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01 AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN POLICY NEEDS TO BE GROUNDED IN A CLEAR-EYED ASSESSMENT OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS.

→ How should we define Australia's national interests in a changing world? How should our values underpin Australia's foreign policy? What should we do differently? How can we do better?

Australia's national interests should be defined by a clear-sighted evaluation based on economic and security concerns that inform the choice and nature of international alliances, trade partners and regional initiatives.

Maintaining strong trade relationships with China and developing Asia will be integral to Australia's economic growth. Simultaneously, Australia can promote a rules-based order by highlighting areas of multilateral cooperation. Issues like counterterrorism, counterpiracy and climate change affect all states in the Asia-Pacific and can be the basis of robust operational and diplomatic relationships. Although significant progress has been made in joint military initiatives – which can generate a form of 'military diplomacy' – Australia should strive to better integrate civilian capabilities into multilateral operations in order to develop whole-of-government connections with our foreign neighbours.

Before embarking upon these multilateral initiatives, Australia must address and change the perception of our country within the Asia-Pacific – which can often be negative. Improved respect, Asian literacy and government support of regional initiatives may allow Australia to develop a more positive impression within the Asia-Pacific and thus more effective foreign policy.

02 AUSTRALIA HAS DIVERSE INTERESTS THAT SPAN THE GLOBE.

→ Which countries will matter most to Australia over the next 10 years? Why and in what ways? How should we deepen and diversify key relationships?

Closer pragmatic cooperation with other states in the Asia region is essential if Australia seeks to further extend its foreign policy goals to protect its national interest in the rules based world order and ensure economic stability and prosperity in an increasingly globalised world. By 2025 it is anticipated that Asia will account for 50% of the world's economic output with the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India projected to be the major state actors in this ongoing shift to the Asian region.

It is imperative that Australia continues to foster, improve and expand relations with India as it projected to account for 6.3% of Global economic power (GDP, trade and net capital exports) by 2030, behind the United States and China. Building upon the strong people to people and cultural links between Australia and India, the rapidly growing Indian population together with a strengthening Indian economy does present considerable and prosperous opportunities for Australian business, as well as for creating closer diplomatic ties. It is anticipated that the Indian population will exceed that of China, providing an extensive and broad network of business opportunities in terms of energy, raw materials, Australian agricultural products or by encouraging greater numbers of Indian tourists to Australia. Australia, like it's key strategic and economic ally the United States of America, can further relations with India by emphasising the mutual adherence to values of democracy and the rule of law and use this as a basis for closer economic ties.

The Australian Government should build upon the 2009 Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation to focus upon Maritime security, focusing especially on the safe passage of trade, an aspect of enormous significance given Australia being a predominantly maritime trading nation. India is also placed geo-strategically close to the important trade sea lanes passing through the Indian Ocean, adding an additional security incentive for enhanced cooperation with India. Australia should explore more opportunities to engage more extensively with the Indian Government to reiterate the importance of regional stability in South Asia (Pakistan, Afghanistan and India) and the potential economic benefits of enhanced stability in the region. There is certainly a significant amount of scope for Australia enhancing economic and bi-lateral ties with the Republic of India, given its growing population, economy and growing importance not only in the Asia region but also in the world.

Good use of the active tense here. Get the paragraphs down to size and remove unnecessary words and you'll be right on point for the style of the white paper.

→ Which global trends, such as developments in technology, environmental degradation and the

role of non-state actors, are likely to affect Australia's security and prosperity? How should Australia respond?

Globalisation

The increased integration of not only Australia's economy, but its social, political, and cultural spheres as part of the process of globalisation offers numerous opportunities for increased prosperity, international cooperation, and better relations not just for government but for individuals and small businesses on all sides.

Globalisation has brought the faster movement of goods and services. This has allowed for an integrated international economy, and improves the efficiency of manufacturing, improving access to material goods, while simultaneously allowing advanced economies like Australia to specialise in fields where we have a natural advantage. But this also increases the risk faced by the Australian economy, where risk imported from overseas cannot be controlled by the government, and where poor regulatory practices in fields such as finance can have extremely serious consequences for us. Therefore, the Australian government must carefully manage the exposure of the economy, and where that is not possible, do all it can to prevent a possible repeat of 2008's economic downturn.

