

# APEC 2020

An Asialink Conversation for Leaders

9-11 September 2007

Report of Proceedings



The University of Melbourne

# APEC 2020: AN ASIALINK CONVERSATION FOR LEADERS

*APEC 2020: An Asialink Conversation for Leaders* is an initiative of Asialink at the University of Melbourne.

Asialink thanks the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade which provided support for this initiative and welcomed it as a valuable complement to Australia's hosting of the APEC Leaders' Meeting. We thank the sponsors and supporters of APEC 2020 listed below. Asialink would also like to acknowledge the Embassies, High Commissions and Consulates in the APEC Economies as well as all those who rendered invaluable assistance for APEC 2020.

## ASIALINK



The University of Melbourne

Asialink is Australia's leading centre for the promotion of public understanding of the countries of Asia and of Australia's role in the region.

Asialink's mission is to work with business, government, philanthropic and cultural partners to initiate and strengthen Australia-Asia engagement. Through high level forums and international collaborations, Asialink engages the corporate, media, arts, education, health and community sectors – reaching from primary school students to prime ministers – in Australia and Asia.

Asialink is an initiative of The Myer Foundation at the University of Melbourne. For further information, visit Asialink's website at [www.asialink.unimelb.edu.au](http://www.asialink.unimelb.edu.au)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Ms Meileng Tam  
Director, Public Programs

Ms Kathe Kirby  
Executive Director, Asialink and Asia Education Foundation

Ms Anna Song  
Public Programs Officer

Ms Bernadine Fernandez  
Events Coordinator

## SPONSORS



Australian Government  
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade



## SUPPORTERS



## FROM THE CHAIRMEN



L-R: Sid Myer, Phil Scanlan AM



The fourth Asialink Conversations began as the successful Sydney APEC leaders forum was winding down and all eyes were on the climate change debate following the release of the *Sydney Declaration on Climate Change, Energy Security and Clean Development*. It was one of several issues that were discussed vigorously during the Conversations.

It was a privilege to launch the Asialink Conversations with a keynote address over dinner by Indonesian President Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. President Yudhoyono highlighted the strengthening of ties during a period which has included challenging bilateral issues. In his well received address, the President paid tribute to the determination and good will of many Indonesians and Australians for their daily contributions to the relationship.

The Asialink Conversations provided many reminders of the importance of APEC. Prior to the formation of APEC in 1989 Indonesian and Australian leaders had met only five times in 25 years. Since then meetings have been at least on a yearly basis.

APEC is special, bringing together a unique assortment of nationalities and communities with an agreed sense of connectedness. As Australia will not host APEC again for 21 years, we count ourselves very fortunate for the personal connections established in Sydney.

Like APEC itself, the Asialink Conversations provide wonderful opportunities for people from a wide range of countries and backgrounds to develop understandings that help bring the region together. This in turn helps shape a shared future amid cultural and economic diversity.

This year the inclusion of delegates from Latin America strongly enhanced the Asialink Conversations. Their voices and perspectives advanced our cause of bridging cultural divides across the region.

Delegates commented that the Conversations had given them the freedom to express personal views and insights often lacking at international conferences and meetings. Frankness and honesty foster dialogue beyond the set piece positions that can dominate more formal settings.

The Sydney Asialink Conversations are set to continue through a newly developed blog. As well as being a forum for discussion and debate, it will help maintain and build the personal relationships growing out of Sydney.

We thank all participants along with Asialink staff, lead by CEO Jenny McGregor, for making the Sydney Asialink Conversations so fruitful and enjoyable. We look forward to the next Asialink Conversations in 2008 and to working together with partners and participants in building new forms of second track diplomacy.

**Phil Scanlan**  
**Sid Myer**  
Co-chairmen

## OPENING DINNER: EDITED KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT DR SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO

*“I confidently look forward to many years of goodwill, mutual trust and cooperation between Australia and Indonesia.”*

The Indonesian-Australian relationship today is at its peak. I am happy to tell you that between Australia and Indonesia there is a relationship of trust. Both sides have earned that trust and both are striving to deserve it.

Australian-Indonesian relations start with a disadvantage: nations with long common borders can often be uneasy with each other, and our two countries are no exception. That disadvantage, of course, can be overcome – but it will take some work.

Consider the differences between our histories, cultures and traditions, and world views. And consider the gap in the stages of our economic development. An Oriental society with collectivist traditions that is also a developing economy will have a different set of priorities than that of an economically developed society of European extraction that is growing more and more cosmopolitan.

Such differences, compounded by ignorance of each other, and abetted by the antics of populist politicians and a few sensationalist members of mass media on both sides, can lead to an unhealthy relationship. They can drive us to create unsavoury mental caricatures of each other.

Hence, there is such a thing as Australophobia in Indonesia. This stems from the perception that Australians are so enamoured with their imagined superiority that they meddle in the internal affairs of their neighbours.

On the other hand, there is in Australia a widespread perception of Indonesia as a militaristic society, with aggressive designs on its neighbours, including Australia. And there is a perception of Indonesia as a society that breeds Muslim terrorists, including suicide bombers.

Nothing can be more ridiculous than these mental images - but they often drive people to do unreasonable things. They are stereotypes that have no flesh-and-blood existence but they exist – and persist – in the minds of people. It is largely because of these stereotypes that there has been, from time to time, periods of volatility in the bilateral relations between Australia and Indonesia and, quite often, a deterioration of the quality of public opinion in both countries.

What has saved us from the tyranny of stereotypes is a stronger realisation of our commonalities and shared interests. We have simply realised that we need each other.

Australia is an important trading and investment partner of Indonesia - although in this regard, I hasten to add that there is plenty of room for growth. Indonesia is a reliable and strong supporter of Australia's engagement with the rest of East Asia. We have a common interest in ensuring the stability and equitable prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region.

The gift of trust does not come to us like manna from heaven: we both must earn it. Indonesia purchased much of that trust with the hard coin



Indonesian President Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono addressing guests at the Asialink APEC 2020 Opening Dinner

of reform. Through reform, we salvaged our economy from the devastation of the Asian crisis of 1997 to 1998, and became the world's third-most populous democracy, after India and the United States.

The terrorists who carried out the carnage on Bali in October 2002 might have thought that by killing Australians on Indonesian territory they could drive a wedge between our two countries. They were mistaken. The tragedy drew Australia and Indonesia closer together.

