

ABC Q AND A PROGRAM TRANSCRIPT EXTRACT

Monday 10 April, 2017

“Assad, Assisted Suicide and Satire”

TONY JONES

Good evening and welcome to Q&A. I'm Tony Jones, and here to answer your questions tonight – singing-songwriting political activist, Billy Bragg, the Minister for Communications, Mitch Fifield, author Nikki Gemmell, whose latest book tackles the impact of suicide, euthanasia and a good death in the story of her own mother, Notre Dame bioethics professor Margaret Somerville, who opposes euthanasia, and the Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs, Penny Wong. Please welcome our panel.

(APPLAUSE)

TONY JONES

Thank you. Now, Q&A is live on ABC TV in eastern Australia. It's live everywhere else on ABC News channel at 9:35 Eastern Standard Time. And you can watch and listen live on iView, YouTube, Facebook, ABC NewsRadio and Periscope. And our first question comes from Hayley Pollock.

OUR RIGHT TO DIE00:22:34

RON FELLOWS

My question is to Margaret. I'm 90 years of age. My wife is 81. We've decided that we will not go into any kind of aged care facility. And if the time comes where we can't take care of ourselves, we will look for some form of euthanasia. We've told our children about our wishes. They have, albeit reluctantly, agreed that that is relatively effective... Sorry, not effective, but they've agreed to our wishes. But you don't seem to be able to agree, and why?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

OK. That's a big question. You're talking about what the Dutch are now calling a completed life. And the Dutch are actually looking at extending euthanasia to people like you who say, "I'd rather be dead than go into a nursing home," even though you're not terminally ill. And originally, when euthanasia was first introduced, it was usually a condition that you had to be in terrible suffering, you had to...the suffering wasn't able to be relieved, you had to be a competent adult and you had to give your informed consent. And now what we see in the Netherlands – and actually in Belgium as well – none of those conditions necessarily apply.

TONY JONES

Are you making a slippery-slope argument, Margot?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Well, it is a slippery-slope argument, yes. And that's by way of leading to why do I think euthanasia is a very bad idea. I actually believe that one person intentionally killing another person is wrong. But not everybody agrees with that. Some people think it can be justified in some cases. But even if you think that, I would argue to you that the risks and harms of legalising – and particularly legalising doctors being able to take the lives of their patients – inflicting death intentionally is so dangerous that we shouldn't allow it. Your death doesn't affect just you. Your death is...it's a social event. It affects your family, it affects your community. And, ultimately, if what we're doing in society is changing the law to allow this type of – putting it bluntly – killing, then it is a seismic shift in our values as a society. It doesn't uphold respect for life at a societal level and you have to have respect for life at two levels – for every individual person, and for society in general.

TONY JONES

OK, I'm going to go... Thank you, Margot. I'm going to go back to Ron in a moment, so bear with us. I want to hear from Nikki Gemmell, who's put this whole issue on the agenda.

NIKKI GEMMELL

Yeah. Look, Ron, thank you for your story and thank you for your compassion and your courage in talking about it, and with talking to your children about it, because that's what my mother didn't do. She was suffering from chronic pain and she had investigated the euthanasia situation in this country. And she realised that, to protect us, she would have to go alone.

And she died a very bleak and lonely and desolate death without any love and without her family around her because she was trying to protect us. She knew that if we were involved in any way, if we assisted in any way, we would be implicated. We could possibly be facing police investigations – and I did have a police investigation – we could face fines, possibly even jail terms. Mum was trying to protect us.

But she was a passionate advocate of euthanasia and wanted the situation to change in Australia so that she could pass away peacefully in a room brimming with love, surrounded by love. We have so many elderly people in this country. The beautiful police officer, with absolute tenderness and compassion who came to me, to my doorstep, and told me that my mother had died. She said to me, "Nikki, this is an epidemic. On my beat, I see this situation happening all the time with elderly people suiciding out of despair and no-one is talking about it."

Subsequently, in terms of research for my book and all the rest of it, I've discovered these beautiful old men... They want to euthanase themselves. They don't know how to. They want to involve their families. They're doing things like getting nail guns and trying to kill themselves with nail guns and leaving trails of blood throughout the houses. They're hanging themselves on Hills Hoists out in the back garden.

