



Submission to Foreign Policy White Paper
February 2017

OUR PROGRAMS

ASIALINK ARTS

New models of cultural engagement

The role of Asialink Arts is to develop opportunities for cultural exchange between Australia and Asia. Our programs aim to improve the knowledge, skills and networks of the cultural sector based on partnerships, collaboration and reciprocity. We deliver residencies, exhibitions and special projects within the region across all art forms and assist audiences to better understand the arts of our region.

ASIALINK BUSINESS

Building capability and engagement in a business context

Asialink Business is Australia's National Centre for Asia Capability. Its capability development programs (including the Asialink Leaders Program), research products and advocacy help to equip organisations in all sectors to become Asia capable by developing the critical skills, knowledge and networks needed to engage with the complexities of the region. Asialink Business' newly launched China Practice assists businesses seeking to understand the market, expand or grow in China.

ASIALINK DIPLOMACY

Creating effective Australia-Asia connectivity

Asialink pilots bilateral and regional leadership programs to address new areas of policy discussion and foster new professional networks via innovative platforms for collaboration. It also organises Track Two dialogues and regular commentary on strategic issues in Australia-Asian relations, bringing together key voices from across the region to share perspectives and identify new opportunities for cross-sector engagement.

ASIA EDUCATION FOUNDATION

Equipping young Australians to be ready for the world

Asialink's school education programs delivered through the Asia Education Foundation provide students, teachers, education leaders and school communities with interactive programs, professional learning, curriculum resources and partnerships to build global competence and Asia capability for every young Australian.

ASIA AUSTRALIA MENTAL HEALTH

Finding solutions for global health issues

Asia Australia Mental Health (AAMH) works to improve the mental health outcomes for people living with mental health disorders and psychiatric illness in partnership with academic, government, health sector community and peak bodies in Asia and Australia. AAMH's areas of focus include: Workforce Development, Research and Thought Leadership.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
BUSINESS.....	4
CULTURAL SECTOR	8
EDUCATION	11
HEALTH	15
YOUTH DIPLOMACY	18
SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY	20
APPENDIX: Asialink Foreign Policy White Paper Consultations Delegates.....	24

INTRODUCTION

On 22 February 2017, The Hon Andrew Robb AO, Chairman of Asialink and Asialink Business welcomed participants to the cross-sectoral Foreign Policy White Paper Consultations, convened by Asialink in partnership with PwC.

The Australian Government's Foreign Policy White Paper Taskforce invited Asialink to convene Consultations with key stakeholders to inform the development of the White Paper, a comprehensive framework to guide our international engagement over the next five to ten years.

The Consultations involved 160 distinguished leaders and experts participating in the break-out groups of business, the cultural sector, education, health, youth diplomacy and security and foreign policy. The security and foreign policy stream was co-chaired by the Australian Committee, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (AusCSCAP) and included eminent voices from the Indo-Pacific region. The youth diplomacy stream provided an opportunity for young leaders from diverse sectors to generate fresh ideas for Australian diplomacy through a 'hackathon' and pitch process.

Members of DFAT's Foreign Policy White Paper Taskforce were in attendance. The Taskforce Lead, Mr Richard Maude provided an opening introduction to the consultation process. Following the Consultations, The Hon Andrew Robb AO delivered a keynote address and Richard Maude provided a response to the recommendations.

The following submission provides summaries of the discussions and major recommendations from each discrete break-out group.

Asialink acknowledges the generosity of the many leaders in their fields who took the time to travel to Melbourne to contribute their expertise and ideas at all stages of the consultation process. We also thank PwC for their leadership and hospitality in their new state-of-the-art Melbourne office.



Jenny McGregor AM
Group CEO, Asialink

February 2017

BUSINESS

Chairs

Mr Mukund Narayanamurti Mr Mike Sum
Chief Executive Officer, *Partner,*
Asialink Business *PwC*

The Business sector consultation was facilitated by Asialink Business¹ and PwC. As part of the consultation, Asialink Business and PwC focussed on two of the six issues for discussion in the call for public submissions to inform the Foreign Policy White Paper. These two issues were issue number four and issue number six in the call for public submissions. Each of these issues had three questions that needed to be addressed.

We have summarised below the key comments made during the consultations. These comments have been contextualised by Asialink Business in a manner that makes them actionable.

ISSUE FOUR: Australia needs to be ambitious in grasping economic opportunities

1. *What steps should be taken to maximise our trade and investment and expand commercial opportunities for Australian business?*

- Trade: Seven out of our top ten trading partners are in Asia. However, our trade is heavily focussed on energy, mining and agricultural commodities together with services trade in international education and tourism. We must broaden the basket of services trade with the region. Embedding specific Asia capabilities in our workforce is critical to ensure that our workforce (and representative institutions) can with greater confidence develop a global mindset and navigate tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade.
- Inbound investment: We must create greater confidence in the international business community that Australia is genuinely open for business by driving a clearly defined international communications agenda that articulates how our Foreign Investment Review Board (and Treasurer) approaches evaluating foreign investments in the national interest.
- Outbound investment: We must further consider how government can support our large businesses (particularly our blue chip businesses) with their outbound investments in Asia. If our blue chips succeed, our small and medium sized businesses are more likely to have the confidence to follow their lead. Investing in the Asian region will become increasingly more important if we want to transition to a broader basket of services trade with the region.