In spite of the stereotypes, there is plenty of goodwill in Indonesia today for Australians. Let us build on that. I want to see more Australians travel, play, rest, study, research, and make new friends in Indonesia. Those who are interested in Asian studies can make Indonesia their gateway to deeper knowledge. To the artists among you, come to Bali and find out how the artists of Europe found the fullest expression of their soul on that island paradise. To the entrepreneurs, come and avail yourselves of our latest package of investment incentives. And I fervently wish that this will be a two-way flow.

I would like more and more Indonesians to study in Australia – by scores of thousands every year if possible. I should like more and more Indonesian businessmen to look into opportunities in a strongly growing Australian economy.

Let us expand and intensify our people-to-people contacts in all fields, especially in trade and investment, and in culture and education. Let this effort be our way of dispelling the mental caricatures that are retarding our co-operation. Let it be the main pillar of our bilateral relations.

It was not too long ago when we all believed that nothing could be done about the climate. Now we are assured by the best science of the day that the climate we human beings live in is at least partially our creation. We are responsible for what it has become. But we can make it better and more sustainable if we exert the right, vigorous, concerted and sustained efforts.

What is true of the global climate is even truer of a bilateral relationship. We can create a climate of trust between our two countries—but that requires a prudent, vigorous, concerted and sustained effort.

It also requires knowing each other on the basis of immersion in each other's culture. It requires the cultivation of personal goodwill and the habit of cooperation through close and frequent personal and people-to-people contact.

## APEC 2007 SYDNEY – ACHIEVEMENTS AND OUTLOOK

**This is an edited version of an informal address to the Conversations given by David Spencer, Australian Ambassador to APEC.**

As we began preparing for the Sydney 2007 APEC meeting we realised there was a broad perception, particularly in Australia, that APEC had lost its way and its relevance. That gave us a rare opportunity to breathe new life into the forum.

The regional strategic environment was changing leaving APEC with challenges. There was an uncertainty in East Asia about dealing with the US as the single superpower and in dealing with China as the rising economic power. Although the economic environment and outlook was generally healthy, international financial institutions like the IMF were still being treated with some suspicion in the region, the Doha Development Agenda was making little headway and preferential trade arrangements were proliferating.

Prior to the formation of APEC in 1989 there was no regional forum to speak of. Now the institutional landscape is crowded and major players are jockeying for influence through forum shopping. These forums are focussed mainly on East Asia and do not include the US.

On the other side of the Pacific, hemispheric integration was underway, though the pace of economic integration in Latin America was lagging behind developments in East Asia.

We realised that there was little appetite within the membership for fundamental changes to APEC. Most remained firmly wedded to the principles of consensus, open regionalism, voluntarism and non-binding obligations. The idea of turning APEC into a negotiating forum aiming to produce binding agreements was out of the question.

But we knew we had some scope for activism as under the APEC approach, the annual host had some ability to influence outcomes.

We concluded that radical surgery would not succeed and that trying to force change was potentially divisive and counter-productive. Having said this, we were determined to do what we could to invigorate APEC.

So we set about some practical goals as the preparations began. These included helping leverage APEC's influence on the protracted WTO negotiations, forging stronger alliances with the business community, facilitating trade through the reduction of transaction costs and structural reform, by tackling behind-the-border measures and strengthening regional economic integration. We also aimed to bring a more strategic approach to APEC's human security agenda, strengthen APEC's institutional arrangements and review membership.

Initially, a new initiative in climate change was not included. But when we



David Spencer addresses APEC 2020 participants in the Legislative Council of the NSW Parliament

foreshadowed our intention to make this one of the key issues for Leaders in April the reaction was positive. There was general agreement that this was an issue of major interest to all members.

We were determined to produce an ambitious outcome on climate change rather than the consensus statement reflecting the lowest common denominator result which would typically emerge from such a meeting. But we were aware that major divisions existed.

The US, Japan, Canada and Australia were clear that, unlike the Kyoto Protocol, a future global arrangement to address climate change must include all major emitters. But developing countries had shown little flexibility, expressing their preference for the status quo, which involves no requirement or obligation on advanced developing countries to achieve emissions reductions.

Given that a key objective of the *Sydney Declaration* was to pave the way for the launch of UN negotiations on a new global framework to tackle climate change in Bali in December, we had to close the gap between these two positions.

When four days ahead of the Leaders meeting we sat down in Sydney at the negotiating table to hammer out the statement, we knew we were in for a difficult time.

A lot has been said about the inadequacies of aspirational regional goals and to the notion that all must cooperate in a comprehensive approach to tackling climate change. But let me tell you there was, initially, strong resistance to these two proposals from a number of our APEC colleagues.

As it turned out, after a lot of discussion, we came up with what we believe was a very positive outcome that resulted in the *Sydney Declaration on Climate Change, Energy Security and Clean Development*.

The Leaders agreed to work actively and constructively towards a

## APEC 2007 SYDNEY CONTINUED

comprehensive post-2012 arrangement at this year's UN Climate Change Conference in Bali.

They also agreed to work to achieve a common understanding on a long-term global emissions reduction goal based on a number of agreed principles. These involved equity, respect for individual circumstances, cooperation on technology, addressing forestry and land use issues and the promotion of open trade and investment.

There is little doubt that what we did in Sydney has already helped to shape a more effective global approach to climate change. This was reflected in the recent meetings in New York (hosted by the UN) and Washington (hosted by the US).

There were successes in other areas as well. We succeeded in getting Leaders to issue a strong statement supporting the conclusion of the Doha free trade round in a statement warmly welcomed by WTO Director General Pascal Lamy and by the EU.

### **The leaders agreed to work actively and constructively towards a post 2012 arrangement at this year's UN Climate Change Conference in Bali.**

Leaders also issued a report which outlines a comprehensive range of measures to accelerate regional economic integration. They cover trade, structural reform and behind-the-border measures, IPR, investment liberalisation and facilitation, strengthening regional financial markets, anti-corruption and good governance.

The forum also endorsed a series of recommendations designed to improve the business environment. These included models for free trade agreements, data privacy initiatives, cuts in transaction costs for business, good governance measures and data privacy initiatives.

APEC was strengthened institutionally through agreements on a 30% increase in member contributions, the formation of a policy support unit and the eventual appointment of a fixed term Executive Director. It was also decided to continue the current moratorium on new members for three years. However, Australia indicated that we were disposed to India's participation.

