

Australia and North Africa – A Complex Modern Reality

Hannah Climas

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of International Studies

Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences

Flinders University

October 2017

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Hannah Climas

October 2017

Acknowledgements

To my loving husband Aaron and daughter Elizabeth for their unconditional encouragement and words of wisdom. Special mention goes to the countless flower crowns that I was given by my very insistent two-year-old as inspiration; you consistently demonstrated that every action's an act of creation.

To my supervisor Dr. Tanya Lyons for her professional and personal support during the past three years, your advice has been beyond valuable and I can only offer my sincere apologies for my constant failure to check my emails. Thank you for making this experience such a rich and fulfilling one.

To my friends for making sure that I stayed hydrated (Madeline); for helping me with the most basic of mathematics (Jacqui); for shouting me coffee (Angus); for listening to me vent at the most inopportune times (Carissa); and for reminding me that there's a world beyond my thesis (Dan and Adelle). Thank you for reminding me that sometimes, what feels like failure isn't failure at all. It's what inspires you to dream even bigger.

To my wonderful family. All we have to decide is what to do with the time that is given to us.

This thesis was completed with the assistance of a Flinders University Research Scholarship granted on the basis of academic excellence.

Abstract

This thesis analyses and critiques the foreign policy formation of successive Australian governments towards the five Arab states of North Africa – Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia – and argues that (with few exceptions) these bilateral relationships are trade-based and unlikely to change, even in the face of international crises such as the Arab Spring. The question underpinning the analysis conducted in this thesis is “what does North Africa have to offer Australia?” The research here concludes that economic concerns, trade, mining, Foreign Direct Investment, and developmental aid, provided strong incentives for Australia’s ongoing engagement in the region. This engagement occurred during a time of huge social and political upheaval in the region and, as it is argued in this thesis, coincided Australia’s with successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council 2013-2015. It is argued here that this was a blatant example of Australia’s activist ambitions, and thus this thesis questions Australia’s foreign policy formation, including its dedication to a stable world order; its investment in peaceful political reform in developing regions; and its obligations above and beyond the United Nations.

This thesis argues that there are foreign policy frameworks that transcend domestic political party lines, and that this framework is founded on the three tenets of Australian foreign policy formation – ongoing support for our ‘great and powerful friend’ the United States; ongoing ties with the Asia-Pacific region (including China); and ongoing support for and active engagement with the United Nations. What has been termed a ‘re-engagement’ under the activist Rudd Labor Australian government was not a paradigmatic shift in foreign policy formation – it was a reorientation precipitated by a specific series of events that nevertheless saw a continuation of Australia’s economic policies and continued to be driven by Australia’s domestic political concerns. This approach was a consequence of former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd’s belief that Africa is a ‘complex modern reality’ that presents more opportunities than threats, and that these opportunities require an increasingly activist foreign policy.

List of Tables / Figures

Figure 2.1 Level of domestic support for UN interventions in Iraq and Libya – 2011

Figure 2.2 Domestic support for Australian leaders pre- and post-disaster

Figure 4.1 Australia’s Overall Merchandise Trade: Exports and Imports

Figure 4.2 Australian Official Visits to Africa 2009-2010

Figure 4.3 Australia’s exports of education-related travel services by market share 2009-10

Figure 5.1 Food scores for the Arab states of North Africa (out of 100)

Figure 5.2 Projected annual growth in food security variables in North Africa between 2012 and 2022

Figure 6.1 Australian Official Development Assistance, Region of Benefit by Strategic Goals, 2009–10 to 2011–12

Figure 6.2 Australian Official Development Assistance to the five Arab states of North Africa

Figure 6.3 Aid allocated in the Australian budget by region and associations

Figure 6.4 AusAID Official Development Assistance, Strategic Goals by Type of Partner, 2011-12, \$*000

Acronyms

ABARE – Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics

ABC – Australian Broadcasting Corporation

ABS – Australian Bureau of Statistics

ACIAR – Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research

ADF – Australian Defence Force

ALP – Australian Labor Party (also referred to in some quotes as ‘Labor’)

ANZUS – Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty

APPR – Aid Program Performance Review

AQIS – Australian Quarantine and Inspection Service

ASIO – Australian Security Intelligence Organisation

ASIS – Australian Secret Intelligence Service

AMISOM – African Union’s Mission in Somalia

AusAID – Australian Agency for International Development

Austrade – Australian Trade Commission

CAAR – Council for Arab-Australian Relations

CHOGM – Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

CNN – Cable News Network

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

DAC – Development Assistance Committee

DAFF – Department of Agriculture, Farming and Fisheries

DEEWR – Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations

DFAT – Australia’s Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

DIAC – Department of Immigration and Citizenship

EIS – Environmental Impact Statement

ESCAS – Exporter Supply Chain Assurance System

EU – European Union

FOI – Freedom of Information

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

HOM – Heads of Mission

JSCFADT – Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade

GCC – Gulf Cooperation Council

GFC – Global Financial Crisis

GHI – Global Hunger Index

GNI – Gross National Income

ICC – International Criminal Court

IFPRI – International Food Policy Research Institute

IMF – International Monetary Fund

ICRC – International Committee of the Red Cross

ISIS – Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

LES – Live Export Shame

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

MEAA – Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance

MENA – Middle East and North Africa

MLA – Meat and Livestock Australia

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

MP – Member of Parliament

MPI – Multidimensional Poverty Index

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisations

ODA – Official Development Assistance

ODE – Office of Development Effectiveness

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OIC – Organisation of Islamic Cooperation

OSCE – Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

RSPCA – Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

RtoP – Responsibility to Protect (also known as R2P)

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SBS – Special Broadcasting Service

SOT – Sector of the State reports

SPCG – Strategic Policy Coordination Group

UAE – United Arab Emirate

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

UNMISS – United Nations Mission to South Sudan

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

US – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UK – United Kingdom

VCE – Victorian Certificate of Education

WEOG – Western European and Other Group

WHO – World Health Organization

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Tables / Figures	vi
Acronyms	vii
Table of Contents	x
Introduction	1
i.i Definitions	2
i.ii Methodology	4
i.iii The Arab Spring and the global winds of change	4
i.iv Australia’s diplomatic response to the Arab Spring	7
i.v Literature on Australia’s relations with North Africa	13
i.vi A note on sources	26
i.vii Thesis structure	31
Chapter 1 - Principles and foreign policy formation of a successful ‘Middle Power’	33
1.1 Introduction	33
1.2 The practicalities of Australian foreign policy	36
1.3 The process of foreign policy formation in Australia	41
1.4 The Australian Labor Party’s approach to foreign policy formation 2007 -2013	46
1.5 Rudd’s activist ambitions regarding North Africa	50
1.6 Conclusion	61
Chapter 2 – Australia’s Responsibility to Protect	63
2.1 Introduction	63
2.2 The Responsibility to Protect and Australia’s commitment	63
2.3 The role of the African Union	66
2.5 Australia’s readjustment under the Abbott Coalition government	72
2.6 Conclusion	75
Chapter 3 – The influence of the ‘Abbott doctrine’	76
3.1 Introduction	76
3.2 Bishop’s dealings with the Asia-Pacific region	79
3.3 The ‘Abbott Doctrine’ and the role of international conflicts in Australian domestic political strategy	82

3.4 The domestic and foreign policy implications of the MH17 disaster and conflict in Ukraine	87
3.5 Australian foreign policy formation regarding Australian-Egyptian bilateral relations during the Greste case.....	93
3.6 Abbott’s domestic political landscape	106
3.7 Conclusion.....	108
Chapter 4 – The domination of Australian trade concerns.....	110
4.1 Introduction	110
4.2 Australia’s historical trade relationships with North Africa.....	112
4.3 What does North Africa have to offer Australia?	116
4.4 Australian diplomatic representation in trade-relevant North African states	124
4.5 Trade statistics	126
4.6 Australia’s tumultuous trade history with Libya – a case study	130
4.7 The ongoing influence of the Arab Spring on Australia’s trade with North Africa	133
4.8 Bilateral investment opportunities with North Africa	135
4.8 The impact of the mining and petroleum industries on Australia’s foreign policy formation .	137
4.9 Australia’s corporate responsibilities and domestic governmental regulation.....	140
4.10 The impact of North African food security on Australia’s agricultural production and innovation	144
4.11 Conclusion.....	155
Chapter 5 – The effects of Australia’s live export industry on Australia’s relationship with Egypt	162
5.1 Introduction	162
5.2 The ESCAS system	164
5.3 The domestic political influence of Australia’s agricultural sector.....	168
5.4 The 2013 ban on live exports to Egypt	171
5.5 The domestic political viability of alternatives to Australia’s live export industry.....	174
5.6 Conclusion.....	179
Chapter 6 – Australia’s humanitarian aid and developmental programs	181
6.1 Introduction	181
6.2 The impact of Australia’s humanitarian aid budget on the successful campaign for a seat on the United Nations Security Council	184
6.3 The substance and functionality of Australia’s humanitarian aid towards North Africa during the Arab Spring	189
6.4 The effects of Australia’s self-identification as a ‘middle power’ on the development of its humanitarian aid program.....	203
6.5 Differences in Australian humanitarian aid to North Africa and to sub-Saharan Africa	205

6.6 The migration element of Australia’s humanitarian program during the Arab Spring	210
6.7 The Abbott government’s humanitarian disengagement with North Africa and policy realignment towards the Asia-Pacific	213
6.8 Conclusion.....	224
Conclusion	228
Bibliography	243

Introduction

“Africa is a more complex modern reality with a greater range of opportunities than some of the stereotypes of the past would suggest... [Australia’s] interests in the region therefore require an increasingly activist foreign policy”¹

– Kevin Rudd, 12th November 2010

This thesis argues that economic concerns, including trade, mining, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and development aid, provided the majority of Australia’s impetus for its engagement with the Arab States of North Africa during the time of huge social and political upheaval experienced during the Arab Spring, beginning in October 2010 with the effects still being felt in 2017. However, this engagement was also driven by Australia’s then campaign for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.² This campaign necessitated what was then termed a “re-engagement”³ with the states of North Africa, and was driven by the then-Rudd Labor government. The driving question behind this thesis – “what does North Africa have to offer Australia?” – helps to inform this thesis’ analysis of Australia’s foreign policy formation during this tumultuous period, while evidence presented in this thesis supports the conclusion drawn by successive Australian governments – that a deepened engagement with North Africa offers tangible economic benefits to Australia.

¹ Rudd, Kevin. ‘Australia’s foreign policy looking west’ (speech given at the University of Western Australia, Perth, November 12th 2010), accessed February 24th 2015 (2010b).

² Australia announced in March 2008 that it would campaign for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UN Security Council, or UNSC), a campaign that was both ambitious and ultimately successful. Australian politicians remain concerned with Australia’s reputation in the international sphere, the furtherance of which necessitates the reaffirmation and support of particular international organisations and norms – in the case of North Africa, the organisation was the United Nations (and to a lesser extent, the African Union) and the norm was the Responsibility to Protect.

³ Mickler, David, and Tanya Lyons, “Locating Australian Engagement with Africa”, in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa’, Melbourne University Press, 2013 (2013b), pp 2.

There are three rationales for Australia's increased engagement with the previously overlooked region of North Africa, and they are that Australia wanted to play "a more prominent and proactive role in broader global politics";⁴ that the 'resources boom' offered political and economic opportunities to the benefit of the Australian economy; and recognition that the region continues to face many challenges in the 21st century. Australia's ongoing economic interests and bilateral trade relationships with the Arab states of North Africa necessitate a foreign policy aimed at providing and encouraging a stable environment in which the Australian government, and Australian companies, can do business. What is significant about this focus on the Arab Spring and Australian foreign policy towards the Arab states of North Africa during this period is that this wave of pro-independence pro-democracy protests in a previously-overlooked region allowed Prime Minister Kevin Rudd to demonstrate his commitment to *his* concept of Australia as an 'activist middle power'.

i.i Definitions

Where necessary, this thesis will use the term 'Rudd/Gillard government' to indicate the continuity in foreign policy between the separate yet consecutive ALP governments lead by Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard from 2007-2013, linked in large part via Rudd's appointment to the portfolio of Foreign Minister in the subsequent Gillard government.⁵ The ALP Rudd government was sworn in on 3rd December 2007 and ended on 24th June 2010, when Rudd relinquished his position to Deputy Julia Gillard amidst mounting pressure from a looming leadership caucus ballot – this is commonly referred to as the First Rudd Government. The Second Rudd Government came about on 27th June 2013 after successfully challenging then-Prime Minister Julia Gillard for leadership, and lasted until the 2013 federal election and the swearing-in of the Coalition Abbott government on 18th September 2013.

⁴ Altman, Dennis, Joseph A Camilleri, Robyn Eckersley and Gerhard Hoffstaedter (eds). 'Why Human Security Matters: Rethinking Australian Foreign Policy', Allen & Unwin, MSW, 2012, pp 129.

⁵ Although technically it would be more accurate to refer to it as the Rudd/Gillard/Rudd governments, the term 'Rudd/Gillard government' will be used where appropriate. See Altman, Dennis, Joseph A Camilleri, Robyn Eckersley and Gerhard Hoffstaedter (eds). 2012, pp 144.

The appointment of successive Foreign Ministers under successive ALP governments – Stephen Smith (2007-2010), Kevin Rudd (2010-2012), and Bob Carr (2012-2013) contrasted starkly with the Howard government’s appointment of Alexander Downer (1996-2007), the longest serving foreign minister in Australian history. Following the success of the Abbott Coalition government in 2013, Julie Bishop was appointed the first female Foreign Minister for Australia and continues to enjoy this position under Malcolm Turnbull.

Tony Abbott was replaced by fellow Liberal MP Malcolm Turnbull as Prime Minister of Australia on Monday 14th September 2015. Where there have been no notable differences between the policies of the Abbott government and the policies of the Turnbull government, the term ‘Abbott/Turnbull government’ has been used for clarity. The election of a Coalition Prime Minister in 2013 heralded a change in Australia’s domestic political climate, and coincided with the relative de-escalation of the unrest in North Africa when compared to the protests and uprisings at the height of the Arab Spring in 2010 and 2011.

This thesis will focus on the years 2007-2015 as this was the time period that saw the most significant aspects of Australia’s reengagement with Africa develop under the Rudd government, and then subsequently decline under the Abbott government. Foreign policy formation under the Howard government will also be discussed where it contributes to analysis of the Rudd government’s interactions with North Africa (for instance, where it provides context or a point of comparison). The analysis will focus on the foreign policy formation of these successive Australian governments within the framework of the three tenets that drive Australian foreign policy formation – ongoing support for our ‘great and powerful friend’ the US; ongoing ties with the Asia-Pacific region (including China); and ongoing support for and active engagement with the UN.

i.ii Methodology

The nature of the thesis questions lend themselves to case study research design, whereby the writer's answering of the particular questions and the reader's understanding of a particular problem is based on "a few easily researchable examples".⁶ Although much of the evidence relied on was already in the public domain, the author was able to obtain classified documents regarding Cabinet decisions and Parliamentary discussions through Freedom of Information (FOI) request. While some of this data was redacted for security reasons, sufficient evidence was available to develop the research agenda.

The nature of the research (analysis of a range of documents including, but not limited to, classified Ministerial briefings, official governmental statements, first-person accounts of the events, media reports and other academic commentary) meant that there was no researcher control over external variables. Limited commentary exists due to the recentness of the time frame analysed, and the fact that news reports and first-person accounts from the North African states in question were often affected by authoritarian control of media organisations and limited web access.

i.iii The Arab Spring and the global winds of change

Beginning in 2010, a wave of revolutionary-style protests and uprisings shook almost every region of the world and saw unprecedented numbers of disaffected citizens in multiple states rise up for remarkably similar reasons.⁷ These began in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region in late 2010, and it is these protests that will be the subject of this thesis.

⁶ The University of Southern California. 'Organising your social sciences research paper: Types of research designs', updated July 3rd 2017, accessed July 4th 2017.

⁷ The November 2010 Millbank protests saw students in the United Kingdom march against proposed budget cuts to education and an increase in their tuition fees. The 2011 Wisconsin labour riots and Occupy Wall Street movement shook the United States and brought the international community's attention to issues of structural social and financial inequality in one of the biggest economies in the world (with the Occupy movement

The North African state of Tunisia, assumed by the international community to be comparatively stable, erupted into widespread protest after the symbolic self-immolation of a Tunisian street vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi on December 17th 2010.⁸ This very public suicide acted as a catalyst for the Tunisian people to protest, initially against police corruption and brutality but extending to broadly cover a range of poor living conditions, high unemployment levels and government authoritarianism. Following on from these events, a range of similar protests erupted throughout the MENA region, extending down into sub-Saharan Africa, where protesters came out in full force against long-standing autocratic governments, demanding political (and often regime) change. These protests inspired and acted as the spark for the global unrest that followed, and resulted in regime change, constitutional reform, and parliamentary elections in multiple states in the wider MENA region.

What is significant when attempting to analyse these various uprisings and revolutionary-style protests is that all of them appear to have had similar causes – large-scale economic disparity; political corruption; human rights violations; high levels of unemployment (especially youth unemployment); all aggravated by a perceived lack of any real democratic representation. All of these were exacerbated by the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2007-08.⁹

For many states, the global economic austerity measures put into place as a result of this crisis exacerbated many of the underlying structural problems already in existence. As noted by Jeffrey Robertson for the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security section of the Australian Parliament,

spreading to every continent except Antarctica). The Occupy Wall Street movement used the tagline “Are you ready for a Tahrir movement?” in reference to Tahrir Square, the focus of successful and widely-publicized Egyptian protests against then-President Hosni Mubarak. The 2011 Spanish protests, also known as the 15-M movement, were the result of citizen estrangement and an unemployment rate of 21.3% (with the youth unemployment rate sitting at 43.5%).

⁸ Mohamed Bouazizi was named ‘Person of the Year’ by the United Kingdom’s *The Times* for his actions, as although he “was no revolutionary... his lonely protest served as the catalyst for a wave of revolts that have transformed the Middle East”. Abbas, Mohammed. ‘Times names Bouazizi person of 2011’, *Reuters*, December 28th 2011, accessed January 29th 2014.

⁹ The Economist. ‘The Origins of the Financial Crisis: Crash Course’, September 17th 2013, accessed June 1st 2017 (2013b).

“economic crises act as a catalyst to political change”¹⁰ and the Arab States of North Africa were no exception to this. However, while popular uprisings against autocratic regimes in the MENA region were not new, the ferocity and success of the Arab Spring was heralded as an “expected surprise”¹¹ by Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs S.V. Lavrov.