2. *How can we ensure Australia is positioned to take advantage of opportunities in the global economy?*

- Bi-partisanship on foreign policy (particularly economic policy) is important for stability and continuity of messaging to international partners.

¹ Asialink Business is the National Centre for Asia Capability. Asialink Business is supported by the Commonwealth Department of Industry, Innovation and Science and is mandated to create an Asia 4

- While tariff based trade barriers with some markets have been reduced, there remain significant perception issues among Asian businesses on the ease of conducting business in Australia and similarly among Australian businesses on the ease of conducting business in Asia. These perception issues should be systematically addressed as, often, they are not based on fact and evidence but rather are anecdotal reflections that often over-represent the negatives.
- We should work towards creating a public discourse that changes the perception of Australian foreign relations and policy from a defensive to a positive narrative. For instance, the national discussion should highlight how international engagement can protect and strengthen our industries, drive jobs growth, and enhance our standard of living as a nation. The discourse must be mainstreamed with a narrative that is appropriate for the electorate to understand.
- We must find a way to move beyond short termism in business and government decision making in Australia. For instance, CEOs in Australia often have three year terms while CEOs in Asia often have decade long terms.

3. *What are the key risks to Australia's future prosperity and how should we respond?*

- Over-emphasising the importance of wealth creation and failing to recognise that prosperity is multi-dimensional. Using the Legatum Institute's indicators of prosperity will enable us to develop a multi-faceted approach to securing our national prosperity.
- Failing to develop a broader and deeper model for engagement with Asia, outside of the narrow basket of commodities and services that are traded with the region. We must commit to creating a multi-sector wide Asia capable workforce to develop the global mindset and capabilities essential to succeed with the region.
- Failing to develop national and state level innovation and entrepreneurship agendas that have Asia taking centre stage. Regional supply chains that have disrupted incumbent industries may also disrupt our new businesses (start-ups) unless these businesses develop a global mindset from the outset that is based on understanding Asia's consuming classes, financial markets, and government policies. Asian markets will challenge the competitiveness of existing and new industries in Australia, unless we lead rather than respond to changes in these markets.
- Perceptions of inconsistent foreign policy, particularly related to foreign investment, could send mixed signals to the international business community on our genuine willingness to be open for business. We must communicate in a clear and consistent manner on the topic of our 'national interests' so that foreign businesses understand the rationale behind our decision making.

ISSUE SIX: Australia uses a range of assets and capabilities to pursue our international interests

1. *What assets will we need to advance our foreign policy interests in future years?*

- People: This includes our workforce; youth moving into the workforce; Australian university alumni in the region; returning expatriates with experience in the Asian region; our Asian diaspora; and our public service.

- Natural resources and infrastructure: This includes our world class resources and energy assets; our ports, roads, rail, telecommunications and information technology network; and our world class cities.
- Institutions: Our universities and research organisations; our Technical and Further Education institutions; and our public service institutions at the state and federal level.
- Key enablers: Our national brand; AAA rating; rule of law; inclusive social attitudes and an immigration, social services, and foreign affairs agenda that is supportive of multiculturalism; a can-do management style in our public service; and our clean environment leading to a high quality lifestyle.

2. How can we best use our people and our assets to advance Australia's economic, security and other interests and respond to external events?

- Institutions (Public service): There was acknowledgement that Austrade and DFAT were critical national institutions assisting the nation progress its economic interests. In this regard, the consultations highlighted the need for:
 - Recruiting more people with significant business experience into government and in particular into critical offshore posts (e.g. at the Trade Commissioner and Senior Trade Commissioner levels within Austrade);
 - Providing better support for small and medium sized enterprises in addressing non-tariff barriers and in making them more international engagement ready (as opposed to assisting them only if they are export ready);
 - Clearly framing what the role of Austrade and DFAT might be in supporting large businesses i.e. what they can do, what they cannot do, and they shouldn't do or even be expected to do; and
 - Reframing the relationship between federal and state governments, and ensuring that there is clear and consistent messaging from the federal and state levels in offshore markets that ensures that they are not seen as being in competition with each other.
- People (returning expatriates): Develop a clear strategy for better integrating the learnings and experiences of returning expatriates and students (e.g. involved with the New Colombo Plan) in the economy. For example, by working with large listed businesses, universities, and government departments to assess how they might use returning expatriates to develop their global engagement strategies.

