



Australia's future security and prosperity in a rapidly changing region and world

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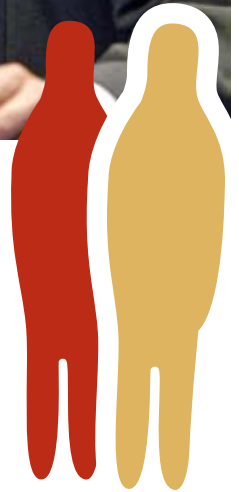
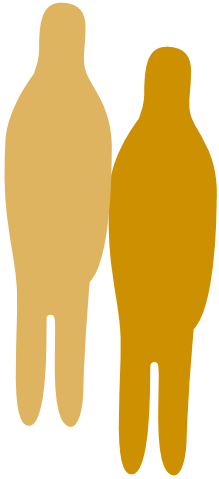
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Contents	Page No
OVERVIEW	357
DETERMINING AMBITIONS	358
Ties with the Asia–Pacific region	358
Australia’s stance on foreign policy	359
An international citizen	359
Security	359
Ambitions	360
Breakthroughs	361
Ideas	361
SPECIALIST PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION	363
China’s rise and its effects on the region	363
Food security	363
New paths to education and development	363
Nuclear proliferation and arms control	364
The role of non-government organisations in foreign policy	365
Pandemics and Australia’s security	365
OVERVIEW OF YOUTH SUMMIT OUTCOMES ON AUSTRALIA’S FUTURE IN THE WORLD	366
IDEA GENERATION	367
Terrorism and human rights	367
Nuclear weapons and non-proliferation	367
Engaging India and China	368
Australia’s role in the Pacific	368
Good citizenship in regional and international institutions	368
Development assistance: new approaches	369
The role of Australia and other nations in our region	369
The US alliance: the demeanour of our diplomacy	369
Language and cultural skills: being literate in our area	370
New threats to security	370
Development assistance: new approaches	371
Empowering and protecting women	371
Defence	371
THE FIVE THEME GROUPS	372
A concerted campaign to develop regional literacy in Australia (including the development of language skills and cultural awareness)	373
A broader conception of security to encompass a range of emerging non-military challenges	374
A new approach to the Pacific (including labour mobility and development assistance)	376
Greater focus on human rights, respect for international law, and greater engagement in international institutions	377
Major powers: engagement with the United States, Japan, China and India	379
TOPICS AND ISSUES NOT DISCUSSED	380
ATTACHMENT A COMMENTS RECEIVED	382



OVERVIEW

As an active middle power, Australia must be smart and creative in the exercise of its international influence. A key question for the summit was how Australia should best work through global and regional institutions to ensure that the shift in the global distribution of power occurs peacefully. In addition, Australia needs to deal with the challenges brought about by globalisation and work with its neighbours in the Asia–Pacific region to address development challenges and a security interest in ensuring that they prosper rather than fall behind.

Before the summit, participants in this stream were asked to consider the following questions:

1. How adequate are the regional and global institutions of which Australia is a member and should Australia propose any necessary reforms?
2. How should Australia maximise its cooperation with its longstanding ally the United States?
3. Does Australia have a role in trying to manage a positive set of interactions among the great powers?
4. How can we leverage both our multicultural society and the Australians who live abroad to better contribute to Australia's continued prosperity?
5. How should Australia advance its international trade and economic interests effectively in a globalised world?
6. What are the best mechanisms for protecting Australia's maritime boundaries and maritime environment?
7. Should Australia play a role in building international mechanisms for stabilising world energy markets?
8. Are there potentially new avenues for development of partnerships and aid delivery that can be tried with some of Australia's neighbours?

On the Saturday of the summit the 100 participants tasked with discussing Australia's future security and prosperity in a rapidly changing region and world—called the World stream—were addressed by the facilitators, who explained the objectives of the stream's work and the process the stream would adopt. The stream would need to develop key ambitions for Australia's future in the world by 2020 and identify within that, three to five major themes relevant to the achievement of those ambitions. At the end of the first day participants would report back on progress and by the end of discussions on the second day the stream would need to produce a brief report setting out the key ambitions, three to five themes and policy ideas. The objective was not to produce consensus but to generate ideas through collaboration, drawing on participants' expertise and passions.

The first stage of the process involved asking participants to answer as many questions as they could from a list provided. The questions asked participants about their vision for Australia's future in the world by 2020, and from these ideas the key ambitions for the group were determined. Participants were asked to record their answers on paper and then come together in small groups to share their visions. Each group formed a team to synthesise their findings, highlighting goals and ideas. Finally, in this stage each team reported its findings to the four other teams.



DETERMINING AMBITIONS

Participants were given a scenario. The date was 19 April 2020. Participants were in the back of a taxi on their way to be interviewed by *Time* magazine. *Time* was doing a feature article on countries whose security policies and international relations were benchmarks for the rest of the world. As they prepared for the interview participants were asked to think back to the catalyst provided by the 2020 Summit for the transformations Australia had achieved over the previous 12 years. Participants were asked to reflect on the following:

1. How do you describe Australia's place and contribution in the region and the world today in 2020?
2. What were the key ambitions or goals to come out of the 2020 Summit?
3. How did these ambitions help Australia?
4. What were the most important topics discussed at the summit?
5. What were the best ideas to come out of the summit?
6. How were those ideas executed in policy? What were the tangible and practical results?
7. At the summit there was one profound breakthrough. What was it?
8. What has changed most between 2008 and 2020?
9. What were the barriers to change and how were they overcome?
10. How did you personally contribute to the transformation?

Participants articulated their visions, ambitions and views, which mostly fell into four broad themes: ties with the Asia–Pacific region, Australia's stance on foreign policy, Australia being identified as an effective and responsible international citizen, and security. Some specific comments are outlined here; the full list is in Attachment A.

Ties with the Asia–Pacific region

- Australia will need to understand and work with Asia's increased profile in the international environment and particularly the roles of India and China in shaping global forces and outcomes.
- Australia should be an engaged global citizen within our region through strategic integration of the study of Asian languages and societies at all levels of the education system, encouragement of Australians to live study and work in Asia, and participation in collectively addressing the common challenges of the region.
- Australia's ambition for 2020 should be closer political, economic and human integration between Australia and the South Pacific.
- Australia would have free trade agreements with every country in the Asia–Pacific region and an active and comprehensive program of cultural exchanges. Travel barriers in the region would have been removed.

Australia's stance on foreign policy

- By 2020 Australia should be a world leader in global collaboration and facilitation, with policy analysis based on synergies, identifying how problems could be solved simultaneously; foreign policy would be integrated with domestic and social policy.
- In 2020 Australian foreign and expenditure policies are more focused. Priority is given to enhancing regional security, tackling climate change, dealing with global population growth, and encouraging global mobility.
- Australia should embrace new ideas about how best to foster and benefit from regional and global prosperity and to promote regional peace.
- Recognise that policy choices are not part of a zero-sum equation. Strong relations with the United States could exist side by side with good relations with other countries and active participation in multilateral fora.

An international citizen

- By 2020 Australia would have developed into an effective middle power democracy that values and upholds human rights, strong communities and a sustainable environment, strongly supports the United Nations, and draws on the expertise in civil society.
- Australia will need to cultivate a model of middle power diplomacy that encourages a multilateral framework for resolving conflicts and fostering values, principles and capacities among Australians that promote a culture of peace locally, nationally and internationally.
- Australia should be an active participant in the UN Human Rights Council and commissions dealing with programs to implement human rights observance here and abroad.
- By 2020 Australia is a model international good citizen committed to the rule of law, peaceful resolution of differences and sustainable global economic and social systems based on democratic principles and, importantly, practice.

Security

- By 2020 Australia should have redeemed its role of global citizen and creative middle power, including by driving progress towards a Nuclear Weapons Convention and seeking to address the process and consequences of global warming. We should seize the power of the sun, wind and waves to show how energy can be sustainable.
- A key ambition should be that globalisation and technology development create the realisable circumstances for global peace through weapons countermeasures and global-scale multilateral security organisations.
- Nuclear non-proliferation and reduction and preventing the spread of various security threats are issues that need to be examined. Australia should lead by example in the nuclear field by focusing on our own region first and then playing a key role as a mediator.
- Police and other security agencies harness new technologies and create a culture of innovative thinking, policy and practice and create new structures appropriate to the 21st century. We need to aim for a decrease in crime and security threats through the reform of old structures and innovation. We need to recognise that old structures die hard and use new investment, fiscal incentives and research to overcome resistance.



Following discussion of these individual visions, group members consolidated their goals and ideas. This process brought out the following shared views on ambitions, ideas and breakthroughs for Australia's future in the world.

Ambitions

- Develop an integrated understanding of human security challenges, including resource security, human and labour rights, terrorism, community sustainability, inequality and poverty.
- Greater integration with our region through funding and creating education programs for Australians in our region for significant periods and a national, long-term program to significantly increase our region's language into our school and university curricula.
- Re-prioritisation and re-balancing of diplomacy by committing more resources for the diplomatic corps, to enhance a voice for Australia, being more active in focusing our resources on key powers in our region, and having core strategic objectives that 'pass the test of time'.
- Fostering innovative approaches to strengthening global multilateral security organisation to achieve global peace; breaking down federal–state barriers; interstate and inter-regional mobility of police, security and regulatory personnel; and recruiting people of our region into our police and security agencies.
- Good international citizen within a global democracy as an active middle power and model these values domestically.
- An integrated partner in the Asia–Pacific region. Draw on capacities of our multicultural communities and harness collective abilities across the region.
- Elevating gender equality and women's rights to all aspects of Australia's international engagement.
- Embrace our role and ensure comprehensive engagement with Asia–Pacific.
- Become a sustainable society and economy.
- Properly resourced future planning capacity in the public sector.
- Build independent international relations and policy in a rapidly changing environment.
- Learn regional respect and leadership.
- Whole-of-government approach by being a good neighbour in the Pacific, Asia and globally, promoting Asian and cross-cultural literacy and including diversity of representation and decision making.
- Positioning Australia as a responsible middle power, an international citizen leading by example.
- Create opportunities and mechanisms that encourage and promote sustainability.
- Australia as a principled, consistent, proactive country, leading and promoting cohesion locally, regionally and globally.
- Australia is known as respectful, helpful, engaged and constructive and models good practice, policies and attitudes.
- Australia knows its place, understands the common 'wealth', and uses wellbeing indicators, not just poverty.
- Australia is the good neighbour, is culturally informed, knows its own strengths and appreciates strengths of others.

Breakthroughs

- Cross-government integration and re-targeted aid.
- Building institutions at global, regional and national levels.
- International rule of law.
- Soft power diplomacy.
- Capacity building.
- Achievement of practical outcomes through consultative and deliberative processes.
- Global citizenship begins at home.
- A new approach to poverty.
- Identity shift in how we live and contribute in our region and the world.
- Redefinition of sustainability.
- Strategic engagement to assist development.
- Indicators developed to monitor—a report card on government, business and civil society.
- Choose areas where we can make a real difference.
- Wealth creates opportunity, which creates stability.
- Translating research into practice.
- Take-up of innovative communication technology.
- Clearly enunciated national policy on human security and global mobility.
- Full collaboration between government, private sector, non-government organisations and communities around global and regional policy initiatives.
- Change our approach by listening and learning from Asia, being Asia literate and being included and trusted by the region.
- Stronger constructive and collaborative relationship so we can address challenges together.

Ideas

- Conflict resolution by using a multicultural community, language and knowledge skills, foreign affairs and intelligence, regional institutions, resilient social networks, and key infrastructure.
- Ensure military operates through respectful engagement, moral standing, leadership by example and encompassing international human rights.
- Australians are globally intelligent. Every child has an Asian language, education system is a global player. Build and sustain new communities and new models of community policing that foster human rights and cultural sensitivity.
- Leadership in opening up migration pathways through nation building and balancing anti-terrorism.



