

**The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia**

**The Senate**

**Committee of Privileges**

**Person referred to in the Senate**

**Dr Clive Hamilton**

**69th Report**

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## MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

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Senator the Hon. Bob Collins (Northern Territory)

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Senator Barney Cooney (Victoria)

Senator Alan Eggleston (Western Australia)

Senator Marise Payne (New South Wales)

The Senate  
Parliament House  
CANBERRA ACT 2600

## REPORT

On 29 September 1997, the President of the Senate, Senator the Honourable Margaret Reid, received a letter from Dr Clive Hamilton requesting the incorporation of a response under Privilege Resolution 5 of 25 February 1988 relating to the protection of persons referred to in the Senate. The letter referred to a statement made by Senator the Hon W Parer during question time in the Senate on 25 September 1997. The President, having accepted the letter as a submission for the purposes of the resolution, referred it, also on 29 September 1997, to the Committee of Privileges.

The Committee met in private session on 2 October 1997, and decided, pursuant to paragraph (3) of the resolution, to consider the submission. In agreeing to the attached response, the Committee did not consider it necessary to consult either Dr Hamilton or Senator Parer on the matter. The response, which the Committee now recommends for incorporation in *Hansard*, has been agreed to by Dr Hamilton and the Committee in accordance with Resolution 5(7)(b).

The Committee **recommends:**

**That a response by Dr Clive Hamilton, in the terms specified at Appendix 1, and agreed to by Dr Hamilton and the Committee, be incorporated in *Hansard*.**

Robert Ray  
**Chair**

**RESPONSE BY DR CLIVE HAMILTON  
AGREED TO BY DR HAMILTON AND THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES  
PURSUANT TO RESOLUTION 5(7)(B) OF THE SENATE OF 28 FEBRUARY 1988**

**Reply to Senator Parer**

In 1994 I was invited by Caroline Jones to be a guest on her ABC Radio program *The Search for Meaning*. *The Search for Meaning* was a long-running program that provided an opportunity for well-known people to discuss their personal spiritual and religious journeys. It was difficult for me to decide whether to accept the invitation to appear because it would require some very intimate revelations about my own spiritual journey. I feared that I may be misunderstood and, possibly, ridiculed by people who have little understanding of powerful spiritual experiences. After the program, I had many letters and telephone calls from people around Australia thanking me for my willingness to speak of these issues.

Senator Parer has selected from the one-hour interview my description of the stage of the spiritual journey known as the 'confrontation with the shadow', a well-known aspect of the process of 'individuation', that is, the process of achieving psychological wholeness. There is an extensive psychological literature on this process.

Many eminent Australians - including authors, scientists, poets, academics and religious leaders - have spoken or written of similar experiences, as any regular listener of Caroline Jones' program would know. The experience of confronting the shadow is a persistent theme of the world's literature. Some celebrated examples include Goethe's *Faust* and Dante's *Inferno*. I could name dozens more which deal with it explicitly. The theme also figures prominently in Australian literature including the work of A. D. Hope and Patrick White, the latter in his seminal work *Voss*, to name but two.

This literature in turn reflects the graphic treatment of these experiences in the great religious writings of the world. They feature prominently in both the old and new testaments of the Bible and in the Bhagavad-Gita, to mention only two. Several of the best-known Christian theologians, including St John of the Cross, Master Eckhart and Hildegard of Bingen, provide detailed accounts of their experiences which closely resemble mine in form, content and resolution.

I was shocked to hear Senator Parer use intimate revelations about my spiritual journey in an attempt to undermine my credibility as a commentator on climate change policy. I have been critical of the Government's economic arguments about the impact of measures to reduce greenhouse gases for some time. At no stage has Senator Parer responded to my arguments or the evidence I have adduced. Now he has used Question Time in the Senate to launch a pre-meditated personal attack on me by way of my religious experience.

My credentials as a commentator on climate change policy have not been questioned by anyone, but in case any observer should have doubts after Senator Parer's attack I would like to record the following. I hold a degree in Pure Mathematics from the Australian National University and a First Class Honours degree in Economics from the University of Sydney. I was offered a doctoral place at Cambridge University but chose to take my doctorate at the University of Sussex. My thesis was a general equilibrium model of development and was published

internationally. I was subsequently employed as a Research Fellow at the Australian National University and served as the Director of the Graduate Program in the Economics of Development. I joined the Commonwealth Public Service in 1987 and was appointed to the Senior Executive Service in 1989.

In addition to my role as Executive Director of the Australia Institute, I am a Visiting Fellow in Public Policy at the Australian National University and an Adjunct Professor at the University of Technology, Sydney. I have served on a United Nations Expert Group on Least Developed Countries and have frequently been asked to present papers at conferences and seminars in Australia and abroad. I have been a senior adviser to the Government of Indonesia, employed by the US Government.

I have published widely, including four books and many articles in Australian and international refereed academic journals. Several of these articles have been written jointly with some of Australia's most respected academic economists. Three of Australia's most eminent academic economists - Professor Peter Dixon of Monash University, Professor Tor Hundloe of the University of Queensland and Professor John Quiggin of James Cook University - joined with me in preparing a statement on climate change that challenged the Government's arguments, a statement that was signed by 131 professional Australian economists.

I have been employed to carry out research into climate change policy by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation and the Arts, the Department of Environment Sport and Territories, the Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, and the Sustainable Energy Development Authority.

Finally, I take offence at Senator Parer's reference to me as 'anti-Australian'. I am very proud of being an Australian. I founded The Australia Institute - an independent non-profit research centre - in order to help make Australia a more just, sustainable and peaceful country. I believe that the Government's present climate change policy will cause serious damage to Australia's short-term and long-term interests, and find it disturbing that those who disagree with the Government are branded 'anti-Australian'.

Clive Hamilton  
29th September 1997