Since the start of the Arab Spring, three North African governments have been overthrown – in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia – with varying levels of accompanying violence. At the height of the Arab Spring uprisings in early 2011, authoritarian governments in the MENA region were attempting to stave off regime change using similarly violent tactics as, prior to the Arab Spring, authoritarian regimes in the MENA region concluded that there was a limit to how much violence could be inflicted against a civilian population without serious repercussions from the international community, and that “as long as violence remains below some indeterminate threshold, external constraints on the use of force are likely to remain low”.¹²

In an attempt to stave off regime change, a new constitution was formed and early parliamentary elections were held in Morocco. A new round of legislative elections were held in Algeria, albeit with poor voter turnout and arguably without producing any real systemic change – they were presented as part of the ‘Algerian Spring’ and the Arab League observer mission declared that “the election was free and transparent and the Algerian people have expressed their choice without coercion”¹³ but multiple parties boycotted the election and many of the state’s youth (who made up almost 75 per cent of all potential voters) chose to “abstain en masse amid fears over the vote's credibility and deep distrust of the political class”.¹⁴

¹⁰ Parliamentary Library, Research Paper No. 15, 2010-2011, June 14th 2011, accessed January 21st 2014.

¹¹ Nikitina, Yulia. ‘The “Color Revolutions” and “Arab Spring” in Russian Official Discourse’, *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, XIV:1 (2014), pp 92.

¹² Heydemann, Steven, and Reinoud Leenders. ‘Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian Resilience: Regime responses to the ‘Arab Awakening’’, *Globalizations*, 8:5, (2011), pp 650.

¹³ *Al Jazeera: Inside Story*. ‘Is Algeria immune to the ‘Arab Spring’?’, May 14th 2012, accessed February 19th 2015.

¹⁴ *Al Jazeera*. ‘Algeria prepares for parliamentary elections’, May 9th 2012, accessed February 19th 2015.

It is these momentous events in the MENA region that will be the focus of this thesis as they affected the formation of Australian foreign policy towards the Arab states of North Africa. This thesis thus argues that this enabled the Rudd government to position Australia as an activist middle power, and to make a range of foreign policy decisions that uniquely characterised both his Prime Ministership and later his Foreign Ministerial position.

i.iv Australia's diplomatic response to the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring swept across North Africa at the height of the Australian government's re-engagement with the rest of the African continent. It was therefore expedient for Rudd to announce that this re-engagement also extended to the countries of North Africa, where Australia's foreign policy decisions reflected Rudd's personal commitment to his oft-repeated concept of "creative middle power diplomacy".¹⁵

Given Australia's size and status as a middle power economy, Australia played a relatively prominent role in publicly supporting the political transitions that occurred across the Arab states of North Africa during the Arab Spring.¹⁶ Australia was notably one of the first international supporters of the rebel movement in Libya, with Rudd being "among the first world leaders to suggest a no-fly zone and [promoting] the idea relentlessly during a frantic two weeks of meetings across the Middle East and Europe".¹⁷ Furthermore, according to DFAT briefings accessed under FOI, "Australia was ... [the] third largest donor of humanitarian assistance after the EU and US (\$43.1 million); [Australia was a]

¹⁵ Rudd, Kevin. 'Speech to mark the opening of Australia's Embassy in Addis Ababa', (speech given at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January 26th 2011), accessed September 6th 2012 (2011d).

¹⁶ By the time the Inquiry's report was handed down in 2012, all five of the core North African states – Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia – had embassies in Australia, while Australia had only one embassy which has been operating in Cairo since March 1950. Department of Immigration and Border Protection. 'Migration Programme statistics', accessed August 18th 2014 (2014b), pp 16.

¹⁷ *The Australian Financial Review*. 'Rudd was a Good, Activist Foreign Minister', February 22nd 2012, accessed August 20th 2012.

full member of [the] Contact Group on Libya and implemented autonomous sanctions in addition to [United Nations Security Council] UNSC measures”.¹⁸

In 2011, Prime Minister Rudd justified Australia’s response to the Arab Spring on the back of democratic rhetoric and Australia’s historical connections to the region, arguing in 2011 that

Australian interests and values have ... been seized by recent developments in the Middle East [and North Africa]. Australia’s view is straight forward: we have a deep interest in the success of the democratic project in the Arab world.¹⁹

On another occasion in 2011 Rudd declared that, “Australia will not abandon those who strive for peace and freedom in the [MENA] region”.²⁰ Rudd’s justifications for his activist foreign policy decisions at the time included a need to look beyond the economic and trade relationships already established, and to reflect on the historical precedent of Australia’s “long history with Libya”.²¹

Indeed, a decade earlier Mark Vaile, National Party Minister and former Deputy Prime Minister under the Howard Coalition government, argued that the heroics of Australian servicemen during World War II at Tobruk resulted in a strong bond between Australia and Libya, and that this would provide a strong and stable foundation for maintaining the relationship, as “the door has now been opened for Australian business to take advantage of the historic links that have existed for decades between our nations now that the foundation has been laid for the future”.²²

From a geostrategic perspective, the United States – Australia’s closest political ally – has viewed authoritarian regimes in developing regions as indispensable for stability. It is for this reason that the

¹⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Briefings provided to Ministers and/or senior officials, from January 2011 to December 2012, on the Arab Spring’, FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 14/20458, Official Date of Access September 25th 2014, accessed October 21st 2014 (2014a), pp 20.

¹⁹ Rudd, Kevin. ‘Australia’s Foreign Policy Priorities and Our Candidature for the UN Security Council’, (speech given to the National Press Club, Canberra, June 1st 2011), accessed August 20th 2012 (2011b).

²⁰ Rudd, Kevin. ‘Australia Serving Peace and Freedom in North Africa’, Media Release, December 8th 2011, accessed August 25th 2012 (2011a).

²¹ Rudd, Kevin. 2011a.

²² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Vaile Opens Door for Australian Business in Libya’, July 15th 2002, accessed May 15th 2015 (2002b).

Mubarak and Gaddafi regimes enjoyed such long lives, and why successive Australian governments were able to maintain economic relationships with Egypt and Libya – there was more for the West to gain from ongoing economic ties regardless of the form of the local government. The persistence of undemocratic regimes in the region speaks to willingness of the US and its allies (including Australia) to tolerate and even financially support foreign political systems that provide support for (or at least, don't explicitly threaten) US national interests.

The US' relationship with the Egyptian military is particularly significant, with ongoing US funding to Egyptian military forces safeguarding the Mubarak government prior to its removal in 2011.²³ This is despite the events of 9/11 and the US' subsequent 'War on Terror', where "one of the critical effects of those events was to direct American attention to the causes of the attacks and one of the conclusions that emerged from this reflection was that the absence of democracy in the Middle East/North Africa was now a primary concern of the United States".²⁴ Whether the 9/11 attacks represented a paradigm shift or not the US foreign policymakers, it demonstrated an increased US commitment to political reform in the Middle East and the willingness of US politicians to fall back on "the language of democracy promotion".²⁵

Australia consciously engaged with all five of the Arab states of North Africa at the height of the Arab Spring. As Foreign Minister, Rudd visited Tripoli in December 2011 and supported regular senior officials' talks with Libyan representatives.²⁶ In June 2012, Carr visited Morocco and Algeria – the

²³ "Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi, who chairs the SCAF and heads the Defense Ministry, also runs the Ministry of Military Production. Military officers directly profit from the army's business endeavors through relatively high salaries plus preferential treatment in medical care, housing, and transport. And, of course, the armed forces also reap US\$1.3 billion every year in military aid from the United States". Barany, Zoltan. 'Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military', *Journal of Democracy*, 22:4 (2011), pp. 32.

²⁴ Durac, Vincent, and Francesco Cavatorta. "Strengthening Authoritarian rule through Democracy Promotion? Examining the Paradox of the US and EU Security Strategies: The Case of in Ali's Tunisia", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. 36:1 (2009). pp. 5

²⁵ Durac, Vincent, and Francesco Cavatorta. 2009, pp. 9.

²⁶ Pollard, Ruth. 'Australia Extends a Helping Hand to Libya', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 10th 2011, accessed May 7th 2015.

first such visit by an Australian Foreign Minister.²⁷ During this period senior officials from DFAT also took part in talks in Egypt and, for the first time, in Tunisia.²⁸ These were indeed ‘new engagements’ cultivated in response to the “enormous challenges [to the respective post-Arab spring North African countries] in responding to popular calls for democratic, economic and social reforms”.²⁹

These ‘new engagements’ were designed to “actively support the political transformation process and humanitarian crisis in Libya”³⁰ and attempted to smooth the political transitions in neighbouring states. As Rudd stated in mid-2011

That’s why I have visited the region three times in the last six months and have engaged with the leadership in Egypt, Turkey, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the UAE, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and Oman... that is also why we have decided to actively support the political transformation process and humanitarian crisis in Libya ... and in Egypt and Tunisia that is why we are providing active economic, urban employment and agricultural systems in order to assist smoothing the political transition process.³¹

Australia’s support for regime change in North Africa included a judicial element, as Australia was involved in facilitating talks between representatives of both the Libyan government and the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague regarding the potential prosecution of the now deceased former Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi, and his family and loyalists.³²

In his role as Foreign Minister, Rudd stated in 2012 that “in the Labor [ALP] tradition of foreign policy, we always seek to be actors rather than informed bystanders in the unfolding events of our region and the world at large”.³³ This illustrates Rudd’s commitment to “creative middle power

²⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Annual Report 2011-2012’, October 26th 2012, accessed 25th March 2014 (2012a), pp 57.

²⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2012a, pp 63.

²⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

³⁰ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

³¹ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

³² *Libyan Herald*. ‘Qaddafi ICC Defence Lawyer held in Zintan with “Dangerous” Documents’, June 9th 2012, accessed August 20th 2013.

³³ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

diplomacy”³⁴ (a phrase he used frequently) as the basis for both Australia’s engagement with the international sphere and also as a framework for Australian foreign policymakers to approach new challenges posed by the 21st century.³⁵

This approach drove the Rudd stated response to the challenges outlined in the 2009 Defence White Paper ‘Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030’ which, although focussing on the Asia-Pacific region as a primary concern for the Australian government, noted that “the growth of Islamist extremist groups in North Africa and the Horn of Africa poses a risk to security regionally and beyond”.³⁶ The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) Annual Report 2011-2012 noted that Australia would participate in counter-terrorism programs and activities in the Middle East and eastern Africa, amongst others, but North Africa was conspicuously absent.³⁷

Current Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop wrote in 2014 that the effects of the Arab Spring will be long-lasting and often chaotic, but that there is cause for optimism as

The effects of the Arab Spring will continue to play out for years to come. While the phenomenon has affected countries in the region in different ways, it is possible to make some general observations. Despite the initial optimism, the trajectory overall has been uneven. Weak institutions, struggling economies, high unemployment (particularly among young people), rising extremism and poor border security are direct challenges to political progress and stability. However, we remain hopeful that

³⁴ Rudd, Kevin. 2011d.

³⁵ Although the framework in which successive Australian governments formulate foreign policy remains the same regardless of the major political party forming government, there are differences in the domestic political climates in which successive Australian governments have operated. These differences contribute to the analysis in this thesis, as “these differences represent not only an argument about what Australia should be doing in response to challenges, but they also are part of enduring debates and ideas about the values and identity of Australia and its place in the world”. Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). ‘Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates’, Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2014, pp 19

³⁶ Department of Defence. ‘Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030’, White Paper, May 2nd 2009, accessed February 10th 2014, pp 36.

³⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2012a, pp 19.

democratic values have nonetheless taken root in North African countries since the commencement of the Arab Spring and will continue to develop.³⁸

Bishop also stated that

Australia has followed developments in North Africa closely since the advent of the so-called Arab Spring. Australia welcomed the calls for inclusive democracy and greater social and economic opportunities, commencing in Tunisia in December 2010, which evolved into the Arab Spring. Since that time, Australia has voiced its support for democracy, social inclusion and economic reform in North Africa, including through high-level visits to the region and contact with North African diplomatic missions in Canberra.³⁹

Though not involved with the international response to the Arab states of North Africa to the same extent that the Rudd/Gillard governments claimed to be, Bishop's response to questions about how Australia has reacted to a post-Arab Spring North Africa illustrates the moderate and categorical approach taken by the Abbott/Turnbull government towards democratic reform in the region, as well as the strength of Australia's ongoing economic interests and bilateral trade relationships with the Arab states of North Africa.

In the wake of these visits, and in recognition of the fact that political upheaval in North Africa does not negate what the region has to offer Australia in the realm of trade, the Abbott/Turnbull government's definition of Australia's 'national interest' has been reluctant to disengage entirely. When contacted for comment, Foreign Minister Julie Bishop made a special point of noting that the

Speaker of the Australian Parliament, the Hon Bronwyn Bishop MP, visited Tunisia and Morocco in May 2014. A delegation from the League of Arab States visited Canberra in December 2013 for talks

³⁸ Innes-Brown, Mark. Acting First Assistant Secretary for DFAT's Middle East and Africa Division, writing on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop - written letter to the author, 13th June 2014.

³⁹ Marc Innes-Brown. 2014.

with senior DFAT officials, and an official-level dialogue with Morocco took place in Rabat in April 2014.⁴⁰

i.v Literature on Australia's relations with North Africa

Literature on Australian aid to North Africa, including government publications, is limited – most aid to the continent of Africa is directed towards the sub-Saharan region, and the majority of the literature emphasises this, while other documents subsume North Africa under the broader heading of the MENA region.⁴¹

Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt – with the Middle East across to the Arabian Gulf – tend to be viewed as 'not Africa', while the north-east Horn of Africa and the countries to the south are somehow 'more African'. This distinction may owe more to European history than to African history.⁴²

This dearth of literature on North Africa is not to say that the previous Howard government was not fully aware of the possibilities and problems posed by North Africa and showed initiative in pursuing Australia's interests in the region. In May 2006 a report was commissioned from the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade on 'Expanding Australia's trade and investment relations with North Africa'.⁴³

It was not until October 2009 that the Rudd government commissioned an Inquiry into Australia's relationship with the countries of Africa. As Smith argued,

⁴⁰ Innes-Brown, Mark. 2014.

⁴¹ In Derek McDougall's book on Australian foreign policy in the 21st century, he wrote that both the Middle East and Africa are described as "regions having some significance for Australia" but not given their own chapter because the book focuses on Australia's dual identity as a 'Western' state and an 'Asian-Pacific' state. McDougall, Derek. 'Australian Foreign Policy: Entering The 21st Century', 1st ed., Pearson Education Australia, NSW, 2009, pp 2.

⁴² Jakubowicz, Andrew. 'Australia's migration policies: African dimensions' (background paper for *African Australians: A review of human rights and social inclusion issues*, commissioned by the Australian Human Rights Commission, May 2010), accessed 17th May 2014, pp 11.

⁴³ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Inquiry into Australia's Relationship with the Countries of Africa', June 23rd 2011, accessed 3rd July 2014.

For too long Australia did not give Africa the priority it required and deserved. This Australian Government, however, is deeply committed to enhanced engagement with the countries and regional institutions of Africa. The need for Australia to engage much more substantially with Africa is driven by our economic interests and our strategic interests... I strongly believe it is in both our long-term national interests to be doing more together, regionally and internationally.⁴⁴

This Inquiry focussed on sub-Saharan Africa rather than North Africa and pre-dated the momentous events of the Arab Spring, reflecting “the evidence received and the fact that the Committee has previously inquired into Australia's trade and investment with the countries of North Africa in 2006”.⁴⁵ If nothing else, this latter Inquiry provides useful evidence of governmental recognition of the geographic individuality of North Africa as distinct from the other states of Africa, south of the Sahara.

Within the context of this relative dearth of literature, Australia’s campaign in 2012 for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council was not without precedent. As Makinda has pointed out

Australia made an attempt in October 1996, but lost to Sweden and Portugal [and this came at the end of thirteen years of an ALP government - the Hawke-Keating government 1983-1996]. Alexander Downer, the former foreign minister, announced in 2002 that Australia would go for a UNSC seat in 2006, but when Australia joined the USA and the UK in the invasion of Iraq in 2003, he gave up. The invasion had violated the UN Charter and international law, which would have made Australia’s bid for a UNSC seat futile.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Smith, Stephen. ‘Doorstop Press Conference’, (speech at the Africa Down Under Conference, Sheraton Hotel, Perth, September 3rd 2009), accessed October 3rd 2012.

⁴⁵ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 2011, pp 18.

⁴⁶ Makinda, Samuel. ‘Between Jakarta and Geneva: why Abbott needs to view Africa as a great opportunity’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69:1 (2014), pp 12.

Australia's appointment to the UN Security Council 2013-2015⁴⁷ (the fifth time that Australia has served as a member) represented the success of the Rudd government's new activist approach to foreign policy, recognising that "the UNSC in the immediate period ahead, is directly relevant to a number of core Australian national security interests".⁴⁸ It was at this time that Australian foreign policymakers were "beginning work... to develop a strategy for how we would use membership of the council to advance our national interests, including our objectives and priorities for service on the council and how we would resource our membership".⁴⁹

The promise of increased Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Africa and the Middle East, from "an estimated \$465 million in 2012-13 to an indicative level of \$625 million by 2015-16",⁵⁰ was a major factor which helped to secure that UN Security Council seat. The combined timing of this international lobbying and the turmoil of the Arab Spring resulted in AusAID "being among the first donors to provide early and targeted support to countries in this region".⁵¹

While the 2009 White Paper 'Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030' and the 2013 White Paper 'Australia in the Asian Century' reflected an overwhelming emphasis on Australia's immediate geographic zone, the justification for this was that "our prosperity and security are intertwined with our region, and [the Australian government] have shifted diplomatic resources accordingly".⁵² However, this increased engagement with the states of the Asia-Pacific does not preclude an improved and active relationship with North Africa. The 2009 White Paper acknowledged that "regional conflicts, such as in the Middle East and Africa, will likely continue to

⁴⁷ Then-Foreign Minister Bob Carr recalled how "Gary Quinlan and Caroline Millar from DFAT's UN Security Council team brief me. They highlight the inherent difficulty with our campaign, which is that we entered it late. Luxembourg and Finland were in the race from 2001 and 2002 respectively; Kevin committed us in 2008. As a result, there are over thirty nations have stated a simple 'no' to Australia with the perfect justification they'd given a commitment elsewhere already". Carr, Bob. 'Diary of a Foreign Minister', NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2014, pp 103.

⁴⁸ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

⁴⁹ Parnell, Sean. 'Benefits of UN seat planned well ahead', *The Australian*, October 24th 2012, accessed May 15th 2015.

⁵⁰ Australian Agency for International Development. 'Africa and Middle East 2012-2013 Budget', May 8th 2012, accessed October 11th 2012 (2012b), pp 70.

⁵¹ *The Australian Financial Review*. 2012.