And I've been doing some forums involved with my book and it's so interesting, the elderly people who stand up and they say, "Nikki, no-one is listening to us. Please listen to us with respect and compassion and understand where we're coming from." And I would say, Margot, I'm speaking for 80% of the Australian population here who support the euthanasia laws and in terms of Catholics and Anglicans, I'm speaking for up to 70% of them as well.

TONY JONES

Nikki, can I just bring you something about your story which I understood...

(APPLAUSE)

TONY JONES

OK, so something I understood when reading your story was your mother, as you said, suffering from chronic pain but never sought any form of sophisticated pain relief...

NIKKI GEMMELL

No.

TONY JONES

..from a pain management centre, which exists obviously around the country.

NIKKI GEMMELL

Yes.

TONY JONES

Would that have totally changed the equation if she'd sought pain relief, and it actually had worked?

NIKKI GEMMELL

Yes, and in terms of checks and balances with the situation in the Netherlands and Belgium, in America, there are extraordinary hoops that you have to leap through to actually be accepted into a euthanasia program. I know that if we'd had something like this in Victoria... You know, in a couple of months, we may get some good news about this situation. Or if we had a Dignitas, which is the clinic in Switzerland where you can go to die.

It is very hard to actually be accepted into that clinic. I have a beautiful friend who is going there in a couple of weeks to pass away, holding the hands of her adult children, all four of them and her best friend. She has...months and months of trying to get accepted. It is very, very hard to do it. And there are so many checks and balances. Rightly so.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Tony.

TONY JONES

I'll come back to Margot. I said I'd go back to Ron, who asked the question. I mean, listening to this, Ron, I mean, what is it...? First of all, we haven't heard from your wife, who's sitting next to you, so I guess...

PATRICIA FELLOWS

You can.

(LAUGHTER)

NIKKI GEMMELL

Go for it!

TONY JONES

We're all sort of sitting here wondering if Ron is actually speaking for both of you 'cause we haven't heard from you.

PATRICIA FELLOWS

Yes, Ron is speaking for me as well. And right now, we're in good health. We do not intend to take our own health... our life until we need to. And it's not about killing anyone. We will be doing it ourselves. I'm not asking Ron to kill me. I will do it myself. And Ron will do it himself. I don't know what you're on about, darling, about killing.

(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

PATRICIA FELLOWS

That is definitely the wrong word to be using.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

But it's still killing yourself.

PATRICIA FELLOWS
Yes, but that's up to me.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE
Yes, I know, but that's...

PATRICIA FELLOWS
And it's got nothing to do with the community, darling. It's to do with our family.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE
How you die does have to do with the community.

PATRICIA FELLOWS
Bullshit.

(LAUGHTER)

PATRICIA FELLOWS
Tell it as it is.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE
Can I...?

TONY JONES
Tell you what, I'm actually going to go to the next question because it still relates...

(LAUGHTER)

TONY JONES
We may come back to you yet.

PENNY WONG
Absolutely, we should.

TONY JONES
That was somehow quite refreshing. The next question is from Rachel Williams.

EUTHANASIA IS NOT EMPOWERING00:31:16

RACHEL WILLIAMS
Why do we long to be in control of every aspect of our lives? Does taking control of our bodies through euthanasia bring us, as individuals, empowerment or does it make our society less kind and full of humility? Is death not the most humbling experience because it is the one thing we can't control?

TONY JONES
Margot.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE
I must admit I didn't find that easy to hear that question.

TONY JONES

Well... It's about taking control of your lives and whether that's a good or a bad thing. And I think you've just heard there, in no uncertain terms, from a lady and her husband who want to take control of their lives and their deaths. They want to choose for themselves.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Yes, well, we know that when something is really... we fear it greatly, our response to that is to try to take control of it, which reduces the fear. And I actually have a theory that euthanasia is... It's actually what social psychologists call a terror reduction mechanism. You try to make death... instead of being a mystery, you make it into a problem and you seek a solution to the problem which is a lethal injection. But I'd really like to come back to what Nikki was saying. You know, Nikki, I doubt that your mother would have been eligible for assisted suicide.

NIKKI GEMMELL

No, that's what...

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

That's the first thing. And what you say about the Netherlands, that it's all fine and it's working well and there's no problems, that's simply not correct. There's... 1.7% of all deaths in the Netherlands are actually done without any consent or knowledge of the person who is given a lethal injection. And as...

