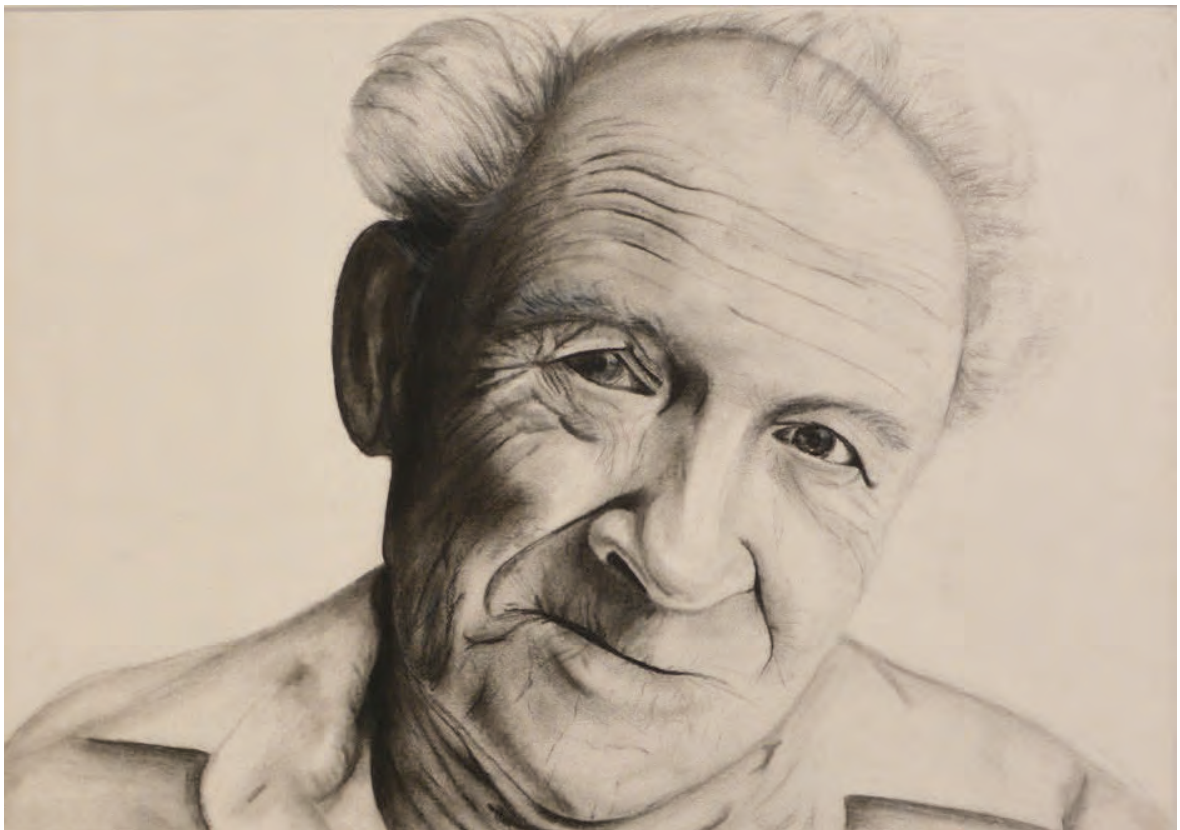
Coloured Pencil on Paper; 35 x 45cm
2016