- Develop a Pacific Community with our neighbours: prioritise women’s rights, help with climate change and food security, provide culture exchange programs, establish a regional human rights commission, strengthen work opportunities for Pacific citizens in Australia, and establish a Pacific women’s centre to support UNIFEM.
- Focus on rural development by bringing the city to the village.
- Australia being genuinely committed to mutually defined development goals.
- Coordinate climate change programs with China and India, including general mitigative and adaptation programs.
- Trade to facilitate development and partnership which will harness the social benefits of trade, improve food security and reduce poverty.
- Due diligence on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.
- Develop clean energy technologies and apply them in a leadership sense.
- Test demonstration projects on reduced energy use.
- Articulate a national agenda or strategy and then act on issues, including ‘near-region’ economic community, civil society engagement, establishing credibility through internal decisions, and building soft power.
- Create a formal soft power policy and strategy by government.
- Long-term planning for sustainability—economic, environmental and social—to provide for security and sustainable community.
- Fundamental link between development, security and human rights, as opposed to military and territorial security.
- Facilitating and responding to global mobility.
- Fostering a culture of education, encouraging and promoting cultural literacy, research and development.
- Increase engagement with international and regional institutions to promote the effectiveness of those institutions and to promote international law and peaceful dispute resolution.
- Build national consensus for global and regional literacy.
- A reverse Colombo Plan—a supported gap year for Australians in Asia, the Pacific and Africa.
- Introduce new approaches to aid in this region.
- Strengthen respect for United Nations and rule of law.
- Overarching strategy that reflects our values.
- Engaged and activist nation but also an independent actor.
- Australia has a new foreign policy articulated in a consultative statement that is culturally informed and supportive.
- Food security challenge integrates all relevant responses such as disaster management, ecological disaster, climate change and movement of people (urbanisation and refugees).

SPECIALIST PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION

Following these discussions and presentations to the group, participants considered the broader context to 2020, which the visions, goals and ambitions of Australia's future in the world would need to accommodate. Specialists from among the participants made short presentations on the following issues to help other participants consider external perspectives.

China's rise and its effects on the region

Participants debated the issue of how countries such as Indonesia and Papua New Guinea would be able to deal with the growing influence of China in the region and what role Australia had to assist them in this regard. It was noted that so far China did not seem interested in exporting its political values. Its interaction with the region was economically focused or motivated by rivalry with Taiwan.

Noting China's growing military power and its emerging role as a major aid donor in the region, participants agreed that while China's visibility had increased rapidly there remained uncertainty over what it was seeking to achieve, especially in the long term. Securing energy supplies was one obvious goal. One strand of thought that had emerged was that the Chinese themselves were not entirely clear about their aims in the region. China was also wrestling with the question of what it meant to be a responsible international citizen. It was debating whether it should be trying to shape the international diplomatic environment in which it operated or abide by the existing rules.

There was general agreement that managing the China–India–Japan triangle would be a challenge over the decade ahead. And while China–US relations were now stable this was unlikely to always be the case. Was there a role for Australia as a mediator between the two? Some participants thought there probably was, especially on Taiwan.

Food security

If left unaddressed, food security challenges could result in significant instability, including in Australia's region, as poverty levels increase. Further alienation would result, which would feed into political and insurgent movements and organised crime. The capacity of states to respond to the cumulative weight of food security and other challenges would be tested. The presenter wanted to see the government take on a food initiative to raise awareness of the problem in Australia's region. Australia also had a crucial role to play as a food exporter. Investment should increase in agriculture and food stocks should be rejuvenated to act as a buffer.

A participant noted that the world population would peak at about 9 billion and a significant reduction was likely from 2020. Moving from relative oil independence to energy dependence will also affect the economy unless Australia examines nuclear energy. Another participant spoke in opposition to genetically modified food and agribusiness and argued for a return to biodiversity models. Large companies were 'killing off' diversity of seed production. But food security and ecology were closely related and Indigenous knowledge should be better deployed.

New paths to education and development

The success of the Colombo Plan was raised and consideration was given to the possible benefits of reproducing this model of education exchange in sub-Saharan Africa. The Colombo Plan was established by the Commonwealth in 1951 to bring together developed and developing countries through education scholarships. The focus was on scholarship recipients progressing development in local communities on returning to their home country.



Participants agreed that the Colombo Plan presented a very good model that could be supported by a national centre for dialogue and conferences in South East Asia. Such a centre could facilitate changes in Australia, the region and beyond, in addition to offering scholarships and enabling research. There was discussion of how to promote research and to rebuild capacity and respect within Australian education institutions. A Colombo Plan would be reliant on Australian education to develop the capability and skills required for an individual to return and make progress in their home country. Severe doubts were expressed about the fundamentals of the Australian education system.

The ethics and values of institutions were seen as a critical factor underpinning all education. Further comment was made on the absence of any ethical dimension to education programs. For example, business graduates were not required to undertake ethics modules, while engineering students learnt the same damaging techniques that have been followed for decades. These concerns with elements of Australia's education program were acknowledged. However, the broader framework of the Colombo Plan would be sufficiently supported by the general quality of Australian education, with training in particular areas made available as requested.

The view was expressed that there was a need to develop an education in broader areas of human rights and responsibility. This should not be limited to education systems but also imbued in business and all aspects of life.

While the presentation argued for a Colombo Plan in sub-Saharan Africa, the need to focus on the Pacific was raised. One participant noted that a stronger focus on Africa was required because of the existing attention to the Pacific and the immediate region.

The possibility of placing Australian students—both high school and tertiary—in Asian nations was raised. This concept of a 'reverse Colombo Plan' was discussed in the light of various examples of restrictions on student travel to Asian countries. Travel advisory warnings were also cited as an impediment to student exchanges with Asia, which was considered a critical issue for Australia's integration into the Asian region. The view was expressed that there was less need for the same extent of integration into the African region.

In conclusion, it was agreed that aid administered through education was a very positive model and would allow Australia to make an excellent contribution to the international community. A strong desire was expressed to shift discussion of aid programs to development models and pathways out of poverty. Australia had a significant capacity to contribute through training in real job skills and in return would achieve benefits for its domestic interests and those of the region more broadly.

Nuclear proliferation and arms control

The presenter stressed the need for a properly resourced disarmament agenda. A trend toward unilateralism had affected international forums. More funding was required to build international capacity and our own leverage in coming years. Australia should continue to act globally while concentrating efforts in its own region. The current stability in East Asia should be locked in, possibly through a broad declaration of regional restraint. A South East Asia or broader caucus could cut across the north-south divide that was undermining the effectiveness of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Australia could also become a centre for the production and distribution of nuclear fuel to meet the energy needs of countries in our region. And a regional system could be developed to establish high proliferation and safety standards. Australia should build up its nuclear engineering skills to encourage the development of proliferation-resistant technologies. Fuel should be made far less dangerous for countries to store. Enrichment could be shared on a regional basis (such as through a regional enrichment facility under international supervision) and a global ban on reprocessing put in place. The presenter argued

more broadly for Australia to regenerate its activism. It should develop nuclear expertise and increase pressure on states with nuclear weapons to move to disarmament.

One participant noted that heavyweight nuclear weapons were reducing in efficacy as ballistic missile defence technology improved. The development of tactical nuclear weapons was on the rise. The participant argued for energising Australian nuclear sciences around the exploitation of thorium. Australia had the world's largest thorium reserves, and thorium-powered reactors do not produce nuclear weapon-relevant waste. If a decision were made, thorium reactors could be operating in Australia in four to five years.

Another participant agreed with the need to focus on nuclear weapons disarmament. Consensus was growing in the UN General Assembly for the nuclear weapon states to have a reduced role for nuclear weapons in their policies. To support that, Australia could 'denuclearise' the US alliance by declaring that it did not want to be covered by a nuclear umbrella. The presenter noted that such decoupling would be difficult because many countries derived reassurance from the US nuclear umbrella.

Another participant noted that doing special deals with India to bring it into the non-proliferation community was problematic. The Non-Proliferation Treaty was already unable to meet its full potential due to the existence of 'haves' and 'have nots'. Adding India, Pakistan or Israel would create a third category of 'know you have them but turn a blind eye'. In addition, it was noted that the regional dimension was underplayed and that Australia could contribute more to regional stability by engaging states that are not in the Non-Proliferation Treaty, including Pakistan and North Korea.

Another participant argued for re-establishing the Canberra Commission, with its scope widened to encompass biological, chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. If Australia were concerned by non-proliferation, trade should be taken off the agenda. Russia should not be receiving exports of Australian uranium (a move Australia's economy could withstand) until those issues were sorted out.

The role of non-government organisations in foreign policy

It was noted that NGOs existed to fill the space in areas where the state was unable or unwilling to act. But it was also pointed out that sometimes NGOs operated in support of governments or to supplement what governments were doing. The role of NGOs was not in all cases antagonistic to governments.

The burden of fundraising was noted as a factor distracting NGOs from focusing on their core business. The comment was made that some NGOs now seemed to operate as virtual multi-nationals, focusing more on making money for themselves than helping their constituents. There was debate about whether large international NGOs should turn over their funds to local NGOs, thus essentially putting themselves out of business. Local NGOs could only be empowered if they were properly funded. There was agreement about the necessity of engaging local communities in the work done by NGOs. Local buy-in was crucial to the success of any program. There was agreement that in some instances competition on the ground among NGOs was highly damaging.

Pandemics and Australia's security

Australia prides itself on a willingness and ability to respond quickly in the event of a regional crisis. It was noted, however, that in the event of a pandemic, this would not be possible as there are barely sufficient resources to support our own population and that this presents a challenge for policy areas to prepare the population for such an eventuality. To counter this concern, it was further noted that Australian society is more reliant on the sophisticated systems that will fail first, in contrast to much of the populations of our regional neighbours that have a largely rural based economy



(and hence are more resilient). There is also potential to leverage from Australia's science knowledge, applying biowarfare technology to tackling the challenges of a pandemic.

An ethical question was raised, concerning Australia sourcing base material for influenza vaccines from Indonesia but leaving the source country unprotected.

A point was made regarding societal expectations that information and assistance would be immediately available in the event of a crisis. Managing these population expectations was necessary, as it would take some time for systems to be rebuilt.

The fragmentation of responsibility for preparing households for disaster was raised, with state and territory and federal governments all involved in various aspects. It was also noted that household preparation was focused more on food supply than power supply.

There was some criticism of the lack of action by Australian authorities to intervene and arrest the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea. While the onset of the epidemic was addressed very early and treated well in Australia, there was concern that Australia has not made the most of our ability and capability for preventive treatments and measures.

There are some simple solutions available that require little more than entrepreneurial skills to establish the solution. In the case of bird flu, establishing sewerage systems and securing the water supply in major Asian cities was seen as a comparatively simple but essential preventive measure. A concern was also expressed that Australian doctors were hesitant to work in difficult environments such as East Timor, where 500 rural doctors from Cuba were engaged in preventive work.

OVERVIEW OF YOUTH SUMMIT OUTCOMES ON AUSTRALIA'S FUTURE IN THE WORLD

The first 'big idea' presented by the Youth Summit representatives was for the establishment of a Global Health Impact Fund. This fund would serve as 'a complement to the current drug patent systems' and would reward innovators in proportion to the actual health impact achieved. This idea prompted limited discussion, although there were concerns over the maintenance of testing standards and particularly the question of human trials. It was stated by one participant that there had been attempts to exploit marginalised elements of society (for example, sex workers) in the developing world in order to test and fast-track drugs in the past, and care would be needed to ensure this system did not inadvertently promote similar behaviour.

There was also some discussion of the need for a performance measurement system with regard to the health impact achieved by a particular initiative. Gauging the actual health impact could be very difficult and may be open to manipulation or abuse. This was not an insurmountable problem but was an area of the proposal which would need careful development.

The second big idea presented by the Youth Summit participants was to 'operationalise the concept of the "responsibility to protect"'. This idea involved a 'drastic rethinking of traditional state sovereignty' and a proposal to accept and implement a new paradigm for intervention by the international community in situations where a state was unable or unwilling to act to bring an end to humanitarian crises such as genocide or other egregious human rights violations.

This concept drew significant discussion, including around the complexities of national sovereignty and the question of when an 'intervention' would constitute an 'invasion'. It was also noted that there were many levels of intervention that fell short of military intervention. The participants noted that where military intervention was necessary it would need to be underpinned by international law, and this was why the idea from the Youth Summit called for a codified system to operationalise the concept. It was noted in this

regard that much work was under way in this area and that the Asia–Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect had recently been established in cooperation with the University of Queensland.

It was also noted that once an intervention began it was important that there was a structure to transition to capacity building, and ultimately to return sovereignty to the local population. There was some discussion at this point around a third, related, idea generated by the Youth Summit, which was for the establishment of a deployable public service. This concept would involve the development of a ‘bureaucratic reserve’ of government officials available to assist in the development of governance in less developed countries and failed states. Some concern was raised by one participant over the use of the term ‘protect’, noting that this may be perceived as being paternalistic or neocolonial.