⁵² Department of Defence. 2009, pp 253.

be a risk in the international system.”⁵³ As a consequence of this heightened uncertainty, Australia’s foreign policy focus will extend beyond the Asia-Pacific. After the momentous events of the Arab Spring, and despite regional support for Australia’s successful campaign for a Security Council seat, Australia’s relationship with the Arab states of North Africa will include an element of risk management.

It is worth noting that Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull and Foreign Minister Julie Bishop have ostensibly decided to seek another term on the UN Security Council from 2029-30 – a long lead time that Bishop described in New York as both a recommendation from DFAT, and a cost-cutting measure as it was “the first available opportunity to nominate for a seat that is uncontested”⁵⁴ while “we don’t want to spend unnecessary time and resources trying to campaign at an earlier slot”.⁵⁵ Comments from Opposition Foreign Minister Tanya Plibersek corroborate the argument put forward by this thesis – that they have “always been a supporter of a multilateral approach”⁵⁶ and that the Coalition is open to multilateral cooperation so long as it does not cost them domestic political capital.⁵⁷

Despite the ideological leanings of successive Australian governments, there has been bipartisan recognition of two points as a result of Australia’s involvement in the international response to the Arab Spring in North Africa. Firstly, that as a comfortable middle power with a relatively stable resource-dependent economy, Australia needs to constantly rethink and redefine its role on the

⁵³ Department of Defence. 2009, pp 30.

⁵⁴ Hurst, Daniel. ‘Australia to seek seat on UN security council in 2029-30, Julie Bishop says’, *The Guardian*, September 30th 2015, accessed September 30th 2015.

⁵⁵ Anderson, Stephanie. ‘Timeframe for UN Security Council bid 'unambitious', Plibersek says’, *ABC News*, September 30th 2015, accessed September 30th 2015 (2015a).

⁵⁶ Hurst, Daniel. 2015a.

⁵⁷ This is what Liberal MP Josh Frydenberg referred to as a “common sense approach... [which has] been the hallmark of successive Liberal governments from Menzies to Howard. The outlook of Prime Minister Tony Abbott and his Minister for Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop, will be no different”. Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 2014, pp 28

international stage. Secondly, that Australia needs to constantly reconfigure and reassess the significance of its relationship with the Arab states of North Africa.⁵⁸

However, Australia's foreign policy formation towards North Africa has been fragmented and lacking any cohesive approach. The distinctive components of each North African state are exacerbated by ongoing unrest in the region, which makes it more difficult for Australia's diplomatic core to establish a strong and stable presence in the North African region. Here, governmental budgetary cuts had resulted in what FOI documents referred to as a "diplomatic deficit"⁵⁹ with fewer Australian diplomatic posts in the region than comparable countries.

In 2011, the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (JSCFADT) 'Inquiry into Australia's Relations with the Countries of Africa' recommended that DFAT undertake a review of Australia's diplomatic representation in Africa, including in "specific African countries, particularly ... those with increasing significance to Australia".⁶⁰ MacQueen had recommended that the Australian and North African governments establish more "adequate diplomatic exchange[s]"⁶¹ or operate through multilateral channels rather than through bilateral arrangements. By the time the Inquiry's report was handed down in 2012, all five of the core North African states – Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia – had embassies in Australia, while Australia had only one embassy which has been operating in Cairo since March 1950.

For diplomatic relations with the other North African states Australia relied upon the Canadian diplomatic presence in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The Australian Consulate-General was re-

⁵⁸ Though this recognition comes with the understanding that the Asia-Pacific region will continue to be a geographical priority. Department of Defence. 'Advancing the National Interest', White Paper, February 12th 2003, accessed October 20th 2013, pp xviii.

⁵⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Trade', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014, (2011d), pp 13.

⁶⁰ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 2011, pp xxxiii.

⁶¹ MacQueen, Benjamin. 'Australia and North Africa: The Missing Link?' in 'Australia and the Middle East: A Frontline Relationship', Fethi Mansouri (ed), Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2006, pp 161.

opened in Tripoli in 2004 after an absence of 17 years, though the latest updates to the DFAT-run Smart Traveller page for Libya noted that

There is no Australian diplomatic mission in Libya. Australians remaining in Libya should be aware that the ongoing volatile security environment severely restricts the capacity of the Australian Government to deliver consular services in Libya.⁶²

The Austrade (Australian Trade Commission) office in Libya (which also covered Morocco) was temporarily closed due to the civil war and conflicts as a result of the Arab Spring. Austrade has only a limited presence in North Africa, with the Austrade office in Saudi Arabia owning responsibility for Egypt and the Austrade office in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) owning responsibility for Libya and Morocco. Until July 2005 the responsibility within Austrade for North Africa sat within the Western Europe sub-region.⁶³ Australia has a strong diplomatic core that manages Australia's relationship with almost every region of the world, and which is capable of formulating cohesive foreign policy that encompasses a broad range of influential factors and interests.

For Australian foreign policymakers working on North African issues, their priority has always been Australian domestic considerations. While Australia's reputation as a good international citizen (including Australia's various obligations under international law) may play a role in the foreign policy formation – consideration of the concerns for North African states themselves are a low priority. The promotion of Australia's vested interests remains the status quo, and Australian foreign policymakers have always prefaced any decision by asking 'what does North Africa have to offer Australia?'. This question has been asked by successive Australian governments, including the consecutive Rudd/Gillard/Rudd government and the Abbott/Turnbull government, and the answer has determined how Australian foreign policy towards the region has been formulated.

⁶² The same page also notes that Australians in Libya who require assistance should contact either the 24-hour Consular Operations Centre or the Australian Embassy in Rome. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Smartraveller: Libya', February 24th 2015, accessed April 30th 2015 (2015b).

⁶³ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Expanding Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa', Government Response, May 31st 2007, accessed August 19th 2014, pp 8.

In his capacity as Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd was visiting Egypt on the eve of the Arab Spring revolutions. In a 2010 press conference with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Rudd stated that "we [Australia] celebrate today the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations — these are old relations established in 1950".⁶⁴ This militaristic history between the two states provided a solid foundation for the economic dimensions of the relationship that had developed by the 21st century. In the same speech Rudd stated that

Obviously the mining industry is one [major area of cooperation]. We are one of the biggest mining countries in the world. Secondly in dry land farming and agriculture and food security both here and in the world we have agreed this should be the focus of our cooperation as well. Third we discussed of course the financial services sector where Australia currently runs the fourth largest funds management industry anywhere in the world. And the fourth lies in how ... we expand further the engagement between our academic institutions, our students, our scholars in areas of common interest. And our vision is not simply to do this at an official and diplomatic level but through *the forum* to engage the leaders of industry and research in both our countries (emphasis added).⁶⁵

This forum was the Egypt-Australia economic forum designed "to boost relations on the economic level as well as the financial and investment fields... [and to discuss] Middle East regional issues".⁶⁶

As Binoy Kampmark noted, Rudd's involvement in Libya was minor by international standards but major by domestic Australian standards. Kampmark argued that Rudd was 'testing the waters' in North Africa and, "when he called for a no-fly zone over Libya last year, Rudd was [also] testing international opinion, and found enough backing for a means to place a brake on the Gaddafi regime".⁶⁷ Kampmark continued by asking,

⁶⁴ Rudd, Kevin. 'Joint press conference with Minister Rudd and Egyptian Foreign Minister Aboul Gheit', Cairo, December 11th 2010, accessed August 19th 2014 (2010c).

⁶⁵ Rudd, Kevin. 2010c.

⁶⁶ Rudd, Kevin. 2010c.

⁶⁷ Kampmark, Binoy. 'Replacing Rudd: what to look for in a new Australian foreign minister', *The Conversation*, February 29th 2012, accessed August 19th 2014.

Was it a sense of narcissistic importance, a boutique-styled foreign policy? In some ways, yes – Australia’s role in the Arab Spring is a mere footnote, a barely audible sound. Despite that, it is fair to say that outrage over the conflict had found its way into the corridors of the United Nations. Over a few weeks, Rudd’s efforts to pursue the zone eventually found form in a UN Security Council Resolution, though what role he personally played will be impossible to assess.⁶⁸

Rudd’s reputation as an active international player was also painted with the more critical description of “one of the more tireless, imaginative, assertive and proactive heads of government in the region... [but overly reliant] on the flurry of activity or poorly thought-out articulation of ‘big ideas’ about policy and process”.⁶⁹

Contemporaneously, Abbott as Opposition Leader was in a prime position to take a stance that was both cautious in its promises and modest in its portrayal of Australia’s capability to affect events on a global stage. Abbott as Prime Minister, after committing Australian military forces to the global fight against Islamic State forces in Iraq and Syria, struggled to formulate foreign policy that balanced Australia’s international obligations with his vision of a reduced, reactionary Australia. Abbott’s 2010 speech as part of The Lowy Institute’s Distinguished Speaker Series reiterated his personal beliefs on the matter, stating that

Clausewitz once said that diplomacy without arms was like an orchestra without instruments. Australia needs armed forces that are capable of supporting our interests around the globe. The defence of Australia does not start on our borders. Historically, the defence of Australia has required a prodigious military commitment in Europe. Currently, it requires significant military commitments in the Middle East, central and south-east Asia and the Pacific. The Howard Government’s

⁶⁸ Kampmark, Binoy. 2012.

⁶⁹ Lee, John. ‘Why Rudd has overstayed his welcome in Asia’, *The Spectator*, January 20th 2010, accessed September 6th 2014.

improvements to the structure and capacity of our defence forces have made these commitments more effective and easier to sustain.⁷⁰

As noted by DFAT in the 2003 White Paper

The region's economic significance to Australia is growing. The Middle East is the largest market for Australia's booming automotive exports and remains a major destination for our commodity exports, particularly wheat. The Government will work to strengthen and diversify those economic links.⁷¹

Abbott's actions can be tied into his oft-repeated slogan of "more Jakarta, less Geneva"⁷² which reflected not only his government's refutation of Australia's third tenet of foreign policy formation (ongoing support of a rules-based international system as exemplified by the United Nations), but also a wider Coalition tradition of military support for US ventures, and a definition of Australian security that extends our borders beyond the physical to encompass the metaphorical – what Abbott termed the prevalence of Australian values.⁷³

Consequently the letter received from DFAT on behalf of Foreign Minister Julie Bishop speaks positively of Australia's tenure on the United Nations Security Council, as well as its international obligations in the MENA region.

As a United Nations Security Council member Australia supports international efforts on North African peace and security challenges. Libya and Western Sahara have been regularly considered by the UNSC during Australia's term. We have advocated the need for cooperation among states in the region. We

⁷⁰ Abbott, Tony. 'Distinguished Speaker Series: National Security Fundamentals' (speech given at The Lowy Institute for International Policy, April 20th 2010), accessed March 3rd 2014.

⁷¹ Department of Defence. 2003, pp xviii.

⁷² *The Economist*. 'Australia and Indonesia: No Surprises', November 23rd 2013, accessed August 28th 2014 (2013a).

⁷³ This is evidence of how "from Menzies to Howard, Liberal leaders have avoided blind faith in the virtues of the multilateral system, preferring instead to entrust the security of the nation and its citizens in bilateral alliances". Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 2014, pp 23.

are also exploring bilateral counter-terrorism cooperation opportunities in North Africa, in recognition of serious regional security challenges such as the Syria conflict.⁷⁴

What Abbott saw as a cornerstone of Australia's national interest – its alliances and relationships – are the values it shares with other Western democracies. This international community forms the basis for Australian foreign policy formed under both ALP and Coalition governments, though the Abbott government's public support for this 'Western sphere' was significant – while trade continues to form the basis of Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa, trade under the Abbott/Turnbull government is closely related to similar belief systems and systems of government.⁷⁵

It is for this reason that Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa is so heavily based on trade, and why so much of Abbott's foreign policy was based on maintaining and strengthening relations with Australia's closest neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region, as

Trade and security arrangements are so much easier to sustain when they are based on a common understanding of how the world should work. This is why our most important international partners are likely to be the countries with which we share an outlook rather than those with which we share merely the neighbourhood or mercantile self-interest. Of course, like-minded neighbours and near-neighbours with whom we have strong trade and security relationships are naturally the best friends of all.⁷⁶

In the fight against Islamic terrorism, Abbott's political dedication to Western values lead him to speak out on behalf of Australia's political allies and also non-Western states, as "Islamist terrorism remains a deadly threat not only to the West but also to India, Russia, China and moderate Muslim

⁷⁴ Innes-Brown, Mark. 2014.

⁷⁵ In prophetic words, Abbott argued that "the best protection, for instance, against Islamist terrorism, is the widest possible appreciation of individuals' right to religious, political and economic freedom". Abbott, Tony. 2010.

⁷⁶ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

states".⁷⁷ The prospect of increasing nuclear armament in the MENA region is remarked on, especially Iran's overt hostility towards Israel, and the potential for nuclear power Pakistan to fall to extremist Muslims.

Australia's actions under Rudd's 'activist middle power' governance, and the ALP government's much-touted re-engagement with Africa, can be (to some extent) attributed to Australia's successful bid for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, with incoming briefing material prepared by DFAT for the Gillard government following the 2010 federal election contending that

If we are to win a Security Council seat in October 2012 for the 2013-14 term, we need to prosecute an increasingly active, dynamic and well-resourced campaign. We will need... [redacted] ministerial (including prime ministerial) attendance at multilateral meetings and an active program of visits by Special Envoys. Whole-of-government efforts to address bilateral issues remain essential.⁷⁸

The same DFAT briefing materials presented to the incoming Gillard government declared that

To strengthen further our multilateral credentials, we recommend sustained and strategic engagement in key areas: peacekeeping and peacebuilding; sustainable development including climate change; and disarmament; and humanitarian assistance. We should remain active, too, on other UN issues that affect our national interests and international profile, including human rights, international legal issues, sanctions and counter-terrorism. Continued advocacy of UN Security Council reform will but Ministerial engagement remains essential to maintain and strengthen Australia's multilateral profile and achieve results. We recommend your active participation, and that of the Prime Minister, in the larger-than-usual number of high-level meetings at this year's UN General Assembly. These include summits on important development and sustainability issues (Millennium Development Goals, biodiversity, the vulnerability of small island states) and a ministerial meeting on disarmament.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

⁷⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 101.

⁷⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 100.

The DFAT Country and Regions Fact Sheets proved useful when constructing a broad picture of the economic relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa for the purposes of this thesis. The political instability faced by the North African states during the Arab Spring “handicapped”⁸⁰ their economies. For example, according to United States Department of Agriculture, three of the largest oil-importing North African states – Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia – saw import bills rise and tourism revenue decline.⁸¹

The MENA region is the most food import-dependent region in the world due to a combination of heterogeneous agricultural practices and “both natural (scarcity of water and arable land) and socioeconomic (parcelling of land, poor organization of markets, and insufficient access to services) constraints”,⁸² with dependence on food imports expected to rise to 63 per cent in 2030. As a result of this, “the region’s food trade deficit will further rise in both mineral-rich and mineral-poor countries because of increasing food demand and severe supply-side constraints”.⁸³

An industry of particular note for Australian foreign policymakers is the live export industry, described in DFAT’s incoming brief in 2010 as “substantial but sensitive”⁸⁴ which noted that

Australia has signed Memoranda of Understanding with ten countries in the Middle East and North Africa region to facilitate the live animal trade in line with our legislative requirements. We should continue to support this trade and look for new opportunities (such as Iraq), however there will continue to be sensitivities in Australia arising from concerns about animal welfare issues.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ United States Department of Agriculture. ‘International Food Security Assessment, 2012-22’, Economic Research Service, July 2012, accessed March 4th 2015, pp 23.

⁸¹ Though there was some economic reinforcement in the form of remittances and stable export levels. United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 23.

⁸² Daoudi, Ali. ‘Food security in the MENA region: the imperative rehabilitation of agriculture’, International Development Research Centre, accessed April 18th 2017.

⁸³ International Food Policy Research Institute. ‘2020 Global Food Outlook: Trends, Alternatives, and Choices’, Washington D.C., August 2001, accessed July 24th 2014, pp 47.

⁸⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 85.

⁸⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 86.

The significance of examining the live export industry in this thesis is to demonstrate the influence of domestic sensitivities on Australian foreign policy making so long as non-government actors (such as GetUp! and the RSPCA) continue to influence public discourse on the issue.

The analysis in this thesis draws on consecutive Australia White Papers, two Joint Standing Committee Inquiry reports, and trade statistics from relevant government publications – in particular, the 2010 DFAT publication on ‘Australia’s Trade with Africa and the Middle East’ and consecutive editions of DFAT’s ‘Composition of Trade’. For the purposes of this thesis, all effort has been made to extract relevant information about the North African states from the data and surveys about Middle Eastern states where the North African states are included under the broader heading of the MENA region. The same is also done for when North Africa is subsumed under the broader heading of Africa. Where this task has been unachievable, all attempts have been made to ensure the relevant information has been included.

At the time of writing, the most comprehensive example of academic analysis of the relationship between Australia and North Africa was Benjamin MacQueen’s 2006 chapter entitled ‘Australia and North Africa: The Missing Link?’⁸⁶ Much has happened since his chapter was published – changes of government both domestic and international; successive protests and revolutions worldwide; global financial crises – and as such this thesis aims to build on McQueen’s research to give both an overview and a critique of Australia’s previous relationships with North Africa under successive Australian governments, as well as covering recent historical developments and what they mean for Australia’s foreign policy strategy.

In 2006, MacQueen argued that there was a “nascent, but prospectively valuable relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa”.⁸⁷ Successive Australian governments have

⁸⁶ MacQueen, Benjamin. 2006.

⁸⁷ MacQueen, Benjamin. 2006, pp 152.

relied on “economic reform...as the best engine of political freedoms and security”.⁸⁸ Beyond trade interests, MacQueen argued that Australia’s relationship to North Africa was one of “distance, disinterest and cultural apprehension”.⁸⁹ MacQueen’s analysis of Australia’s relationship with North Africa was written in a post-9/11 international climate where North Africa suffered from the Howard government’s ‘cultural apprehension’. Within this post-9/11 environment, the Howard government’s focus on ‘common interests’ ensured that Australia’s relationship with the Arab states of North Africa remained restricted to trade concerns.

The Howard government believed that bilateral agreements (such as free trade agreements) “achieve... trade liberalisation faster than through multilateral reform,”⁹⁰ with the aforementioned trade liberalisation being the best strategy for economic success for developing economies. The Howard government’s official response to the 2006 JSCFDT ‘Inquiry into Australia’s Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa’ emphasised bilateral relations over multilateral institutions in response to all five of the recommendations made in the initial inquiry.

i.vi A note on sources

In order to obtain relevant information pertaining to the influences on foreign policy making during this time, this author made a Freedom of Information (FOI) request (FOI Act 1982) to DFAT aiming to acquire all relevant Ministerial and Departmental documents relating to North Africa during and immediately following the Arab Spring. Primary research for this thesis comes chiefly from a request made under the Freedom of Information Act 1982. This request was for ‘All briefings on the Arab Spring provided to Ministers and/or senior officials from January 2011 to December 2012’, on 25th September 2014. These documents are now available online to the general public (reference number 14/20458) as part of the DFAT FOI disclosure log.