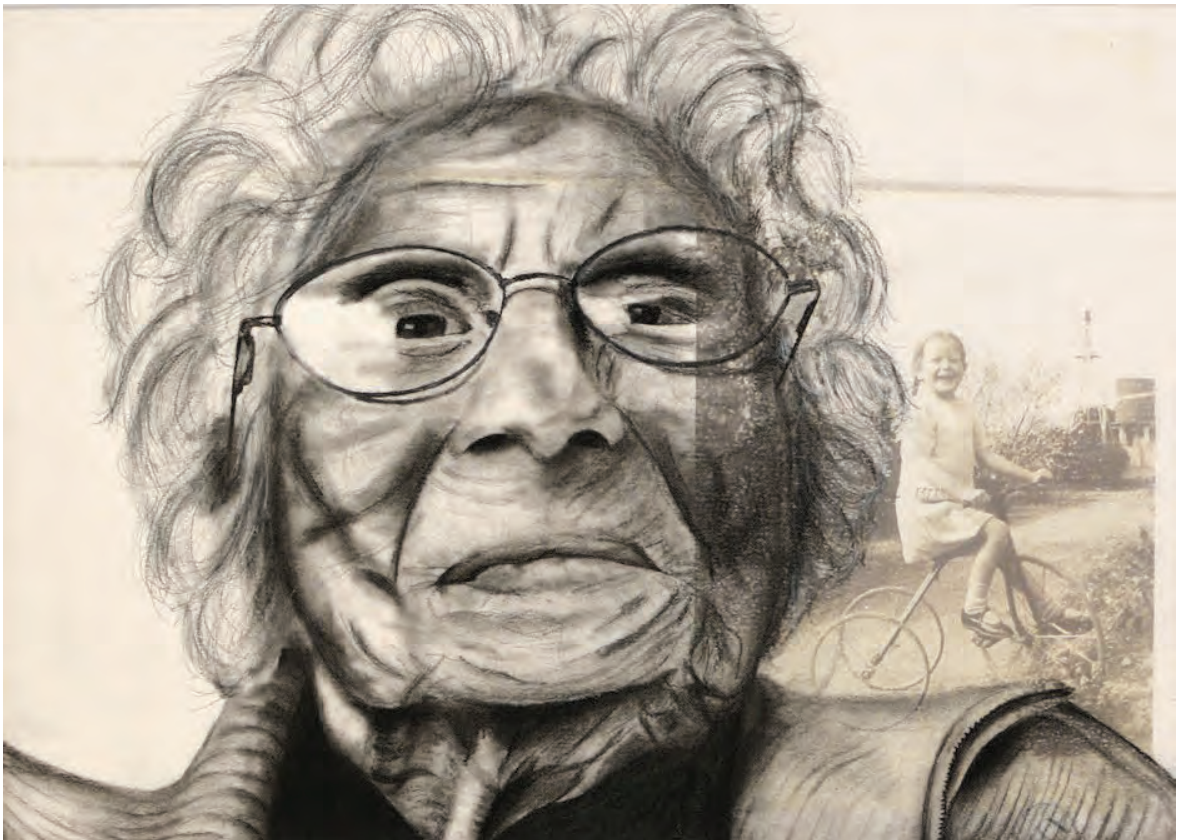
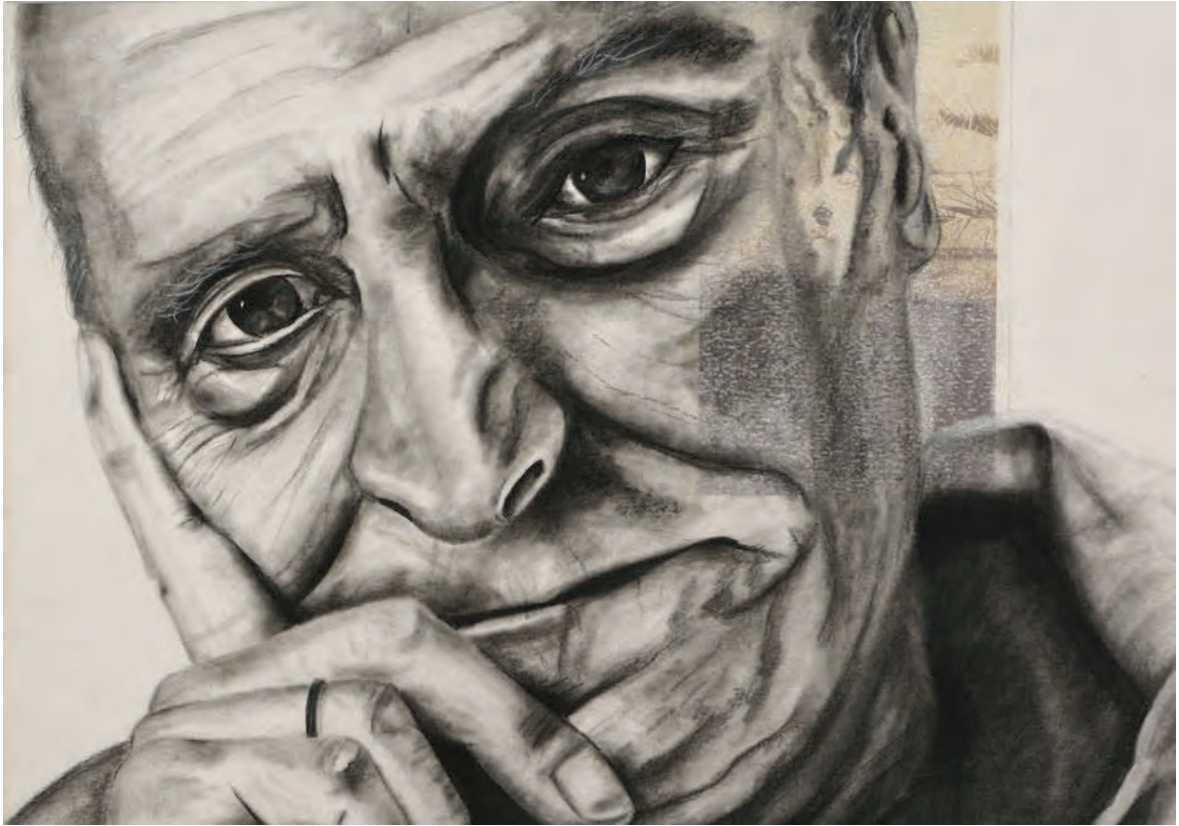
Fading into the Night (I-XVII)

