potentially catastrophic impact of a neo-liberal economic agenda the SAP considers the North/South divide, and processes of 'globalisation from below', as issues intrinsic to Australian security and to its broader national and global interests.

At this point the SAP initiative remains stalled. To a large extent its major features having been appropriated by the official policy community and integrated within the liberal-realist format of 'cooperative security' and 'open regionalism', albeit without the deep democratic commitments intrinsic to the SAP. There should be no real surprise about this. To a very large extent the democratic preference has always been a missing critical dimension in the Westphalian tradition. Indeed, from its inception in the mid-17th century, the issue of democracy has appeared in the Westphalian lexicon as a signifier of danger - the danger of *too much freedom*.. The danger that Spinoza and Hobbes warned of and which the modern state-system, dominated by the great Western powers, has always kept in check, either militarily or via a model of the real world in which the democratic impulse remains a factor beyond the 'art of the possible'. [96]

In the late 1990s, nevertheless, Australians are now having to reassess the boundaries of this Westphalian 'art of the possible' more seriously than most, principally because the luck has run out for the 'lucky country'. Where once a white skin and Anglo-Celtic heritage was a passport to privilege, it is now more likely to be a burden to be borne in a harsh future environment where others will increasingly demand the social and economic opportunities we have taken for granted. In this regard any critical realist of Australian foreign policy will have to understand that we can no longer merely meander along in the slipstream of the post-Westphalian grand-theory of global order which for so long served our political and cultural interests. That, instead, issues of grinding, relentless poverty, environmental degradation, migration flows, land rights for indigenous people, gender disparities and the destruction of community life, among many other 'peripheral' issues, must now be regarded as first-order factors in Australian foreign policy. A critical realism must recognise that this is the case not because of some idealistic (and patronising) concern for the downtrodden, but because, as the Commission on Global Governance report starkly illustrates, the fate of Australians in the future is inexorably bound up with the fate of all of the peoples of the Asia/Pacific and the world, not just its technocrats of globalisation, nor its present ruling elites.

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[96] On the question of democracy and the Westphalian tradition in a globalising world, see A. Mgrew ed. The Transformation of Democracy (Milton Keynes: The Open University, 1997); see also E. Dagnino, "An Alternative World Order and the Meaning of Democracy" in J. Brecher, et al eds. op. cit. (1993)