NIKKI GEMMELL

Really?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Yes.

NIKKI GEMMELL

In terms of all the different... the various enormous checks and balances? My friend, who's about to go to Dignitas, she has to even provide dental records because of fear of impostors at the moment. It is very, very rigorous. And in terms of the...

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Well, I don't agree.

TONY JONES

Can we stick with Australia for a moment, because we're about to see in Victoria the first legislation.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

I hope not.

NIKKI GEMMELL

I hope so.

(LAUGHTER)

TONY JONES

We're certainly going to see the legislation. It'll go to a conscience vote in the second half of this year. But there are some very strict rules around how it would actually work. They have clear guidelines on assisted death. For example, it has to come from a mentally competent, terminally ill person in the last weeks or months of life, over the age of 18.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

None of that...

TONY JONES

So, that deals with some of the issues you were talking about.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Not one of those requirements applies in the Netherlands or Belgium.

TONY JONES

OK, fair enough.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

OK. And let me tell you...

TONY JONES

We probably can't really debate what's happening there right now.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

But do you think Canada is somewhat similar to Australia? So, we've just been through this in Canada, where I was involved in it, and it was going to be very restricted. Within weeks of the legislation being passed, it was challenged as not broad enough and now they're looking at including people with Alzheimer's disease, they're looking at people who have got only mental illness, no physical illness.

NIKKI GEMMELL

Margot, this has not happened in Oregon where the situation has been allowed for 20 years.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Actually, Nikki...

NIKKI GEMMELL

There has not been mission creep, so to speak.

TONY JONES

I'm just going to get you both to pause for a moment. We'll come back to you. I just want to hear from the other panellists. And Mitch Fifield wants to jump in. Victorian legislation. You're from Victoria. You're about to see the state in which you live seek a conscience vote on this very issue.

MITCH FIFIELD

That's right.

TONY JONES

Do you support it? Do you support the legislation?

MITCH FIFIELD

I don't, but can I firstly strike an optimistic note before coming to the heart of that, as a former Minister for Aged Care?

TONY JONES

No-one's going to die?

MITCH FIFIELD

Well, no...

(LAUGHTER)

MITCH FIFIELD

No, but make the point that Australians are living longer, they're living better, they're living healthier lives. You might not know this, but there are currently 5,000 centenarians in Australia. By 2050, there'll be 50,000 centenarians in Australia. We've got an ageing population, and that's a great challenge to have. But to the issue itself, I don't support the Victorian legislation.

I guess, for many of us, our views on this issue are informed through personal experience with our families. And both of my parents passed away about 20 years ago. And in each case, their deaths were hastened by good palliative care. And what that has left me...

TONY JONES

Sorry, did you say they were hastened?

MITCH FIFIELD

Well, good palliative care can bring a death forward.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Actually... That's not right.

MITCH FIFIELD

Sorry. Let me... Let me explain. There are situations where individuals...

TONY JONES

Does that mean euthanasia is happening in palliative care?

MITCH FIFIELD

No. There are situations where there are legitimate care options, which are presented, and a by-product of some of those can be that a death comes forward. That's the point I'm making. And so my view is that sometimes it's a good thing when there is space in the law that allows families, that allows doctors, and allows patients to manage their situation.

TONY JONES

Sorry, just very briefly, because you are from Victoria, now the situation there will be that a request would have to be repeated three times by a patient, including in writing, and approved by a primary doctor and an independent doctor. Are those sort of guidelines and safety measures not good enough for you? Whereas you're, on the other hand, saying that in palliative care, maybe they're killing people without really telling us that they are?

NIKKI GEMMELL

And it has to come from the individual in Victoria, the proposed legislation. That is the only person who can propose this. It's empowerment for the individual. Yes, it's control, but it's compassionate control. Humane control, because we don't...

TONY JONES

Let's let Mitch talk.

NIKKI GEMMELL

Sorry! Sorry, Mitch!

MITCH FIFIELD

No, no. Not at all. Perhaps because this is a personal experience, I'm not expressing it as clearly as I might otherwise. But my point is that good palliative care can, in an overwhelming majority of cases, ensure that people have a good death. And that's my point, is that there can be a range of legitimate care options, which manifest themselves differently in the time frames that people have.