3. How can Government work more effectively with non-government sectors, including business and universities?

- Universities:
 - Create more liberal visa regulations to help international students to stay in Australia, potentially through U.S. style work sponsorship categories. More liberal work sponsorship processes will let the market decide if international students deliver the capabilities that are needed by the Australian market;
 - More effective in-country support (through universities) to enable returning international students to achieve high quality post-graduation employment outcomes which is critical to Brand Australia (not just the brand of individual universities);
 - Support more system wide initiatives (e.g. through Universities Australia, Group of Eight and the Australian Technology Network of Universities) that enable system level partnerships to be developed (e.g. with the C9 in China) as these

- enable the collective brand of our university sector to be better positioned against the U.S. and U.K. university sectors which are also competing against us in Asian markets;
- More effectively present our extensive research capabilities and thought leadership in Asian markets (in particular) to recruit high quality doctoral students to Australia (particularly in STEM fields), drive research partnerships, and more generally improve the reputation of Australian universities in the region so that they are viewed as world class institutions. This will enable a shift from an existing perception that Australia is a destination for mass-market coursework driven degrees (particularly in business) with low entry levels; and
 - Support more university industry collaboration at the international level. For instance, enabling our universities to be better connected with Asian technology businesses, many of which lead research and development spending in the world.
- Business:
 - Evaluate the role and purpose of subsidies in our industrial policy. For instance, targeting subsidies towards industries that can become more internationally competitive;
 - Support businesses with developing a global mindset that enables businesses of all sizes to embrace international (in particular Asia related) opportunities with a growth mindset (from inception for instance with start-ups). Supporting the development of individual and organisational capabilities essential to succeed in international (in particular Asian) markets will be critical to this agenda; and
 - Better communicate with foreign businesses on our approach to treating foreign investments (e.g. the approach of the Foreign Investment Review Board to evaluating investments; the approach of the Australian Taxation Office on transfer pricing and profit and capital repatriation issues).

CULTURAL SECTOR

Chairs

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Mr George Johnson
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Introduction

The Cultural Sector involved 16 representatives from a wide range of cultural organisations including major arts centres, festival directors, small to medium organisations and funding bodies (refer to participants list at Attachment 1). The format of the consultation involved participants separately addressing Questions 2 and 3 and then breaking into 2 groups to address other questions proposed in the DFAT Call for Public Submissions.

Key recommendations

1. Public diplomacy is fundamental to Australia’s international diplomacy to build trust and strong people to people relationships. Given the importance of culture to all of the key countries in the region, the utilisation of our rich and diverse cultural assets through cultural diplomacy initiatives must be a key platform of Australia’s public diplomacy program.
2. Australia must develop and articulate a long-term vision for the role of cultural diplomacy in deepening Australia’s relationships and reputation internationally. We should shift from a funding to an investment model and integrate cultural diplomacy initiatives more fully into other aspects of our international engagement. We should also shift from an engagement/exchange model to one that develops more collaborative partnerships in strategic markets.
3. Government and non-government agencies need to work more effectively at better measuring and advocating the impact of international cultural engagement both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Q. 2a: Which countries will matter most over next 10 years in their sector?

As detailed below, Asian countries featured strongly in the future prospects, but there was also strong acknowledgement that the USA, UK and Europe were still key markets for Australian cultural exports and exchange. There was also particular recognition of the growth opportunities in China, Indonesia, ASEAN, Japan and India.

Q. 2b: What are the key global trends that matter for the cultural sector?

Australian culture operates in a global market-place

Importance and influence of the global marketplace and cultural mobility: Artists and arts markets operate globally and Australia needs to be actively present in key markets. In particular, the contemporary music industry is truly global especially with the rise of streaming services.

Effective 'soft-power' strategies involve real exchange and reciprocity

The importance of reciprocity and exchange of culture. Cultural diplomacy cannot be one way (i.e. Only Australian artists outbound). Mutual respect is needed to build trust.

Convergence and co-ordination are important to maximise impact of limited resources

A thriving cultural sector, both domestically and internationally, cannot be sustained independently – it must be integrated with other sectors such as education, trade, science, business, etc.

Increased focus of measuring effectiveness and value of investment in cultural sector

Cultural diplomacy and measuring the success of cultural diplomacy – this was a major theme throughout the day.

Rise of cities and hubs rather than the nation state

This has had significant impact on development of cultural infrastructure and profile of cities in the Asian region, particularly with investment in major events such as biennales, festivals, art fairs and performing arts markets that attract resources and audiences and generate new partnerships and opportunities.

Huge growth of investment in cultural infrastructure in the region

This offers opportunities for Australia, particularly in terms of training and job opportunities where we have strengths in arts and facilities management, curatorial and production management as well as conservation of heritage places and precincts. This also offers opportunities for stronger engagement with international students through cultural internships.

Changing and growth of global tourism and migration patterns

Australia must research the trends and opportunities to develop new cultural connections and adapt to new and more diverse audiences, particularly from China and India.

Global rise of nationalism

This may have an impact on job and partnership opportunities for Australia in terms of cultural exchange.