We believe that Sydney meetings augur well for the future of APEC.

Once again the forum proved its value in getting leaders, who represent more than half of global GDP and nearly half of world trade, to address the big issues, both global and regional. It has shown itself capable of evolving and orienting itself to new challenges.



Top L-R: Oscar Sañez, Dr Ly Qui Trung  
Bottom L-R: Dr Pichit Likitkijssomboon, Walter Braedt, Gabe Pellathy, Gregory Earl, David Tan

*“This has been a chance to get to know incredible minds and great human beings.”*

Walter Braedt

It has also demonstrated again the value of having a flexible, non-legalistic, non-negotiating forum in which governments can discuss issues without the threat of ceding sovereignty and national interest.

We have succeeded in melding vision with practicality – in maintaining our longer term goals for free trade and investment and for sustainable growth and at the same time continuing to deliver practical solutions across a broad economic and business agenda.

Next year, Peru will host the APEC summit followed in 2009 by Singapore then Japan, US and Russia. APEC may still have some flaws but it has shown that it works.

## SESSION 1: APEC – PROGRESS TO DATE AND STRATEGIES FOR THE FUTURE

*APEC 2020 – An Asialink Conversation for Leaders* got down to business with a wide ranging discussion covering the achievements and future direction of APEC. Some delegates saw the Sydney summit as significant as it opened up the important issue of climate change in the region.

Others pointed to the achievement of more modest but worthwhile goals in terms of pursuing trade liberalisation through structural reform behind national borders. With tariff levels being cut in recent years and the signing of a number of free trade agreements both within and outside the region, the freeing up of internal workings of economies was seen as the next step forward on trade by some delegates.

The ground work done on issues like investment facilitation, the strengthening and deepening of capital markets, intellectual property rights and good governance will have effect into the future and will continue to be on the agenda in future summits, some delegates thought.

Sydney itself was seen as a success on a number of fronts. One participant said Australia had made a conscious decision to leave its mark on APEC given it was instrumental in establishing the organisation and had hosted the first meeting in 1989. The inclusion of climate change on the APEC agenda and the eventual APEC Leaders Climate Change Declaration made at the end of the summit demonstrated that Australia had taken an activist role in the organisation. That activist role had succeeded because by the time of the conference external realities had pushed climate change onto the minds of APEC leaders.

Some felt that the climate change issue would be present at APEC for a number of years while others felt it would shift to a more suitable global forum like the Bali meeting of the United Nations Climate Change Conference in December. One took the view that climate change was a “luxury issue” from the perspective of developing countries and far more fundamental issues of trade, economic development, education and health should feature highest on the agenda.

With trade facilitation being the *raison d'être* for APEC, some felt that a regional free trade agreement should be a natural outcome of the organisation despite the reluctance to go down that path to date. One delegate pointed out that with East Asia talking of a free trade zone that would include India it was logical that a pan APEC agreement that included the US, the world's largest economy, should be a target. Others strongly disagreed saying this was not going to be a reality in the foreseeable future and member nations would be better off directing their energies elsewhere.

The 10 year moratorium on APEC membership expansion set at Vancouver in 1997 expired this year but the Sydney APEC conference decided to extend it for another three years. Some delegates expressed concern saying APEC had not addressed the issue of membership for



Top: Justice Datin Paduka Hajjah Hayati bin Mohd. Salleh  
Bottom L-R: Kathie Kirby, Jenny McGregor, Jonathan Pearlman, Gregory Earl, Greg Sheridan

*“What impressed me most was the diversity of opinions and the freedom to express thoughts in the discussions that went on. I was very pleased at the inclusion of delegates from the Pacific and the Americas. I found their views interesting.”*

Justice Datin Paduka Hajjah Hayati bin Mohd. Salleh

India. Some felt India would invariably become a more important player in the region and would have to be admitted at some point.

One delegate even suggested that Australia should have invited India as an observer. This was opposed by others who said the USA had reservations about admitting India and this would have been too politically confronting. Others felt the issue of Indian membership was not of prime importance and could be faced in the future when there was more of a consensus.

## SESSION 1 CONTINUED

The Presence of World Trade Organisation Director General Pascal Lamy at APEC had focussed attention on the issue of completing the stalled Doha round. Some saw the possibility of movement on this front in the coming months but the impending US presidential elections in 2008 made the window for this rather small.

APEC as a region had made significant advances on its original commitment to boost regional trade. Trade is growing strongly and average tariff levels had fallen from 17 per cent in 1989 to 5 per cent now with developed countries' average tariffs below 5 per cent.

The freeing up of trade was often seen as a kind of zero sum game where one country would lose out to another. One delegate observed the situation was more complex than this. Dropping trade barriers in for example Vietnam could see local soy and cattle industries lose out in favour of America and Australia while the Vietnamese would gain new markets from the textile and clothing sectors of those countries.

There is a paradox around trade, some observed. Free trade is booming but free trade agreements are bogged down. Free trade negotiations between Latin American countries are not advancing but intra-regional trade is.

APEC was attractive because it allowed real conversations to go on and had not fallen victim to what one delegate referred to as "old diplomacy;" or the domination of discussion by bureaucrats and diplomats preventing genuine exchange of views and progress. However the organisation risked going down that path and this should be guarded against.

Free trade agreements had been successful in boosting trade but one delegate said they ignored a vital issue that was appearing on the agenda in most of the world under different guises; the issue of people movement. In the future the rights and abilities of non-business people to move around the region to work would have to be addressed.

Another delegate said the issue was most evident with the North American Free Trade Agreement between Canada, the US and Mexico.

There people movements, mostly between Mexico and the US, were creating tensions within and between countries and this was because NAFTA had ignored the issue. One delegate conceded, however, that if people movement had been on the agenda to begin with NAFTA would never have been implemented.

The issues of terrorism and personal security remain important in the region although progress is evident. Peru, one delegate observed, could provide useful input when it hosts APEC next year on dealing with terrorism. The country managed to overcome a significant terrorist threat with its defeat of the Shining Path movement.

Some delegates welcomed the fact that APEC itself was in for a



Top L-R: Walter Braedt, Assoc Prof Simon Tay, Borone Darius Isana  
Bottom L-R: Gonzalo Zegarra-Mulanovich, David Tan

boost. Japan and Australia have pledged \$10 million over three years to strengthen the secretariat in a move that will give it the capability to provide research and briefing advice to member countries. This could be particularly helpful for developing countries that presently are restricted in the capacities they can devote to developing agendas when they host APEC. APEC members may also agree to fund a fixed-term secretariat director soon.