Similarly, the faster movement of people offers multiple opportunities for growth, as Australia is able to draw on the resources of many nations in its projects instead of being limited by geography. However, this not only opens us up to the possibility of 'brain drain', should our skilled workers being to migrate en masse, but also increases the competitive strain placed on our education system as seen in the recent falls in rankings internationally. In order to maintain the attractiveness of Australian workers, the government must maintain and improve educations and training systems, particularly in areas where Australia has a natural advantage over other nations.

The better communication between international movements has thus far been mainly harmless – linking charity organisations and enthusiast groups. But, this increase has also extended the reach of many otherwise limited extremist group, across the political spectrum. While there is little that can be done in advance without invading the rights to privacy and freedom of speech, care must be taken in understanding who can now present much greater influence on the public.

Climate Change

Climate Change is a direct and looming threat not just to Australia's security and prosperity, but also to the Australian people. Australia already experiences numerous extreme weather events, exacerbating this issue could not only harm the Australian economy, particularly in the agricultural sector. This would also directly threaten the homes and lives of many Australian who live in areas where the climate may significantly worsen, or be at much greater risk of natural disasters. Another impact would be on many of the fundamental underpinnings of society, such as access to food, or

ease of transport.

The growing population increases pressure on basics such as water, food, living space, or energy supply. Further, many smaller neighbouring states may be impacted even more severely than we are, with the possibility of environmental refugees becoming increasingly likely. While these threats may be further in the future, it is absolutely vital that the government improves its policies to mitigate these threats, such as improving renewable targets before it is too late.

Non-state actors

Non-state actors have been steadily increasing in importance on the international stage, as both an asset and a threat to Australia. NGO groups such as the Red Cross Medicines Sans Frontier, or Amnesty International have been taking an increasingly significant role in dealing with international crises, including in conflict zones.

Similarly, groups as Make Poverty History or Greenpeace have been leading campaigns to influence global politics and national actions. Some of these, such as the Greenpeace protests against whaling have been widely supported by the public. The example of whaling, which Australia took Japan to the ICJ over demonstrates the increasing power and ability of NGOs to help cause international change.

However, the majority of threats to Australian security also emerge from non-state actors, particularly militant groups such as Al Qaeda or Daesh (ISIS). Using the development of communications technology these groups have allowed individuals to self-radicalise and either travel to join them, or attempt to commit an act of domestic terror, a number of which have been planned within Australia.

Currently, the Australian government has demonstrated its effectiveness in tracking and neutralising these threats within Australia, but given our ongoing involvement in the Middle East, as well as the possibility of a successful attack at home, non-state actors such as Daesh continue to present a clear and continuous threat to our national security.

03 AUSTRALIA IS AN INFLUENTIAL PLAYER IN REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

→ Which regional and global organisations matter most to us? How should we support and shape them? How can we maximise our influence?

As a regionally influential power, Australia has much to gain from continued engagement with various regional and international organisations. Although graced with long term economic growth and substantial trade links, Australia has some disadvantages. Despite significant levels of immigration, we have a small population base to draw on, and are geographically isolated. It is therefore in our interests that we engage fully where possible. Global politics has become increasingly uncertain and insecure because of short term political shocks, but also longer term, supranational problems such as climate change and the flow of refugees

To maximise our influence, we need to prioritise engagement with regional organisations compared to global organisations. Regional institutions have been perceived as a Band-Aid when conflict has arisen, however, they have greater roles to play in terms of peace and prosperity. Global institutions cannot cater to specific regional issues to the same degree. Importantly, bilateral relations are important to consider, especially with smaller neighbours such as Timor and New Zealand.

Continued membership of economic groups will play an important role in how we interact with other states in a globalized world. G20 membership is crucial for generating collective action to support sustainable economic growth along with fostering free trade agreements, allowing Australia to remain competitive economically.

Australia has had some exceptional opportunities due to its engagement with the UN. The non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council from 2013-15 afforded us a platform to engage with the permanent members and advocate for issues relevant to Australia. The Abbott government's response to the shooting down of MH17 is a prime example of how Australia can leverage such positions in organisations to pursue our interests. A crucial further step is a successful bid for a seat on the UN Human Rights Council in 2018-20. Such a position will allow Australia to be a strong advocate for the issues it cares about, such as the abolition of capital punishment globally.