TONY JONES

OK... Sorry.

MITCH FIFIELD

You should never... I'm not saying that you should, consciously, as a medical professional, set about a path that leads to someone's death. What I'm saying is that there are ways that a medical professional can legitimately respect the wishes of a patient and that the way that those legitimate care options manifest themselves can be in different time frames.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Tony, can I just comment, first of all, everybody has got the right to refuse all treatment. And one of the examples of what Mitch is talking about would be you're on a respirator, you don't want to be on a respirator, you say, "Take it away," failure to take it away is actually an assault. So, you're absolutely...

MITCH FIFIELD

That is precisely... Just to clarify, lest there be confusion about what I said earlier, that is precisely the circumstance that I'm talking about.

TONY JONES

OK, sorry, I want to hear from Penny Wong. We haven't heard from the other side of politics on this. You've got numerous Roman Catholics in your Shadow Cabinet who strongly oppose this very idea. What do you think about what the Victorians are doing?

PENNY WONG

Well, look, this is a deeply personal issue. It's a...at times difficult and confronting issue. And I think that, in talking about it and thinking about it, dealing in absolutes is problematic at times. So when I listen to Margot say, you know, "This is about respect for life," and I thought about that and I thought, "That's true. We should...you know, we do have, as a norm, respect for life," but we have other norms we have to balance here too. Respect for the right of the individual to make a choice about their life. So, I would support the legislation. Yes, there are difficult questions about checks and balances and ensuring that it is not used in ways we don't want it. And I appreciate, Margot, you run the slippery-slope argument quite indefatigably. But I think we should deal with the principle first, which is, "Do we actually think people should have that choice?" I think yes, I do. Not in all circumstances. And I would want it carefully constrained. But I think, as a matter of principle, that is what I believe.

TONY JONES

Let's hear briefly from Billy. You've got personal experience as well.

BILLY BRAGG

Yeah, it's obviously an incredibly emotional experience, because we're talking about our loved ones here, but I was privileged to have had a conversation with my mum a few years prior to her becoming terminally ill, in which she made it absolutely clear to me that she didn't really want to be an infirm person. And that gave me the confidence to be able to say to the doctor, "Please, don't resuscitate her," when she was on the last couple of days, you know, and they were talking about making some kind of intervention.

And I was pleased to be able to say that, to respect her wishes, but I made a decision there. I made the decision to not extend her life and it gave... I'll be honest with you, it gave me comfort that I was able to assist her to get what she ultimately wanted, because I think... Margot, what you're doing is – not on purpose, you're doing this – but what you're asking us all to do is to tolerate suffering.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

No, no, really...

BILLY BRAGG

And to put up with suffering.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

I agree with...

BILLY BRAGG

And to extend that suffering. I don't think you have a right to say that. I don't believe you have the right.

NIKKI GEMMELL

There are so many bad deaths.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Billy, I totally agree with what you just said, what you did. That's not euthanasia. That's dying a natural death.

BILLY BRAGG

But they could have gone in there and broken her rib cage, put her back on a machine, put her back to life.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

No, but they shouldn't.

BILLY BRAGG

They could have, though. If life is sacred, why shouldn't they do that? Why shouldn't they keep everything going?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Because there's a difference between inflicting death and prolonging dying. And not unnecessarily...

BILLY BRAGG

But if someone is terminally ill...

TONY JONES

Is your ethical position here, Margot, informed by religious belief?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

No.

TONY JONES

It's not? Not at all?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

No.

TONY JONES

Are you a religious person?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

Yeah, I think I am. Well, I sort of am, Tony.

(LAUGHTER)

TONY JONES

But you can separate those two things out? Because obviously...

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

I've had a complicated life.

(LAUGHTER)

TONY JONES

Alright. OK, we're trying an experiment tonight, an idea we borrowed from the Bible Society, believe it or not. Our panellists talk a lot, but do they listen? Now, Margot, you've heard the other side of the argument, so I'd like to hear you express what you believe the other side of the argument is.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

OK, the other side of the argument is that everybody's got a right to self-determination, that they own their own life, that nobody else has got the right to tell them what they do with that life and if they feel that their life is not worth living, that it's more of a harm than a benefit to go on living, they want to have the right to have somebody else help them to die, either by giving them the means to commit suicide or by giving them a lethal injection. Now, my objection...