Q. 3: Which regional and global organisations matter most to the cultural sector?

- British Council, Goethe-Institut, Alliance Francaise, Japan Foundation
- DFAT bilateral councils. FCI's
- UNESCO
- USA Information services
- Various EU cultural initiatives and funds although these could be in decline
- Biennale-type exhibitions and events
- Hollywood / Bollywood

Key issues arising from group discussions

- Cultural engagement and diplomacy is a long game requiring long term investment and consistent and authentic presence and engagement rather than investment in one-off events. DFAT resources are too limited and whilst Australia is effective at utilising its limited resources, it is no match for competitor nations in the region. Long term government support is required for repeat engagement. Australia is perceived as strong on rhetoric about the importance of cultural and people to people engagement but weak

on commitment to resources to support this. Greater research is required to understanding the international perception and demand for Australian culture.

- International cultural engagement requires strong integration with other sectors such as business and security interests or specific sectors such as the environment, agriculture, science and technology to fully leverage Australia's position and perception as a mature and sophisticated nation and a destination of choice for both investment and visitors. Cultural diplomacy as part of trade delegations is an effective way to break the ice for trade conversations. There is also a need for greater integration and collaboration across Government portfolios and agencies at local, State and Commonwealth levels.
- Successful international engagement requires investment in cultural assets and human capital. It is particularly important to focus on languages to aid in cultural understanding as well as other cultural assets such as the ABC that has an active presence in the region.
- Leadership is required from Government with a long-term 50 year commitment. Bipartisan commitment at the federal level is crucial. The country's leaders need to tell the story as to why culture matters. Changing the language and rhetoric around funding vs investment is needed. This includes developing a framework to measure qualitative outcomes rather than just quantitative outcomes. The industry must demonstrate the value and outcomes of such investment, although this has challenges in measuring long term outcomes. It was proposed that tax policy changes, including incentives, should be considered to promote corporate investment into the cultural sector.
- Does Australia need a centralised co-ordinating and funding 'cultural house' agency to manage cultural diplomacy? There were mixed views on whether Australia needed a 'British Council' type organisation to develop appropriate funding options, set a long-term bipartisan vision, raise profile and streamline strategies and engagement opportunities. Whilst there are some advantages to this in terms of consistency of strategy and profile, such a model may have less relevance in an era of disruption and dynamic change.

EDUCATION

Chairs

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Consultation Approach

The School Education Group tackled all six consultation questions. Question 1 was discussed in a plenary group and three breakout groups each discussed two of the other questions and then reported back to a plenary session where further discussion and agreement on recommendations took place. This report captures the key messages reported back to the group and incorporates all six questions.

Consultation Discussion

The School Education Group strongly agreed that the fundamental role of school education is to equip young Australians - and our nation - with the skills, knowledge, capabilities and values to thrive in today's current and future world.

Increasing globalization, combined with the rise of new communication technologies, is profoundly changing the place and nature of work and life for young Australians. Globalisation of jobs, trade and economies mean that young Australians will increasingly work globally – and that the global workforce is coming to us. This 'new work order' demands that young Australians gain new capabilities from their schooling including a focus on intercultural understanding, enterprise skills, creativity, critical thinking, languages and digital capability. Unlike ever before, young Australians need the knowledge, skills and capabilities to act effectively as local, regional and global citizens.

In 2018 the Organisation for Economic Development (OECD) will assess our students' global competence for the first time as part of the international Program for School Assessment (PISA). How countries and economies perform in PISA provides an indication of how we are faring as a nation in education. The OECD defines global competence as 'the capacity to analyse global and intercultural issues critically and from multiple perspectives and to engage in open, appropriate and effective interactions with others from different backgrounds on the basis of a shared respect for human dignity'.²

Young Australians are the key national resource to secure Australia's place in the world - they will be responsible for creating and nurturing Australia's future in our region and the world. Our young people must therefore have confidence and have comfort with globalization and not be scared by it. They will need the knowledge and skills to collaborate with other countries to resolve the big pressing issues of our times like sustainability, security and equality. Importantly, young Australians represent how we are seen as a nation - how we embrace cultural diversity and value respect and inclusivity.

² <https://www.oecd.org/education/Global-competency-for-an-inclusive-world.pdf>

It is therefore in Australia’s best national interest that our schools are equipping all students to be curious about the world, to develop a global mindset, to know our region and to gain the capabilities to understand and navigate a diverse and increasingly uncertain world. This includes the capabilities of intercultural and ethical understanding; the values of respect, empathy and fairness; foundational and deep knowledge of Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia and skills that include speaking the world’s languages.

A global skill set and mindset for all young Australians is the best foundation we can build to ensure that Australia’s Foreign Policy objectives can be achieved.

The group was clear: schools cannot achieve this by themselves.

Australia’s school educators want a national vision of Australia’s place in the world to guide them and provide a clear policy context for their work. Recognition that schools - principals, teachers and students - can contribute to and benefit from inclusion in our international engagement needs to be clear in the White Paper.

And - we need to be serious about this. We have known for a long time what is required to support international engagement in schools but have had too little sustained bi-partisan commitment to see it happen at scale.