IDEA GENERATION

The facilitators introduced a list of major topics distilled from earlier discussions and invited participants to ‘vote with their feet’ by choosing one topic to work on with a view to generating specific policy ideas. Following discussions in these separate groups, participants came together in the plenary session to convey these discussions to everyone in the stream.

Terrorism and human rights

The group considered that Australia needed an evidence-based approach and to understand the factors underlying terrorism. In responding, Australia would need to recalibrate the balance between soft and hard power. Australia should seek to base policy recommendations on recognition of a direct link between denial of human rights and terrorism as a tactic. Good counter-terrorism is human rights consistent; there should be no trade-off between human rights.

The group believed that an Australian Bill of Rights was needed, as was a review of counter-terrorism legislation, operations and organisation against relevant international human rights laws and norms. The group also believed that a cohesive national approach to prevent terrorism—a preventive, not reactive, approach—based on recognition of the importance of cultural and religious diversity was needed.

Nuclear weapons and non-proliferation

The group reported that its discussions were marked as much by creative differences as by agreement. In thinking about how Australia could make a contribution, however, it was agreed we would have to look at strengthening existing instruments and doing new things.

Australia would need to take a proactive position for the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in 2010: this would be an important focus. Beyond this, we would need a strategy on how Australia could cooperate on security and disarmament. New ideas included:

- pursuing the idea of an East Asian Accord for nuclear restraint—including India
- taking account of nuclear industry revival down the track in South East Asia, creating a South East Asian nuclear community—‘Asiatom’ (a South East Asian version of Euratom)—to build confidence and share technology.

The group also considered the possibility of a White Paper on new strategic technologies coming down the track that were likely to effect the doctrine of nuclear deterrence (in particular, missile defence). Australia needed to pursue and encourage policies that reduced the attraction of nuclear weapons as a deterrent. Finally the group considered there was a need for an Australian Ambassador for Disarmament by the time of the 2010 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.



Engaging India and China

The group noted that the relationship with China had been economically focused for many years but was now developing a political strand to it. The group reported that China's values and its political environment was very different from Australia's. But did we have a right to preach to China? The general view was that we did have a right to speak in defence of our values, so long as it was done respectfully and with recognition of the need to take into account, China's position. There was some agreement that Australia could play a role as an intermediary between China and the United States.

The group questioned the basis for our engagement with India being different from our engagement with China. The Indian economy was booming and could in years to come rival China's. Could India be an alternative (to China) as the underwriter of Australian prosperity? Consideration needed to be given to a benchmarking exercise comparing how Australia engaged with the two countries. Establishment of a three-way dialogue between Australia, China, and India, discussing climate change and energy security, should also be considered. An India Institute should be established to raise awareness.

Australia's role in the Pacific

The group considered its breakthrough idea was that Australia should develop with its neighbours a Pacific Community. Australia should aim for a peaceful and prosperous region by 2020. In doing so, we should look at other integration models around the world. Such a community would be an appropriate expression of partnership with the Pacific region.

The group considered that important elements of the community plan would be a labour mobility scheme with a development angle, such as education opportunities and possibly a path to permanent migration; helping the region meet the challenge of climate change, including being prepared to accept migrants; exploring the possibility of a regional peacekeeping force and fostering close links between armed forces in the region; developing people-to-people links, including training Pacific island public servants. Australia should foster comprehensive engagement in the Pacific from the grass roots up.

The group believed that Australia should be seen as a proactive partner in the region and as a good international citizen. A Pacific Council could be established to help engage Australians more in Pacific affairs and involve Australians in twinning and partnering with Pacific organisations at the grass-roots level.

The group also considered that partnerships with Pacific nations should include linkages between governments of all levels, corporate and organisations representing civil society. They should be based upon capacity building, focused on staff exchanges, leadership programs, volunteering, mentoring and the mutual exchange of expertise and experience. Initiatives should focus on current priorities for the Pacific region and allow for long term sustainable relationship building in relevant sectors, such as health, education, water and the environment.

Good citizenship in regional and international institutions

The group's view was that the most important theme was the need for Australia to re-engage pro-actively and constructively with multilateral institutions and in UN reform. Australia should sign or ratify outstanding international treaties on human rights, arms control and the environment, such as the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety and the optional protocols to the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Australia should express clear support for the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and implement domestically the requirements of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the rights of women in conflict.

The group believed that Australia should more effectively implement its international human rights obligations domestically, including through a statutory Bill of Rights and accompanying proposed new federal legislation with an international law impact statement. The group further believed that Australia should reject the concept of pre-emptive defence, embrace collective security as embodied in the UN Charter, and undertake activities to implement the 'responsibility to protect' domestically and in the Asia–Pacific region. To achieve these goals Australia should empower civil society more effectively, so that NGOs could play a stronger role in Australia's international engagement.

Development assistance: new approaches

The group believed that its big idea was that Australia's development assistance in future should be shaped by what is needed on the ground and by what would advance gender equality. This would require an integrated whole-of-government and whole-of-society response. Development cooperation was not just a matter for AusAID or the development sector: it needed to be promoted by everyone.

The aid program needed to be based on consultation with local communities, with an evaluation process that looked at the overall human and ecological impacts. In Australia, a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach needed to include education of the community to help them see how their lives affected others and fair-trade initiatives in government and private sector procurement. Incentives needed to be provided to foster corporate responsibility. Employment opportunities needed to be created for women, including through cooperatives.

The role of Australia and other nations in our region

The group reported that the key issue they confronted was to determine what was 'Australia's region'. They concluded that Australia was in fact in several regions: Australia was at the base of the South East Asian region, part of the Indian Ocean region, and part of Oceania. They then talked about Australia's role in those areas and agreed that Australia's role should not be seen to be patronising or invasive. Instead Australia's role was to contribute to both the economic and non-economic growth of stability in the regions in which we interact.

The group settled on three big ideas—first, to run a regional 2020 summit and seek the views of regional neighbours on their expectations of Australia's role; second, to promote a free-trade area in ASEAN plus 6 grouping, of which Australia was a member (something similar to Closer Economic Relations with New Zealand regionally); third, to establish a medium by which people of our region could communicate to Australia what their expectations of Australia in the region might be (on the web, for example).

The US alliance: the demeanour of our diplomacy

The group believed that Australia's strategic policy and relationship with the United States needed to be clearer. Australia itself needed to be clear about who we are and what we want to be; we needed to make our national position clearer to the United States. To this end, Australia needed to build a greater capability to lobby and influence the US Congress, and strong support should be provided to the new US Studies Centre in Sydney. Australia also needed to understand the US view of China better, and we should play a stronger role, including by defining to the United States our strategic interests and view on the Asia–Pacific, China, and so on. The Australian Embassy in Washington may require more resources to discharge this task effectively.

On Australia's diplomacy, the group believed Australians needed a clear, well-communicated understanding of our strategic and foreign policy directions. More resources needed to be devoted or reallocated to soft power and cultural diplomacy and to long-term foreign and defence



policy planning, potentially in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Australia could leverage more effectively off our multicultural communities to facilitate a better diplomatic dialogue. The group also considered we could review the roles, missions and resources of key security agencies, including the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, the Australian Federal Police and the Office of National Assessments. Finally, the group believed Australia should consider hosting a UN agency in the country.

People to people: labour mobility, students, diaspora and migration

The group considered that a Pacific Economic Community should be created. There should also be a 2020 Summit in the region. Australia needed to encourage the mobility of labour, people and ideas, as a means of contribution to regional prosperity and our own. Civil society dialogue with the Asia–Pacific region needed to be drastically increased and broadened.

Australia's approach in the region should be based on respect for human rights practices and policies—particularly for women and sex workers. Organisational twinning programs between functional areas should be encouraged and facilitated. Indeed, the role of community bodies needs to be rethought given the enormous positive contribution they could make to the region's development. Given the rising youth demographic, Australia's response needs to include peer support models. The language on aid should change: Australia should celebrate and embrace difference.

Language and cultural skills: being literate in our area

The group considered their big idea to be 'Asia literacy', which needed to be mainstreamed into Australian society; knowledge of Asian and regional languages and society to enhance Australia's global engagement and national global intelligence.

The group believed that a national strategic plan for mainstreaming Asian studies was needed, with committed funding support at least equivalent to the National Asian Languages and Studies Strategy for Australian Schools at all levels. We would need to 'bite the bullet': Asian language studies in schools would need to be compulsorily supported by a reinvigoration of professional teacher training and training for native speakers who may not have previously had proper training. Incentives would need to be created for language studies at school and university levels, including bonuses, HECS exemptions and serious tax exemptions that would make universities commit to investing resources in Asian language programs.

The group also thought the government should re-examine travel advisories, which can act as a disincentive to universities sending students overseas. There would need to be support for twinning, exchanges and in-country programs, backed by aggressive promotion, or, the group said, the plan would not work.

New threats to security

The group considered that we need to broaden our concept of 'security' to encompass a range of non-military challenges to our economic, social and environmental security. The challenges were diverse—pandemics, climate change, resources (food, water and energy), transnational crime and terrorism, natural disasters, and maintaining critical services for sustainable cities. In the face of these challenges it was necessary to build individual and community resilience. A high-level, independent community advisory body should be established to advise the government on the new threats. Australia should develop its smart power capacity. A White Paper on policing and law enforcement should be commissioned. Additionally the group believed Australia needed evidence-based management systems informed by economic, social and environmental sustainability indicators.

Finally, the group considered that a new regional governance body—for example, a Pacific Union—could be established based on regional cooperation models elsewhere, including in Europe and the Caribbean.

Development assistance: new approaches

The group believed that its big idea was that Australia's development assistance in future should be shaped by what is needed on the ground and by what would advance gender equality. This would require an integrated whole-of-government and whole-of-society response. Development cooperation was not just a matter for AusAID or the development sector but needed to be promoted by everyone. The aid program needed to be based on consultation with local communities, with an evaluation process that looked at the overall human and ecological impact.

In Australia a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach needed to include education of the community to help them see how their lives affected others and fair-trade initiatives in government and private sector procurement. Incentives needed to be provided to foster corporate responsibility. Employment opportunities needed to be created for women, including through cooperatives.

Empowering and protecting women

The group believed that the treatment of women was a good litmus test of emerging security threats, and that empowering and protecting women should be a primary concern across all policy objectives. By 2020 Australia should be leading the way on women's participation in governance, management, and economic and social life. Towards that end Australia should adopt the UN mandate on 30 per cent participation by women in decision-making roles.

In terms of specific policy objectives the group believed Australia should implement a national action plan recognising the vulnerability of women, as set out in UN Security Council Resolution 1325; there should be a rigorous adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and Australia should sign the convention's optional protocol.

The group also believed that Australia's aid should target grass-roots women's NGOs, especially helping the poorest of the poor; support domestic violence programs and relevant protocols; recognise the fact of sexual discrimination; address pay inequality; introduce universal mandatory maternity leave at home; and integrate gender perspectives into peacekeeping planning.

Defence

During the plenary session feedback, some participants aired the view that hard-edged defence and strategic issues had not been sufficiently discussed thus far in the stream. They invited interested participants to meet separately to discuss some of the relevant issues.

The Defence group agreed that clearly there had been a shift in focus in discussions of defence and security in recent years. These issues were seen in a much different and broader light. The group asked itself where Australia was going to get new ideas about defence. The answer was not readily apparent. It was noted that promises made by the Hawke government of an 8 per cent growth in the defence budget had lasted only a year because of the difficult economic circumstances at the time. The group wondered whether this might happen again if there was a decline in China's economy or the economic cost of climate change affected our capacity to fund defence. The group noted the need to assure defence of a funding base on which it could make long-term decisions, even in times of economic downturn.



The group agreed that Australia needed to decide between a relatively expensive policy of limited self-reliance or another model—the New Zealand model of greater reliance on allies. Neither of these latter options was considered desirable or feasible.

One participant noted that discussions at the summit had focused on soft power and preventive security measures. While this is important (as prevention is better than cure), the role of hard power was lost at the summit. It seems inevitable that Australia will maintain a standing army capacity—prepare for war and adapt for peace—however, can we maximise our military capabilities to work constructively on soft power security and preventive measures. The Australian Defence Force already plays a key constabulary and peacekeeping role in our region and an instructional and skills transfer role in the Middle East. Why not enhance these roles and use our military for peace. Is that possible? Given the 2008 Defence White Paper, has Australia lost an opportunity to influence defence strategists to think more about the ADF's existing and future role in soft security?