TONY JONES

No, no. I'll come to your objection. Now we want to hear from Nikki. Can you describe the argument against what you all say?

NIKKI GEMMELL

Margot is concerned... She keeps on throwing to situations in Europe. She's concerned about... I call it mission creep – because I'm still stuck a little bit in Syria and all that situation – of, you know, checks and balances being widened or loosened. She's worried, um... about people having control at the end. She sees that as a possible negative, whereas I look at my own mother, she would have thought that she had a good death. She wanted to be in control of her destiny. She was afraid of going into a nursing home.

TONY JONES

You've snuck back into your answer.

NIKKI GEMMELL

Oh, OK. Was I not allowed to do that? Sorry.

TONY JONES

I just want to hear, Margot, was that a good summary of your own argument?

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

No.

(LAUGHTER)

NIKKI GEMMELL

Aargh!

PENNY WONG

Can I have a go?

TONY JONES

OK, no, I think we've heard your argument. So, Nikki, was what Margot said a good summary of your argument?

NIKKI GEMMELL

No, I feel it was like a slanting of what I was trying to say and it was taking all the emotion out of it and this is a deeply emotional situation. I feel like I've been on the coalface of euthanasia now. We don't do this to our animals, to our pets. We don't see them suffering like this.

I come from it, from a deeply personal point of view. But I just wish that my mother had been able to say, "Kids, this is what I'm going to do," that she'd been not afraid of that conversation. And she would have had that peaceful death. Instead, she died in absolute desolation and loneliness. It was a lonely death. And I just hope the situation can change for all those older people out there who want to do...

TONY JONES

You get a 20-second right to reply.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

But surely, Nikki, the answer to loneliness is not that we will kill you.

NIKKI GEMMELL

No, I'm saying that her death was lonely, because her family couldn't be with her. I wasn't saying that.

MARGARET SOMERVILLE

But do you know that loneliness is high up on the list of reasons why people want euthanasia?

NIKKI GEMMELL

No, no, it wasn't my mother's case at all. I'm just saying that her death was lonely.

TONY JONES

Alright, OK. We tried the experiment.

NIKKI GEMMELL

I don't know that it worked. (LAUGHS)

TONY JONES

Partial success. Our next question comes from Joshua Armstrong.

PANELLISTS



Mitch Fifield

Mitch Fifield is Minister for Communications and the Arts and manager of Government Business in the Senate.

He entered Parliament as a Liberal Senator for Victoria in 2004 and held several shadow ministerial positions before becoming Assistant Minister for Social Services when the coalition won government in 2013. When Malcolm Turnbull took over as Prime Minister from Tony Abbott Mitch was promoted to Cabinet in the Communications portfolio.

Before entering Parliament, Mitch worked as a senior political adviser to the former Federal Treasurer, Peter Costello, and held senior advisory positions in the Kennett government in Victoria and the Greiner government in NSW. Mitch has served as a reservist in the Australian Army Psychology Corps and studied politics at Sydney University.



Penny Wong

Penny Wong is the Opposition Leader in the Senate and Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs. She was elected as a Senator for South Australia in 2002 and served as a member of the Federal Cabinet in both the Gillard and Rudd governments. She was the first Asian-born member of an Australian Cabinet, and the first to be openly in a same-sex relationship.

Penny was born in Sabah, Malaysia, to a Malaysian-Chinese father and an Australian mother. She was eight years old when she, her mother and brother moved to Australia and settled in the Adelaide Hills.

Penny attended the University of Adelaide, where she became politically active and joined the ALP. After graduating in 1992 with an Arts/Law degree she worked with the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union before being admitted to the Bar in 1993. During the mid-1990s she worked for the NSW Government as an adviser, specialising in forestry policy, then returned to Adelaide to work as a lawyer and union adviser. She also won a position on the ALP's State executive.

Penny won top spot on the South Australian ALP Senate ticket for the 2001 election and entered the shadow ministry in 2005. After the 2007 election she entered Cabinet with the climate change portfolio, and took over from Lindsay Tanner as Finance Minister in 2010. She remained in that portfolio until Labor's election loss in 2013. She held the shadow Trade portfolio in Opposition but moved to Foreign Affairs in the reshuffle following the 2016 election.