⁸⁸ MacQueen, Benjamin. 2006, pp 155.

⁸⁹ MacQueen, Benjamin. 2006, pp 153.

⁹⁰ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 2007, pp 1.

In the 'Letter of Decision' that accompanied the successful FOI request Jennifer Streat, the FOI Case Officer in charge of the application, provided the following reasons for the deletion or withholding of material that would otherwise fall under the scope of the request. They included section 22(1)(a)(ii) of the FOI Act, which allows material that is either irrelevant to the request or exempt from release to be deleted, to enable the remaining material in the document to be released;⁹¹ section 33(a)(iii) of the FOI Act, which states that "a document is an exempt document if disclosure of the document under this Act would, or could reasonably be expected to, cause damage to the international relations of the Commonwealth".⁹² This included where the

Release of this information would impair the ability of the Australian Government to maintain good working relations with other governments and international organisations and to protect the flow of confidential information between them. If released, the information contained in these documents could cause damage to Australia's international relations and loss of trust or confidence which another country would have in Australia as a reliable recipient of confidential information, making that country or its agencies less willing to cooperate with Australian agencies in future. This in turn would have a substantial adverse impact on DFAT's ability to conduct its core business of advancing Australia's international interests in the international arena.⁹³

The information released under the FOI request withheld the personal information (names and contact details) of junior employees of the Department, because it was determined that there was no need for future contact with that particular public servant.⁹⁴

The documents provided under this FOI request were

⁹¹ Freedom of Information Act 1982 (Cth) s 22(1)(a)(ii).

⁹² Freedom of Information Act 1982 (Cth) s 33(a)(iii).

⁹³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Letter of decision from Jennifer Streat', Correspondence with the Author, September 25th 2014 (2014h).

⁹⁴ These documents are now publically available in the FOI Disclosure Log under FOI Reference Number 14/20458, and their references in this thesis contain links to their online presence. They will be referred to in-text by the document name – where DFAT has provided two or more documents with the same name, it will also include the number. Footnotes will also include the number of the page in the document now available from the DFAT website.

- 'Turkey Senior Official's Talks – Arab Spring'
- Arab Spring (SPCG briefing)
- 'Middle East – Arab Spring'
- Foreign Minister Juppe – Arab Spring and Libya'
- 'Middle East'
- 'South Africa Senior Officials Talks: Arab Spring'
- 'Arab Spring – CHOGM brief for Mr Rudd'
- 'Arab Spring – points for Italy, France, Germany, Turkey'
- 'Arab Spring Issues Brief'
- 'Australia-EU Ministerial Consultations: North Africa – Unrest'
- 'Middle East and North Africa Unrest – Arab Spring'
- 'OSCE Ministerial Council – Working Lunch – Arab Spring'
- 'Arab Spring' (#1)
- 'Arab Spring' (#2)
- 'Middle East and North Africa' (#1)
- 'Middle East and North Africa' (#2)
- 'Middle East and North Africa' (#3)
- 'Briefing for OIC Envoy'
- 'Middle East and North Africa (Arab Spring)'
- 'Australia-Latvia SOT's: Middle East and North Africa (Arab Spring)'
- 'Australia- Sweden SOT's: Middle East and North Africa (Arab Spring)'
- 'Australia-Bulgaria SOT's: Middle East and North Africa (Arab Spring)'
- '126th Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union: Kampala, Uganda, 31 March to 5 April 2012'
- 'Middle East – Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Palestinian Territories'

- 'Contribution to Canada Strategic Dialogue: North Africa and Middle East'
- 'Thematic Brief: Arab Spring'
- 'North Africa' (#1)
- 'North Africa' (#2)
- 'Transition in North Africa'

The information that can be analysed from these documents provides additional support to the wider body of literature sourced on this theme and contributes to a greater broader understanding of the foreign policy decisions made during this period. The purpose of these documents can broadly be understood as the promotion of good governance and policy as a means of advancing Australian security while learning from recent events in the MENA region.⁹⁵

The FOI documents acquired from DFAT acknowledge that Australia has “longstanding relations with the countries of North Africa – Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia – spanning economic, political and security interests”.⁹⁶ The theme of trade is prevalent throughout these documents, with DFAT writing on behalf of Bishop that “it is Australia's firm belief that economic reforms and growth are fundamental to stability in North Africa. There is mutual interest in developing greater economic cooperation with all these countries, including in sectors such as education, tourism and natural resources”.⁹⁷ What this material (obtained under the FOI Act and supported by commentary and analysis written during and after the Arab Spring) demonstrates are what Australia considers the key factors regarding each North African state, and the MENA region in general. North Africa is defined as Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, but Syria and Yemen are often mentioned in the same DFAT documents due to ongoing security concerns resulting from domestic political instability. Security issues – the unrest in Libya, Syria and Yemen during the Arab Spring, and the global fight against Islamic State forces in Iraq and Syria – have also driven Australian foreign policy formation during the Arab Spring, and thus make up a large part of the documents released under FOI request

⁹⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 40.

⁹⁶ Innes-Brown, Mark. 2014.

⁹⁷ Innes-Brown, Mark. 2014.

14/20458 (though, for national security reasons, much of the information on Australia's defence movements also makes up a large part of the redacted information).

For the purpose of this research Foreign Minister Julie Bishop's schedule did not allow for a face-to-face interview with this author. However, DFAT's Middle East and Africa Division replied on her behalf to interview questions, and this correspondence was able to offer "general perspectives on Australia's position on the Arab Spring and some views on our [Australia's] relations with individual North African states"⁹⁸ during the Abbott government.

The original research that forms the basis of this thesis was limited by certain events that took place during time period in which this thesis was being written between August 2012 and January 2016. For example, during this time, the Australian federal election held in September 2013, which saw the election of a Coalition government under Prime Minister Tony Abbott. This was a tumultuous time in Canberra, and the disruptions inherent in this change of government, and the subsequent demands of either office, made access to the key players in this foreign policy field extremely difficult to access.⁹⁹

Therefore, while interviews with ex-Foreign Ministers, DFAT Officials and any relevant staff may have provided some unique insights into the foreign policy decision making in relation to North Africa, it is also likely that such interviews would reveal little more than was already in the public domain. Therefore this obvious gap in the methodology can be justified on the basis that the other primary research – alternate public sources, first-person reports, and classified documents accessed under the FOI Act – have been sufficient to accurately clarify the political climate in question.

Research conducted from the classified documents obtained under the FOI Act has been supported by evidence from other publications, including statistics from AusAID publication 'Australia's

⁹⁸ Innes-Brown, Mark. 2014.

⁹⁹ These included the rapid turnover of ALP Prime Ministers, with accompanying Cabinet shuffles.

International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012¹⁰⁰ which supplements other literature on Australia's humanitarian aid program. This includes Official Development Assistance (ODA) for the period covering the Arab Spring 2009-2012.

i.vii Thesis structure

Chapters one-three will argue that the formation of Australian foreign policy is driven by three primary tenets – ongoing support for our 'great and powerful friend' the US; ongoing ties with the Asia-Pacific region (including China); and ongoing support for and active engagement with the UN – and that these tenets transcend domestic partisan political concerns. This first half will consider how this framework shaped Australia's response to the Arab Spring in North Africa, including Australia's international obligations as a self-professed activist middle power, and as a member-state of the United Nations (in particular, Australia's commitment to the concept of Responsibility to Protect). These chapters will go into greater detail regarding the substance and ideology of Australian foreign policy formation, as well as the legislative and political frameworks that Australian foreign policymakers work within.

Chapters four-six will examine the practical considerations taken into account by policymakers when formulating foreign policy towards the North African states, starting with trade as the basis for ongoing engagement. This section will examine case studies focussed on Australia's bilateral relationship with Egypt (the biggest and most influential of the North African states) and other fundamental components, include Australia's ongoing developmental aid to the region, two-way migration trends, and issues relating to resource and energy security. This second half of the thesis demonstrates that Australia's trade relationships with the Arab states of North Africa are strong enough to withstand both domestic setbacks (for instance, the cessation of live export to Egypt) and

¹⁰⁰ Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia's International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014 (2013b), pp 29.

international crises (Australia's involvement with the international response to the Arab Spring uprisings), while humanitarian aid to North Africa during the Arab Spring was the result of Rudd's belief in Australia's ability to sustain effective social change as a 'middle power'.

Within this structure, this thesis successfully argues that the Arab states of North Africa have much to offer Australia, with economic concerns such as trade, mining, FDI, developmental aid, establishing a firm foundation for Australia's ongoing relationship with the North African states during and after the Arab Spring. Australia's so-called 're-engagement' with Africa under the activist Prime Minister Kevin Rudd during the Arab Spring contributed to Australia's successful bid for a non-permanent seat on the UNSC and was not inconsistent with Australia's economic interests in the region.

Chapter 1 - Principles and foreign policy formation of a successful 'Middle Power'

"We are Australia. We are not Europe, we are not America; we are Australia, and we look across the Indian Ocean to the African world"¹

– Bob Carr, 2014

1.1 Introduction

The driving question behind this thesis – “what does North Africa have to offer Australia?” – helps to inform this thesis’ analysis of Australia’s foreign policy formation, including Australia’s dedication to a stable world order, its investment in peaceful political reform in developing regions, and its obligations above and beyond the United Nations. In this way chapter one, whilst providing analysis of the processes and driving forces behind the foreign policy formation of a successful ‘Middle Power, also helps to contextualise many of the decisions made by the Rudd/Gillard government during the Arab Spring. Therefore, chapter one examines the underlying elements of Australia’s foreign policy formation that have driven recent foreign policy decisions under recent and successive Australian governments.

Chapter one includes analysis of a number of decisions made by the Abbott government as a contrast to the Rudd government’s response to the Arab Spring (which, while being formulated under a very specific set of circumstances, still reflected decades of bipartisan support for the three tenets that have driven and shaped Australian foreign policy formation and Australia’s responses to a multitude of international crises). A discussion of the decisions made by the Abbott government

¹ Carr, Bob. ‘Diary of a Foreign Minister’, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2014, pp 9.

will help demonstrate that the driving forces behind Australia's response to international crises transcend political divides, and that the re-engagement that took place during the Arab Spring did nothing to endanger the continuation of Australia's economic and political priorities. In addition, the impact of performance polling for Australian political parties helped direct successive government's responses to other international events in various regions (though this phenomenon was most clearly evidenced in the Abbott government's poor performance in the polls leading up to his removal as Prime Minister in 2013).

Though driven by the three fundamental tenets of Australian foreign policy formation, the approaches taken by both the Rudd/Gillard government (to the Arab Spring and elsewhere) and the Abbott/Turnbull government transpired within the context of Australia's ongoing commitment to democracy in developing regions, including (but not limited to) ongoing humanitarian assistance (financial and otherwise).

As demonstrated in this thesis, the domestic and international contexts in which the Abbott government constructed foreign policy towards North Africa were markedly different to the context in which the Rudd government operated and, as Beeson has argued, certain domestic and international events "conspired against"² the Abbott government ever since it was sworn in to govern on September 18th 2013.³ However, the Abbott government's poor performance in the

² Beeson, Mark. 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 2013', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 60:2 (2014), pp 265.

³ For example, Abbott as Prime Minister had to deal with the backlash from the 'Indonesian spying scandal' (a legacy of the previous ALP government); the ongoing attempts by legitimate refugees to seek asylum on Australian shores and the harsh policies implemented by then-Immigration Minister Scott Morrison designed to deter people smugglers; the continuation of the previous ALP government's ban on Chinese electronic company Huawei's potential involvement in the controversial Australian national broadband scheme; potential Chinese investment in Australia's agricultural sector; the disappearance of the Malaysian Airlines Flight MH-370, which has required substantial effort and expense from Australia in the vast under water search of the Indian Ocean; and the insistence of the international community on a commitment from Australia to take action on climate change.

opinion polls following the post-2014 federal budget opinion polls also meant that it was very receptive in making grand responses to other international crises that affected Australians.⁴

The Abbott/Turnbull government's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa comes on the back of Australia's decade-long dedication to facilitating good governance and ongoing humanitarian assistance, an approach that has enjoyed bipartisan support since the 1970s. North Africa may have a lot to offer Australia, Recognition of this fact necessitates a forward-looking approach by Australian foreign policymakers, as "at a time when Africa's other international partners, including European Union member states, China, Turkey and Brazil, are seeking a stake in Africa's resources sector, it would be in Australia's national interest to have African policymakers who understand Australia".⁵

This chapter addresses Australian foreign policy as a concept, and asks the question – what were the underlying elements of Australia's foreign policy formation that helped drive recent foreign policy decisions under successive governments and how does this help justify the decisions made by the Rudd government during the Arab Spring? How have successive Australian governments defined the 'national interest' and how does this affect foreign policy formation? Based on this analysis, this chapter will then be able to illustrate the underlying elements of Australia's foreign policy formation (including, but not limited to, the three tenets that have helped focused the decisions of successive Australian governments). Beyond this, this chapter also provides detail of how Australian foreign policy is formed – not just the impetus for specific decisions, but also the framework in which these decisions are made.

⁴ For example, a Malaysia Airlines passenger international flight MH17 was shot down near the contested Ukraine-Russian border on the 17th July 2014 by rebel fighters with Russian-supplied surface to air missiles, exploding over Ukraine and killing 32 Australians, among hundreds of other international passengers. As well, there is the global fight against Islamic state forces in Iraq and Syria, which has seen Australian Defence Force troops being committed to the international alliance.

⁵ Makinda, Samuel. 'Between Jakarta and Geneva: why Abbott needs to view Africa as a great opportunity', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69:1 (2014), pp 13.

1.2 The practicalities of Australian foreign policy

Australian foreign policy, or the policy agenda, is made up of two elements. The first element is attention, or how much time is spent on a particular issue by the government, the opposition, the media (print and online), and the general public. The second is the content of the issues which are the subject of policy.⁶

More broadly, the breakdown of the policy agenda into attention, content and style can be defined as the relative time given to a particular issue, the specific nature of the policy in question as considered by policymakers, and the instruments that policymakers intend to use to develop and implement policy. The breakdown of government activity into attention, content and style, however, can be defined as the relative time and money given to a particular issue by public servants and government officials, the specific nature of the policy in question as considered by public servants and government officials, and the instruments that are actually embraced in the pursuit of policy implementation.⁷

The Australian government has the power to legislate on foreign issues due to its constitutional powers and perceived legitimacy – the “socially recognised capacity to speak and act on behalf of a particular community on a particular foreign policy issue”.⁸ In this instance, domestic political legitimacy relates to the Australian public’s acceptance of the election of a governing party in an uncorrupted democratic process that reflects the will of the Australian public.

The legitimacy of Australia’s foreign policy formation stems not only from the authority of the government in question,⁹ but also from the ability of the federal government to have their policy

⁶ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor and Aaron Martin. ‘Australian Public Policy: Attention, Content and Style’, *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 72:2 (2013), pp 83.

⁷ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor and Aaron Martin. 2013, pp 85.

⁸ McDonald, Matt. ‘Foreign policy internationalism and political possibility’, *International Politics*, 50 (2013) (2013b), pp 101.

⁹ The electoral system has rarely been called into question at any point in Australia’s history, although in 2013 it was dramatically questioned after 1,375 Senate election papers were lost during the 2013 federal election,

signed into reality. This is the link between foreign possibility and political possibility – not only the willingness to take action, but the ability to mobilise enough domestic political support to make that action possible (whether as a response to a crisis, formation of a new treaty, or engagement with a new region).¹⁰ As Holland has argued, “[t]he need to move beyond conceivability”¹¹ strongly affects the ability of successive Australian governments to make their policy a reality.

An argument could be made that foreign policy under an ALP government or a Coalition government will fundamentally be the same. The policy agendas of successive Australian governments have remained similar, with the amount of attention being given to any issue and the percentage of the budget allocated increasing and decreasing in small increments before returning to established levels, and foreign policy naturally ebbing and flowing but always with the national interest as a driving force.¹² However, it would be a mistake to assume that increased domestic concern or awareness of an issue can or will result in increased governmental support of an issue. For example, as Dowding *et al* have argued, “[m]assive increases in policy attention by a government do not necessarily mean that reform will not be incremental, whilst constant amounts of attention might hide radical shifts in the content of government policy.”¹³

Australian Prime Ministers of the past decade¹⁴ have all formulated foreign policy in response to various external crises while claiming to act in the national interest, which is defined broadly by DFAT as “the security and prosperity of Australia and Australians”¹⁵ and is formed so as to best merge foreign possibility and domestic political possibility. Writing on ‘strategic culture’ and international politics, Michael O’Keefe argues that Australia’s national interests are surprisingly

resulting in the need for a re-run of the ballot. *News Limited*. ‘Date set for WA Senate election re-run’, February 28th 2014, accessed August 28th 2014 (2014b).

¹⁰ Holland, Jack. ‘Foreign policy and political possibility’, *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(49), 2013, pp 50.

¹¹ Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 53.

¹² Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor and Aaron Martin. 2013, pp 82.

¹³ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor and Aaron Martin. 2013, pp 83.

¹⁴ John Howard (1996-2007); Kevin Rudd (2007-2010, 2013); Julia Gillard (2010-2013), Tony Abbott (2013-2015) and Malcolm Turnbull (2015-present).

¹⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Annual Report 2011-2012’, October 26th 2012, accessed 25th March 2014 (2012a), pp 20.

resilient, and that this explains the “apparent continuity in foreign policy despite changes in leadership and circumstances”.¹⁶ Within this context, he argues, the personality of Australia’s foreign minister is borderline irrelevant, although “ever since Labor’s former hyperactive foreign minister Gareth Evans quite literally wrote the book on it, middle power activism has been a central plank of ALP foreign policy”.¹⁷

This supports the argument that there are issues and interests that transcend Australian partisan politics.¹⁸ The three key objectives that have driven Australian foreign policymakers on both sides of the political spectrum have been ongoing support for the United States, our ‘great and powerful friend’; the ongoing development of close ties with our immediate region, the Asia-Pacific; and greater integration with a well-governed international order, through the United Nations.¹⁹ All of these simultaneously make up Australia’s ‘national interest’²⁰ and help drive Australian foreign policy formation, which arguably, according to Allan Gyngell, have been relatively easy for successive Australian governments to negotiate and balance.

Gyngell argues that “foreign policy which, in Australia, has traditionally taken second place as a way of thinking about the world to security and defence policy is becoming more important and more complicated”²¹ and that future Australian governments will be confronted with decisions that, whilst not unique in substantial content, may nevertheless not necessarily fit easily within the pre-existing

¹⁶ O’Keefe, Michael. ‘Making Sense of Australian Foreign Policy: ‘Strategic Culture’ as an Effective Teaching Tool?’, *Ethos*, 18:10 (2010), pp 25.