In addition to our discussion of mainstream school education in Australia, the School Education Group discussed the fact that Australia’s international education industry is recognised as one of the five super growth sectors contributing to Australia’s transition from a resources-based to a modern services economy. International education in schools offers an unprecedented opportunity for Australia to capitalise on increasing global demand for education services.³ Schools have a vital role to play in expanding Australia’s international education market and through that to strengthen our economy, our relationships and our communities.

Recommendations for Australia’s Foreign Policy White Paper

Our recommendations for Australia’s Foreign Policy White Paper address the objectives of:

1. equipping individual students to engage effectively with the world
2. strengthening the diplomatic role that the Australian school education system plays in local and global communities; and
3. promoting economic benefits to Australia from the education sector.

³ https://nsie.education.gov.au/sites/nsie/files/docs/national_strategy_for_international_education_2025.pdf

1. Equipping individual students to engage effectively with the world

The School Education Group recommends that the White Paper:

- **Provides a bi-partisan national vision** that makes a compelling case that Australia’s global engagement is in the national interest of all Australians – especially young Australians. We recommend a broad statement of our objectives as a nation that aim to enable all Australians to thrive by harnessing the opportunities and minimizing the risks of a globalized and interconnected region and world.
- **Broadens our definition of internationalisation beyond Foreign Affairs to encompass school education.** We recognise that it is in our national interest to have a clear connection between the goals of Australia’s foreign policy and school education policy. Currently there is not a strong connection between foreign policy objectives and school education objectives at both state and national levels. This inhibits the capacity of schools to prioritize international collaboration and a globally focused curriculum. This is especially true in regard to schools placing a priority on building student intercultural understanding, knowledge of Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia and languages education. For decades we have remained well below international standards in terms of student participation in learning languages with fewer than 11 percent of Year 12 students studying a language. We do have policies in place to promote global competence through Australian curriculum and teacher and school leader standards, but we don’t have broad enough accountability measures or an evidence base to ensure that intercultural understanding and other global competencies are being implemented in schools. We need to lift our national expectations of the skills and capabilities required of young people through their schooling if we are to adequately respond to the opportunities and challenges of our world today – and into the future. And we need to be mindful that 5 year olds who start school in Australia today exit school in 2030.

2. Strengthening the diplomatic role that the Australian school education system plays in local and global communities

The School Education Group recommends that the White Paper:

- **Recognises and supports the important role that schools can play to build transformative relationships with our region** through student, teacher and principal capacity building, interaction and collaboration. Schools are where public diplomacy begins. Schools provide a potent opportunity to forge lasting people-to-people relationships that present Australians to the world as an open, multi-cultural and inclusive people and enable us to share in, and contribute to, global best practice in education. The Australia-Asia BRIDGE program exemplifies this possibility and uses the huge opportunity of innovative digital technologies to open our classrooms to the world. We require a strategy to build school education's engagement with the region and many schools, especially those in low SES areas of Australia, will require support to establish international partnerships.
- **Promote the objective that Australia can address instability beyond our borders by contributing to build a fair equitable quality education in our region.** It is in our national interest to scale up education partnerships in our region. The White Paper should recognize the important role education organizations can play to build mutually beneficial regional and global relationships that contribute significantly to Australia’s diplomatic effort and enable Australian education to contribute to - and benefit from - global best practice. These relationships need to broaden beyond government to

government forums like APEC or OECD. Our national and state curriculum, teaching, school leadership and research bodies plus principal and teacher professional associations are a valuable asset that can profile Australia as a high quality education destination with the expertise to contribute to building high quality education in our region.

3. Promoting economic benefits to Australia from the education sector

The School Education Group recommends that the White Paper:

- **Affirm the role of schools as a vital part of Australia's international education strategy** and reposition thinking about international education as an opportunity to:
 - strengthen our own communities and their resilience through interaction with international students - including homestay that impacts the broader community
 - support our diplomacy through building our international footprint, enhancing the experience of international students and strengthening alumni relationships, as well as to
 - generate economic benefits.
- **Underscores the need to build the capacity of our school international education market** through:
 - ensuring there are adequate channels to share market intelligence nationally across school sectors and promote Australian education through a strong national voice
 - ensuring adequate education workforce planning provides high quality teachers with appropriate expertise to meet the needs of international students
 - expanding marketing efforts to emerging markets e.g. Brazil, Africa
 - aligning immigration requirements to grow international school student market (for eg. Visa length for school students).

HEALTH

Chairs

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*Deputy Vice-Chancellor,
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Mr Damien Angus
*Partner,
PwC*

Recommendations

1. Australia's foreign policy must acknowledge that securing the health of our neighbouring populations through respectful partnerships is an urgent and key goal.
2. A focus on maternal and child health will provide maximum return on investment.
3. A clear-eyed review of Australia's current aid programs to help reaffirm Australia's image as an open, compassionate and reliable partner in the region.
4. A multilateral approach is essential to solving the complex challenges that go beyond geographic borders.
5. Australia's Governments should encourage and enable collaboration and innovation for future wellbeing and economic outcomes.

Q. 1: Australia's foreign policy needs to be grounded in clear eyed assessment of national interest. How do we assess national interest in changing world?