However, there has been inconsistency with Australian policy towards the UN, specifically the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The Federal Government has called upon the Chinese government to respect the 2015 ruling by the Permanent Court of Arbitration when it ruled in favour of the Philippines. Such comments by the government are an important part of upholding the international rules based order. Not only is such an international order representative of Australian

values, but it is in the country's interests. After all, 54% of our trade sails through the South China Sea. The inconsistency lies in Australia's contesting of the jurisdiction of the Conciliation Commission. China acted in a similar manner resulting in allegations of denying the rules-based-order. If we are to be a regionally influential power, we must be consistent in its actions when dealing with other states and international courts.

04 AUSTRALIA NEEDS TO BE AMBITIOUS IN GRASPING ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES.

→ What steps should be taken to maximise our trade and investment and expand commercial opportunities for Australian business? How can we ensure Australia is positioned to take advantage of opportunities in the global economy? What are the key risks to Australia's future prosperity and how should we respond?

Following on from the previous white paper there is no doubt that Australia continues to have a major economic stake in the Asian region. Asian markets, the source of 70% of global growth, represents the best chance we have for coherent ambition. Nations within the region continue to be by far the largest export markets for Australia with seven of the top ten export markets for the nation during the 2015/16 periods located in the Asian region. At a time of political uncertainty, there is no doubt that we must take advantage of the strong relations we have and build upon those. With the end of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), it is imperative that the nation continues to work with nations such as China, Japan and India on the possibility of multi-lateral trade agreements.

Australia has the opportunity to work with China in a more transparent and accepting manner. It is important that we continue to push the liberal advance of trade with our economic partners. The Free Trade Agreement that we have signed with China, our largest trading partner is an important step in these relations and highlights the importance of a strategic partnership with the nation. We should make efforts to improve relations with China, accepting and recognising their ambitions for more foreign investment than at the present time. China's One Belt, One Road Initiative has become a major foreign policy priority. The land-based Silk Road Economic Belt aims to expand China's economic connections and political influence across much of Eurasia through vast infrastructure and investment schemes, potentially involving over 40 countries. It is an initiative that Australia should investigate becoming more involved in with a view to seeing China become more accepting of the international rules based system and more open to dialogue with its neighbours.

South-East Asian nations also continue to play a vital role in Australia's continued economic focus on the region. Australia has invested a large portion of economic growth on the region, which has included free trade agreements (FTA) with Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. These agreements highlight the continued importance of bilateral relations with our neighbours. It has allowed for increased two-way trade and facilitated further investment in the region, increased business mobility, more transparency and stronger bilateral cooperation in a range of areas. It is also imperative that we continue to play a major role in developing countries in the region with investment and contribution to education, health and livelihood programs essential in the continued development of liberal democratic values. All of this work undertaken by the Australian government highlights the necessity for relations with these essential neighbouring partners to continue to grow and prosper

heading into the future. We must continue to improve relations through open dialogue transparency and more of an acceptance of their cultural and political beliefs and systems of government.

In these unstable times, it is imperative heading into the future that Australia continues to build upon the relations that it has gained in the Asian region in the post-World War II era in an effort to see greater prosperity for the nation and it's neighbouring strategic partners. With the uncertainty of US involvement in the Asian region, Australia as a nation must learn to adapt to its current situation in an effort to build a stronger and more prosperous economy.

In these turbulent times, it is imperative heading into the future that we continue to build upon the relations that we have gained in the Asian region in the post-World War II era. We are in a period where we must come up with a new direction and new ideas if we are to see greater prosperity for the nation and it's neighbouring strategic partners. With the uncertainty of US involvement in the Asian region, we as a nation must learn to adapt to our current situation in an effort to build a stronger and more prosperous economy.

05 AUSTRALIA CONFRONTS A RANGE OF STRATEGIC, SECURITY AND TRANSNATIONAL CHALLENGES.

→ How can Australia best deal with instability beyond our borders? How can our foreign policy, including our overseas development assistance program, support a more prosperous, peaceful and stable region? How should our international engagement work to protect Australia against transnational security threats, such as terrorism?

Australia's best method of dealing with instability beyond our borders is to work with regional and global partners to ensure a stable, prosperous, and secure world. Instability is best dealt with by enhancing global economic cooperation in such a way that unstable regions are lifted out of poverty and can develop the domestic institutions that ensure good governance.