¹⁷ Beeson, Mark. ‘Rudd’s foreign policy legacy’, *The Conversation*, November 15th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014.

¹⁸ Historically Australian foreign policy was determined by British – the traditional ‘European history versus Asian geography’ debate – and as a result Australia fears abandonment rather than entanglement (unlike the US’ national character, which has worked hard to overcome their isolationist tendencies).

¹⁹ Gyngell, Allan. ‘Emerging challenges for Australian foreign policy’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68:4 (2014), pp 381.

²⁰ Or the ‘national interest’ of a state which Gareth Evans referred to “a country with not very much military or economic power, which was and will certainly remain an absolutely steadfast ally of the US (fighting alongside the US in every war it fought last century and the beginning of this, a record shared by no-one else), but which nonetheless had (at least when my party was in government!) a mind of its own on a great many issues and a certain unwillingness to play the role of poodle”. Evans, Gareth. ‘The U.S. vs the World? How American Power Seems to the Rest of Us’, (speech given to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, November 19th 2002), accessed 6th April 2013.

²¹ Gyngell, Allan. 2014, pp 381.

framework. Gyngell defines foreign policy as neither the overarching strategy that lies behind a government's major political decisions, nor the diplomacy that is utilised in the pursuit of this strategy, but rather "the thing that lies in between—the way the government responds to and shapes particular outcomes in the world as it goes about the business of advancing its interests and protecting its values in the messy, contingent environment of the international system."²²

This has been true for successive ALP and Coalition governments, including the Rudd/Gillard and Abbott/Turnbull governments. The activist dimension of Australia's foreign policy possibly stems from Australia's uncertainty about its place in the world – as a settler-colonial 'middle power' with British heritage, in the Asian-Pacific region that is culturally dissimilar, reliant on 'great and powerful friends' that are geographically distant (first from the United Kingdom, then from the United States), Australia's national character straddles the thin line between confidence born from a naturally resource-rich environment and support from 'great and powerful friends', and insecurity born of a sense of alienation.²³ The difficulty, as former Prime Minister Paul Keating (1991-1996) stated is that if Australia "is not a foreign policy maker, we [Australia] will end up a foreign policy taker".²⁴ Nonetheless, former Foreign Minister Alexander Downer (1996-2007) has argued that Australia is indeed "irrepressibly activist".²⁵

It is important here to distinguish between 'foreign policy' (which is merely policy that deals with the international sphere) and 'foreign relations' (which is the outcome of those decisions). This distinction will thus enable this thesis to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the forces that drive Australian foreign policy formation, how successive Australian governments have tried to

²² Gyngell, Allan. 2014, pp 381.

²³ Writing for 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and debates', ALP MP Melissa Parke claimed that "the Coalition parties have been less inclined to regard Australia's independence as the first and essential ingredient of our strong alliance with the US, or perhaps are more inclined to treat the alliances as having the same imperial character as our earlier relationship to the UK". Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates', Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2014, pp 30.

²⁴ Keating, Paul. 'John Curtin's world and ours', (speech given at the Curtin Prime Ministerial Library Anniversary Lecture, July 5th 2002), accessed September 12th 2014.

²⁵ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 'Making Australian Foreign Policy: Second Edition', Cambridge University Press, Victoria, 2007, pp 10.

define Australia's place in the global sphere, and thus how Australia relates to North Africa in particular (and what Australia hopes to gain from its relationship with North Africa).²⁶

Any differences in Australian foreign policy formation are stylised and for the domestic political benefit of the two major parties rather than for substantial reasons, while policymakers on both sides of the political spectrum are constrained by long-term restrictions that determine what direction Australia moves in (all within the context of a 'national interest' that rarely changes). The structural factors that support the formation of Australian foreign policy are more influential than partisan political bias regarding the formation of Australian foreign policy.

As a result therefore, neither major political party has been willing to compromise on the first two objectives (the alliance with the US, and ongoing engagement with the Asia-Pacific region) because these two objectives are distinctly defined. They both relate to specific countries or regions, and the reasoning behind both is clear – either cultural similarities and military might (the positioning of the United States as the focal point of Australia's long-term security strategy); or economic concerns and simple geography (the significance of financial ties with the Asia-Pacific) necessitate Australia's prioritisation of these two objectives "even if there are differences in quite how the political aspects of these relationships should be managed".²⁷ The day-to-day decisions may be subject to domestic political dispute, but the long-term policy direction is almost beyond critique.

Australia's national interest did not change significantly between the election of Rudd in 2007 and the election of Abbott in 2013. This thesis will therefore argue that a complete disengagement from North Africa would be inexcusable from an economic perspective.²⁸ If Australia's engagement with North Africa was advantageous to Australia during the Howard – and then Rudd/Gillard eras – then it follows that it would still be an important relationship for the current Abbott/Turnbull government, albeit not a priority.

²⁶ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 8.

²⁷ Beeson, Mark. 2014, pp 266.

²⁸ Makinda, Samuel. 2014, pp 3.

1.3 The process of foreign policy formation in Australia

There are four levels of foreign policy making – the strategic level (a string of commitments and viewpoints, generally exemplified in general policy statements, ministerial speeches and department publications); the contextual level (an estimation of what is at stake for Australia, and what specific problems the international sphere generates); the organisational level (configuring political and bureaucratic resources towards addressing specific challenges and goals); and the operational level (micro-level policy carried out by bureaucrats and diplomats via diplomatic, bureaucratic, media or other channels).²⁹ The synthesis of these four levels makes it difficult to differentiate between them, but taken together they compose the policy-making process.³⁰

Gyngell and Wesley describe this process as complementary rather than conflicting, with the actors involved constructing policy via an ongoing process (or flow) rather than a succession of distinctive decisions.³¹ Policy-making as a sphere has its own formal language that includes internal common understandings.

Decisions that constitute the formation of foreign policy are made by a range of actors. Nominally these decisions come from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has responsibility for the foreign policy direction of Australia, although the sheer volume of decisions to be made means that a large number will be ultimately made by senior governmental officials with reference to the specified values and recommendations of the Minister. These elected officials differ from appointed officials – diplomats, DFAT employees and the like – who gain their legitimacy from employment rather than the democratically elected Members of Parliament and Ministers. The administrative hierarchy places elected officials above appointed officials, despite the majority of the groundwork being done by the latter. By the time the decision is presented to the Minister (generally in the form of briefing

²⁹ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 22.

³⁰ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 30.

³¹ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 35.

notes and policy submissions) it has been shaped already by the bureaucrats whose job it is to gather information and construct the briefing papers. The appointed officials generally have specialist knowledge and prior experience regarding foreign issues, while the Minister for Foreign Affairs (and other elected officials) generally lack this specialist knowledge but are expected to make specific decisions on the situations, issues, and crises that Australia faces, based on the information provided.³²

This interplay between the two subgroups (elected and appointed) is vital to understanding Australian foreign policy, as “the bureaucracy is the essential core of the foreign policy making process in Australia”.³³ DFAT is particularly significant here, as it is responsible for “responding to developments within the [foreign] policy space or pursuing initiatives anticipating developments in that space”.³⁴

The involvement of non-governmental actors has increased in recent years and, as Gyngell and Wesley have pointed out, they are “better-informed and better-organised”.³⁵ Indeed foreign policymakers are, according to Gyngell and Wesley, increasingly “sensitiv[e] ... to domestic controversy or disapproval” and as such we have seen the “regularisation of contact between the[se] foreign policy institutions and various interest groups”.³⁶ Thus, it is valuable to recognise that Ministers are formulating policy within a wider organisational framework that is influenced by non-government actors and other civil society groups. This framing of Australia’s ‘national interest’ in economic terms may make it easier for the Australian public to absorb foreign policy decisions, as

³² Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 42.

³³ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 58.

³⁴ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 63.

³⁵ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 300

³⁶ Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 300.

the Australian public is more likely to approve of decisions with a demonstrable aim or benefit, like in the areas of trade, defence or security.³⁷

Dowding *et al*'s analysis of the speeches of successive incoming governments – including the Governors-Generals and Prime Ministers (but not incumbent governments) between 1945 and 2008 – identified four trends that political contenders consider important to the domestic vote; 1) the ongoing importance of economic issues; 2) the increase in attention given to health, education and social welfare; 3) the increase in attention given to labour, employment and immigration; and 4) the decrease in attention given to agriculture, defence and foreign affairs. It is this fourth trend which will be considered here. The importance of these factors to Australian foreign policymakers does not change for the most part – what changes is how much attention the government of the day wishes to give it – and as Dowding *et al*, argues, “executive speeches do not represent the sum of the executive agenda. Neither does the executive agenda constitute the entire policy agenda”.³⁸

Decreasing levels of attention given to issues of defence and foreign aid, evident in the various speeches assessed by Dowding *et al*, have held true except for times when Australia was actively participating in an international conflict. These decreasing levels have coincided with Australia’s military support for South Vietnam; the introduction of compulsory National Service in 1964; and following the end of Australia’s involvement in Vietnam in the 1970s. Decreased references in these speeches to defence, international affairs and foreign aid continued until the early 2001 federal election. At this point in time, both public and government discourse erupted around the September 11th terrorist attacks on American soil, and the subsequent commitment of Australian troops to support the military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq as part of the US-led ‘Coalition of the

³⁷ According to former Foreign Minister Bob Carr, there are slight differences between the two major Australian political parties in the realm of defence – “in force structure terms, it came down to an argument on where you prioritise spending. Our [the ALP’s] approach heavily focused on maritime defence; obviously, our approaches are maritime. The Liberals assigned priority to the Army, particularly its capacity to interact with US ground forces and fight expeditionary wars”. Carr, Bob. 2014, pp 26.

³⁸ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 'Policy Agendas in Australian Politics: The Governor-General's Speeches, 1945-2008', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 45:4 (2010), pp 554.

Willing'.³⁹ Members of this Coalition have each struggled with the issue of when and how to participate in military action alongside the United States, and while "major Australian political parties have wrestled with the issue... none has found the perfect balance, but Labor has been the clearest observer of multilateral process".⁴⁰

Dowding *et al's* loosely-defined 'war' elections can be split into two distinct categories – the Vietnam War (the 1966 and 1969 elections, which were won by the incumbent Coalition Harold Holt/John Gorton governments on a pro-containment of China platform; and the 1972 election, which was won by the ALP Gough Whitlam government after public sentiment turned against Australia's involvement in a war that was seen by then to be unwinnable) and the War on Terror (the 2001 election, won by the incumbent Coalition Howard government on the basis of Australian involvement in the US-led 'Coalition of the Willing').⁴¹ As Matt McDonald has argued,

The turning points of the late 1960s/early 1970s and the early 2000s, where the absence of bipartisan support for participation in war exposed fundamental differences in approaches to the 'national interest'. These periods witnessed major shifts in attention to foreign and defence policy within the Australian context, and ushered in new approaches to foreign and defence policy by subsequent governments.⁴²

These speeches generally include references to proposed legislation, recognition of new policy priorities, and examples of non-legislative policy changes, and are equally informative when discussing the driving forces behind Australian foreign policy formation in the past half-century, with the post-1972 period seeing a relative decline in the references to 'defence' and war' until their

³⁹ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 2010, pp 536.

⁴⁰ Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 2014, pp 31.

⁴¹ McDonald, Matt. 'Foreign and Defence Policy on Australia's Political Agenda, 1962-2012', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 72:2 (2013) (2013a), pp 180.

⁴² McDonald, Matt. 2013a, pp 182.

reappearance in the 2001 and 2004 federal election campaigns (along with references to 'terrorism').⁴³

References to 'foreign affairs' notably decrease in the same period. The Prime Ministerial speeches in the 1972 and 1974 elections contained more references to the term 'foreign' than the next sixteen Australian federal elections combined,⁴⁴ suggesting, as McDonald argues, that "the profile of foreign policy and defence on the Australian policy agenda as a whole has been marginal over the past 50 years except in times of (controversial) participation in international conflict."⁴⁵

This supports this thesis' argument that Australian leaders (in the tradition of state leaders the world over) thrive in times of emergency, usually receiving a boost in public opinion polls when perceived by the public as taking decisive action in Australia's national interest (or if not Australia's national interest, then in support of Australia's cultural values). This is equally true for foreign events as it is for domestic events, albeit necessitating a more cautious approach due to the fact that Australian foreign policy isn't constructed in a vacuum. In order to be prosecuted successfully, the wider Australian public needs to be convinced of the legitimacy of policy decisions.⁴⁶ Dowding *et al* state that

Just as in other countries there are tendencies for the agenda to be stable for significant periods of time followed by rapid changes. In this respect, policy agendas in Australia resemble those in other democracies, but the particular form taken in Australia – the rate of change, the degree of punctuations, the tendency to diversity – derives from the specific character of its political institutions and form of party competition and is unique.⁴⁷

⁴³ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 2010, pp 537.

⁴⁴ Since 1974, there have been sixteen federal elections. Some were held sooner than the standard four years term in office.

⁴⁵ McDonald, Matt. 2013a, pp 177.

⁴⁶ Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 54.

⁴⁷ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 2010, pp 555.

It is the collective will of the Australian public that decides the fate of any given federal government, but this does not mean that policymakers attempt to appeal to the state as a whole, but rather specific constituencies which have been isolated and identified as key targets. This is the framework under which Australian foreign policymakers make their decisions – “if foreign policy practitioners target domestic audiences as a function of democracy, it is a function of the domestic electoral landscape that ensures that they target key audiences within that electorate”.⁴⁸

In order for their policy ideas to gain political traction and achieve public support (or alternatively, to minimise opposition), policymakers must ensure that their voice is the dominant one in a political sphere that (in Australia at least) allows for and enables widespread and vociferous dissent. The quest for domestic political legitimacy means that Australian foreign policymakers must make decisions that are “not only conceivable and resonant but also dominant”.⁴⁹ How such foreign policy is formulated especially in relation to regions that are geographically removed or distinct from Australia, and regarding issues, events or incidents that are only tangentially related to Australia’s direct interests, is thus the focus of this thesis.⁵⁰

1.4 The Australian Labor Party’s approach to foreign policy formation 2007 - 2013

Foreign policy played only a relatively minor role during the 2007 federal election which resulted in the election of the Rudd Labor government. Domestic issues such as industrial relations policy (including the controversial WorkChoices system); a potential restructuring of the income tax system; and a suggested rebate for education costs, instead dominated much of the pre-federal election discourse. Dowding *et al* have noted that Rudd “articulate[d] a very different set of priorities

⁴⁸ Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 54.

⁴⁹ Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 55.

⁵⁰ Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 64.

from Howard's, even if, in many cases... [he was] not pursuing radically different policies,"⁵¹ but that, on the whole, the fragmentation of the political agenda (how the two major political parties in Australia differed from each other as incoming governments in terms of the time and attention given to policies during speeches) has not significantly changed since the 1950s.⁵²

Rudd ratified the Kyoto protocol on 3rd December 2007, immediately after officially taking office. It took effect in March 2008 after Rudd and four of his new Ministers attended the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change in Bali, Indonesia.⁵³ The actions of the Rudd Labor government in terms of immediately ratifying the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change⁵⁴ within the UN Framework, serve to illustrate the different approaches taken by the outgoing Howard and incoming Rudd governments to the norms of the international sphere – in this case regarding the domestic benefits of climate change action and the effectiveness of international treaties in accomplishing this.

Rudd's success in the 2007 federal election on the grounds of domestic and foreign action on climate change was part of a deliberate strategy whereby Rudd attempted to distinguish the ALP from the incumbent Coalition, but only on grounds where widespread community support was in his favour, and without deviating from previous foreign policy trends.⁵⁵ Indeed, the ALP continued to "emphasize... strong support for the American alliance"⁵⁶ – one of the three fundamental tenets that provide a framework for Australian foreign policymakers. Writing in August 2014, Gareth Evans (Australian Foreign Minister 1988-1996 and activist 'middle power' policymaker under an ALP government) argued that Australia "should be cautious about moving beyond taking stands to taking

⁵¹ Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 2010, pp 551.

⁵² Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 2010, pp 554.

⁵³ *BBC News*. 'Rudd takes Australia inside Kyoto', December 3rd 2007, accessed September 2nd 2014.

⁵⁴ According to Rudd, the ALP's position "has been clear from the beginning. When it comes to Kyoto in this current period one, we should be ratifying the Kyoto protocol. Two, we should have binding targets for Australia for this... for this commitment period of 2008 to 2012. Mr Howard [has] rejected both those two approaches. Thirdly we've argued that we therefore need to be a party at the negotiating table and [at] the Bali conference to be held in December there's going to be a conference of the parties to the framework convention on climate change and a convention of the parties to the Kyoto protocol". O'Brien, Kerry. 'Rudd on the green offensive', *The 7:30 Report*, October 30th 2007, accessed September 2nd 2014.

⁵⁵ McDonald, Matt. 2013b, pp 101.

⁵⁶ McDonald, Matt. 2013a, pp 176.

sides in the region to a greater extent than has been the norm for decades”⁵⁷ even if China’s rise contributes to US insecurity in the region with a resulting increase in the number and severity of maritime territorial disputes.

Furthermore, the global financial crisis of 2007 meant that the Rudd government was unable to endorse any domestic or foreign policy that would have negative short-term effects on the Australian economy. The strength of the global economy was outside of Australia’s control but was “important in the distribution of capital and dynamics of contestation within the Australian political field regarding these issues”.⁵⁸

It is important to note that Rudd as Prime Minister was a ‘natural’ foreign policymaker, serving as a diplomat in the Department of Foreign Affairs for seven years (1981-88); writing his own Honours thesis on the plight of Chinese political dissident Wei Jingshen; and acting first as Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs (in both the Simon Crean’s and Mark Latham’s Shadow Cabinets), and later as Minister for Foreign Affairs (but only after Gillard replaced him as the Prime Minister in a dramatic leadership spill on 24th June 2010). However, Rudd re-secured the leadership of the ALP on 26th June 2013 and led the ALP to electoral defeat at the 2013 federal election. Rudd had appointed Bob Carr (the former NSW Premier) to the Foreign Affairs portfolio for this brief time.⁵⁹ Therefore, the foreign policy direction of Australia during this tumultuous domestic political time is fascinating, as it ultimately revolved around Rudd’s personal belief in Australia as an activist and creative middle power.

⁵⁷ Evans, Gareth. ‘On Japan and China: Taking a Stand, Not Taking Sides’, *The World Post*, August 14th 2014, accessed September 1st 2014 (2014b).

⁵⁸ McDonald, Matt. 2013b, pp 110.