She lives with her partner, Sophie Allouache, and their young daughters Alexandra and Hannah.



Billy Bragg

Billy Bragg is a singer-songwriter and activist. Inspired by punk, Billy formed his first band in his hometown of Barking, East London in 1977. They released one EP on Chiswick Records before Billy joined the British Army in 1981, training to become a tank driver in the Royal Armoured Corps. Things

didn't work out and in early 1982 he found himself back on the streets of Barking, still writing songs.

Following a year of relentless gigging, his first album, *Life's a Riot with Spy vs Spy* came out in 1983. He famously scored his first radio play by delivering a mushroom biryani to a hungry John Peel at the BBC. Billy was politicised by Rock Against Racism in the late 1970s and saw his music as a way of offering an alternative version of political events. He marshalled his songs in opposition to Margaret Thatcher, supporting the miners when they went on strike in 1984 and subsequently founding Red Wedge, a collective of left wing musicians who campaigned for the defeat of Thatcher at the 1987 election.

Although often defined by his political songs, Billy is also a writer of great love songs. He said "I write about the things that make me angry: sometimes it's the government, sometimes it's the girl". In 1992, Woody Guthrie's daughter Nora approached Billy with the idea that he put new music to lyrics that her father had written in Brooklyn in the 1940s. The resulting album *Mermaid Avenue* came out in 1998.

In July 2011 Billy joined the growing protests over the *News of the World* phone hacking affair with the recording of *Never Buy the Sun* which references many of the scandal's key points. He also joined the global *Occupy Movement* protests in 2011.

Billy lives in Dorset, England with his partner and manager Juliet and son Jack. He is in Australia for a series of concerts this month.



Nikki Gemmell

Nikki Gemmell is the best-selling author of thirteen novels and four works of non-fiction. Her books have been translated into 22 languages. She was born in Wollongong, New South Wales and lived in London for many years, but has now returned to Australia.

Nikki's latest book *After* describes her mother's tragic suicide in 2015, the impact on her family and her own difficult journey in coming to terms with euthanasia. The book also raises the prickly topics of elder care, pain management and what a "good death" should or could look like.

Her best-known work is the 2003 novel *The Bride Stripped Bare*, an explicit exploration of female sexuality. Nikki also pens a weekly column for *The Australian* newspaper. She also writes novels for children – the *Kensington Reptilium* series for 9 to 13 year olds, and the *Coco Banjo* series for slightly younger readers.

Nikki's distinctive writing has gained her critical acclaim in France, where she's been described as a "female Jack Kerouac". The French literary magazine *Lire* has included her in a list of what it called the fifty most important writers in the world – those it believes will have a significant influence on the literature of the 21st century.



Margaret Somerville

Margaret Somerville is Samuel Gale Professor of Law Emerita, Professor Emerita in the Faculty of Medicine, and Founding Director Emerita of the Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law at McGill University, Montreal. She taught there from 1978 to 2016, when she returned to Sydney to become Professor of Bioethics in the School of Medicine at The University of Notre Dame Australia.

She has a distinguished academic record and an extensive national and international publishing and

speaking record, and is a frequent commentator in all forms of media.

Margaret has authored several books - *The Ethical Canary: Science, Society and the Human Spirit*; *Death Talk: The Case Against Euthanasia and Physician-Assisted Suicide*; *The Ethical Imagination: Journeys of the Human Spirit*, which she delivered as the nationally broadcast CBC 2006 Massey Lectures; and most recently *Bird on an Ethics Wire: Battles about Values in the Culture Wars*. She has edited others, as well as publishing chapters and articles in academic texts and journals, and comment columns in the mainstream media, totalling many hundreds.

Margaret consults, nationally and internationally, to a wide variety of bodies including governments, NGOs, UN agencies and private corporations. She has received many honours and awards including the Order of Australia and eight honorary doctorates, and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 2003 she was chosen by an international jury as the first recipient of the UNESCO Avicenna Prize for Ethics in Science; in 2013 she was awarded the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal for services to higher education; and in 2014 she received the Jean Echlin Award for Ethics in Palliative Care sponsored by the de Veber Institute for Bioethics and Social Researchy the de Veber Institute for Bioethics and Social Research.

Audience: Coalition 38%, ALP 33%, Greens 11%