## SESSION 2: IDENTIFYING OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES: PERSPECTIVES FROM ECONOMIES

The APEC region has undergone a fundamental change in recent years. This has been driven by the incredible boom unleashed in large part by China's evolution as an economic powerhouse as well as productivity gains driven by technological developments like the internet and wireless communication technology. As a result there has been strong economic growth right across the region. Developed countries are experiencing economic growth of around three per cent a year while developing countries in the region are growing at an average of six per cent.

Demand for raw materials from China, India and elsewhere has pushed up prices, tipping the terms of trade in favour of resource rich countries in the region like Peru, Chile, Australia, Indonesia, Canada and Papua New Guinea. Many countries in the Asian region in particular are running strong balance of payments surpluses which are seen as part of the insurance against any reoccurrence of the regional economic crisis triggered in 1997.

Current growth is widely spread and if it continues has real potential to lift the standard of living of the poor across the region. This is already happening in some countries and it is in the region's interests for it to continue.

Within this favourable picture lie a number of challenges. Rapid and sustained growth is leading to major trade imbalances. While China and other Asian exporters are running strong current account surpluses, the US, the major import market for the region, is heavily in deficit on both its budget and current account. The US deficits have been largely funded by the East Asian export dynamos with China now holding over 10 per cent of all US government bonds on issue.

China on the other hand has its capital account closed to foreign investors and its currency pegged at what many see as an artificially low level. That situation was seen by some delegates as unsustainable politically and economically and could trigger major destabilisation. If the Chinese were to stop buying American bonds, the US government would have to cut spending triggering a downturn in the US and a fall in demand for East Asian products.

Some delegates thought that the danger lay in action by the US Congress to restrict Chinese imports in response to the intractable trade deficit and what is in some quarters seen as the resulting export of US jobs to China. There was a sizeable constituency for such views among both Democrat and Republican voters in the Midwest and 'Rust Belt' regions of the US, some delegates reported.

However in the view of others the threat of these imbalances is overstated given the fact that 50 per cent of China's manufactured exports and 90 per cent of its electronics exports are now produced in foreign owned factories. That makes the reality of the imbalances



L-R: Kwon Gye-hyun, Dr Pichit Likitkijjombon

more complicated than at first glance with a good deal of China's trade surplus actually flowing into the coffers of companies owned in the west and elsewhere.

The imbalances combined with a loose monetary policy run by American authorities since September 11 and the 'tech wreck' early in the decade have led to another risk; a credit market meltdown following on the heels of the sub-prime mortgage crisis in the US. The danger is not restricted to the American housing sector as a virtually unrestricted supply of cheap money has led to an underpricing of risk through the international debt markets. As a result, as risk is repriced, the tightening of credit markets could spread the problems that began with US mortgage lenders throughout the world economy.

Several delegates also saw the possibility of a serious split between the developed and developing worlds driven by three factors: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the structure of the international financial system; the Doha round of talks on free trade and climate change.

If there were to be some sort of major shakeout in the world financial system triggered perhaps by the US-East Asia imbalances, the resulting actions of the IMF could see the developed and developing worlds at loggerheads. IMF actions following the 1997 Asian crisis were widely seen as too draconian and only exacerbating an already devastating situation throughout South East Asia. If the IMF were to act in a similar way again, the result could be a lasting split with developing countries breaking out of the existing financial system.

The ongoing inability to complete the Doha round could also trigger a split. Developing countries see US and European agricultural subsidies as rich countries using their financial muscle to undermine the markets

## SESSION 2 CONTINUED

for the agricultural products so many developing countries depend on.

Climate change was put forward as another area of possible conflict. Developing countries are strongly of the view that the developed world, as the creators of legacy carbon in the atmosphere, should make the emissions cuts leaving rapidly industrialising nations the freedom to continue the growth that is moving significant parts of their population out of poverty. This debate was carried over to a later conversation dedicated to the issue.

Many delegates thought the importance of the Doha round was overestimated and that it had not succeeded to date because it was not high on the agenda of politicians. International agreements succeed when there is seen as a need for them, one delegate observed. Trade had been liberalised considerably in recent years and world trade was growing at a far faster rate than the world economy, bringing big increases in prosperity. Therefore for many countries freeing up the trade system was not a high priority issue.

*“The contributions from everyone have been very good and so being here has been very informative. I think Asialink could be an agent for change to help people in the region see themselves as part of a global village.”*

Winifred Kamit

Japan was seen as somewhat of a sleeper in the region. While its economy had improved since its long period of deflation in the 1990's there had been insufficient political reform and this could be a block on its effectiveness as a regional driving force. The Japanese bureaucracy still wields so much power that opposition from any ministry can block new legislation making it difficult to overcome traditional vested interests in areas like agriculture.

The Latin American region has traditionally looked to itself and the US in terms of trade. However APEC and similar forums presented opportunities for Latin America to look towards the Asian region. Some countries had begun to learn the lessons of the benefits of the sort of openness the Asian and Australasian regions had shown. One delegate said that Latin American development had been held up by a lack of good government and that developed nations often forgot the importance of institutional strength in ensuring lasting and durable development.

That problem of a lack of institutional strength was also evident in Melanesia, some delegates said.



Top L-R: Dato' Dr Michael Yeoh, Winifred Kamit CBE  
Bottom L-R: Dr Megan Clark, Hiroshi Takaku AM, Hugh Millikin

## SESSION 3: ASSESSING THE MAJOR PLAYERS - JAPAN, CHINA, INDONESIA, INDIA, USA

Throughout the APEC region and beyond people are questioning what the new role of China will be. Asia, many delegates believed, will remain peaceful as long as the US and China are not drawn into an adversarial relationship, be it over Taiwan, economic factors or other strategic issues that may emerge in the region. On the economic front it was felt by a number of participants that both countries had enough incentive to prevent competitive pressures destabilising the relationship.

Some delegates put the view that there was more to regional stability than simply the China-US relationship. With China heading towards super power status, regional stability would also depend on how comfortable China's neighbours and the region generally were with the awakening giant. China-Taiwan relations and the issue of North Korea would also be pivotal in determining regional security.