⁵⁹ Furthermore, successive ALP leadership struggles diverted attention away from their ability to successfully govern the state, including the formation of foreign policy. Former Foreign Minister Bob Carr wrote regretfully that “Oh, to be Foreign Minister in a normal government, with a floor majority, and an interesting, authoritative Prime Minister with a routine lead in all the polls and a forty-four per cent primary vote; to be Foreign Minister with five years in the job stretching ahead. I’m dragged down for the circumstances”. Carr, Bob. 2014, pp 57.

After winning the 2007 federal election, Rudd's approach to foreign policy formation was rooted in a deliberate repositioning of Australia as an 'internationalist' state. As McDonald has noted, this approach was "one that recognise[d]ethical obligations beyond the nation-state and [was] concerned with promoting Australia as an active member of the international society of states, committed to playing its part in addressing trans-national challenges and influencing the mechanisms of global governance".⁶⁰

During his time as Prime Minister, Rudd's push for Australia to be an ethical and active foreign citizen, determined to make the most of its position as a 'middle power' in a complex international system with many players (fellow states, multilateral institutions, NGOs, corporations, non-state actors and the like), saw Australia take a range of actions that included, but was not limited to, leading the global response to the Libyan Revolution – and the so-called Arab Spring. However, what many commentators saw as Rudd's greatest weakness in the field of foreign affairs was that he lacked proportion – he was so invested in Australia's ability as a 'middle power' to affect events on a global scale "that he didn't pause to ask what realistically could be done that had any serious chance of working".⁶¹

Rudd's loss of the Australian Prime Ministership to Julia Gillard in 2010 was purportedly based on dismal domestic political opinion poll results that political commentators saw as being based on a perceived failure to deliver on an activist foreign policy agenda, including an efficient strategy for dealing with asylum seekers, and an inability or an unwillingness to affect global action on climate change. The supposed failure of this activist approach to foreign policy formation "allows an illustration of the possibilities for and limits to such a policy approach arising from domestic political contexts".⁶² The differences between the consecutive Rudd and Gillard governments, though they consecutively occupied the same time period in Australian history, can be seen in the 2010 federal

⁶⁰ McDonald, Matt. 2013b, pp 100.

⁶¹ White, Hugh. 'Tony Abbott's 'swings and roundabouts' foreign policy', *The Age*, August 19th 2014, accessed August 29th 2014.

⁶² McDonald, Matt. 2013b, pp 100.

election campaign, where Gillard seemed conscious of the political dangers inherent in seeming too eager or progressive on climate change, especially on a global scale.⁶³

1. 5 Rudd’s activist ambitions regarding North Africa

It was Rudd’s campaign for Australia to win a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council that really demonstrated his approach to global affairs – painting Australia as an activist ‘middle power’ – despite us having less than one-third of 1 percent of the world’s population.⁶⁴

Thus it was during this time when Rudd as Minister for Foreign Affairs, perhaps somewhat begrudgingly, pursued his own international interests and agenda, without regard for his Prime Minister and her domestic regard. In fact, Rudd had called for a no-fly zone over Libya, and pushed for a UN resolution in response to this crisis, including a “referral of the Qaddafi regime to the International Criminal Court”⁶⁵ without Gillard’s knowledge or approval. Australian officials described Rudd as “having gone too far”.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, as Phillip Coorey reported, Gillard agreed with Rudd that something had to be done “about the people of Libya... [who] wanted Colonel Gaddafi gone. So, too, did [Rudd and Gillard] agree any action must be sanctioned by the UN Security Council. But [Gillard] insisted other options be explored.”⁶⁷

When formulating foreign policy, Rudd was aware of the need for international consensus on issues like Libya. Therefore, “when he called for a no-fly zone over Libya ... Rudd was testing international

⁶³ As part of the ALP’s campaign, Gillard promised that a successful ALP government would not introduce an emissions trading or pricing scheme. The differences between the consecutive Rudd and Gillard governments can be seen in the 2010 federal election campaign, where Gillard seemed overly conscious of the political dangers inherent in seeming too eager or progressive on climate change, especially on a global scale

⁶⁴ Gynge, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 2007, pp 9.

⁶⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Briefings provided to Ministers and/or senior officials, from January 2011 to December 2012, on the Arab Spring’, FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 14/20458, Official Date of Access September 25th 2014, accessed October 21st 2014 (2014a), pp 47.

⁶⁶ Coorey, Phillip. ‘Gillard in open conflict with Rudd’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 11th 2011, accessed November 27th 2014.

⁶⁷ Coorey, Phillip. 2011.

opinion, and found enough backing for a means to place a brake on the Gaddafi regime".⁶⁸ Yet, despite Rudd's international posturing and domestic defiance on this particular issue, Australia's involvement in the Arab Spring was, according to Kampmark

A mere footnote, a barely audible sound. Despite that, it is fair to say that outrage over the conflict had found its way into the corridors of the United Nations. Over a few weeks, Rudd's efforts to pursue the zone eventually found form in a UN Security Council Resolution, though what role he personally played will be impossible to assess.⁶⁹

During a televised forum Rudd was identified as an active and effective member of the global community, and an ally of the Libyan community in their fight against Gaddafi. The participating audience were keen to make the Australian public aware of the atrocities that were being committed by Gaddafi's forces in Libya, thereby forcing Australian politicians into a public show of support for the Libyan community. Despite these doubts as noted by Kampmark, the Australian government was proud of – and outspoken about – its diplomatic presence in North Africa during the Arab Spring, despite the fact that the Austrade Consulate General office in Tripoli, Libya, was closed at the beginning of the Arab Spring "and will resume operations pending an assessment of the security situation".⁷⁰

Nonetheless, Rudd made multiple visits to Libya, which is significant given this closure of Austrade in Tripoli. The *Strategic Policy Coordination Group* (SPCG) briefing on the Arab Spring included mention of the fact that "a DFAT/AusAID delegation led by DepSec [Deputy Secretary] Grigson visited Tunisia from 6-7 July for inaugural Senior Officials Talks building on Mr Rudd's visit in March 2011 (the first

⁶⁸ Kampmark, Binoy. 'Replacing Rudd: what to look for in a new Australian foreign minister', *The Conversation*, February 29th 2012, accessed August 19th 2014.

⁶⁹ Kampmark, Binoy. 2012.

⁷⁰ The office has not yet been reopened, and Austrade business interests in Libya are managed from the United Arab Emirates. Australian Trade Commission. 'Export Markets – Libya', March 22nd 2012, accessed October 23rd 2014 (2012b).

ever by an Australia Foreign Minister) where he signed documents that led to an agreement or memorandum of understanding (a MOU).⁷¹

Furthermore, “Mr Rudd travelled to Egypt three times since December 2010 (10-12 December 2010, 26-27 February 2011, 9 March 2011) and was the first Foreign Minister to meet with newly appointed former Egyptian Foreign Minister Dr el-Arabi on 9 March 2011”.⁷² Rudd then “visited Tunisia in March 2011 – the first visit ever by an Australian Foreign Minister – and signed a MOU on bilateral relations. Inaugural Australia-Tunisia bilateral senior official talks took place in Tunis on 7 July 2011 and two MOUs were concluded”⁷³ while Rudd’s visit to Tunisia was the first of its kind, and deserved internal and external attention.

As an activist middle power with global ambitions, Australia’s foreign policy reactions to events in North Africa during the Arab Spring were demonstrative of its commitment to democracy, especially in developing regions. Evidence of this commitment to Libya’s democratic transition can be gleaned from the SPCG briefing⁷⁴ reiterates the fact that Australia’s actions in Libya were in full support of democratic political transition. Indeed “Australia welcomed regime change in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya but recognise[d] that transition brings significant political, social and security challenges for the region and international community and long-term directions are unlikely to emerge for some time”.⁷⁵ According to DFAT documents,

While transition must be Libyan led, Australia remains committed to supporting democratic transition in Libya where we can. During my [Kevin Rudd's] 8 December visit to Tripoli I announced a further \$2

⁷¹ Details of what Rudd signed were redacted under s 33(a)(iii) of the Freedom Of Information Act 1982 (Cth). Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

⁷² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 1.

⁷³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 1.

⁷⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

⁷⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 20.

million in aid to UNMAS for mine clearance and \$1 million through the UN in support of electoral reform [total aid commitment \$44.6 million; third largest]⁷⁶

As a result of this commitment to democratic transitions, Australia became a full member of the Libya Contact Group (LCG).⁷⁷ As part of this group, Australia's recognition of the National Transitional Council (NTC) as the lawful political representative for Libya, (rather than the deposed Gaddafi regime) "reflects the ties Australia has developed with the NTC".⁷⁸ As part of the LCG Rudd attended meetings in May and June 2011, while Australian Ambassador to Libya David Ritchie led the Australian delegation for the 15th July meeting.⁷⁹

A second document on the '*Arab Spring*' noted that "[Mr Rudd] visited Tripoli on 8 December to engage with the newly formed interim government [22 November]... [and that the United States] has undertaken to work closely with the UN Support Mission in Libya".⁸⁰ This document thus demonstrates Australia's alignment with US foreign policy on Libya as well. '*The SPCG briefing*' emphasised that, at the time of writing, Australia was the third largest donor to the UN appeal and had given \$33.5 million in humanitarian assistance, and had "contributed a post stabilisation specialist official [to] the UK-led International Stabilisation Response Team".⁸¹

As discussed further in chapter six, the stranding of around 650 Libyan students and their families in Australia during the Arab Spring received a mention in these classified documents – that DFAT "continues to lead government management of the Libyan students' issue... [and that] Libyan government funding for up to 140 Libyans studying in Australia ran out in June".⁸² In response to this

⁷⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 23.

⁷⁷ Australia is the only Oceanic member.

⁷⁸ The briefing included a note saying this positions Australia but the detail of how it positions Australia international was redacted under s 33(a)(iii) of the Freedom of Information Act 1982 (Cth). Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

⁷⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

⁸⁰ However, the reasons for this support were redacted under s 33(a)(iii) of the FOI Act. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 22.

⁸¹ The reasons for this contribution were redacted under s 33(a)(iii) of the FOI Act. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

⁸² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

crisis being played out domestically in Australia, “In September 2011 the Australian Government also provided a loan of \$1.5 million to the Libyan Embassy in Canberra to enable Libyan government scholars to continue their studies in Australia. The loan was repaid in full on 19 December 2011”.⁸³

The DFAT’s document on the ‘126th Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union’ gives a good overview of the situation in Libya at the time, and Australia’s responses to it. The actions of Libya’s internal tribal leaders and militia in proclaiming a semi-autonomous province in Libya’s oil-rich eastern areas on 8th March 2011 contributed to Australian fears regarding Libyan stability and domestic cohesion.⁸⁴ Unlike ‘*The SPC briefing*’, this document goes into more detail regarding Australia’s humanitarian assistance, “providing post-conflict assistance in demining (\$3.5 million), mental health (\$1 million) and electoral support (\$1 million)”.⁸⁵

The DFAT’s ‘*Thematic Brief: Arab Spring*’ notes that Australia was worried by Libyan attempts to create an autonomous region in eastern Libya as these “raised concerns about the capacity of Libya’s interim government to restore stability, demobilise militia and assert control throughout Libya”.⁸⁶ DFAT emphasised the fact that elections were planned for Libya in June 2012, which would also see the drafting of a new Libyan Constitution. To support these democratic processes, Australia made a \$44.6 million dollar aid contribution to the cause, which made Australia the third largest contributor of aid to Libya after the US and EU (interestingly this aid was focussed on demining, mental health and electoral issues).⁸⁷ The US was the largest single contributor of humanitarian assistance to Libya at this time (contributing \$80 million in aid).⁸⁸ The DFAT documents accessed under the FOI Act demonstrate that these concerns raised in these documents are not new.

⁸³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, p.40

⁸⁴ This document was presumably written after the SPCG briefing, as it states that Australia’s total aid contribution stood at \$44.6 million, though it reinforces the idea that Australian aid was for humanitarian purposes, and also states that Australia was the third largest contributor at the time of writing. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 40.

⁸⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 40.

⁸⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 48.

⁸⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 48.

⁸⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 8.

Despite Rudd's re-engagement with Africa, and his pro-active stance on Libya and the Arab Spring, after his electoral defeat, it is no surprise that the 2013 Australian Defence White Paper⁸⁹ (which was being produced in the period following the 2010-2011 Arab Spring) assigned Australia's economic and political priorities to the Asia-Pacific region, and yet, as it will be shown below, there is recognition that the Middle East and North Africa remains somewhat significant to Australia's security interests. The concept of a 'secure Australia' continued to drive most decisions on both sides of the political spectrum. This 2013 Defence White Paper confirms Australia's commitment to its immediate region both for domestic political gain (it being in the federal government's best interests to maintain a healthy working relationship with the various governments of the Asia-Pacific) and because of strategic concerns such as security, financial, territorial or otherwise, being dependant on the stability of the region as a whole.

The regional emphasis placed by Australian foreign policy-makers on the Asia-Pacific region was predicted to see "rapid economic growth in South, Northeast and Southeast Asia... driving stronger economic links with the resource-rich Middle East and Africa".⁹⁰ This comes under the heading of the 'Indo-Pacific Strategic System' – Australia's official recognition of the fact that the Indian Ocean is becoming increasingly the busiest global trade corridor, with "one-third of the world's bulk cargo and around two-thirds of the global oil shipments"⁹¹ passing through. Australian foreign policymakers were beginning to see the significance of the Indian Ocean region, which resulted in an increased focus on Africa as a continent. Disregarding the fact that North Africa is amalgamated into both Africa and the Middle East, the 2013 Defence White Paper includes specific reference to the Arab Spring revolutions – in particular the changes of government in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, with

⁸⁹ On 4th April 2014 the Abbott government announced that a new Defence White Paper would be released, with accompanying 10-year Defence Capability Plan and a Defence Industry Policy Statement, to "the Government's overall strategic, fiscal and broader policy priorities... [and] align defence policy with military strategy and deliver an affordable Australian Defence Force structure". At the time of publishing (January 2016) there was no exact release date. Department of Defence. 'Australia in the Asian Century', White Paper, May 3rd 2013, accessed October 28th 2013, pp 13.

⁹⁰ Department of Defence. 2013, pp 13.

⁹¹ Department of Defence. 2013, pp 13.

“implications for strategic issues that have long determined the course of the Middle East, including intra-regional security relationships, and for the security of global energy supplies”.⁹²

The importance of securing global energy supplies, combined with the acknowledgement that the majority of Islamic terrorism originates either in the MENA region or in Australia’s immediate region of South Asia, demonstrates that Australian involvement in the MENA region is a reflection of Australia’s strategic national interest. Civil unrest resulting from the Arab Spring revolutions disrupted oil production, especially in Libya and Algeria,⁹³ which in turn has affected the ability of non-MENA states to do business in the region. Eastern Europe, which suffered from almost complete dependence on a single supplier for an energy resource, felt the impact of the ongoing dispute between Russia and Ukraine (which includes disagreement regarding the pricing and payment of gas).⁹⁴ As Abbott told The Lowy Institute in 2010, there is a need for policies whereby “greater energy and food security is achieved”⁹⁵ and Australia’s national interest ensuring that North Africa (and the wider MENA region) remains stable, with clear governmental recognition that “Africa [including North Africa] remains important for international security efforts, including supporting Africa’s own regional peacekeeping, stabilisation and counter-terrorism efforts”.⁹⁶

Australia’s commitment to a stable and secure international community – the third tenet of Australia’s foreign policy framework – relies on a durable foreign policy toward North Africa and the

⁹² Department of Defence. 2013, pp 17.

⁹³ In our model-based analysis for North Africa, we find that the threat from civil unrest in Algeria would be much larger than the minor consequences felt in Europe from the Libyan supply disruption. Lochner, Stefan, and Caroline Dieckhöner. ‘Civil unrest in North Africa – Risks for natural gas supply?’, *Energy Policy*, 45 (2012), pp 175.

⁹⁴ It is important to note at this point that Eastern Europe’s energy geopolitics differ greatly to North Africa’s energy geopolitics, and that the economies of the Arab states of North Africa are highly dependent on their ability to form trade agreements and establish export lines, as “Close interdependence rather than one-sided dependence characterises relations between Algeria and its southern European customers. Even where the willingness exists to link energy supplies closely to broader foreign policy issues (such as in Libya) or gas export agreements are subject to intense political controversy (such as in Egypt), the scope for using the terms of energy supplies and the threat of cutting off exports as a political weapon is very limited. Lacher, Wolfram, and Dennis Kumetat. ‘The security of energy infrastructure and supply in North Africa: Hydrocarbons and renewable energies in comparative perspective’, *Energy Policy*, 39 (2011), pp 4470.

⁹⁵ Abbott, Tony. ‘Distinguished Speaker Series: National Security Fundamentals’ (speech given at The Lowy Institute for International Policy, April 20th 2010), accessed March 3rd 2014.

⁹⁶ Department of Defence. 2013, pp 66.

Middle East. For example the DFAT document titled '*Arab Spring (SPGC Briefing)*' (a briefing prepared for the Strategic Policy and Coordination Group, a subset of the Australian Attorney-General's Department) states that Australia's national interests in that part of the world "can best be served through a secure and stable MENA... [and] we support pluralistic democracy as the best long-term underpinning of this".⁹⁷

This document recognises the over 370,000 Australian citizens of Arab descent, and the two-way trade with the Arab League states valued at \$12.7 billion in 2010.⁹⁸ Further to this, in a brief prepared for Rudd during his first term as Prime Minister, as part of ministerial preparations for the 2011 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, he was advised that the "dramatic events in the Middle East and North Africa since late 2010 have seen the end of three of the region's long-standing leaders in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The success of the transition processes in these countries will determine the stability and security of these countries and the region".⁹⁹ Rudd was encouraged to promote the changes in the region as "opportunities for productive engagement,"¹⁰⁰ and this document also repeated that "Australia is committed to enhancing our already diverse and long-standing relations with the Arab world".¹⁰¹

When involving itself in the international response to Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa, Australia recognised the need to confer with regional organisations when formulating foreign policy. Australia's commitment to enhancing these established relations required Australian foreign

⁹⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 3.

⁹⁸ The document does not differentiate how much of this was specific to North Africa or the Middle East.

⁹⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 11.

¹⁰⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 11.