Our health is their health; their health is our health

- Thriving and healthy populations in our region are central to Australia's national interest.
- Microbial resistance, poor mental health, drug addiction, malnutrition, challenges of ageing population and planetary health threaten our national security and are long term challenges facing the entire region.
- Physically and mentally healthy populations provide stability for our national borders. Therefore, securing the health of our neighbouring populations is an urgent and key goal for our foreign policy.
- To meet the goal of improved health for our region, we need to purposefully employ two largely untapped and unrecognised foreign policy assets:
 - our existing well-trained health workforce and
 - well-regulated patient-centred systems of care, from preventative to curative

Importance of mutual respect and reciprocal learning

- Our capability and strongly held egalitarian values, expressed through ensuring equality of access to good healthcare, provide us with a solid foundation for global partnerships.
- What drives and sustains effective relationships between countries and peoples are trust and mutual respect. We are judged by what we say and do. Words that appear in policy

– words like exploit – are not consistent with the values that underpin mutually beneficial relationships.

- We have much to learn and benefit from what is happening in healthcare in our region.
 - A recent Lancet paper has shown dramatic increases in life expectancy and health of Asian populations in the coming years, with Australia dropping from an upper to a middle ranking.
 - China's extensive well-funded research agenda over 20 years is paying dividends with the emergence of new medicines, health care systems, and innovation in preventative health care.
- For Australia to fully engage and be viewed as credible partners, our foreign policy needs to be couched in non-paternalistic language and explicitly outline and reward activities that:
 - fit with other countries national priorities, regulatory systems and interests
 - stress mutual learning and benefit and are evidence based
 - can be measured by their cultural and context specific fit
 - build on our egalitarian values by ensuring equality of access

Healthy nations are not possible without healthy children

- There is much that can be done to build regional relationships through health, however there is enough evidence now to show that a focus on maternal and child health provides maximum benefit.
 - For example, addressing enormous rates of child malnutrition and stunted growth, life-long burden that flows into chronic diseases, should be a priority for our foreign policy.

Fighting against protectionism

- Fundamental to sustaining cross border relationships is an educated and engaged Australian public.
- Our foreign policy has to be promulgated at home, with policy being understood locally in every part of Australia and its value appreciated, otherwise the value of policy is diminished.
- Health can be a vehicle for building understanding in tangible ways.
 - Australian clinicians, researchers and health bureaucrats working with peers in the region demonstrate to a domestic audience the benefits of Australian openness, compassion, and willingness to be a reliable partner for our neighbours.
- At the same time, Australia must undertake a thorough review of our current investments through international and regional agencies.
 - Would there be better value for money, both in terms of international influence and effectiveness of health outcomes, if Australians were readily identified as leading and undertaking the aid work we fund?
- A rejuvenated, targeted Australian Aid program would:
 - support the development of bilateral relationships across all sectors
 - maximise existing Australian health expertise
 - build influence as countries mature and become more prosperous

- position Australia to be the partner of choice in new health developments
- send a message domestically that engagement with the region is important

Q. 2: Australia has diverse interests that span the globe. Which countries will matter most to Australia over the next 10 years?

The benefits of multilateralism in addressing health challenges

- While working bilaterally can build understanding and trust, many health problems are global and are far too complex and vast for one country to solve alone.
 - For example, addiction has only recently been accepted as a health issue. Most illicit drugs used in Australia have been manufactured across the region, and their use is linked to the spread of hepatitis and HIV, epidemics that have no respect for geographic borders. It is timely to build regional alliances that focus on increasing the evidence base for solutions to drug supply and use.
- Other trends such as rapid urbanisation, ongoing workplace automation, and artificial intelligence, have impact on health globally, and are therefore best addressed multilaterally.
- Additionally, use of technology in preventative health and treatments is advancing in many countries of the region, far beyond our current adoption of technology-based solutions. It is in Australia's interests to learn from these countries.
- Australia has been very successful in the past in helping to build and sustain regional architecture. Australia now has an opportunity to be at the forefront of ensuring that global health issues are high on the agendas of regional forums.
 - For example, Australia could have a role in bringing people in the region to a forum that will look at end-to-end drug use and addiction or to share the use of big data and technologies to support aging populations.

Q. 4: Australia needs to be ambitious in grasping economic opportunities.

Government as an enabler

- Asia's growing middle classes are now in a position to expect improved healthcare and products, and many are in a position to pay for them.
- Australian health products and services are in demand, however individual Australian organisations and universities often find it difficult to break into these markets.
- Australia's foreign policy should support their efforts through Brand Australia, encouraging and rewarding collaboration not competition domestically, and supporting and promoting long term and mutually beneficial relationships in the region. Practically, this would mean:
 - providing open access to cross-cultural training and up to date knowledge of the regulations and laws pertaining to commercialisation of our health products and services into the region
 - grants that specifically reward collaboration and partnership
 - sustained investment in innovation and translational research
 - improving visa processes for overseas researchers
 - having posts in the region staffed with experienced and well-connected staff who are sector experts

YOUTH DIPLOMACY

Chairs

Ms Erin Watson-Lynn
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Ms Zoe Chung
*Partner,
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The Youth Diplomacy's consultation was designed to leverage the community of young leaders who have working experience and cultural knowledge of the Asian region. A dedicated youth stream was organised to stress-test Australia's diplomatic thinking. With expert input from Asialink's Diplomacy Lab staff, delegates in the youth stream experimented with new ideas in a foreign policy 'hackathon'.