Rising economic prosperity throughout the region should lead to greater stability as all regional economies become more closely connected through trade and investment dealings. However one participant identified a number of risks:

1. Tension between the US and China resulting from either military or economic competition and including the Taiwan issue.
2. Tension in the relationship between the US and Japan.
3. Tensions or worse between North Korea, the US and others as a result of North Korea's nuclear strategies.
4. Iran's nuclear ambitions.
5. The problem of terrorism in the region.
6. A sleeper issue that most identified as a possible influenza pandemic.

The prospect of US-China tensions spilling over into conflict was likely to be as a result of an accident rather than of intent, one delegate thought. US concerns about its relative economic strength in relation to China are already emerging as a political issue in some parts of America.

Following the end of the Cold War the world went into a unipolar phase with the US being the only superpower. Now this brief reality has shifted with Russia expressing its power in the world once more and China moving onto the world stage. China's rising power was making the US military pessimistic and nervous as they felt the capacity and size of China's armed forces to be a real challenge, one delegate felt.

On the Taiwan issue there were significant splits. One delegate felt there was real danger of Chinese military intervention that could in turn trigger US action because Taiwan in recent times had taken what some saw as provocative actions. These included seeking permission to join the United Nations, which the current Taiwanese leadership wants to put to a referendum before the 2008 elections.



Top L-R: Philip Flood AO, Dr Dino Patti Djalal, Javier Treviño  
Bottom L-R: Kavi Chongkittavorn, Mark Cameron

*“Having this great conversation over two days makes me think about how we could extend it. Asialink should think hard about establishing an Asialink community on the Internet.”*

Javier Treviño

Others drew heart from the rebuke of Taiwan over the UN membership issue by both the US and China and thought the situation would not get out of hand. Mammoth trade and investment flows between Taiwan and the Mainland would be a big brake on potential hostilities. All three economies saw a need to maintain the status quo on the issue, but their views on this were quite different. Taiwan saw status quo as independence, America saw it as Taiwan being self-governing without declaring formal independence and

## SESSION 3 CONTINUED



L-R: Hiroshi Takaku AM, Dr Johnny C Chiang, Walter Braedt, Dr Ken Jimbo

China saw Taiwan as an integral part of the PRC. China saw any move for independence by Taiwan as a threat to its territorial integrity and in turn to its very survival and this had to be understood, a delegate said.

China is now reaching beyond its borders to ensure its energy security and this also creates challenges. Its actions created insecurity, particularly in North America and Europe, because of its use of nation building measures to win access to resources. China typically offered soft loans and the building of infrastructure in return for mineral and energy rights in developing countries. Western resource companies cannot do likewise and this created nervousness. However a delegate pointed out that China had been blocked from traditional investment in the energy sectors in the western world.

Regional instability may also result from instability within China itself. The country faced environmental challenges that would have to be confronted as would the widening division between rich and poor. An orderly progression plan for China's political leadership was important as was the transformation of the political system towards democracy and the need to combat corruption.

Japan needed to engage more effectively with China and the region in general to ensure it became a stabilising force delegates said. Currently Japan's relationship with the US was widely seen as a united front against China. Some delegates said Japan needed to show its relationship with the US was important regionally and not just for its own security. Equally China would feel isolated and threatened if it interpreted relations between the US, Japan and other Asian countries as an alliance of democracies against the PRC. It is important that China regard itself as a regional insider, not an outsider.

Consequently the recent increased diplomatic activity by Australia and South Korea needed to include China to create a situation where the middle ranking democracies were not seen to be siding with the US and Japan against China. China could also be a stabilising force in unexpected ways. One delegate observed that China, as a customer of

Iranian oil, could exert influence to ensure diplomatic initiatives to curb the Iranian nuclear threat were successful. A possible precedent had been set in Sudan where China had eventually cooperated with the international community in pressuring that country over the disastrous conflict in Darfur.

Likewise India should be brought more into the regional fold but must develop a relationship that was equidistant between China and the US, delegates said.

*"It's been a wonderful conference and I've learned a lot from all of you. I really like the style of the Conversations. Here you have an equal participation by everyone at every session. There is no way to escape!"*

Dr Ken Jimbo

The growing power of India, which by 2050 will have a larger and younger population than China's, meant that the country also needed to play a bigger part in regional affairs. The US would have to have the flexibility to deal with India's military and economic power and its position in not being a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Pact.

North Korea represented a real danger to the region and delegates were split over its magnitude. Some drew heart from North Korea's recent decision to abandon the building of a plutonium powered reactor and the fact that it was still in conversation with the outside world about nuclear and strategic issues. Its parlous economic state meant it would have to remain open to dialogue with the US and other countries, some asserted. However others felt that North Korea was a major threat

## SESSION 4: CLIMATE CHANGE

through its possession of highly enriched uranium and plutonium. These could fuel more missiles or could end up in the hands of non-state actors like terrorists.

Terrorism had subsided as a threat in the region mainly because of the success of Indonesia in controlling its local Islamist groups. Indonesia, the world's largest Islamic nation, had been far more successful than some other countries in curbing terror and had far more terrorists in its jails than other countries with terrorism problems. A delegate noted that despite its Muslim population of over 200 million, no Islamist party in Indonesia had been able to achieve more than 15 per cent of the popular vote

In the wake of the Bali bombings Indonesia had developed successful anti-terrorism methods. One delegate objected to the widespread use of the term Islamic Terrorism, pointing out the fact that political terrorism was a phenomenon that had occurred in countries with as disparate religious backgrounds as Sri Lanka, Spain, Ireland and India.

Indonesia's fledgling democracy has taken root and the country is unlikely to retreat to dictatorship. However it is vital for the region to foster democracy, the strengthening of the state and economic development in Indonesia to ensure the most populous country in South East Asia remains a force for stability and the terrorism threat remains on the wane. One delegate expressed concern about stated ambitions by Indonesia to use nuclear power.

The role of the US would change following the 2008 presidential election, it was felt. One delegate believed regardless of which major political party is represented in the White House a far more nuanced approach will be taken to the "War on Terror." That will affect relationships with Indonesia, Thailand and throughout the Middle East. That in turn will give the US far more legitimacy in dealing with the Iranian situation.

Some delegates expressed concern that the US had lost sight of the Asia Pacific because of the War on Terror and the situation in Iraq. A new administration would also be likely to scale down the Iraq intervention and would be more likely to look to the region again. A number of delegates expressed the view that the US needed to use soft, not hard, power in influencing the Asia Pacific.