THE FIVE THEME GROUPS

It was explained to the stream that the co-chairs had reported back to the co-convenors overnight and had presented the key ambitions, themes and policy ideas that had emerged from discussions. These initial ambitions, themes and ideas were presented in the form of a 'house', with the roof forming the key ambitions; the first floor, the themes; and the ground floor, the top ideas. The stream's proposed ambitions were presented as reinvigorating and deepening Australia's engagement with Asia and the Pacific; to foster a reputation as an effective global citizen; and to make an active contribution to the resolution of global challenges. The key themes and policy ideas were as follows:

1. **A concerted campaign to develop regional literacy in Australia (including the development of language skills and cultural awareness)**
 - A new, resourced, national language plan (including mandatory training and further teacher training).
 - Incentive-based language training and cultural familiarisation (tax breaks for remittances, supported international study).
 - A benchmarking study on our national language capacity.
2. **A broader conception of security to encompass a range of emerging non- military challenges**
 - Establish a PM's high-level independent advisory commission on new threats.
 - Develop our "smart power" capacity (innovation and creativity) underpinned by evidence-based management (economic and social sustainability indicators).
 - A comprehensive national plan on foreign policy which incorporates soft power.
3. **A new approach to the Pacific (including labour mobility and development assistance)**
 - Create a Pacific Community (including the possibility of a Pacific union).
 - Labour mobility (including police and military).
 - Civil society dialogue including organisational and functional twinning.

4. Greater focus on human rights, respect for international law, and greater engagement in international institutions

- Create an Ambassador for Disarmament.
- Strengthen rule of law programs.
- Pursue an East Asian accord for nuclear constraint and build a South East Asian nuclear community.
- Greater investment in education in developing countries (including consideration of a contemporary *Colombo Plan*).
- Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

5. Major Powers - engagement with the US, Japan, China and India

- Establish an India Institute as we have for China.
- Establish a trilateral dialogue with China and India, commencing on climate change and energy.
- Learn lessons from our engagement with China and apply them to India (benchmarking).
- Greater coordination amongst Australian agencies in their interaction with the United States.

Participants were asked to divide into the five theme groups and inject ideas into the discussion so that the final output reflected both practicality and innovation.

A concerted campaign to develop regional literacy in Australia (including the development of language skills and cultural awareness)

The group considered the importance of a vision for the development of greater Asian cultural and linguistic literacy in Australian society. There was broad agreement that there was a need for policies that directed outcomes and included concrete targets.

The final agreed version of a response to the plenary session stated that, by 2020, 60 per cent of all Australians will speak a second language, as a means of securing our prosperity and identity into the future. There was substantial debate about the merits of a target and about the realism of the 60 per cent target by 2020. Participants acknowledged debate was restricted by the lack of available data on second-language skills but decided to set an ambitious target by improving its OECD standing. The group agreed it was also important that the link between language skills and economic self-interest was made: developing language skills is crucial to Australia's trade prospects and ongoing economic development.

There was some debate about the merits of making language study mandatory at various levels of education. This specific action was excluded from the final document on the basis that this initiative was about building language skills across society, and it was acknowledged that education through formal schooling was only one method for language instruction (others include through families or vocational education).

A final area of discussion was the current travel advisory system. Some participants argued that restrictive travel advisories are used by universities and travel insurance companies to limit cultural exchange where significant travel warnings are in place. A number of participants asserted that the current system was overly conservative, flawed and inaccurate. One participant noted the



important role the system plays in protecting the lives of Australians travelling in regions where risks and threats exist. It was agreed that a review of the current system and its use was required.

A comprehensive, cross-agency, national strategic plan for a major reinvigoration of Australia's fast-diminishing Asia literacy was identified as a goal, as was the need to build the software for our global engagement in trade, security and culture. The group also wanted education at all levels to re-skill our nation for the 'Asian century'. The following ideas to achieve this were stated.

IDEAS

- 10.1 Introduce a national strategy for Asia literacy.
 - 10.1.1 By 2020 a comprehensive national Asia literacy strategy at all levels of the education system, backed by funding at least equivalent to the former National Asian Languages and Studies Strategy for Australian Schools, will have re-skilled Australia to capitalise on opportunities in Asia.
 - 10.1.2 By 2020 Australia will no longer be the worst-ranked OECD country for second-language skills. It will be positioned to benefit from the economic reality of an increasingly Asia-centric world.
- 10.2 Australians will directly experience Asia.
 - 10.2.1 Thousands of young Australians will be linked to Asian communities through support for school twinning, exchange programs, mentoring, and in-country and community-based learning programs.
 - 10.2.2 Barriers to Australians studying in Asia will have been removed.
- 10.3 Language education will be mainstreamed.
 - 10.3.1 Learning a second language (Asian or otherwise), integrating regional world and ways of knowing, will be compulsory in our education system. This would strengthen the work of the United Nations by promoting inter-faith and inter-cultural dialogue between the communities or our region.
 - 10.3.2 Introduce reinvigorated professional teacher training, including for native speakers and our ethnic communities. Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian will be priority languages, but a wide range of other languages will be available.
 - 10.3.3 University fee exemptions and other financial incentives will have rebuilt Asian studies in our universities to be global leaders, by creating renewed institutional expertise and increasing student numbers.
- 10.4 Review the current travel advisory system.

A broader conception of security to encompass a range of emerging non-military challenges

Participants noted that when Australia's national security was discussed there was a tendency to see it in offshore terms, but national security also involves fostering secure communities within the country. Issues existed around the harmonisation of structures and the relationships between agencies. Better information and intelligence sharing were required between policing and intelligence agencies, which would assist in better informed decisions about resource allocation. Issues surrounding how those agencies should engage the community and how the diversity of communities could be harnessed needed to be addressed.

It was suggested that there was a lack of policy coherence in responding to the challenges posed by food, energy, water and health security, and sustainability in the face of climate change. Any solution should involve integration of policies and agencies' efforts to fast-track clean energy development and deployment regionally, starting with the Pacific island countries.

Finally, it was noted that there was a need for greater analytical and predictive capacity. The knowledge base needs to be broadened, and a policy advisory committee could include representatives of the business and scientific community. Another participant argued that greater effort was needed to develop knowledge of water and energy security needs in Australia as a step towards overcoming 'short-termism' and achieving a focus on long-term objectives.

A number of ideas were canvassed:

- Use new technologies in Australia to deal with food security, water and energy.
- Harmonise criminal legislation.
- Better articulate state and federal law enforcement responsibilities.
- Examine relevant legislation and the structure of agencies to address any overlap, duplication or 'siloeing' of expertise.
- Provide real incentives to states for law enforcement at the local level.
- Consider placing an Australian criminal code on the Council of Australian Governments agenda.
- Provide support for soft, rather than hard, power objectives.
- Put attention on developing sustainable cities and resilient communities.
- Form a discrete policy advisory committee to bring ideas to the Prime Minister.
- Adopt strategies for using Australia's 'smart power' capacity in partnership with global initiatives such as those in the areas of micro-credit.
- Re-target the aid program, away from health and into innovation.
- Ensure greater coordination among Australian agencies in their interaction with the United States.

Following further discussion of these ideas and incorporating views from earlier discussions, participants summarised their thoughts and came up with targeted ideas for achieving their objectives.



IDEAS

- 10.5 National harmonisation.
 - 10.5.1 Uniform criminal legislation is required to cut through lack of consistency and harmony.
 - 10.5.2 Remove overlapping law enforcement expertise to achieve economies of scale and harness innovative technologies to drive reform.
 - 10.5.3 The National Security Committee of Cabinet should exercise leadership to push for meaningful, real information and intelligence data sharing.
- 10.6 Create resilient and harmonious domestic communities.
 - 10.6.1 Community security should be re-balanced to support soft power and domestic security capacity.
 - 10.6.2 Consideration of a community security White Paper should be placed on the Council of Australian Governments agenda.
 - 10.6.3 A working group involving 2020 Summit members and other experts should be established to work on progressing the White Paper idea.
- 10.7 Introduce a new approach to foreign policy that uses 'smart power' to address new security issues in a collaborative way.
 - 10.7.1 Integrate policies and agencies' efforts to fast-track clean development and deployment, informed by a coherent plan, starting in the region.
 - 10.7.2 New research and analytical capabilities are required on non-traditional security threats.
- 10.8 Establish a high-level advisory council with balanced representation from industry and the scientific, public and academic communities to advise the Prime Minister and Cabinet on emerging security issues and policy options.
- 10.9 Assess Australia's maritime area to inform long-term management and planning.
- 10.10 Improve the analytical ability of agencies using evidence-based management systems to develop and monitor sustainability and other indicators related to energy, water and food security.
- 10.11 Innovation in Australia and AusAID should help Australia's neighbours meet the challenges of food production in a world dealing with climate change.

A new approach to the Pacific (including labour mobility and development assistance)

In relation to a new approach to the Pacific, three topics were identified as the key areas for focus by participants.

The first, Pacific partnership, considered an important element being trade liberalisation, recognising that vigorous trade was vital for addressing poverty and facilitating development. Any model of closer integration had to be based on improving living standards and opportunities without undermining sovereignty.

Second, with labour mobility, participants agreed that allowing Pacific citizens to work across the region, including in Australia, could benefit the economic wellbeing of the whole region. There was lengthy discussion about which type of labour mobility scheme might work best, but all participants agreed that,

whichever model was used, it needed to be firmly based on respect for labour rights. There was discussion about whether the scheme should be a seasonal worker scheme targeting certain unskilled sectors of the market or whether it should be broader and encourage professionals to enhance their skills in Australia, too. The fact that earnings would be returning to the Pacific and improving living standards there was welcomed.

Third, social exchange initiatives were necessary to provide greater interaction with the Pacific. Participants envisaged a Pacific Human Rights Commission and new models of community policing and discussed whether there could be a possibility of the Australian Defence Force recruiting soldiers from the Pacific. The group agreed there needed to be more exchanges of professionals and public servants and more exchanges at the community level to foster a better level of mutual understanding and common approaches to tackling common problems such as climate change and food and energy security. Participants stressed the importance of working to ensure that improvements were not limited to urban areas but improved the rural Pacific as well. They also focused on the tremendous value of using modern technologies in IT to foster closer ties and address mutual challenges.

IDEAS

- 10.12 Pacific Partnership: confederation or free association between Australia and the Pacific, beginning with micro-states.
 - 10.12.1 Build stronger linkages, breaking down the practical barriers that limit trade, and work towards creating a seamless single market across the Pacific islands, New Zealand and Australia.
 - 10.12.2 Remove technical barriers—in shipping, for example—to yield immediate efficiencies and promote more trade and investment.
- 10.13 Labour Mobility: a rights-based labour mobility initiative for South West Pacific, including East Timor.
- 10.14 Social Exchange: a Partnership for Development initiative to achieve priority millennium development goals (including addressing HIV/AIDS) through sustainable business, academic, community and government linkages.
 - 10.14.1 Establish a new Pacific Human Rights Commission.
 - 10.14.2 Encourage greater exchange of professionals and public servants and exchange of information on approaches to tackle climate change and food security.
 - 10.14.3 Use modern technologies in IT to foster closer ties and address mutual challenges.

Greater focus on human rights, respect for international law, and greater engagement in international institutions

A number of strong themes emerged in the discussion of Australia's role in and engagement with multilateral international institutions. Strong views were expressed regarding the need for Australia to demonstrate a commitment to human rights and gender equality. It was asserted that this commitment should underpin Australia's role as an international citizen and be reflected in all aspects of foreign policy.

There was strong agreement on the notion of seeking to model domestically values that we seek to promote internationally. It was broadly agreed that Australia should offer a model of values-driven policy at home and lead by this example in offering a human rights-inspired foreign policy. This would require a commitment to national policy implementation of international obligations.



There was support for the assertion that Australia needs to be fully engaged in the UN reform process, although it was also noted that Australia first needed to engage more effectively with the United Nations generally. Active participation in UN forums was considered essential to support Australia's bid for membership of the Security Council. A specific suggestion was put forward to promote stronger engagement with the United Nations by seeking to establish a regional office of a UN human rights organisation in Australia. This suggestion was rejected by many in the group as both undesirable and striving to achieve unachievable goals within the region.

It was agreed that Australia should aim to be a prominent, properly resourced participant in nuclear diplomacy, in an age of nuclear revival, to strengthen non-proliferation, working towards a world without nuclear weapons, with an East Asian consensus on nuclear restraint and building a South East Asian nuclear cooperation community.