In the lead up to the consultation, delegates were asked to develop proposals for improving regional engagement. In partnership with the OurSay online platform, Asialink's Diplomacy Lab crowdsourced the youth stream discussion. Over several days, the delegates engaged with one another, exchanging insights and providing feedback on different ideas.

Several innovative proposals were selected for group discussion on the day. These ideas were then refined in breakout sessions, with the delegates asked to focus on policy reforms which could help address the long term, strategic objectives highlighted by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

This process concluded with three key recommendations:

- Develop a business environment which supports Australian businesses that are wholly designed for commercialising and operating in foreign markets.
- Incentivise the Australian private sector to engage in multi-lateral partnerships that address environmental issues impacting regional security.
- Package Australia's expertise in people, process and technology in agriculture, aged care and funds management and export it as intellectual property/service offering.

A consistent theme throughout the consultation process was the need for a long-term perspective to help frame policymaking. As leaders who represent a younger generation of Australians, delegates emphasised the challenges and opportunities which are likely to shape Asia's strategic landscape over the next 50 to 100 years.

The delegates agreed that a more creative and innovative public in Australia is the best resource for engaging with an increasingly disruptive Asia. There were a number of other ideas which touched on this area, including the diversification of regional trade missions to include young professionals like social entrepreneurs; the extension of entrepreneurial visas to international students who co-found local enterprises with Australian innovators, including lowering the transition requirements from bridging visas; the extension of New Colombo Plan support for young people outside the tertiary sector, such as vocational education and

training; and creating a network of co-working hubs in regional countries that can incubate Australian start-ups and small firms which lack a foreign base of operations or familiarity with local regulations.

Many delegates shared a concern that the trade and investment policy environment should reflect the entrepreneurial potential of Australian society, with a specific effort to facilitate bilateral and multilateral initiatives in target economies. This submission calls for Australia's foreign policy to incorporate these and other policy innovations which encourage the startup industry to develop more sustainable linkages across our region.

Regional messages for Australia:

Were there any useful messages for Australia in the responses of regional countries to this uncertainty, in addition to the highlighting of multi-polarity?

1. Japan has been especially active – first in its efforts to maintain the US commitment to the region and secondly, in promoting Japan's specific bilateral and multilateral relations across the Asian region. Japan's post Trump diplomatic initiatives have positioned it well for what appears to be a critical shift toward 'transactionalism' (see below).
2. Singapore (also keen to see the US commitment reaffirmed) reminds us of the constants that must be recognised and worked on, even in a time of deep uncertainty. In Singapore's case, these are the country's relations with its immediate neighbours – Indonesia and Malaysia – both of which are likely to react differently to the changing regional power dynamics, and to some extent already have.
3. Determined intra-regional relationship building is becoming more pronounced – see Vietnam, for instance, as well as Japan, and to some extent India.

Meeting Recommendations:

1. The importance of Australia-US relations was not questioned in our discussions. There was support for Australian efforts to anchor the US in the Asian region, as many regional countries also see US engagement as beneficial to the maintenance of order. China has itself observed advantages in the US presence. Our US alliance, when skilfully managed, remains a strong asset in Australia's regional endeavours.

In seeking continued US commitment, we need to recognise the likely shift to transactionalism, which may mean less emphasis on democratic principles, human rights and 'common values,' and a greater stress on negotiating material objectives. Such transactionalism could shift current international alignments, creating new bilateral relationships, and will probably give added influence to business networks – supplementing or competing with official (diplomatic) processes.

2. Australia (to some extent like Japan and Singapore) should invest with added determination in our regional relations. The countries of Southeast Asia, Japan, India, South Korea and the smaller Pacific states, are all relevant here. Given Australia's economic engagement with China – extraordinary in scale relative to all other countries in the region – the China relationship is vital. Pragmatism and flexibility will be important for Australia – carefully maintaining a balance between China as our major economic partner, and the US as our major strategic partner; and making sure our relationship-building across the region is finessed to avoid Chinese perceptions of containment. The traditional Australia/US basket of values continues to be influential in many parts of the region; nevertheless, deepening Australia's engagement with Asian partners may bring these value frameworks under pressure.
3. Effective regional engagement is not just a matter of building relations on every side. Given that political time and other resources are limited, we must judge which relationships offer the strongest returns. Our most productive strategy is likely to be to highlight Southeast Asia – the region of Asia closest to Australia, where we have our longest and most significant diplomatic track record. ASEAN is our second largest trading partner and has long been considered the region of highest importance from a strategic standpoint. There are no downsides to prioritising Southeast Asia – the

international community expects Australia to be active there; China will not view this priority as antagonistic. Successful Southeast Asian engagement can enhance Australian influence, including in Washington and Beijing. Southeast Asian engagement is important in itself, but it also offers a basis for deeper engagement elsewhere – first, perhaps, with South Korea and India, and then with China itself.