Many delegates agreed the sleeper of a pandemic was a real danger. Enhanced national and regional planning were necessary to ensure that any outbreak was contained.



L-R: Phil Scanlan AM, Peter Yates, Dato' Dr Michael Yeoh, Dr Christopher Howard

Just as the danger of climate change was the most dominant public message emerging from the formal APEC summit it was a powerful issue within our discussions as well.

Discussion began exploring the philosophical nature of the environment with a delegate asking whether clean air was in fact a resource or a virtue.

Most delegates took the view that while clean air could also be seen as a virtue it was more efficacious to view it as a resource. The discussion then centred on various methods of giving clean air a price to ensure it was not misallocated.

Some delegates saw a carbon tax as the most rational measure as it is a direct impost on pollution. Some saw carbon trading as less onerous however its benefits in emissions reductions were seen as difficult to regulate and quantify. However with the Kyoto system now well under way, delegates saw its emissions trading system as something to build on for future years.

America and Australia are alone among APEC member states in not signing up to Kyoto. Delegates saw this resistance as wavering. The current Australian Government has already committed to developing a national carbon trading system and the Labor opposition is committed to signing Kyoto. In the US a number of states have taken action on emissions. Following the upcoming Presidential election, a new administration, either Democratic or Republican, is expected to take concerted action on climate change. One delegate reported talk in North American political circles of cutting income taxes in return for introducing a carbon tax.

Already three levels of carbon market have come into existence as a result of the Kyoto Protocol. There is the formal European market

## SESSION 4 CONTINUED

where emitters have their rights to emit capped and must buy rights from other parties to the system if they need to emit more. A semi-regulated market has developed out of the Clean Development Mechanism for offsets by developing countries that are Kyoto signatories. These countries have no carbon caps but can sell emissions reductions measures like solar power plants or reforestation to first world emitters who in turn balance these against their Kyoto commitments.

A third track of carbon trading which falls outside the Kyoto mechanisms includes the trading of rights emanating from state based schemes in places like California and New South Wales.

The largest problem that will confront the world in renegotiating the Kyoto Protocol by 2012, emerged strongly and repeatedly during the conversations: how the burden of emissions reductions will be shared between the first and developing worlds. A number of delegates from developing countries stated they were not prepared to see their growth levels capped by an emissions trading system.

In the eyes of the developing world the carbon that now warms the earth's atmosphere is legacy carbon produced by the rich nations over their 200-year journey to current levels of wealth. Therefore the rich countries must lead the way in reducing emissions. "Why should we pay an equal price with the long term polluters," one delegate observed.

However developing countries will have to become part of the solution if the problem is to be tackled, many delegates pointed out. While the developed world is responsible for over 70 per cent of legacy carbon in the earth's atmosphere, developing countries will be responsible for 70 per cent of the growth in emissions until 2030, one delegate pointed out.

Some delegates remarked upon the sheer difficulty of the task. Questions like 'what is sustainable and affordable' were raised. While the entire world may aspire to Western lifestyles "if everyone on earth were to live a US lifestyle we would need six globes to supply ourselves with the raw materials," one impassioned delegate pointed out.

China, for example, uses about 1.9 billion tonnes of coal today and expects this figure to jump to 3 billion tonnes by 2015.

For global carbon emissions to be controlled there will have to be international moves to find and develop low emissions technologies. Developed countries will have a responsibility to introduce these into the developing world as well as their own economies, delegates thought. A method would have to be developed that shared the burden of these new technologies between the developed and developing worlds.

Forest preservation emerged as a vital issue with delegates saying forestry must be included in the post Kyoto world system. Currently deforestation is excluded from the Kyoto system yet it accounts for 25 per cent of the carbon emitted annually. Forest countries saw the

inclusion of forest preservation in a world carbon trading system as both an important way to cut emissions and a way to provide them with an income source to enable forest protection.

Already a number of initiatives are under way including the Heart of Borneo program between Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia aimed at preserving 200,000 square kilometres of rainforests. The Kalimantan partnership between Indonesia and Australia will see \$A100 million used to preserve 30,000 hectares of rain forests. Now a number of countries, including APEC members Peru, Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia along with others including Costa Rica, Brazil, Gabon and Cameroon are planning an alliance that will cover over 80 per cent of the globe's rain forests by bringing them into the global carbon trading network.

There is a need to act quickly on rainforests in the region. One delegate pointed out that in recent years the area of Vietnam's rainforest that had been subject to clearing had risen from 4 per cent to 27 per cent.

Leadership would need to be shown in the developed nations with Australia and the US singled out by some delegates as not shouldering their burdens. It was pointed out that developing countries had chosen to dampen their emissions, particularly by boosting energy efficiency and introducing renewable energy. China, despite its dramatic expansion of coal-fired energy, has also pledged to produce 15 per cent of its electricity from renewable sources.

There are also significant technological efforts to reduce emissions in the APEC region. Some of these revolve around nuclear power and the Japanese are driving a project to develop a commercially viable electric car.

Not everything done in the name of emissions reductions, however, measures up in efficacy. One delegate pointed out that biofuel output was rising in the Asian region but rainforest was sometimes being cleared to make way for biofuel crops.

The need to curb emissions will lead to energy security strengthening as an issue. Each country will be anxious to secure its energy needs in a carbon constrained world and both energy sources and the technologies to safely harness them will be sought. Developing a replacement for the current Kyoto system will be a difficult process, delegates felt.

## SESSION 5: CAPACITY BUILDING

Capacity building, the development of economies and societies through remaking education, was seen as a vital issue in enabling countries to cope with and benefit from the dramatic transformations being brought about by globalisation. The issue provoked a kind of collective soul searching as participants looked at the nature of their education systems and expressed views on how they would like them to change.

All speakers saw education as the key to unlocking the future and many pointed out how inadequacies in the current situation were holding back their countries socially and economically. There were differences in the situations within and between regions, but three major themes emerged: the need to improve equity; the need to equip students with the new skills and attitudes required in the knowledge economy; and the vital importance of effective cross cultural communication in the globalised world.

One delegate referred to a “trinity of prosperity” that must underpin a modern society. The architecture of buildings and infrastructure, the engineering of processes, governance and enterprise and finally the people to constantly rebuild the structure, keep it working and reap its fruits. In this model governments must invest in developing education to enable the economy to perform in the highly competitive global environment.