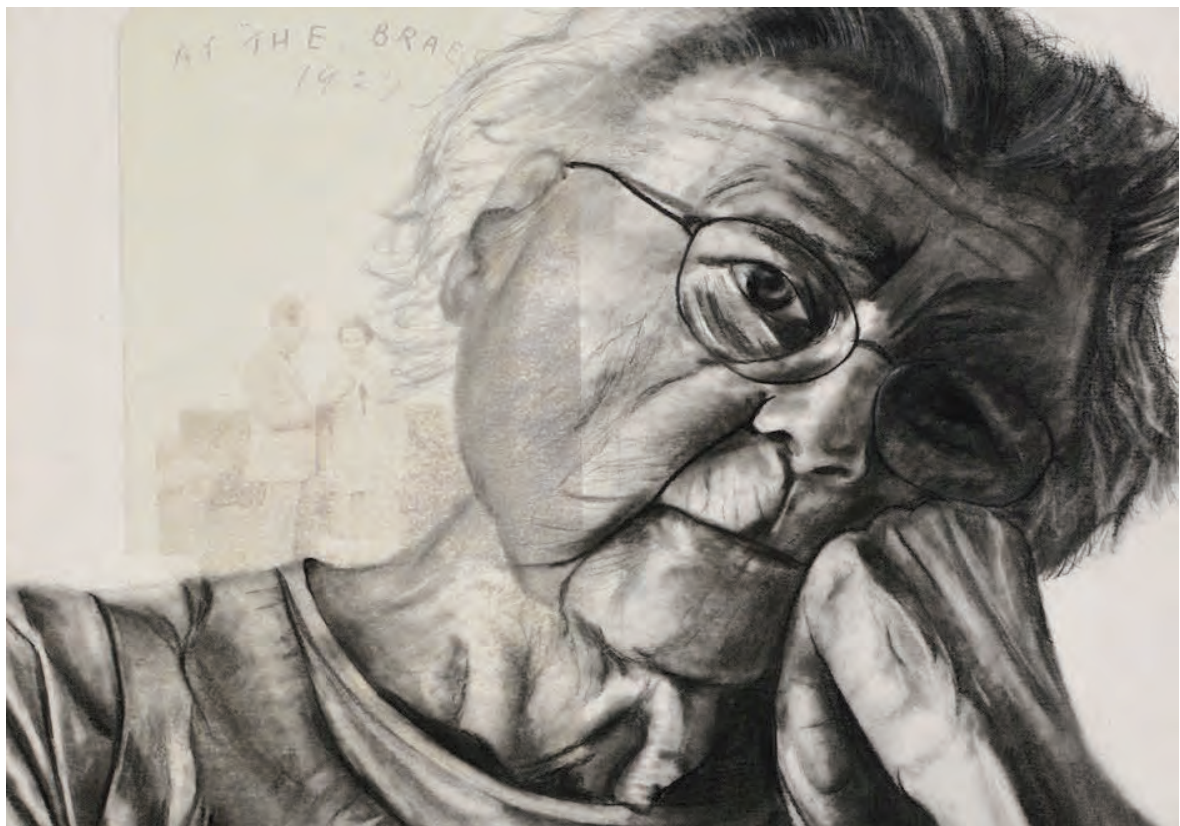
By Hannah Merchant

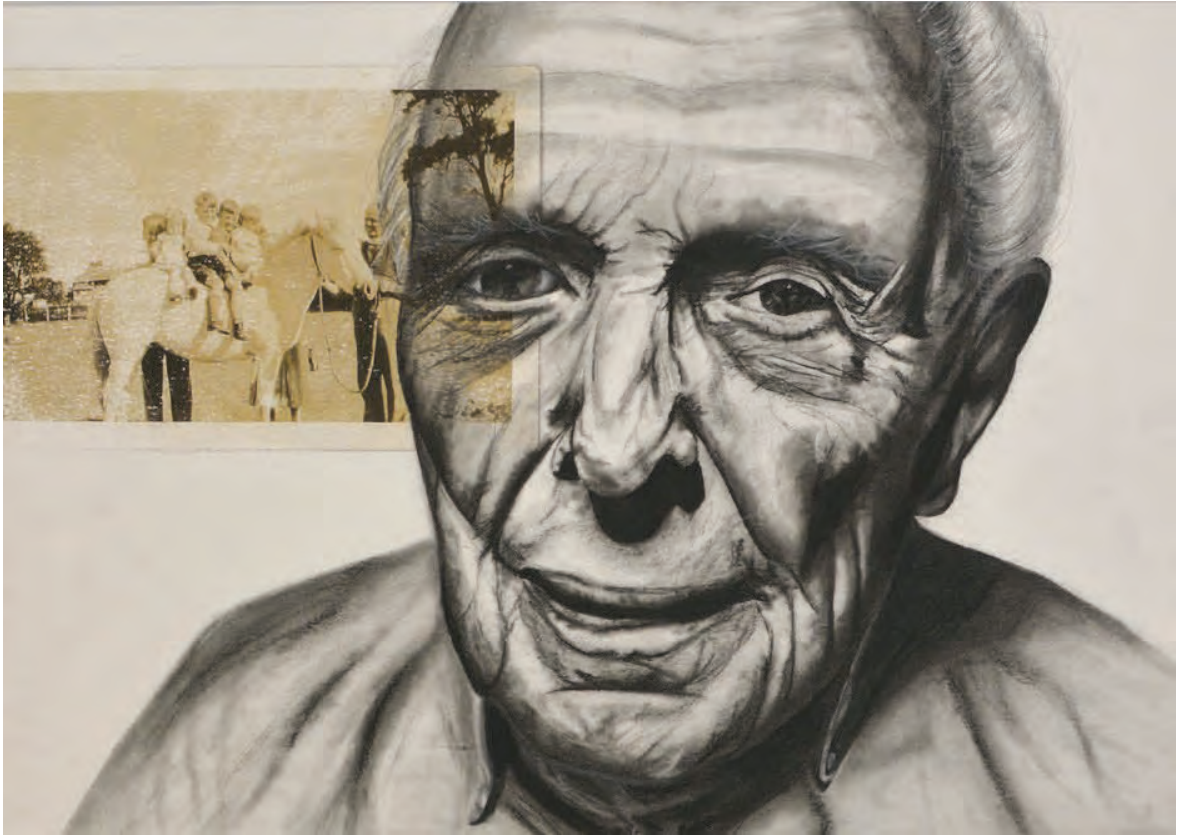


Charcoal and Collage; series 225 x 100cm installed.