¹⁰¹ All of the *State of the Sector Reports* (also known as SOTs) cover the same issues – a risk of renewed regional unrest; the benefits of democratic elections in Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco with relatively high participation rates; ongoing Australian support for transition in Libya (including references to Rudd's personal role as part of the global response to the Libyan civil war); Australia's bilateral aid programs to Egypt and Tunisia; the fact that there is little trade between Australia and Syria and the effect this may have on Australia's ability to address the worsening situation in Syria and Yemen; and the implications of China and Russia's use of UN veto power against resolution in Syria. Additional material in the same section was redacted under s 33(a)(iii) of the Freedom of Information Act 1982 (Cth). Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 11.

policymakers to confer with African regional organisations when responding to the Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa. To this end, Australia stated in the ‘Arab Spring Issues Brief’ that they “welcome[d] the role of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and Arab League during the Arab Spring in defending legitimate rights of political expression”¹⁰² and that

We are committed to enhancing our already diverse and long-standing relations with the Arab world [Australia-Arab League MOU signed in Sept. 2011; Australia-GCC Foreign Ministers' Strategic Dialogue held in March 2011; appointment of Australian Special Envoy, Ahmad Fahour, to the Organisation of Islamic States].¹⁰³

This is what Rudd referred to when he wrote for *The Australian* that

The Arab democratic revolutions have made it clear that democracy is not something called for by the West. The call for democracy came resoundingly from within and to the complete surprise of the outside world. Now the international community has a responsibility to stand in support of Arab citizens in their call for democracy, human rights and the rule of law.¹⁰⁴

Part of Australia’s foreign policy formation during the Arab Spring included a recognition that the Arab states of North Africa were all affected differently by the Arab Spring protests and uprisings – the domestic political situations varied; the levels of violence present in the upheavals varied; and the international responses to each state varied – and as a result “Australia is tailoring our support to each country to meet specific needs and challenges and in areas where we can offer niche assistance”.¹⁰⁵

DFAT documents indicated that Australia “explor[ed] ways in which to provide targeted post-conflict assistance”¹⁰⁶ to North Africa. Thus, Australia’s provided a substantial financial package of assistance

¹⁰² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 13.

¹⁰³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 13.

¹⁰⁴ Rudd, Kevin. ‘Keep the faith with the Arab Spring’, *The Australian*, May 20th 2011, accessed October 23rd 2014 (2011c).

¹⁰⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 5.

¹⁰⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 12.

to specific North African states during the Arab Spring – namely a \$20 million package of assistance for Egypt and \$4.8m for Tunisia.¹⁰⁷ In the document on the ‘*Arab Spring – points for Italy, France, Germany, Turkey*’ these packages were described as “early, targeted assistance to Egypt (A\$20 million) and Tunisia (A\$4.8 million) to boost agricultural production, food security and job creation”.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, this aid was intended to “support their economic and political transition”.¹⁰⁹ According to DFAT documents, this financial assistance was “well received for the focus on practical assistance in the areas of agricultural productivity and food security (Egypt and Tunisia), mine clearance (Egypt), job creation (Egypt) and electoral support (Tunisia)”.¹¹⁰

These financial packages were created and implemented partially for diplomatic reasons – Rudd’s personal belief in ‘creative middle power diplomacy’ and activist foreign policy, and Australia’s campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council – but also in support of Australia’s trade interests. The understanding of Australian foreign policymakers at the time of the Arab Spring and Rudd’s global posturing and positioning was that both Libya and Syria posed the biggest threats to stability in the MENA region, while they were also “concerned by possible power vacuums and unresolved conflicts [including Yemen and potentially Libya]”.¹¹¹

As discussed previously, the first tenet of Australia’s foreign policy formation is a reliance on ‘great and powerful friends’ that, in the 21st century, translates to a stable alliance with the US. Australia’s involvement in the international response to the crisis in Libya, and its support for the Arab states of North Africa in general, was not determined by the US, but their stance would certainly have influenced the foreign policy formation by Australian ministers at the time.¹¹² Australian foreign

¹⁰⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 1.

¹⁰⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 12.

¹⁰⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 16.

¹¹⁰ The inclusion of initiatives for mine clearance in the \$20 million assistance package to Egypt is part of Australia’s obligations under the Mine Ban Convention and the Convention on Cluster Munitions, and speaks to Australia’s security concerns. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 17.

¹¹¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 15.

¹¹² The US’ response to the Libyan revolution was also tempered by the death of US ambassador Chris Stevens, along with three other embassy staff in a rocket attack in Benghazi on 12th September 2012. *The Guardian*.

policymakers were made aware of the ongoing regional security violations in Libya, and they were equally concerned that the ability of the interim Libyan government to establish itself and “find... its feet”.¹¹³ For example, the new Libyan government it was finding it difficult to access frozen funds after the UN Security Council eliminated both the Central Bank of Libya and the Libyan Foreign Bank from their register of entities, and that the new government will continue to be plagued by security concerns as they continue to demobilise domestic militia forces and ensure that war veterans and their families are well supported.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, the next step in the Libyan political timetable was the adoption of electoral legislation and the formation of a new, improved electoral body by February 2012. Indeed, “some groups including the Berber (known among themselves as the Amazigh – approx. 10 per cent of the population) remain frustrated about the lack of representation in the government”¹¹⁵ and that this may be the cause of security concerns in the future. DFAT documents entitled ‘*North Africa*’ declared that,

Libya will face many challenges in rebuilding its economy but the IMF is expecting strong growth in 2012 with the lifting of most sanctions, increasing foreign investment and rising oil revenues. Security remains fragile: on 11 June a British Embassy convoy was attacked near the British 'consulate in Benghazi, on 5 June the US Consulate in Benghazi was bombed; on 8 May militia, the Libyan PM's office was attacked by rebels over a pay dispute; on 12 April UN Special Envoy for Libya Ian Martin's convoy came under attack in Benghazi; and militia groups have on several occasions closed down the Tripoli International Airport.¹¹⁶

These illustrations of the uncertain political climate in Libya enabled Australian foreign policymakers to be aware of them – even if the targets of many of these attacks were not Australian, the fact that

‘Chris Stevens, US ambassador to Libya, killed in Benghazi attack’, September 12th 2012, accessed February 3rd 2015; also see Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 5.

¹¹³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 23.

¹¹⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 23.

¹¹⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 23.

¹¹⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 49.

the North African political climate was so unpredictable required Australian foreign policymakers to work within a regional context that made it difficult to formulate a long-term strategy. Australian foreign policymakers seemed hesitant to make any predictions regarding the long-term beyond a recognition that

Economic reforms are likely to be slow and the aspirations of better employment and higher wages are unlikely to be met in the absence of major international assistance and investment resistance to outside assistance and domestic political tendencies towards protectionism ... complicate international efforts to promote trade and investment.¹¹⁷

The ability of Australian businesses and corporations to operate successfully in North Africa means that Australia has a vested interest in ensuring that stability was maintained in the region. In Libya and Egypt's cases, this included Australian support for democratic reform, however the promotion of Australian trade and investment interests ultimately drove Australian foreign policy formation during the Arab Spring.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has catalogued the varying departments, ministries and ministers that contribute to the formation of Australian foreign policy, as well as the definition of foreign policy that analysis in this thesis is working from. Drawing on evidence sourced from classified documents accessed under the FOI Act, this chapter has described the practicalities of Australian foreign policy formation, including the framework in which successive Australian governments have responded to external crises. As chapter one has demonstrated, Rudd's activist approach to foreign policy formation, both as Prime Minister and as Foreign Minister, positioned Australia as one of the key supporters of the

¹¹⁷ Partial sentence redacted for s 33(a)(iii) of the Freedom of Information Act 1982 (Cth). Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014a, pp 16.

international intervention in Libya, and Australia's involvement during the Arab Spring was a reflection of a domestic political climate that lent itself to activist foreign policy formation.

Australia's continued commitment to North Africa, within the context of a reengagement with the wider continent of Africa, would continue a subtle trend that has been going since the 1970s under both major domestic political parties regarding Australia's approach to developing regions – the constant balancing act between safeguarding Australia's reputation as a good global citizen and Australia's prioritisation of the immediate Asia-Pacific. As demonstrated in this chapter, Rudd's actions in Libya (as both Prime Minister and as Foreign Minister) were motivated in large part by his vision of Australia as a 'creative middle power' with the ability to effect meaningful global change; Australia's successful campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council; and a tenet of Australian foreign policy formation that demands that Australia act in accordance with the standards of the wider international community.

Chapter 2 – Australia’s Responsibility to Protect

2.1 Introduction

Australia’s reputation as a good global citizen necessitates the reaffirmation and support of particular international organisations and norms – in the case of North Africa during the Arab Spring, the organisation was the United Nations (and to a lesser extent, the African Union) and the norm was the Responsibility to Protect (or RtoP). This chapter aims to demonstrate how Australia’s response to the crisis in Libya was not only driven by Rudd’s activist tendencies as discussed in chapter one, but also were a result of a bipartisan reaffirmation of the principle of RtoP, seen later in the actions of Prime Minister Abbott and his Foreign Affairs Minister Julie Bishop in the wider MENA region against Islamic State forces.

This chapter thus demonstrates that the principle of RtoP is just one of the factors contributing to Australian foreign policy formation, alongside other predictable domestic political influences. As Mark Beeson has pointed out, Australian foreign policymakers need to be aware of both the domestic and international perspectives, as “there may not always be votes in foreign policy and what Paul Keating used to call the ‘big picture’, but there’s not much point in being a leader if you don’t have some sort of vision”.¹

2.2 The Responsibility to Protect and Australia’s commitment

The international norm of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP, also known as R2P) establishes that a state has a responsibility to protect its citizens from crimes against humanity (genocide, war crimes and ethnic cleansing), and that the international community has a responsibility to support the

¹ Beeson, Mark. ‘Rudd’s foreign policy legacy’, *The Conversation*, November 15th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014.

individual state's endeavours in this regard. It also establishes that the international community has a responsibility to take action if a state fails to prevent these crimes from being perpetrated against their citizens (and UN-sanctioned military intervention is acceptable as a last resort).

RtoP was officially adopted at the 2005 United Nations World Summit, and consists of a multilateral framework involving multiple multinational institutions which enables states to take action when faced with 'crimes against humanity'. Bellamy states that this 'protection' was understood to be accomplished through "peaceful diplomatic and humanitarian means and, if that fails, other more forceful means, in a manner consistent with Chapters VI (peaceful measures), VII (enforcement measures) and VIII (regional arrangements) of the UN Charter, in situations where a state has manifestly failed to protect its population."² Writing for the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, Axworthy and Rock argued that "the international response to the crisis in Libya illustrates RtoP in action".³

Under the ALP Rudd/Gillard government, Australia pledged \$2 million dollars to a fund dedicated to the RtoP principle and contributed to building global capacity via the Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (based at the University of Queensland) and its New York partner enterprise. This followed Australia's participation in the Group of Friends (a Canada-and-Rwanda-led coalition that represents all five regional groups of the UN and promotes the RtoP principle on a global, regional and local level),⁴ as well as financial assistance given to the UN Secretary General's Special Advisor.⁵

Bipartisan support for Australia's responsibility to support international measures against states that perpetuate or allow crimes against their populations can be seen in Australia's previous and various

² Bellamy, Alex. 'The responsibility to protect and Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 64:4 (2010), pp 433.

³ Axworthy, Lloyd, and Allan Rock. 'World leaders must call R2P what it is', International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, March 2nd 2011, accessed September 11th 2014.

⁴ United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. 'Group of Friends', accessed September 4th 2014.

⁵ Bellamy, Alex. 2010, pp 432.

roles in international crises, such as in Cambodia (1992-93), Somalia (1992), Rwanda (1994), East Timor (1999), Afghanistan (2001), the Solomon Islands (2003), and Iraq (2003).⁶ However, it is clear that the domestic political consensus on what constitutes Australian core values affects Australian foreign policy formation only so far as it converges on the UN as the most efficient means of keeping international peace. For example, as Bellamy has noted, the previous Coalition government under Howard clearly supported the principle of RtoP through the UN. John Dauth, Australia's Permanent Representative to the UN in 2005, played a pivotally important role in helping to negotiate the global consensus on the principle; and Greg Hunt, the Liberal government's Parliamentary Secretary for International Development, committed Australia to being a foundation donor to the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect [in New York].⁷

Australia's foreign policy formation takes into account Australia's responsibilities under international law, including under the RtoP doctrine. How this is acted on – whether as part of a multilateral or bilateral coalition, and with or without UN authorisation – is determined by the priorities of the Australian government at the time.⁸

⁶ Since Australia's involvement in Iraq in 2003, Australia has further instigated and reaffirmed the RtoP doctrine under both the Rudd/Gillard governments (Australia's involvement in Libya) and more recently the Abbott/Turnbull government (Australia's involvement in the global fight against Islamic State forces), and as a concept it enjoys bipartisan support. Writing in 2010 about Australia's contributions to the relatively new principle of RtoP, Bellamy argued that the claims inherent in the concept "sit comfortably alongside Australian ideas about universal principles of basic fairness and natural justice, resulting in what some might see as a surprising – but nonetheless clear – continuity of thought on this subject" and that the Rudd government's recommitment to multilateralism did much to strengthen the concept. Bellamy, Alex. 2010, pp 441.

⁷ Bellamy, Alex. 2010, pp 433.

⁸ In 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates', Coalition MP Josh Frydenberg notes that there are marked similarities between Australia helping the US out in the fight against communism in the Asia-Pacific, and in the fight against Islamic extremism in the Middle East in 2001/2003 – "while the nature of the threat had changed, the common cause with the Americans had not". Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates', Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2014, pp 22.

2.3 The role of the African Union

Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements relates to the roles of regional organisations, and states in Article 52 that “the Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local dispute through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council”.⁹

Under this Chapter, the African Union (AU) should have been the first and foremost regional organisation consulted regarding the international response to the events of the Arab Spring (including the Peace and Security Council, which provided the AU ‘roadmap’ for a negotiated transition), as well as the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council. Significantly, the use of the word “encourage” in the Chapter suggests that member-states of the United Nations are not legally bound to refer to regional agencies or to respond to acts of aggression through regional arrangements.

Article 52 “in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35”¹⁰ under *Chapter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes*, and also does not directly reference *Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression*, which states in Article 39 that “the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken... to maintain or restore international peace and security”.¹¹ According to its own Charter, the United Nations was encouraged to refer to any wishes or plans expressed by the African Union when it was formulating a response to the crisis in Libya during the Arab Spring, but it was not legally required to adhere to any of its plans or suggestions.

⁹ United Nations. ‘Charter of the United Nations Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements’, accessed April 6th 2017 (2017b).

¹⁰ United Nations. 2017b.

¹¹ United Nations. ‘Charter of the United Nations Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression’, accessed April 6th 2017 (2017a).

On March 10th 2011, the African Union Peace and Security Council issued a statement reaffirming “its firm commitment to the respect of the unity and territorial integrity of Libya, as well as its rejection of any form of foreign military intervention, [and] strongly condemned the disproportionate use of force” (while recognising that the crisis in Libya “poses a serious threat to the peace and security in the country and in the region as a whole”).¹²

The African Union constantly focussed on what it termed an “inclusive transition” to democracy and the removal of Gaddafi, and to this end pushed a peace initiative that perhaps did not properly reflect the situation in the region as it was – “instead of applying... its newly-developed doctrine of supporting democratic uprisings, the AU interpreted the Libyan conflict through its more familiar lens of responding to a civil war”.¹³ This roadmap originated in the March 10th 2011 decision by the AU Peace and Security Council on the situation in Libya, paragraph 7 of which stated

7. Expresses its conviction that the current situation in Libya calls for an urgent African action for:

(i) the immediate cessation of all hostilities;

(ii) the cooperation of the competent Libyan authorities to facilitate the timely delivery of humanitarian assistance to the needy populations;

(iii) the protection of foreign nationals, including the African migrants living in Libya; and

(iv) the adoption and implementation of the political reforms necessary for the elimination of the causes of the current crisis.¹⁴

While paragraph 8(iii) stated that the Committee was to “engage AU’s partners, in particular the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the European Union and the

¹² Sudan Tribune. ‘AU expresses “deep concern” at Libya violence amid criticism on timid response’, March 10th 2011, accessed April 4th 2017 (2011a).

¹³ Dewaal, Alex. ‘The African Union and the Libya Conflict of 2011’, World Peace Foundation, December 19th 2012, accessed April 3rd 2017.

¹⁴ Voltaire Network. ‘Decision of the PSC of African Union on Libya’, March 10th 2011, accessed April 4th 2017.

United Nations, to facilitate coordination of efforts and seek their support for the early resolution of the crisis”.¹⁵

The Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council both lead calls for a no-fly zone over Libya, while three of the African countries (Gabon, Nigeria and South Africa) supported the corresponding UN resolution (including all necessary measures necessary to protect civilians).¹⁶ The international community’s enthusiasm for prosecuting North African leaders in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya – Australia included – removed incentives for these leaders to cease reprisals against citizens and seek a negotiated transfer of power.¹⁷ Though lacking the endorsement of the premier regional organisation – the African Union – the imposition of a No-Fly Zone over Libya and subsequent intervention by the international community had approval from the United Nations in the form of an official Resolution 1973.

Gulf Arab countries had also said Gaddafi’s government was no longer legitimate¹⁸ which may have been interpreted by UN member-states as tacit approval for extending the intervention’s mandate beyond ‘protecting the Libyan population’ to ‘regime change’. The international response to the crisis in Libya was taken over by NATO in 2011, leading the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect to question whether the eventual course of action went beyond the UN-appointed mandate.¹⁹

As suggested by the International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect , the implementation of the no-fly zone over Libya (and the civilian casualties resulting from NATO’s air strikes) in the pursuit

¹⁵ Voltaire Network. 2017.

¹⁶ Sudan Tribune. ‘AU’s opposition to military intervention in Libya ignored by UNSC, Obama’, March 18th 2011, accessed April 4th 2017 (2011b).

¹⁷ Heydemann, Steven, and Reinoud Leenders. ‘Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian Resilience: Regime responses to the ‘Arab Awakening’’, *Globalizations*, 8:5, (2011), pp 650.

¹⁸ Sudan Tribune. 2011b.

¹⁹ The fact that initial measures included a referral to the International Criminal Council, multistate economic sanctions and diplomatic efforts, and a ban on trade and travel to Libya, meant that eventual military intervention under NATO could not be misconstrued as a knee-jerk reaction or an ‘excuse’. If the international community’s reaction to Libya had immediately been militaristic in nature, it would have provided ammunition for critics to argue that action was based less on humanitarian motivations and more on a desire to violently impose Western values with no regard to the situation on the ground.

of a regime change were “a necessary step to protect the population in Libya”.²⁰ In this context, Australia’s support for the international intervention in Libya was in keeping with both its international obligations under the UN Charter, and the general international interpretation of the RtoP principle, but disregarded the regional organisation of the African Union.

2.4 Australia’s bipartisan support for international interventions

For then-Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, the 2010 crisis in Libya warranted an urgent and militaristic international response. Rudd called for a no-fly zone over Libya and supported the UN military campaign following UN Security Council Resolutions 1970 and 1973 because, as Kevin Boreham argued, “Responsibility to Protect is not a norm of international law, and does not justify a military intervention without UN Security Council approval”.²¹

The actions taken by the UN Security Council in Libya were a ‘test case’ for the RtoP doctrine, with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon calling for action with the words “the loss of time means more loss of lives”.²² The general international consensus was summarised in an editorial in *The New York Times* which argues that the UN Security Council “must do more — and fast. It is our collective responsibility to ensure RtoP is an effective approach to protect people and human rights”.²³ The global campaign for a no-fly zone over Libya was motivated by the same objectives that resulted in the creation of the RtoP principle in the first place.