Along with the hard skills of engineering, maths and language, the globalised world now demanded soft skills; the ability to think creatively and innovate. In reality these skills were “harder” skills, the delegate observed and their role was to turn knowledge into “something useful”. In Singapore, where the government has adopted a strategy of competing in the knowledge economy, it is expected to take 10 to 15 years to train a new generation to be creative innovators. In the mean time Singapore, a country with a population of 4.5 million of whom 1.5 million are workers from overseas, will continue to tap into the global market for skilled people.

Creative thinking and innovation would have to be applied by today’s tertiary students in their own careers. Rapid change meant most knowledge was out of date within 10 years so educators had to teach students how to learn.

Globalisation is not simply about workers moving between countries. It means governments and enterprises are constantly interacting and negotiating with people from environments and cultures very different from their own. This requires people who are sensitive to cultural differences and how they play out in the real world. So a new cultural intelligence must be the focus of education along with the more traditional literacy, numeracy and ICT skills, one delegate said.

A delegate who worked for a multinational corporation concurred saying the company operated in 25 countries and had to negotiate daily across many cultures and jurisdictions and deal with a highly diverse workforce and management.



Top L-R: Jonathan Pearlman, Jenny McGregor, Ian Fliedner, Allan Gyngell  
Bottom L-R: Dr Ly Qui Trung, Oscar Sañez

*“My knowledge and wisdom has been enlarged in the last two days. I’ve heard so many different views from different people. I hadn’t thought deeply about some of the issues we have been discussing and being here has been something to give me a better view for my life and my business.”*

Dr Ly Qui Trung

Australia was now actively promoting cultural intelligence with a national policy on engaging school students with Asia signed off by all education ministers in 2006. However one delegate warned that Australian education spending had fallen in recent years and only increased spending would keep the country competitive in a globalised world.

Malaysia also places high value on cultural interaction, which is necessitated by its multi racial makeup. Already the vast majority of Malaysian school students are bilingual, speaking English as well as Bahasa Malaysia. Many are trilingual speaking a Chinese or Indian

## SESSION 5 CONTINUED

language as well and now the government has introduced a trilingual policy that will aid cultural understandings both within Malaysia and with the wider world.

Equity in education was seen as a key issue in Latin America, Asia and the US. In Latin America and parts of Asia it was reported that the elite private sector produced virtually all decision makers, while the government sector remained under funded and largely unable to deliver high quality education. The political power of teacher unions and government reluctance to push areas like English and computer skills were also holding back outcomes in the public education systems, some delegates thought.

*“I came to this forum to listen. I wanted to hear the perspectives of different countries and it been fantastic to actually listen to that.”*

Dr Megan Clark

In the US, it was reported, despite its vast wealth and large number of high quality educational institutions there was a two-tier system in place. Schools in middle class areas were generally of good quality while those serving depressed regions and ethnic minorities, were badly under resourced and delivered poor educational outcomes. This situation was seen as more severe than in most Western countries because funding for public schools in the US comes disproportionately from local government. A poor neighbourhood means low property taxes and under funded school districts.

Limited education spending and general social disadvantage meant in many developing countries high school and university graduate numbers were relatively low. In the Philippines for example only 64 per cent of students graduate from primary school, 37 per cent from high school and 14 per cent from tertiary institutions. About 450,000 students graduate from university every year in the Philippines and a delegate thought this number could be 4 million if the system was significantly boosted.

A lack of graduates meant a low skill economy and insufficient workers to develop the knowledge and service sectors. Delegates thought that targeted aid from Western countries and more private sector involvement in education and training were essential. The costs of a lack of skills are great. One delegate reported that the lack of skilled personnel in Vietnam meant business typically had to employ expats for three to four times the cost of a local worker. However, he said the true worth of many of these expats was perhaps 1.5 times that of a local worker.

Delegates from Latin America and New Zealand reported there was a



Top L-R: Hiroshi Takaku AM, Dr Megan Clark  
Bottom L-R: The Hon Charles Chauvel, Gabe Pellathy

lack of value placed on technical education and the result was too many graduates with generalist degrees, which hampered the growth of the knowledge industries. One delegate warned that government or university planning in isolation was not the answer to providing relevant courses. Students had to be consulted or they would simply abandon courses they saw as irrelevant. “Listen to the students. They play computer games across the world; they know information and storage on the Internet are virtually free. They know the new world and we (the older generations) just don’t get it,” the delegate said.

## FINAL SESSION: LASTING IMPRESSIONS

The final session was a time for delegates to reflect on what they had learned over the two days of the Conversations and to put forward ideas on issues they felt needed addressing at the next APEC meeting in Peru in 2008.

Many remarked on the benefit of the truly open discussion embodied in the Conversations. “A lot of discussions involve people sticking to the script. Here it’s not the case. We all come from different backgrounds: big, medium and small economies and different historical lineages. But we all are embracing the same currencies as we face globalisation and these include innovation, openness, connectivity and specialisation.”

One delegate remarked on the spirit of understanding that had come out of the conversations and said its lessons should be applied in regional relationships: “I thought about what we have been talking about here and came to the conclusion large economies have a responsibility to their neighbours. There is a saying ‘to those to whom much is given, much is expected.’ We’re all a big country to somebody. The more we’re interdependent the safer the planet is.”

Another delegate observed that in his country people typically compared their situation with that of the US or Europe and asked himself “where are the points in common? Here it feels that Latin American countries have much more in common with the challenges opportunities and difficulties that South East Asian countries face. Here I feel we have a very vibrant group of people and countries. A few that are ahead, the Asian tigers and so on, and all the others are also growing and trying to benefit from that. It’s very dynamic. Everyone wants to work and have the opportunity to catch opportunities.”

For another delegate the Conversations brought home the benefits of really listening to people with a very different background and experience from your own. “We really need to listen to others if we want to understand the depth and complexity of issues we face together.” This lesson, the delegate felt, applied equally to relations between youth and older people within countries as it did between nations. The young understand the new interactive world that is growing out of the Internet and how best to apply it. Leaders in all areas needed to listen to them. For Peru next year the delegate advised APEC to “be bold and take on bigger issues.”

One delegate saw the possibility of an expanded role for Asialink in the region. “I think Asialink could be an agent for change to help people (in the region) see themselves as part of a global village. APEC next year should focus on education and on advocating good practice in corporate governance throughout the region,” the delegate said.