4. What might vigorous relationship building entail? Collaboration and coalition were important words (in our meetings) – working perhaps in the first instance with Southeast Asians, then strengthening our collaborative relationship with India and South Korea and others. The areas mentioned include: collaboration to advance open trade and resist a revival of protectionism; joint deliberations in rule- (and value-) making, including in such uncharted areas as cyber-security and maritime encounters; continued cooperation in the development of regional architecture.
5. With respect to regional architecture, initiatives involving China (and to some extent, Russia) could be a potential challenge to the ASEAN-led institutions which Australia has supported, and which continue to have comparative advantage as the basis for regional architecture. China seems somewhat ambivalent regarding the ASEAN institutions, but not antagonistic. This is probably an opportune moment for Australia, South Korea, India and others to work closely with ASEAN – seeking ways to enhance the practical effectiveness of the ASEAN institutions, joining discussions aimed at coordinating regional processes, and helping ASEAN to maintain and gain wide diplomatic support (including from China and the US). Preserving a rules-based order is more assured if the ASEAN processes can be made more consequential. This said, Australia needs to acknowledge the growing importance of China-led regional institutions, especially the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), and exploring potential economic and other opportunities they may offer.
6. It is necessary to recognise that regional engagement needs to be leader-led. This has become an important reality of diplomacy in the Asia Pacific and elsewhere. Japan has recently led the way with contact between leaders, and Australia's interests would be best served by adapting to this trend. With respect to the optics of diplomacy, it is difficult to overestimate the positive regional impact of the image of an Australian leader caucusing with his Asian counterparts.
7. In an increasingly multi-polar region – and one characterised at present by uncertainty – the 'thickening' of Australia's regional relations will require a correspondingly richer understanding of our neighbourhood. The capacity of Australian education institutions to provide such a foundation is vital and cannot be left to chance. Changing lingering misperceptions of Australia in Asia is also, in part, an academic task.
8. The role of such Track 2 organisations as CSCAP and Asialink is increasingly valuable in a time of strategic transition and uncertainty. It is fundamental to Track 2 to focus on government priorities. Such organisations are:
 - a) equipped to assist government through their international networks, helping to make Australia aware of different regional viewpoints; and
 - b) able to perform a broker role, encouraging academic and other non-government specialists to devote attention to foreign policy issues of national importance.

Track two can also stimulate and inform public discussion of foreign policy issues – a discussion that would always benefit from a degree of bipartisanship, and will help prepare the Australian community to respond to the strategic challenges that currently face our nation.

Participants in the meetings:

Chairs:

Professor Anthony Milner AM (Co-Chair, AusCSCAP and International Director, Asialink) and Mr Richard Smith AO PSM (Co-Chair, AusCSCAP).

International visitors:

Ambassador Barry Desker (RSIS, Singapore); Professor Xue Li (Director, Dept. of International Strategy, CASS); Mr. Chris Elder (Senior Fellow, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre); Professor Amitabh Mattoo (Honorary Director, Australia India Institute)

Melbourne meeting:

Mr Mark Laurie (Partner, Defence Lead, PwC); Professor Ron Huisken (AusCSCAP, editor of the CSCAP Regional Security Outlook); Professor Greg Barton (Professor of Global Islamic Politics, Alfred Deakin Institute, Deakin University); Professor Nick Bisley (Executive Director, La Trobe Asia, La Trobe University); Dr Nicholas Farrelly (Deputy Director, Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs); Dr Meg Gurry (Fellow, Australia India Institute); Mr Allan Gyngell AO (Director, Crawford Australian Leadership Forum); Mr Ken Maxwell, Partner, PwC; Mr John McCarthy, Senior Adviser, Mitsubishi Materials Corporation; Professor Pip Nicholson, Director, Asian Law Centre, Melbourne Law School, The University of Melbourne; Dr Richard Rigby, Executive Director - China Institute, Australian National University; Ms Deborah Steele, Editor, ABC; Dr Sow Keat Tok, Lecturer, University of Melbourne; Ms Jan Hutton, Foreign Policy White Paper Taskforce, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

The Canberra meeting included many of the above plus:

Mr Geoffrey Miller; Dr James Cotton; Mr James Batley; Assoc Professor David Hegarty; Mr Alan Behm; Professor Anthony Reid; Professor Jochen Prantl; Professor Bill Tow; Mr Ian Dudgeon; Ms Sophie Qin; Dr Christopher Roberts; Mr Trevor Wilson; Dr Jong-sung You; Mr Hugh Robilliard; Mr Neil Reddan; Mr Thomas Power; Mr Peter Lee; Mr Liam Gammon; Professor Guiseppe Gabusi; Dr Jenny Corbett; Dr Andrew Carr; Mr John Buckley; Dr John Blaxland.

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