2015























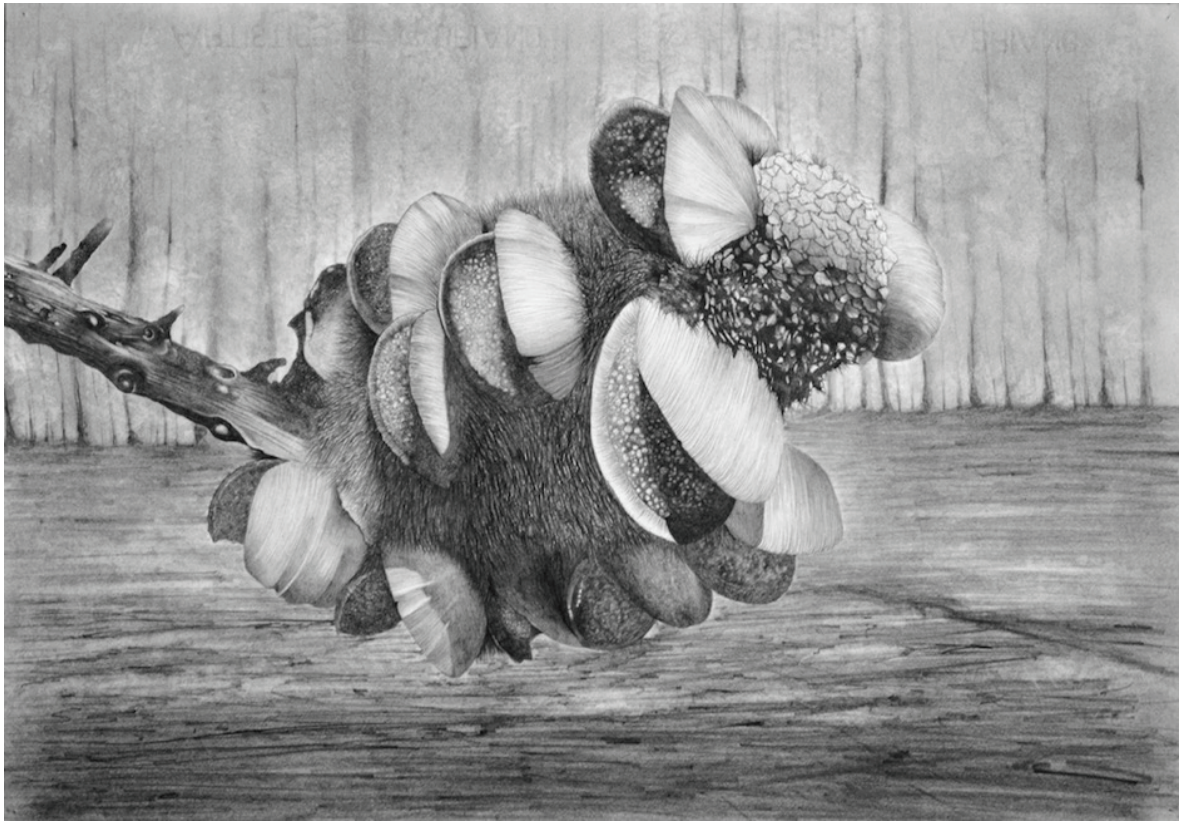


Change (I-IV)

by Sebastian van Lieven



Graphite and Watercolour on paper; 42 x 60cm