Our overseas development assistance program is best utilised when in conjunction with close cooperation with local institutions that have a good grasp on regional issues and which have demonstrated common goals with Australia. The best such institutions by far are the democratically elected governments in our neighbours such as Indonesia, whose development of responsible government provides an excellent conduit to bringing greater prosperity to our largest and most important neighbour. This in turn will have positive impacts on all the other nations in our region.

The most successful policies Australia has implemented over the past 15 years to ensure our security from transnational threats has been those in which we cooperate directly with our regional partners. Once again our cooperation with Indonesia has been exemplary on this issue, with the police cooperation in the wake of the Bali Bombings creating a highly effective partnership that successfully brought the perpetrators of both that and other crimes to justice. Continuing and enhancing in breadth and depth these cooperations is our best option into the future, as it provides excellent training to both Australian and other personnel and ensures that there is cooperation up to the highest levels of government.

06 AUSTRALIA USES A RANGE OF ASSETS AND CAPABILITIES TO PURSUE OUR INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS.

→ What assets will we need to advance our foreign policy interests in future years? How can we best use our people and our assets to advance Australia's economic, security and other interests and respond to external events?

→ How can Government work more effectively with non-government sectors, including business, universities and NGOs, to advance Australia's interests?

Australia is revered internationally for our vibrant economy, our role as a major global trader, and the durability of our democratic institutions. Our commitment to a multicultural society projects an image of tolerance to the world that attracts innovation, investments and the future leaders of the region. We acknowledge, however, that the underpinnings of our economic prosperity, which relies on policies such as the international free trade regime, is under threat. Therefore, Australia should prioritise the reinforcement of the liberal international order, utilising multilateral diplomacy as the medium in which we may project our values and protect our interests.

Australia has been proactive in the pursuit of liberal trade in the Asia-Pacific region, exemplified by its encouragement in the creation of sound financial practices following the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, as well as by participating in various multilateral trade negotiations. Advancing free market integration, however, has become significantly more difficult, as well as vital to our economic well-being, following the withdrawal of the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). As a result, Australia should seek to influence emerging institutions such as the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and the One Belt One Road initiative. Our participation in these initiatives reinforces our image as a reliable partner to China and other Asia-Pacific nations, which will enable us to encourage the creation of norms which align with the values and interests held by Australia, such as observance of international law and regulations in the creation of the regional trading regime vital to our prosperity.

Not only has Australia been active in the pursuit to participate in multilateral dialogues and agreements, but it has been successful in leading the promotion of people-to-people links through initiatives like the New Colombo Plan, which spans 34 locations in the Indo-Pacific region. A welcoming image of Australia strengthens our economic relationships with important Asian trade partners, while also allowing for Australians to immerse themselves in a wide range of academic and professional fields in these nations. Thus, taking advantage of these human links through Government, business and academic institutions will be a boon to the advancement of national interests, as it enhances our ability to engage in the region in a constructive manner

The most essential of these links is with China. Australia's Chinese communities have grown to over one million and play a vital part in the maintenance of our bilateral relationship. A study conducted by two economists Jan Priebe and Robert Rudolf, estimated that between 1970 and 2010, ethnic-Chinese immigrants spanning across 147 countries increased both trade openness by 31 per cent and investment by 18 per cent in their host countries. The people-to-people network assists Australian businesses to trade and invest in China and other regional economies where the Chinese diaspora are the key consumers and suppliers.

As Australia's services industry eclipses the commodities market in our export to China, the overseas Chinese community is expected to play a leading role in facilitating more trade and investment. Therefore, the Australian government and business sector should take advantage of this vital human asset to improve our long term economic prosperity. A step towards the recognition of these assets should allow for greater representation of and participation of Chinese Australians in the development of economic policies. Furthermore, the government should consider establishing additional programs akin to the New Colombo Plan designed at strengthening Australia's economic, political and cultural relations with Asia.

As a trading nation, our prosperity is interwoven with the development of the world. Today's international environment is a challenging and testing one. Serious threats to Australia's and the rule-based international order require sustained commitment and proactive diplomacy. Liberalisation of trade in the world is facing strong headwinds which will undermine the foundation of our prosperity. Therefore, the government must utilise our substantial national assets—a positive and welcoming image in the world and a robust economy to advance our interests in a challenging international environment.