There was discussion of the doctrine of the responsibility to protect. It was suggested Australia could draft some kind of 'means test' or more comprehensive criteria. The underlying concern was agreed to be the protection of human rights, and there was discussion about the most appropriate response—military, non-military or combined civil–military. There was support for the view that community building and assistance to fragile states is a more effective pre-emptive measure to address a situation where human rights violations are likely to develop.

These discussions resulted in the following ideas.

IDEAS

- 10.15 Reaffirm our commitment to the international rule of law and ensure that Australian commitment to gender equality is reflected in all aspects of domestic and foreign policy.
 - 10.15.1 Commit to implementing domestic obligations consistent with our international and human rights obligations, including the consideration of the domestic implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325.
 - 10.15.2 Develop a Commonwealth statutory Bill of Rights.
 - 10.15.3 Develop multilateral treaty obligations in the areas of trade, human rights, labour and environment.
 - 10.15.4 Review domestic legislation for human rights impacts and compliance.
 - 10.15.5 Repudiate the doctrine of pre-emptive self-defence.
- 10.16 Pursue nuclear disarmament.
 - 10.16.1 Establish an Ambassador for Disarmament.
 - 10.16.2 Create properly resourced nuclear disarmament diplomacy, built on regional cooperation on nuclear expertise and non-proliferation.
- 10.17 Create deeper institutional engagement with a view to state and peace building.
 - 10.17.1 Strengthen collective security.
 - 10.17.2 Support the UN Peace-Building Commission.
 - 10.17.3 Use preventive diplomacy.
 - 10.17.4 Establish civil–defence partnerships.
 - 10.17.5 Establish a deployable public service.

Major powers: engagement with the United States, Japan, China and India

Participants considered that the term 'power' should be changed to reflect the fact that all key majors were trading partners of Australia and that the main opportunities created by these countries to 2020 rested with their economies. The theme title was therefore changed to 'Engagement of major regional economies: the United States, Japan, China and India'.

Participants reviewed the key policy ideas that had come together from previous discussions and noted that a concept of an East West Institute had been suggested. They agreed that a key ambition for Australia should be to play a mediating role between eastern and western civilisations given the rise of India and China but that there were risks as well as opportunities. A participant noted that it was vital not to lose sight of the importance of India to Australia's future. Compared with the United States, China and Japan, research into and study of India was neglected in Australia. If an East West Institute was not attractive as an option, possibly the government should establish and or better fund institutes covering Australia–United States, Australia–China, Australia–Japan and Australia–India. This would ensure a deep Australian understanding of these countries' politics, economies, societies and cultures.

It was noted that there are economic opportunities created in our relations with the four majors. Several participants agreed that energy security was a key linking theme in our relations with them. Australia was a major supplier of energy and raw materials to China and Japan and increasingly to India; we also had major energy interests with the United States. Energy and energy security concerns were a source of opportunity and risk for Australia in its relations with the majors. Several participants voiced strong support for Australia taking a leading role in fostering energy security in the region: they noted that was a vital part of Australia's future prosperity and that Australia had strong standing as an energy supplier. This gave Australia a key role in leading policy development on energy security and climate change. At the same time Australia should embed its future security and prosperity in promoting economic growth in the region and promoting capital mobility in the region.

Out of these early discussions the following general ideas were suggested:

- Establish an East West Institute.
- Ensure that Australia has established well-resourced study institutes covering the United States, Japan, China and India.
- Create trilateral dialogue with China and India, focusing on climate change and energy.
- Become a key player in emerging forums on climate change and energy.
- Take a lead role in fostering energy security in the region.
- Use forums such as the ASEAN plus 6 and the East Asia Summit to promote strategic dialogue and economic integration in East Asia.
- Due to insufficient transparency and reciprocation, seek greater policy coordination among Australian agencies in their interaction with the United States.
- Australia should invest surplus energy sales in solutions for climate change.
- Establish a regional peacekeeping centre to train Pacific regional armed forces, community and government leaders in mediation, conflict resolution and capacity building.

One participant referred to the idea of a regional 2020 meeting. In response, however, another participant suggested that this might be seen to be imposing an Australian template on the region.



After reviewing and considering these discussions, participants concluded that the following concrete policy ideas had garnered majority support from the group.

IDEAS

- 10.18 Establish a Regional Energy Security Forum, including all four majors and Australia.
- 10.19 Prepare a regular public report on the US–Australia alliance, which will force the government to explain what is happening in the US–Australia relationship.
- 10.20 Establish an Australia–Japan regional peacekeeping centre.
- 10.21 Establish and fund four study centres covering the four majors to ensure Australia has a deep understanding of these countries’ politics, economies, societies and cultures.

TOPICS AND ISSUES NOT DISCUSSED

At the end of the discussions, participants left with the co-chairs and the facilitation team, a list of themes and issues in relation to which time had not allowed further discussion:

- The possibility of reducing demand, limiting economic growth and encouraging society to adopt lifestyle expectations that are sustainable.
- Phase out the military response in Afghanistan while recognising that the motivation of defence personnel is usually altruistic and humanitarian. As part of this, ensure that returning Iraqi- and Afghanistan-deployed personnel are treated with respect.
- How are Australia’s Future Fund and private superannuation investments affecting safety and security? We need to ensure that investments meet socially responsible benchmarks, do not take from the poorer people to make richer groups richer and do not undermine social cohesion.
- Refugees and immigration detention: consideration of an end to prison-like detention centres, more community support, and an end to bridging visas, which don’t give access to welfare benefits and don’t allow the holder to work.
- What is the role of the media, advertising and social behaviour in Australia on security?
- In the event of carbon trading, we need to ensure there is not an increase in inequality both domestically and internationally.
- Introduce more training within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade on ‘ways of knowing’ and on regional and world views.
- Ensure that all policies are people centred and include measurable gender indicators, including gender intelligence.
- The government should not proceed with buying cluster bombs, should commit to not introducing armed police or military to areas that do not yet have arms, and should take more action against the trade in small arms.
- The government should look at expanding and re-balancing international volunteering programs to include south-south volunteering and peer-to-peer youth volunteering.
- Consideration should be given to how Australia’s migration policy would respond in 2020 to large-scale and unexpected arrivals as a consequence of climate change.
- Expand the aid budget to include our far Pacific neighbours in Latin and South America.

- Establish a research alliance focused on energy, food, water, defence and security, which would be multi-disciplinary and multi-organisational and would include regional organisations.
- Ensure that agriculture and rural livelihoods are a priority in every country strategy to address biodiversity, food security and climate change.
- Given that global military spending is \$1.2 trillion, it would be useful to discuss this in the context of security thinking and action: it is relevant to Australia's resource allocation for the spectrum of security threats and demands we face.
- Provide alternative, equitable models of business and trade as a means of contributing to the eradication of poverty in the region.
- Increase Australia's diplomatic role as a peace and conflict resolution facilitator.
- Reform the disaster management framework to reflect local, state, national and regional capabilities.



ATTACHMENT A COMMENTS RECEIVED

Following is the full list of ‘ambition’ comments received from individual stream participants.

- By 2020 Australia should be an engaged, cosmopolitan and pragmatic nation. A key ambition is for Australia to have greater institutional engagement, a commitment to global governance and regional engagement. The summit should articulate what Australia stands for in the world and discuss how these interests will evolve over the next 12 years.
- Australia needs to develop ideas for its future in the world that take into account what can be achieved in practice, given our limited ‘clout’ internationally, so we need to focus on our region.
- Looking ahead, the big change in Australia’s international environment will be Asia’s increased profile and Asia’s (India’s and China’s) role in shaping global forces and outcomes; Australia will need to adapt to this.
- To achieve security, prosperity and quality of life, Australia should be an engaged global citizen within our region by 2020 through the strategic integration of the study of Asian languages and societies at all levels of the education system, encouragement to live study and work in Asia, and participation in collectively addressing the common challenges of the region.
- By 2020 Australia should be integrated into the region in educational, linguistic and security terms. We should be global citizens with a familiarity with the cultures of the world and region. The summit should signal the need to transform educational policy towards the societies of our region, to help us integrate better with the Asia–Pacific and improve our security.
- A big idea would be to appeal to Australians’ sense of adventure and curiosity by sending tens of thousands of young Australians into the Asian region for extended study and residence, using local languages. In-country and overseas study needs to be facilitated through a new Asian studies curriculum in schools. By 2020 as many Australians should be studying overseas as foreigners now study here.
- Australia will need a comprehensive national plan for the teaching and learning of Asian languages and studies across all levels. We need to understand and work with others in our region.
- By 2020 Australia should be a world leader in global collaboration and facilitation, with policy analysis based on synergies, identifying how problems could be solved simultaneously. Foreign policy would be integrated with domestic and social policy.
- The summit would permit recognition of the need for a cross-fertilisation of ideas and the development of a new paradigm of policy that stressed integration of policy challenges and the interconnectedness of challenges, including climate change and counter-terrorism.
- The world of 2008 saw Australia facing broad and diverse challenges such as climate change, terrorism and the rise of new Asian powers, but policy was driven too much by trade-offs and balancing; foreign and domestic policy divided artificially. The interconnectedness of challenges was not sufficiently recognised.
- By 2020 Australia should be a fearless advocate for human and trade union rights in the Asia–Pacific region, and in doing so we are not concerned about harm to economic relations because we are confident business will continue despite strained relations. By so doing, Australia started a trend: pressure on authoritarian and elitist regimes increased and one by one they crumbled peacefully as in Eastern Europe in 1989.

- By 2020 Australia would have developed into an effective middle-power democracy that values and upholds human rights, strong communities and a sustainable environment, strongly supporting the United Nations and drawing on the expertise in civil society.
- A key ambition for 2020 would be to reposition Australia as an effective and responsible international citizen in the region and the world. The summit should address climate change, international citizenship and a fairer, just Australia. The breakthrough should be that Australia was really positioned and respected in the Asia–Pacific—a new model of democracy and engagement.
- Policy options that should be considered are establishment of a regional climate change multi-stakeholder working group with clear targets and time lines; active engagement in the United Nations; and introduction of mandatory corporate reporting of social and environmental implications of Australian companies doing business in the region.
- By 2020 Australia would have helped bridge the north-south divide and galvanised Australians to meet domestic and global challenges creatively.
- The most important topics for the summit should be reconciliation, environment, governance and conflict prevention, taking account of the views of the Youth Summit and those with limited voice.
- By 2020 Australia has shown great leadership in both a multi-dimensional functional response to short- to medium-term community needs but also providing regional and global leadership through mentoring on proven solutions to health, security and economic development.
- Australia should aim to secure important investment in and development of our economy, which could translate in practical terms into a more advanced, equitable community and be an important facilitator of global economic and environmental solutions.
- A key ambition is for Australia to act independently while maintaining strong multilateral and bilateral alliances based on the economy and trade, politics, and our past and our future.
- By 2020 Australia should become an influential middle power in a digital age, effectively assisting Australians while supporting others, with a well-informed public able to effect change and challenging the process of policy formulation and execution.
- By 2020 Australia should be using its strategic resources and people to help create prosperity, sustainability, peace and security in the region.
- By 2020 Australia should have redeemed its role of global citizen and creative middle power by driving progress towards a Nuclear Weapons Convention to remove a huge threat of global meltdown. We should seize the power of the sun, wind and waves to show how energy security can be sustainable.
- Australia must recover its international reputation (now in tatters), remove the threat of nuclear exchange, and define 'security' to include human security to address threats such as food, water, HIV and climate change. Food, not weapons, should be stockpiled. Our relationship with the United States should be modernised. We should be more independent in our views and policy at the United Nations, regionally and bilaterally.
- By 2020 Australia should be open, secure and prosperous; we should have helped the world negotiate peacefully through polarising tensions. Education will be vital to build for the future—to overcome fear borne of lack of exposure and experience.
- Australia's ambition for 2020 should be closer political, economic and human integration between Australia and the South Pacific. We should open our labour market and explore the possibility of Australian Defence Force recruitment of Pacific Islanders.