2015

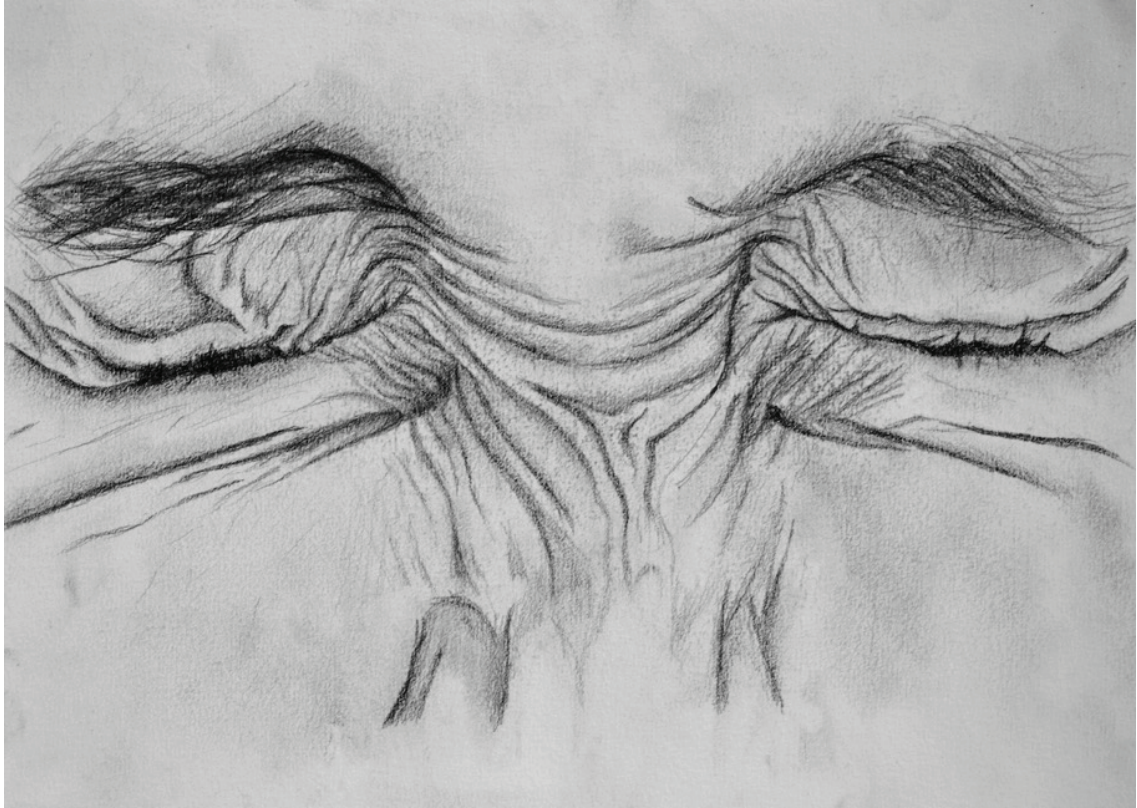






Eyes Wide Shut (I-II)

by Charlotte Wong



Pencil on paper; 21 x 30cm
2016