One delegate spoke of the friends he had made after two days. “I didn’t expect to come to learn. I expected to give a keynote speech. But the process of sharing common problems has made me realise that we are



Top: Dato’ Paduka Haji Mohd Hamid Haji Mohd Jaafar, David Tan, Dr Christopher Howard

Bottom: APEC 2020 participants

*“As Dr Martin Luther King said, ‘We are bound by the web of the mutuality of our humanity.’ Thank you to my colleagues and delegates it was an honour a privilege to interact with you.”*

Dr Christopher Howard

not alone in the many issues the developing world is facing”

A number of delegates from a range of countries expressed the view that the Conversations had been greatly enhanced by the presence of delegates from Latin America for the first time. They had contributed a perspective that many delegates had been unfamiliar with and parallels and differences were drawn between the social and economic situations on both sides of the Pacific.

## FINAL SESSION CONTINUED

One delegate suggested that dialogue on building civil society should be included on the Agenda for Peru. While focus had been placed on economic integration and development, the importance of the development of civil society was often overlooked. Without it the transformation that accompanied economic development could not be complete, the delegate said. Delegates cited countries in Asia, the Pacific and the Americas where civil society remained underdeveloped.

Another delegate concurred and called for the implementation of an APEC track two that would involve discussion between NGO's and other elements of civil society.

There was disagreement as to whether climate change would figure as prominently in Peru as it had in the Sydney APEC meeting. Some saw it as "an issue searching for a venue" that would pop up in lots of places as the effects of climate change were more widely felt. Some delegates saw the climate change debate as likely to widen to include water management and energy efficiency.

*"This has been the most eye opening experience for me since I went to study in the US the first time. Here I feel we have a very vibrant group of people and countries."*

Dr Cristóbal Aninat

One delegate intended to report three key messages to the leader of his country: the need to explain what APEC is about to the people; the need for new approaches to security; the need for the society to learn about Asian cultures and about climate change.



Top L-R: Marcelo Vásquez, Brendan Pearson, Prof Le Quang Minh, Eddy Sariaatmadja, Winifred Kamit, Benjamin Philip Romualdez  
Middle L-R: Dr Cristóbal Aninat, Selwyn Pellett  
Bottom L-R: John Luk, Eddy Sariaatmadja, Peter Yates, Sid Myer

## APEC 2020 PARTICIPANTS



APEC 2020 participants

### AUSTRALIA: CHAIRMEN

Mr Sid Myer, Chairman, Asialink

Mr Phil Scanlan AM, Founder, Australian American Leadership Dialogue

### AUSTRALIA

Dr Megan Clark, Vice President Technology, BHP Billiton

Mr Brendan Pearson, Assistant Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade

### BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Dato' Paduka Haji Mohd Hamid Haji Mohd Jaafar, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Industry and Primary Industries

Justice Datin Paduka Hajjah Hayati binti Poks Dato' Seri Paduka Hj Mohd Salleh, High Court Judge, Supreme Court of Brunei

### CANADA

Mr Mark Cameron, Director of Policy and Research, Prime Minister's Office

Mr Hugh Millikin, Founder, President and Chief Executive Officer, Indigo Pacific

### CHILE

Dr Cristóbal Aninat, Director Proyecto BYD, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores

Mr Marcelo Vásquez, Manager, Communications, Information and Technology, Fundación Chile

### HONG KONG

Mr John Luk, Port and Strategic Investment Manager, Hutchison Port Holdings

### INDONESIA

Dr Dino Patti Djalal, Special Advisor to the President of Indonesia & Presidential Spokesman

Mr Eddy Sariaatmadja, President Director, London Sumatra Indonesia

### JAPAN

Dr Ken Jimbo, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Policy and Management

Mr Hiroshi Takaku AM, President, Takaku Associates, Inc.

### KOREA (REPUBLIC OF)

Mr Kwon Gye Hyun, Corporate Vice President & Head of Global Communications & Global Sponsorship, Samsung Electronics

### MALAYSIA

Dato' Dr Michael O.K. Yeoh, Chief Executive Officer, Asian Strategy & Leadership Institute

### MEXICO

Mr Javier Treviño, Senior Vice President for Corporate Communications and Public Affairs, CEMEX

### NEW ZEALAND

The Hon Charles Chauvel, Member of Parliament

Mr Selwyn Pellett, Executive Chairman, Imarda Ltd

### PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Mrs Winifred Kamit CBE, Senior Partner, Gadens Lawyers

Mr Borone Darius Isana, Manager, Government Relations, Lihir Gold Limited

### PERU

Mr Walter Braedt, Chief Executive Officer, Braedt Group

Mr Gonzalo Zegarra-Mulanovich, Editor in Chief, Semana Economica

### PHILIPPINES

Mr Benjamin Philip G Romualdez, Chairman, Benquet Corporation

Mr Oscar R Sañez, Chief Executive Officer, Business Processing Association of the Philippines (BPA/P)

### SINGAPORE

Mr David Tan, Former Director of Contact Singapore

Assoc Prof Simon SC Tay, Chairman, Singapore Institute of International Affairs

### REPUBLIC OF CHINA (TAIWAN)

Dr Johnny C Chiang, Acting Director, Division of International Affairs, Taiwan Institute of Economic Research

### THAILAND

Mr Kavi Chongkittavorn, Assistant Group Editor, Multimedia Nation Group

Dr Pichit Likitkijssomboon, Deputy Director, International Cooperation Study Centre (ICSC)

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dr Christopher Howard, Vice President for Strategic & Leadership

Initiatives, University of Oklahoma

Mr Gabriel Pellathy, Deputy Director General (acting) and Chief of Staff, US Department of Commerce

### VIETNAM

Prof Le Quang Minh, Vietnam National University - Ho Chi Minh City

Dr Ly Qui Trung, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Nam An Group

### AUSTRALIA: RESOURCE TEAM

Mr Gregory Earl, Asia Pacific Editor, *Australian Financial Review*

Mr Philip Flood AO, Deputy Chairman, Asialink

Mr Allan Gyngell, Executive Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy

Ms Jenny McGregor, Chief Executive Officer, Asialink

Mr Jonathan Pearlman, Journalist, Sydney Morning Herald

Mr Greg Sheridan, Foreign Editor, *The Australian*

Mr Peter Yates, Deputy Chairman, Asialink; Director, Allco Equity Partners Limited