- Australia's big challenge is to manage the decline in US and western power relative to the rise of new Asian superpowers peacefully; we should retain a 'sphere of influence' in the South Pacific to avoid to greater influence by outside powers, including China.
- A key outcome from the summit should be national consensus on embracing large change or creating new systems to deal with issues, rather than incremental change or improvement to legacy systems.
- A key ambition should be that globalisation and technology development create realisable circumstances for global peace through weapons countermeasures and global-scale multilateral security organisations.
- By 2020 Australia should be recognised as a leader in conflict management and global forward planning.
- Key issues to address include nuclear non-proliferation and reduction, and prevention of the spread of various security threats. We should lead by example in the nuclear field; focus on our own region first; play a key role as a mediator and not over-extend ourselves strategically or environmentally.
- A key ambition for Australia in 2020 would be for police and other security agencies to harness new technologies, create a culture of innovative thinking, policy and practice, and create new structures appropriate to the 21st century. We need to aim for a decrease in crime and security threats through the reform of old structures and innovation. We need to recognise that old structures die hard and use new investment, fiscal incentives and research to overcome resistance.
- By 2020 Australia should be integrated into the region as a respected contributor, particularly to the ASEAN Plus processes. We should aim for huge economic and cultural gains from our region, with a focus on educational exchanges.
- By 2020 Australia should be seen as an insider in our Asian neighbourhood, and our South Pacific neighbours would see Australia as a partner that engages with equality and dignity; we need to be more independent, not just an extension of the United States. We need to build our prosperity, our people and our skills base through stronger links to our neighbours. All Australians should be comfortable with their neighbourhood.
- In particular, we should strengthen our focus on India and the Indian Ocean. India should be one of our top three relationships, along with the United States and China. We should encourage action on climate change by all countries in Asia, including China and India.
- By 2020 Australia should be a leading player in promoting nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament as part of the East Asian community—setting a blueprint for the world. We should be a regional centre for the safe supply of nuclear fuel and expertise to help the region's energy needs and mitigate climate change. Our nuclear diplomacy should have contributed to global disarmament and stability. Australia should try to escape a fate of reduced production and growth associated with the export of dirty energy.
- By 2020 Australians should be able to speak at least one Asian language, and the nation should be a regional hub for clean energy technology, including nuclear technology.
- Australia should aim to be a creative and activist middle power, an interlocutor between China and the rest of Asia and the United States and Europe. We should be an expert but sensitive protagonist of Australian values in the region; a bridge between cultures, and a driver of innovation.
- To achieve these aims we need to have a clear, positive definition of our national identity and value based around multiculturalism and reconciliation. At the summit we need to discuss how to advance

these aims through boosting Asian languages and using forums such as APEC and second-track dialogues.

- By 2020 we need to be a deeply Asia-literate society—economically, culturally and socially integrated with Asia, including through listening and learning.
- A key ambition for 2020 is that Australia should embrace new ideas about how best to engage in regional and global prosperity to promote regional peace and become a genuine part of the eastern hemisphere. Education in world languages, culture, history, politics and economics should be driven by a desire to be viewed as ‘global citizens’ first and Australians second—a contentious idea.
- These ideas should help position Australia in a global context, so that by 2020 Australian attitudes about our place in the world and world perceptions of us have changed. Education policies need to promote Asian language and context—a national, open-minded, globally focused curriculum.
- Australia should develop an overarching framework for furthering Australia’s security and prosperity by prioritising the challenges confronting the nation and articulating policy responses. The key challenges are climate change; food, water and energy security; pandemic diseases and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A commission should be established to advise government on optimal responses to food, water and energy insecurity, and Australia should mount a major national initiative designed to manage the impact of climate change in partnership with the region.
- By 2020 Australia’s vision of security and prosperity should have become more inclusive of the rights and needs of other peoples and nations, with policies putting into practice the values of compassion, justice and inter-cultural respect.
- Australia will need to cultivate a model of middle-power diplomacy that encourages a multilateral framework for resolving conflicts and for fostering values, principles and capacities among Australians that promote a culture of peace locally, nationally and internationally. A more inclusive approach with collaboration between governments, civil society and empowered citizens is needed to construct good policies and a participatory, self-critical approach to implementation.
- By 2020 Australia needs to be better engaged and connected with the world and the region. We need to improve our cross-cultural literacy and improve the language skills of the community. The summit should set a goal for getting savvy about our neighbours. We need to better leverage off our strong relationships in the Asia–Pacific region (including alumni and expatriate connections) to achieve economic, security, development and environmental outcomes; we need to understand the dynamics and power structures at play.
- To achieve a more engaged and connected Australia by 2020, old-style thinking, fear-driven and small-minded approaches and Anglo-Celtic world views and assumptions will need to be challenged. Otherwise Australia is in danger of being left behind, and our interests will be sidelined.
- By 2020 Australia should be a republic; a good neighbour secure in the region and with a deep understanding of the people of countries of the region; a proud member of the Pacific community, which is a common market where people move freely across borders; and a confident trading nation, where rights are respected and workers valued.
- Australia should be an active participant in the UN Human Rights Council and commissions, leading with programs to implement human rights observance here and abroad. A nation where women fill at least 30 per cent of all private and public senior positions, where pay inequality is in the past, achieved by mandating quotas for participation and rebates for private compliance. By 2020 we should have held our next constitutional convention, entrenching human rights. An Aboriginal woman should be our president, and we will have had our first woman Prime Minister and chief justice.



- Australia should be a rigorous friend to the region in foreign affairs, a leader on state-building and governance and using our aid to promote successful programs towards the achievement of the MDGs, especially empowering women.
- By 2020 Australia should be a partner and continue as an active sponsor of the social, cultural and economic development of the region, part of an active regional governance forum that contemplates regional governance concerns. The forum will set commonly agreed objectives and targets and will operate in a wider multilateral context of a reformed United Nations, which will have an expanded Security Council.
- By 2020 there will be an increased movement of people, with workers able to travel more freely across borders. Australia's decision making and leadership should reflect the make-up of our community, and we should advance the issue of reconciliation and finally address the underlying causes of Indigenous poverty and disadvantage.
- By 2020 Australia should be a uniquely embedded and diversified state in its breadth and depth of interests. We will have hedged masterfully the risks evident in 2008, but the benefits accruing from the opportunities of 2008 have been substantially consumed. The profound breakthrough at the 2020 summit was that Australia realised it must become embedded with all the new growth poles to create the best kind of trust—that of mutually assured prosperity through joint recognition and tackling of risks. The summit should open the eyes of the policy community beyond issues such as the US alliance, Sino-Japan, Taiwan, North Korea. The non-East Asian, non-Euro offshoot world entered the debate.
- By 2020 Australia must be for the first time meaningfully strategically self-sufficient, which means that alliances, while critical, will be supportive of our national interests, not driving policy. To achieve this we will have had to build Australia's hard and soft power capabilities so we can determine our own economic framework. We'll need to be aware of potentially great dislocations in Asia, North America and Europe generating significant migratory and health pressures. There is no linear projection of possible political and economic trends.
- Australia will need a strategic policy coordinating and planning body in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and an evolving grand strategy. We'll require appropriate soft power skills and assets to create Australian prestige and authority abroad and identity security and motivation at home. We need to see that our future will change. We must control it by planning and self-sustaining development. The international community and alliances will not protect us.
- The 2020 Summit should lead to a new national commitment to re-imagine multiculturalism as outward looking, to create a nation that engaged globally with diverse culture and societies, especially in Australia's region. Australia needs a multilateral foreign policy commitment to global good citizenship while securing our trade and security interests as Asia rises.
- The key to Australia's future will be enhanced linguistic and cross-cultural skills, especially Asia-literacy. The key breakthrough from the summit would ideally be the government's embrace of a wide range of funding initiatives in foreign affairs, education, trade and mainstreaming Asian literacy, reversing the catastrophic collapse in national Asia literacy since the mid-1990s. We should move from being the lowest ranked OECD nation in second language skills to become a global leader by 2020. By 2020 rising Asia literacy should contribute to a fall in hostility toward Asia and increased social cohesiveness, including for Muslims and local communities. Australia should be a model for dealing with social, cultural and religious tensions.
- By 2020 Australia should be an engaged middle power, acting as a foreign policy entrepreneur that is agile, imaginative, creative and active.

- The key breakthrough from the summit should be an acceptance of the certainty of change without specific predictions. Australia must focus on building capacity—knowledge, skills and resilience. In doing so we must rise above opposition between stories of triumph and infamy in our national discourse by building a sense of confidence and pride in ourselves while being engaged and humble towards other nations.
- By 2020 Australia will be recognised as a good international citizen that has leveraged its soft power status as a wealthy, democratic and culturally diverse and cohesive state for concrete foreign policy returns. It has served on the Security Council, played a role in reforming the United Nations and been proactive on issues such as global poverty, disease, terrorism management and global warming. Australia will need to recognise the complexities of globalisation and proactively prepare itself to meet the challenges. Change will not be easy, and significant policy adjustments will meet resistance.
- The most important topics at the summit should be new approaches to the application of power and influence; intelligence reform, building new relationships with new partners across a wider agenda; streamlining the domestic intelligence community; and greater financial investment in soft power.
- By 2020 Australia will be well placed to survive as a functioning and safe nation and society because our geography and policies protect us from the global chaos created by the pandemic of 2012, the financial crash of 2013, and the oil war of 2016.
- The summit helped us find the courage and vision to hope for the best but plan for the worst; to envisage policies for water, energy and the disease pandemic that buffered us, and wider international shocks and contribute to peace and security in the region.
- By 2020 Australia should be a leader and example of best practice, balancing between innovation and adopting proven global initiatives. We should strengthen regional ties and exchanges, sharing ideas and strategies. We should seek a stronger involvement on the ground in the region through volunteers, students and policy makers.
- The profound breakthrough from the summit should be to refocus military planning, strategic planning and capability development to respond to the realities of regional engagement and need.
- By 2020 Australia is a model international 'good citizen' committed to the rule of law, peaceful resolution of differences and sustainable global economic and social systems based on democratic principles and, importantly, practice.
- The summit should begin by developing a process of shifting the initiative to the broader population and generating a new national consensus to adapt to inevitable changes and new realities—to shift the economic and social consensus from consumption to investment, sustainability and inclusion.
- By 2020 Australia would be a country that continued to be comprehensively engaged in the Asia–Pacific region and one that stood for and promoted a vigorous and healthy internationalism abroad.
- In 2020 Australia would be a country that continued to seek and foster security and institutional strength in the Pacific.
- By 2020 Australia would have been successful in convincing the United States that multilateralism can work in Asia, provided the relevant forums concentrated on matters of real substance—arms control, governance, democratic progress, and so on.
- The summit should recommend that more Commonwealth resources be devoted to long-term policy planning and the development of a whole-of-government national security policy planning group within the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, drawing on relevant agencies.



- By 2020 Australia would be a leader in contributing to conflict resolution and a global advocate for human rights, drawing on an Australian society that respects diversity and is harmonious and equitable.
- Australian policy approaches would be innovative and flexible in 2020. Australia would recognise that the choices it made were not a zero-sum equation. For instance, strong relations with the United States could exist side by side with good relations with other countries and active participation in multilateral forums.
- In 2008 Australia's concept of its national security was too narrowly conceived. The summit was an opportunity to ensure that by 2020 it would encompass the full range of emerging non-military threats, including climate change, resource competition, global wealth disparities and pandemics.
- By 2020 Australia would have fully embraced a holistic approach to combating terrorism, one that places emphasis on recognising and respecting diversity. Australia's current counter-terrorism legislation would have been amended.
- By 2020 Australia would be a world leader in Asian language teaching, including the best research-led pedagogy.
- Australia should foster literary talent in the region, including through regional a literary award, akin to the Booker Prize, to attract and promote the best Asian and Pacific writers.
- In 2020 the depth and breadth of Australia's engagement with the Asia–Pacific region would be a model for our engagement with the rest of the world.
- In 2020 Australia would continue to educate international students, particularly from Asia, as a means of increasing our understanding of foreign cultures and building longer lasting economic ties. There would be recognition of the benefit to Australia of student-to-student links and friendships.
- By 2020 Australia would be an astute, celebratory, respectful, wise and engaged nation that understands its place in the world and embraces the interests of the globe as a whole.
- By 2020 the notions, programs and spirit of international volunteering would ensure that good global citizenship is the paradigm that drives our foreign policy, including our approach to development assistance.
- Australia would understand in 2020 that the 'common wealth' is to be shared by all communities, rather than secured behind an artifice of a protective mind-set that cannot face a future for all.
- By 2020 a nation's wellbeing, rather than its poverty or wealth, would be the basis on which we looked at other countries.
- In 2020 Australia would have abandoned progress as the driver of its policies and would have instead embraced solidarity and hospitality as the foundation on which it build its international approach.
- By 2020 Australia would have implemented policies that link individuals, organisations and communities in sustainable relationships of mutuality and respect.
- By 2020 Australia would be an active and respectful nation that supports nations facing challenges and has a stronger, more flexible and more robust framework for responding to international disasters, based on a coherent strategy.
- In 2020 development assistance would lie at the core of our approach to helping nations recover from disasters.

- Through the Council of Australian Governments and the Police Ministers Council, in 2020 agreement has been sought with state governments to develop a strategic preparedness report, which would ensure that Australian households were better prepared for an increased occurrence of natural disasters. By 2020 state and federal barriers to coordinated disaster management have been removed.
- By 2020 Emergency Management Australia has become a Council of Australian Governments agency.
- In 2020 Australia has withstood the consequences of a pandemic that struck in 2012 and the twice-yearly Cyclone Larry-like events.
- By 2020 Australia has abandoned the 2008 paradigm. It looks outwards and recognises the new global challenges, including their interconnection, and has adopted an approach that ensures we can guarantee our future and be a global leader.
- The summit has allowed Australia to actively tackle climate change, to implement strategies to boost Pacific regional security, to explore alternative sources of energy, and to fully embrace the rights of Indigenous Australians, including their political role. By 2020 this last point has been enshrined in domestic legislation and informed Australia's approach to the relevant international statutes.
- The summit should prompt new thinking, so that by 2020 Australia is a true global leader in responding to climate change, adopting alternative sources of energy and boosting Indigenous prosperity.
- By 2020 a Pacific Federation has been achieved. Australia is closely integrated in the Asia-Pacific region, including as a full member of all regional economic and security forums. Australia would also be an active contributor to international organisations.
- Flowing from the summit, by 2020 Australia will understand the relationship between regional engagement, our status as a republic, and our own national integration.
- In 2008 too much was spent on unproductive sectors such as defence. A key ambition for 2020 should be increasing health and education opportunities and ensuring they are the focus for Australia's foreign and defence policy.
- By 2020 Australia has improved the education system and boosted rural and regional development, including through increased federal and state cooperation.
- By 2020 Australia has re-invigorated its national oceans policy.
- Bureaucratic 'stove-piping' has been addressed by 2020.
- One view expressed at the summit was that in 2008 Australia was seen too often as a white, western country. By 2020 this will have changed.
- In 2020 our engagement in the Asia-Pacific region will have been promoted through the development of our common maritime interest, which aims to protect and secure the oceans.
- An ambition for 2020 should be that Australia will be a major regional country that contributes to building peace, understand the importance of respecting other cultures, and provides technology to increase access to water and food for the poor in the Indian Ocean region.
- In 2020 Australia has stopped thinking of the world in terms of boundaries.
- Australia will deal with extremism of all kinds and has abandoned the 2008 mind-sets that put up barriers between people.
- By 2020 Australia will be focused on the people and will be its own master.



- In 2020 Australia will be working cooperatively on the ground with people, around Australia and elsewhere, building on its diaspora connections.
- In 2020 Australia understands the region and the world and no longer sees them through US eyes.
- By 2020 Australians will be Australians and not anything else. Australia will be seen as a global example of freedom and opportunity, with strong democratic institutions and the best health and education systems in the world.
- By 2020 Australia will have used the wealth generated by our natural resources to build a knowledge economy and will have become a global leader in science, education and the understanding of other cultures.
- Australia will be using this expertise in 2020 to the benefit of neighbouring countries through educational exchanges (along the lines of the Colombo Plan) and building goodwill.
- By 2020 Australia's international aid programs will focus on building capacity in the region to ensure the benefits of the aid are long-lasting.
- In 2020 Australia will have built national institutions that have endured through many changes of government.
- In 2020 Australia encourages innovative and fresh thinking at home and in partner countries.
- Unlike in 2008, in 2020 long-term thinking lies at the centre of Australian policy making.
- A key goal of the summit should be that by 2020 Australia is committed to social justice and parity of wealth and opportunity. In 2020 Australia will have shed the role of 'deputy sheriff'. Its words will be matched by its deeds, and it will be committed to seeking to understand the grievances of others, both at home and overseas.
- Australia will be spiritually engaged and cosmopolitan in 2020. Australia's missions abroad will be cosmopolitan hubs.
- By 2020 Australia will have embraced revolutionised rationality. It will be a techno-rational and contemplative society that accepts its universal responsibility.
- Australians will in 2020 understand and practise attentive love and *dadirri*. (A unique gift of the Aboriginal people, *dadirri* is deep inner listening and quiet, still awareness, recognising the deep spring that is inside all people.)
- The summit needs to ensure that by 2020 Australia is committed to the Millennium Development Goals, as well as to international and intra-national harmony and cohesion.
- By 2020 Australians will be undertaking mindfulness training. Australia will have harnessed its multi-civilisation resources and recognised the salience of Indigenous culture. Knowledge of Indigenous culture will have extended to cities, towns and the tourist industry.
- In 2020 Australia will use 'gross national happiness' as a way of measuring its success as a society.
- By 2020 Australia will have become a much more considerate and culturally aware nation. Australia will engage more effectively with Asian neighbours through linguistic and cultural competence.
- The summit has ensured that by 2020 mutual respect and understanding of Australia's neighbours will have helped us sit more comfortably in Asia.

- The 2008 view of Australia's national security is too narrow. By 2020 Australia will have a broader conception of its security, including recognising the threat of climate change.
- By 2020 Australia will have implemented a national water conservation plan and boosted the quality of its education system.
- By 2020 Australia will have relocated its agricultural industry to northern Australia, resulting in higher productivity and allowing the use of the natural rainfall closer to Asia. Australia will also have established trade hubs in northern Australia through the use of an improved rail system.
- The summit should ensure that every Australian child will have the opportunity to learn a foreign language in 2020.
- By 2020 Australia will be recognised as a country that is mature, calm and secure in its place and in its relationships with the region. It will be a genuine global citizen, with strong boundaries around its behaviour. These would be based on inclusive humane policies that build long-term trust.
- In 2020 Australian security policy would include responsible hard policies, which do not create public compliance and thus private resentment. Australia's security policy would also include grass-roots long-term soft policies that address the root causes of radicalisation and terrorism.
- The summit will prompt an understanding that, like health care, successful security outcomes are rare.
- Australia will have an expanded concept of security and prosperity that includes truly preventive measures. Australia will have understood that preventive security requires a long-term commitment.
- Australia's responsibility spectrum would include the Asia–Pacific region.
- The summit will enable a breakthrough in national thinking. When considering the future impact of the implementation of policy in a complex region, Australia should look forward three to six generations.
- The fear and 'group-think' of 2008 will by 2020 have been overcome by steady ethical, honest leadership within Australia. This leadership will have assisted in the development of better international relationships.
- Unlike in 2008, by 2020 Australia will have recognised that its prosperity is tied to the Asia–Pacific region. In 2020 Australians will speak the languages of the region and know themselves by knowing others. Australians will have developed regional expertise that informs and educates public opinion about the Asia–Pacific region.
- In 2020 Australians will be active regional and global citizens who contribute to a sustainable and shared prosperity.
- Australia will be comfortable communicating with its neighbours. There will be a public discourse between Australia and its neighbours.
- A key goal of the summit should be to put in place a strategy to ensure that by 2020 Australians are working collaboratively in innovation and research as a means of providing solutions to global problems. Australia's efforts in these endeavours would provide a platform on which we build our international reputation.
- In 2020 Australia will be a wealthy democracy, but it will be constrained in an increasingly severe way by climatic and water-related problems.



- In 2020 Australia will continue to promote ideas and initiatives to advance prosperity and political openness in Asia and the Pacific, but in relative terms its standing, influence and leverage are not as strong as they were in 2008.
- The summit should ensure that by 2020 Australia has redirected much of its development assistance through the private sector, universities and non-government organisations in countries in our region and no longer relies on working through weak regional governments.
- In 2020 Australia will be effectively leading and helping the Asia–Pacific region to adapt to the profound challenges facing the region. Australia will be well regarded in the region and will have established an enormous amount of goodwill.
- An idea identified at the summit was that by 2020 Australian development assistance programs should be focused on concrete local capacity building, sustainable agriculture, water provision, energy production, and city planning.
- By 2020 Australia’s strong engagement with the region has many delivered many benefits. The region is secure and prosperous despite overall global trends, which include food shortages, lack of clean drinking water, increased natural disasters, and fossil fuel shortages.
- By 2020 Australian exports have been redirected to include innovations such as solar energy.
- Australia will by 2020 find its security in the world and the region, not from it. Australia will recognise that its security is tied to the stability of Indonesia and the Pacific and that its border security depends on the strength of the justice and policing systems in Asia.
- Australia will be working to ensure climate security by encouraging the green growth of India and China.
- The summit should ensure that by 2020 Australia will have adopted and implemented a strategy for peace building in the region. The components of this strategy would include a coherent intelligence and analytical capability, a bureaucratic reserve that could be deployed to regional trouble spots, and an overarching paradigm for our development assistance program that emphasises investment, not aid.
- In 2020 Australia will be a true friend of the region, contributing actively to the development of regional solutions. It has moved away from the ‘deputy sheriff’ role.
- Coming out of the 2008 summit, Australia should implement a review of the possible challenges to Australia’s prosperity and security.
- By 2020 Australian law enforcement, policing and criminal justice agencies have built truly effective partnerships, enabling them to deal effectively with criminal and other threats.
- By 2020 Australians feel comfortable that the right balance has been found between the rights of the individual and the protection of the community.
- In 2020 Australia has begun to move from having courts of law to having courts of truth and justice.
- From the 2008 Summit have emerged effective frameworks that enable continuation of the dialogue initiated by the summit and give effect to the ideas that were thrown up by the summit.
- The summit should aim to ensure that the biggest change that occurs between 2008 and 2020 is that Australians have adopted a real sense of community.
- By 2020 education has become the platform for developing opportunity for all Australians.

- A key ambition for the summit should be that Australia reaches an understanding by 2020 that the greatest barriers to change are 'status quo' thinkers and lack of imagination. In 2020 Australia understands that rivalry and protection of bureaucratic turf between agencies and governments are also barriers to change.
- Australia would be by 2020 a respected middle power that used its influence in the Asia–Pacific region and beyond to help broker considered diplomatic solutions to major global problems such as climate change. Australia would be committed to multilateralism and would 'look before it leapt'.
- Out of the summit it was crucial that ideas emerged that enabled the formation of policies that promote regional engagement, strengthen the Australian identity, and help Australia achieve a greater understanding of its place in the world. As a means of achieving these goals a nationwide program for teaching Asian languages and studies (including the history, politics and economics of the region) should be introduced at all levels of the education system. The program should include the introduction of substantial in-country study programs.
- By 2020 Australia is no longer scared of its Asian neighbours. In looking at its neighbours, Australia sees opportunity, not threat. This would be underpinned by greater mutual understanding and engagement.
- By 2020 Australia, still a young country by international standards, has developed a capacity to make a difference. It has a great population, one that is diverse. Australia respects its local communities and helps new and emerging groups. Australia does not frighten or demonise its people.
- Australia by 2020 has planned for the future and set itself big goals. Once the goals were agreed to, Australia stayed the course. New ways have been developed to judge our performance against the goals that have been set. We all understand.
- In 2020 Australia works with its neighbourhood. It helps struggling democracies and see the countries in the Asia–Pacific region as genuine partners.
- By 2020 federal, state and local governments understand the roles they should play.
- The need to reduce parochial thinking and break down bureaucratic barriers in all countries was identified as a key goal for the summit to pursue. An ambition should be that by 2020 the conflict between the states and the federal government has been eliminated.
- Australia is by 2020 a sensible and effective contributor and an international player of influence.
- By 2020 Australia is committed to regional integration as its contribution to good global citizenship. Australia has developed a 'Pacific Community' within the Asia–Pacific region, which has helped the region become peaceful and prosperous. Australia has entered a new era of partnership and cooperation with its neighbours.
- There was insufficient understanding in 2008 of the link between Australia's prosperity and security and that of the region. The summit should come up with a strategy to ensure that by 2020 this has changed. By 2020 Australia should be in a position where it benefits from a secure and prosperous region, rendering unnecessary armed interventions such as the Regional Assistance Mission in the Solomon Islands. Security and prosperity in the region in 2020 would allow a greater focus on economic growth. By 2020 Australians are proud of having helped reduce poverty in the region.
- By 2020 Australia exists in a safe, prosperous and equitable international community.



- In 2008 Australia's role in the region was undercut by our lack of understanding of different cultures. The summit needed to ensure that by 2020 Australia was a respected nation in harmony with regional states and supporting regional prosperity.
- By 2020 Australia understands the true drivers of national and international security.
- By 2020 Australian government policy reinforces social cohesion in Australia and drives productive international agendas.
- By 2020 Australia understands the link between prosperity and development in the Asia–Pacific region and Australia. Australia also understands the emerging risks in the region and the emerging opportunities.
- By 2020 Australia has introduced mechanisms enabling governments, business and non-government organisations to better capitalise on resources and 'know how' to better solve global problems.
- By 2020 Australia has reduced economic disparities in Australia and within the region. Australia has also rethought notions of accountability.
- In 2020 Australian foreign and expenditure policies are more focused. Priority is given to enhancing regional security, tackling climate change, dealing with global population growth, and encouraging global mobility.
- By 2020 Australia is powerfully engaged multilaterally. It is a key player in the United Nations and in the region, including in regional institutions.
- The 2008 summit should set greater integration with Asia as one of its goals and ensure that plans are in place, so that by 2020 this has become a reality.
- In 2020 Australia upholds the international rule of law, is committed to respecting human rights, manages climate change to reduce human displacement, and has strengthened the international and regional architecture.
- By 2020 Australia exists in a balanced world in which equity and justice are valued and promoted. Australia has learnt from the past. It celebrates the good things that had happened and grieves over the pain that was inflicted.
- Unlike in 2008, in the Australia of 2020 dialogue has replaced conflict and cooperation has replaced competition. Australia is empathetic; it has lateral vision; and it leaves a light footprint. Trade is balanced in favour of weaker countries. Natural resources have been conserved. Policies and life choices are directed towards building a better future. Australia uses technology for the good of everyone and no longer follows blindly.
- In 2020 Australia listens to silent voices. It also listens to those who do not like Australia and is open to change.
- By 2020 Australia leads the world in having created a community educated to be globally literate, with a particular focus on the Asia–Pacific region.
- The 2008 Summit committed to defining and implementing national education policies that were adequately resourced to effectively teach to all Australians languages and cultural understanding. By 2020 this has been done.
- Building on the 2008 Summit, Australia has by 2020 committed itself to developing its place in the world through increasing emphasis on soft and smart power. Resources have been shifted from defence and intelligence to boosting public diplomacy, with a particular focus on conflict prevention.

- By 2020 national barriers have been overcome through the introduction of a comprehensive public education program that uses ideas and processes identified by the summit to engage communities throughout Australia.
- In 2020 Australia would be a world leader in eradicating poverty and restoring peace and stability by enabling the full participation of women, men, and girls and boys.
- By 2020 improving gender equality has become the overarching goal of Australia's international development assistance and regional security policies.
- Australia would be working in 2020 in partnership with the region to create a more equitable world.
- Australia would have by 2020 reduced barriers to the participation of women in business and would have provided alternative masculine identities for men in the security sector.
- By 2020 Australia will support creative initiatives enabling the development of positive masculine identities. It will support initiatives to give women confidence to stand up to intimidation, and it will have increased female participation in the security sector. 'Old-school' norms in the security sector and in business have been done away with. These changes have been facilitated by the shared real stories of how change can happen, which took place at the 2008 Summit.
- By 2020 there is an understanding in Australia that the region has not reached its full potential because half the population has been excluded. There has also been in Australia a change in values, attitudes and national priorities, and there is a move towards people-centred action.
- In 2020 Australia would be an international role model and good global citizen. It would be recognised as a desirable international education destination and would have introduced a 'Colombo Plan' for Africa. Its education system would have developed a better understanding of Asia across the Australian population. More Australians would have studied and lived in Asia. This would have helped Australia to become more closely engaged in Asia.
- Australia in 2008 was too ready to ignore international law. By 2020 Australia will respect and uphold international law. The doctrine of pre-emption will have been rejected.
- By 2020 Australia will have ensured that it is appropriately represented by capable delegations at key international events.
- Australia's approach to helping solve the problems of the Asia-Pacific region would be determined by the recipients of Australian assistance and not by western or colonial-style solutions.
- By 2020 Australia will be a great global citizen of the region and will be working with other countries in genuine partnership to solve the region's problems.
- By 2020, and in response to an international food and energy crisis, Australia will have developed a plan to deal with climate change, high oil prices and increased demand for biofuels.
- Australia will focus its aid program on poverty reduction and the achievement of mutually defined development goals, such as the Millennium Development Goals.
- Australia has improved its relationships with Pacific countries by offering assistance to those displaced by climate change and offering greater access to the Australian labour market.
- By 2020 Australia is a leading country providing solutions to resolve humanitarian and human rights problems.
- The Australian public would be involved in the development of government policy.



- Australian children would think not just of themselves but also of their role in the community.
- By 2020 Australia will be fully integrated into Asia. Mutual respect would underpin our relationships.
- Australia would display the highest ethics and employ innovative communications using the best IT and other technologies.
- In 2020 the government will have ensured that business and the academic community are fully engaged in its policy approach to Asia.
- By 2020 better means of screening and protecting people from the threats posed by biological, chemical and radiological weapons will have been developed. These measures will be remote and non-intrusive.
- By 2020 Australia will be investing substantially in science and technology as a means of boosting economic growth and our leadership in the region.
- While hanging onto our Australian identity, by 2020 Australians will also be active global citizens with global perspectives.
- By 2020 Australia will be a nation that thinks globally and bases its ideas on respect for the cultures and histories of the countries in its region. Australia will be fearless about embracing difference, instead of using it to its advantage.
- Our key ambition by 2020 should be to educate our children to be globally intelligent and to ensure that Australia is able to train and reward this intelligence. This approach would enable Australia to stay nimble at a time of enormous change.
- The key challenge for the summit should be to establish a strategy that would enable Australia, by 2020, to build mutuality into all its dealings with the region.
- By 2020 policies should have been put in place to allow children to learn about the languages, histories, geographies, economies, arts and spiritual beliefs of the region.
- By 2020 Australia would be a major middle power in the world and a strong contributor to economic advancement and world peace and stability. It would also be a model for how others should treat their own citizens.
- Australia in 2020 would be seen as an important part of the Asia–Pacific region and a strong contributor to its prosperity and sustainability.
- By 2020 Asian studies and the teaching of Asian languages will be commonplace.
- By 2020 Australia will have free-trade agreements with every country in the Asia–Pacific region and an active and comprehensive program of cultural exchanges. Travel barriers in the region will have been broken down.
- In 2020 Australia will see itself as part of the Asia–Pacific region and not as a European outpost.
- By 2020 Australia will not be the ‘deputy sheriff’ but, having won the respect of the region, will be a regional leader. Australia will be a ‘regional facilitator’ of international law initiatives and will promote a democratic and just regional outlook.
- By 2020 Australia will be a respected and respectful lead power in the region. This dramatic change took place as a result of the 2020 Summit in 2008, after which the Prime Minister decided to reorient Australia’s engagement with the Asia–Pacific region at all levels.

- Following the summit, Australia rapidly became more responsive to the dire crises that many grass-roots communities in the region were experiencing.
- By 2020 Australia will have undertaken to honour its due diligence in terms of its international covenants, especially Convention on the Elimination of All Forms Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The effect of these actions has been that communities in conflict and in post-conflict situations are stabilised by the protections given to women and girls. These include judicial and practical protections such as the introduction of anti-domestic violence protocols and measures to protect reproductive rights.
- By 2020 the position of women in grass-roots communities in the region has been improved by the delivery of legal literacy programs and the introduction of primary and preventive health education, as well as the provision of medicines. Women are also able to safely and successfully contest national elections, leading to women's parliamentary representation reaching 51 per cent across the region.
- In 2020 Australia has ensured that humanitarian laws were disseminated through non-government organisations at a fraction of the cost of the aid provided in 2008.
- By 2020 Australia has redefined its strategic objectives for enhancing its security by asserting itself as a legitimate and sincere middle power. Australia in 2020 would be interested in security from a people-centred perspective.
- Funding for Asian studies would be diverted to universities from the public service.
- As a respected regional power, by 2020 Australia has a better understanding of its strategic objectives and a better capacity (through mutual understanding) to enhance its security and prosperity and that of the region.
- By 2020 Australia will have set up educational and cultural exchange programs and scholarship training, including with Myanmar and North Korea, whose human security needs had previously been forgotten.
- By 2020 Australia will have created coalitions of middle powers that draw in Canada and the European Union to address security challenges and prosperity.
- The summit should aim to ensure that by 2020 Australia is a more socially cohesive nation.
- In 2020 Australia is a consistent and proactive leader in promoting social cohesion locally and globally. Australia has adopted an integrated local-national-regional-international system and approach to a broad concept of human security based on human rights.
- By 2020 Australia has consolidated and enhanced its practice of treating its own citizens and others with dignity and respect. There is no longer a divide between security and human rights. Australia's security approach also addresses transnational crime. Australia has undertaken a review of policing and established a regional security forum.
- By 2020 Australia has methodically brought local, state and federal agencies together in partnership with key regional neighbours.
- By 2020, Australia has become an inclusive regional leader that approaches security broadly and dynamically. Organisational and governmental 'stovepipes' have been broken down by political will and dynamic leadership and by buy-in from the grass roots.
- In 2020 Australia is an enabling and cooperative leader in the region, having put in place measures to ensure sustainable progress. These measures are informed by a deep understanding of



the region and our role in it. As a consequence, Australia's security relationships have improved and the stability and prosperity of Australia's children is assured.

- By 2020 Australia understands the link between the region's prosperity and Australia's security. Coordination between bilateral and multilateral donors has been improved. Donors are more accountable for the aid they provide. Real aid effectiveness had been implemented. Stronger links have been established between research and development. There is a better developed mechanism for evolving from humanitarian intervention to development assistance. The delivery of aid is improved by better coordination and communication.
- By 2020 Australia will be a visionary leader on the international stage. We will have contributed to a global culture of rights protection—particularly in health and humanitarian crises.
- By 2020 a key breakthrough for Australia would be the understanding that security and rights are not mutually exclusive. In a shrinking world, Australia would understand that it is no longer an island and would be taking a cooperative, not competitive, approach to security and prosperity.
- By 2020 sovereignty has ceased to be an absolute right and had been reframed as a 'responsibility to protect', or R2P. R2P would have been implemented through the establishment of a special peacekeeping force and a deployable public service for governance capacity building. It would provide a consistent framework for cooperative security and rights protection. A health impact fund would have been set up to provide an incentive to companies to tackle disease in the developing world.
- In 2020 Australia's role as a peace facilitator in regional and international conflicts is much enhanced. By focusing on and promoting better conflict resolution skills with national education agendas, within community groups and at every level of government, a culture of conflict resolution has developed in Australia. This has enabled Australia to engage in a more productive manner in facilitating peaceful and productive ends to conflicts and crises.
- Following the summit policies were developed to integrate conflict resolution skills into national school curriculums, at universities and in the workplace.
- Following the summit Australia broke away from the close alliance with the United States and began introducing more independent policies based on a greater appreciation and acknowledgment of our place as a middle-weight country in Asia, rather than the misconception of Australia as a European or exclusively western country in the middle of nowhere.
- One of the barriers to change is people thinking that traditional security measures and military responses or violence are appropriate. They need instead to think that, when presented with a problem, crises or conflict, their first thought should be: how do we resolve this?
- By 2020 Australia should be an influential power with the capacity to broker understandings between widely divergent global interests, respected for its strong stand on human rights, and committed to dialogue and respect for difference.
- Australia should renew its commitment to a global culture of human rights and constructive and active global engagement with a focus on the Pacific and Asia. It should establish a reputation as a predictable and reliable development and aid partner and create stronger relations of trust and respect with neighbours.
- A key ambition should be the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in the region beyond 2015, and the best idea would be to create a regional human rights institution. By 2020 a culture of human rights needs to be embedded and practised in nations of the region.

- By 2020 Australia should be a republic with a female Prime Minister of non-Anglo extraction, a bridge between East Asia and the declining west and a country trusted and accepted as part of Asia. There should be seamless interaction between Australia and the Asian region, its cultures and languages.
- A key goal will be a national strategy for Australia's place in Asia covering our identity, Asia literacy and membership of regional bodies. Policy should be geared for Asian engagement through absorption of Asia literacy into the national psyche, including funded programs and investments in language, culture and education. Every student from kindergarten to year 12 should be fluent in an Asian language.