²⁰ International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. ‘The Crisis in Libya’, accessed March 10th 2017.

²¹ Boreham, Kevin. ‘Australia’s military involvement in Iraq is legal – for now’, *The Conversation*, September 2nd 2014, accessed September 11th 2014 (2014a).

²² United Nations News Centre. ‘Ban calls on Security Council to consider immediate steps to stop killings in Libya’, February 25th 2011, accessed October 6th 2014.

²³ Cotler, Irwin, and Jared Genser. ‘Libya and the Responsibility to Protect’, *The New York Times*, February 28th 2011, accessed September 11th 2014.

The Abbott/Turnbull government was then forced to reconsider Australia’s military involvement in North Africa following the spread of Islamic State forces in Libya.²⁴ The vacuum left by the removal of Gaddafi at the height of the Libyan crisis contributed to the unfolding humanitarian crisis in Syria, where the reaction of the international community has been both slower in duration and more complex. Part of the reason for the relative success of Islamic State forces in Libya has been the power vacuum left after the Arab Spring revolutions – that “the Islamic State has become a ‘banner’ for those Libyan tribesmen to express local grievances, tribal and religious, and change the political equation in their favor [sic] after the 2011 revolution”.²⁵ Subsequent success of Islamic State forces in the MENA region illustrates that “the Arab Spring, welcomed by Western states, has turned out to be a total disaster for the wider region”.²⁶

In Australia, electoral support furnished the Rudd government with domestic political legitimacy for Australia’s involvement in the international response to the crisis in Libya. 78 per cent of the population surveyed supported a UN intervention in Libya, although 55 per cent did not want Australia to be involved with the process beyond diplomatic support.²⁷ The responses to the March 22-24th 2011 Morgan Poll reveal this support in response to the following question — “UN Resolution 1973 authorises Coalition forces to use ‘all necessary measures’ to enforce a No Fly Zone over Libya and to ‘protect civilians under threat of attack’ in Libya. Do you support or oppose this measure?”.²⁸ The figure below demonstrates clearly the differences in the levels of domestic support for Rudd’s interventions in Libya, and compares this to the levels of support for Howard’s earlier interventions in Iraq (see Figure 2.1).

²⁴ There are several names used by various governments and media outlets when referring to Islamic State forces. These include, but are not limited to, ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria); ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant); and Da’ish (the Arabic equivalent of ISIL). The term ‘Islamic State’ will be used in this thesis for clarity.

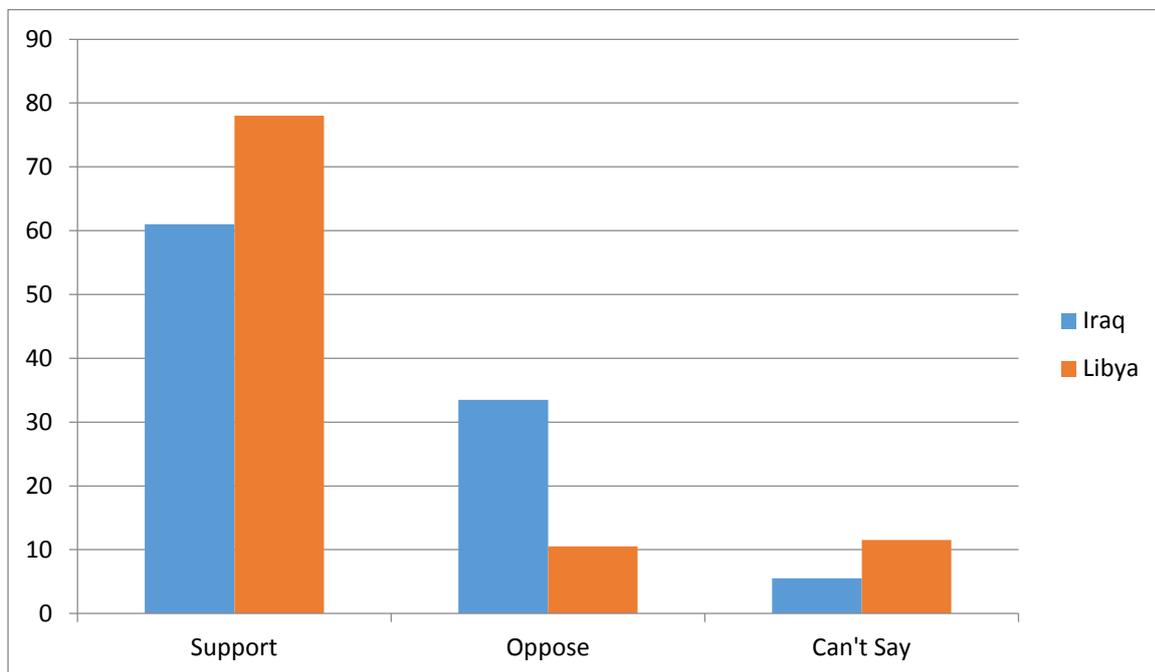
²⁵ Hanafy, Khaled cited in Bajec, Alessandra. ‘How strong is ISIS in Libya?’, Muslim Village, April 17th 2015, accessed May 8th 2015.

²⁶ Hanafy, Khaled. 2015.

²⁷ Nevertheless this level of support was still higher than the domestic levels of support for the 2003 ‘Coalition of the Willing’ Invasion of Iraq. Roy Morgan Research. ‘78% of Australians support UN Intervention in Libya but majority (55.5%) don’t want Australian Involvement’, March 25th 2011, accessed September 4th 2014.

²⁸ Roy Morgan Research. 2011.

Figure 2.1 Level of domestic support for UN interventions in Iraq and Libya - 2011



Source: Roy Morgan Research. '78% of Australians support UN Intervention in Libya but majority (55.5%) don't want Australian Involvement', March 25th 2011, accessed September 4th 2014.

This survey asked the following question – “UN Resolution 1973 authorises Coalition forces to use ‘all necessary measures’ to enforce a No Fly Zone over Libya and to ‘protect civilians under threat of attack’ in Libya. Do you support or oppose this measure?”. The results show that the majority of Australians (78 per cent) surveyed in early 2011 believed that the situation in Libya had deteriorated to the extent that international intervention was justified on humanitarian grounds due to the escalation of violence between pro-Gaddafi forces and the rebels, and that the international community had a responsibility to intervene. A smaller majority (55.5 per cent) believed either that

Australia had no responsibility to be a part of this intervention, or that Australian interests would not be served by our involvement.²⁹

This demonstrates that domestic policy depends in large part on the ability of foreign policymakers to obtain domestic legitimacy through the support of a particular constituency or subgroup. In the case of Rudd's support for the international response to the crisis in Libya, foreign policymakers were able to justify his activist foreign policy plan for Libya by ensuring that the narrative presented by the ALP government was the dominant one in the public sphere.

2.5 Australia's readjustment under the Abbott Coalition government

After forming government in 2013, Abbott's reluctance to pledge Australia to assisting its traditional allies (collectively referred to as the 'Anglosphere', with the UK and the US being our key partners in the 'Coalition of the Willing' in the early 2000s) demonstrates his reluctance to "commit... Australia's armed forces far from home where this country's interests were unclear, and the military objectives were ill-defined".³⁰ Prime Minister Abbott's positioning of Australia as part of the Anglosphere served as a basis for Australia's participation in a new 'Coalition of the Willing' (a term used to describe the alliance that intervened in Iraq in 2003).

With regards to the post- Arab Spring (and currently still unfolding at the time of writing) situation in Iraq— a violent crusade by Islamic State forces to establish an Islamic Caliphate extending beyond Iraq and Syria – the Abbott government's stance was that Australia is bound by the RtoP doctrine to intervene. There was bipartisan support for Australia to intervene in this case. Speaking for the ALP Opposition, Shadow Foreign Minister Tanya Plibersek told ABC that the situation in Iraq in 2014 was fundamentally different to the situation in Iraq in 2003, and that those differences helped justify the

²⁹ In response to the question 'Next, if it is suggested Australia should be a part of the military action in Libya, would you approve or disapprove of Australia's involvement?'.
³⁰ White, Hugh. 'Tony Abbott's 'swings and roundabouts' foreign policy', *The Age*, August 19th 2014, accessed August 29th 2014.

ALP's differing stances on the possibility of Australian involvement in any humanitarian intervention. The difference is that, in Libya, "early but disparate calls for action help stimulate international response"³¹ while

You've got the newly forming Iraqi government speaking with the international community, you've got an imminent humanitarian disaster, we've seen already that IS are prepared to commit genocide if they can. So you do have a responsibility-to-protect from the international community.³²

Traditionally, Australian heads of state have seen a rise in the popularity polls after national and international natural disasters, wars, and terrorist attacks.³³ Howard's domestic popularity peaked after times of heightened security – these included the Port Arthur massacre, the Tampa incident, the 9/11 attacks and the Bali bombings, and Australia's involvement in the 'Coalition of the Willing' in Iraq.³⁴ As Figure 2.2 demonstrates below following a national disaster the incumbent government (both Coalition and ALP, on both a state and federal level) usually receive a boost on a two-party preferred basis, with a rise in the net approval for the Prime Minister or Premier.

During any emergency, media coverage is focussed on the government's decisions, while the opposition traditionally finds it harder to express political opposition without offering a viable and popularly accepted alternative, and without risking being labelled unreasonable by a domestic electorate that naturally gravitates towards perceived action.³⁵ This increase in support for the personal management of the *du jour* leader does not appear to continue indeterminately – five of the six national disasters listed here saw a dip in the personal net approval of the Prime Minister or Premier after only a month.

³¹ International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. 2017.

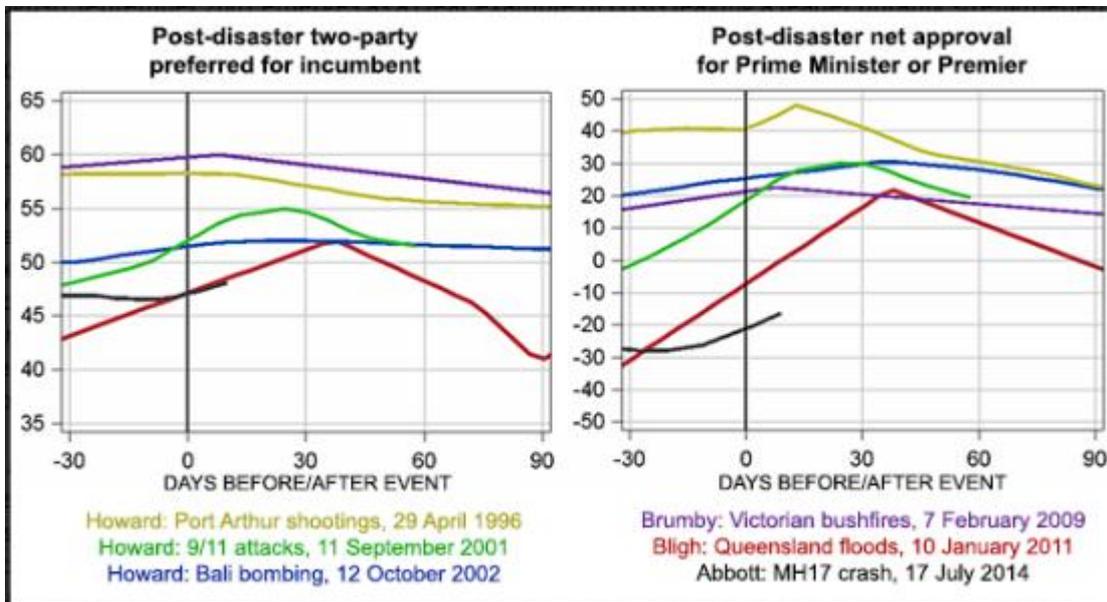
³² Sheridan, Greg. 'Tony Abbott shows leadership in grasping nettle of Islamic State terrorism', *The Australian*, August 30th 2014, accessed September 11th 2014 (2014b).

³³ Chang, Charis. 'Tony Abbott's handling of Malaysia Airlines MH17 incident sees a spike in his approval rating', *News Limited*, July 22nd 2014, accessed August 23rd 2014.

³⁴ According to Australian Greens Senator Christine Milne, this is especially true for conservative governments. Siegel, Matt. 'For Australian PM Abbott, crises lead to strident foreign policy', *Thomas Reuters UK Edition*, September 5th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014.

³⁵ Chang, Charis. 2014.

Figure 2.2 Domestic support for Australian leaders pre- and post-disaster



Source: Bowe, William. 'Poll Bludger: MH17 lifts Abbott's numbers, but votes another story', *Crikey*, August 1st 2014, accessed September 8th 2014 (2014b).

Although the focus here is on Australian foreign policy rather than Australian domestic politics, it is significant that Abbott's net approval received a boost after the MH17 crash and Australia's response to this in terms of an active foreign policy. Further to this Abbott's Coalition government received a boost on a two-party preferred basis after Australia increased its involvement in the international fight against Islamic state forces in Iraq and Syria. The Abbott government, like successive Australian governments before it, formulated foreign policy that also served its domestic interests – this is doubly true for a government that took a fantastic beating in the popularity polls following their first federal budget (2014-15).

Underpinning the foreign policy decisions made by successive Australian governments is an ongoing reinterpretation of the 'national interest' and Australia's self-identification as an activist 'middle

power'. The personal visions of both Rudd and Abbott contributed to Australia's foreign policy decisions regarding the crisis in Libya during the Arab Spring, and subsequently the rise of Islamic State forces in the wider MENA region post-Arab Spring.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how successive Australian governments have reaffirmed and supported particular international organisations, such as the United Nations – although not the regional organisation of the African Union – and norms such as the RtoP during times of crisis. The direction of Australia's foreign policy formation can be seen in Rudd's spearheading of calls for a no-fly zone over Libya at the height of the Arab Spring, citing the principle of RtoP as justification, and in the Abbott government's commitment to the global fight against Islamic State forces in the MENA region. Prior to Abbott's removal as Prime Minister, Phil Mercer wrote for *BBC News* that "a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the country of 24 million people is asserting its role as an influential middle power, but it is domestic concerns - such as immigration and the economy - that will determine Tony Abbott's fate at the next election due in two years' time".³⁶

Rudd's confidence that Australia's economic relationship with the Arab states of North Africa could survive Australian involvement in an international mission that enjoyed support from the United Nations is testament to the strength of the trade relationship that had already been established, which will be discussed in further detail in chapter four. This chapter's demonstrated that although the Responsibility to Protect has transcended domestic political lines in Australia, the differences in how both major political parties interpret this obligation can be seen in the foreign policy formed in response to various international crises.

³⁶ Mercer, Phil. 'Tony Abbott's foreign policy foray', *BBC News*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014 (2014b).

Chapter 3 – The influence of the ‘Abbott doctrine’

3.1 Introduction

International conflict has frequently served as a domestic political turning point for successive Australian leaders, both in terms of political legitimacy (the Australian public’s acceptance of a governing party as part of the democratic process) and electoral power (the ability to win seats during state and federal elections). However, Australia’s foreign policy is driven first and foremost by the ‘national interest’ – including economic security – and the role that security plays in that formation. The evolution of Australia’s relationship with the Arab states of North Africa under the Rudd/Gillard governments developed within the framework provided by the three tenets that traditionally drive Australian foreign policy formation; in response to the dramatic events of the Arab Spring; and was driven by Australia’s campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council. With the exception of these three tenets, the subsequent Abbott/Turnbull governments (with their own doctrines) were not as concerned with Australia’s relationship with the Arab States of North Africa beyond ensuring that economic ties remained strong.

This chapter will demonstrate that in attempting to differentiate her government from the previous Rudd/Gillard government, Foreign Minister Julie Bishop has so far attempted to instil a sense of political predictability that she believes was lacking in the previous government.¹ The longevity of Julie Bishop’s role as Foreign Minister is testament to her abilities (both in the realms of foreign

¹ Writing for ‘Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates’, Coalition MP Josh Frydenberg contends that the three themes of Coalition foreign policy – a commitment to alliance partners, an “early, active, appreciation of the dynamism and opportunities in our own Asia-Pacific region” and “a pragmatic approach to multilateralism. For Liberal governments, participation in multilateral institutions and processes is not viewed as an end in itself, rather it must first meet a strict national interest test”. Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). ‘Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates’, Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2014, pp 21.

policy and domestic policy) and necessitates a discussion of her contribution to the 'Abbott doctrine'.

The development of Australia's relationship with North Africa under the Rudd government occurred while Australia was campaigning for a seat on the UN Security Council, and included an active and interventionist response to the dramatic events of the Arab Spring. With the exception of the three tenets that traditionally drive Australian foreign policy formation, the subsequent Abbott government did not share this activist approach and have limited Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa to the economic sphere. This limitation has resulted partially from Bishop's eagerness to instil a sense of political predictability in the Australian domestic political sphere, and partially from the Abbott government's enthusiasm for prioritising the immediate Asia-Pacific region.

Within the context of this limitation in Australia's relationship with North Africa, the 'Abbott doctrine' is incorporated into this thesis' analysis to compare and contrast (where pertinent) with the foreign policy formation of the previous Rudd/Gillard governments, with the purpose of demonstrating that Australia's engagement with North Africa under the Rudd government was indeed a re-engagement. As discussed in the introduction and chapter one of this thesis, the election of a Coalition Prime Minister in 2013 heralded a change in Australia's domestic political climate, and coincided with the relative de-escalation of the unrest in North Africa when compared to the protests and uprisings of 2010 and 2011.

Bishop contributed to the debate on Australia's foreign policy directions in the same way that her three personal role models did – as pioneers in their respective foreign affairs ministries.² Bishop stated in a media interview that

² Julie Bishop notes that she is inspired by Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton, also female firsts in the foreign portfolios (but notably all three Americans). She also held the dubious honour of being the only female to be appointed to a Cabinet position in the first 12 months of the Abbott government

I feel that under the previous governments [Rudd/Gillard/Rudd] there was a level of incoherence about Australian foreign policy. And there were not clear statements of where Australia stood on particular matters. And I was determined to ensure that Australia's foreign policy was well understood and it was predictable in the sense that if an issue occurred people knew where Australia would stand on it.³

According to Bishop, foreign policy under the Rudd/Gillard governments was not true to either their own internal party values or to Australia's wider national interests. Her interpretation of the domestic political response to foreign policy formation under the Rudd/Gillard government was that the Australian public was unable to predict how either Rudd or Gillard would respond to international events due to "a level of incoherence about Australian foreign policy".⁴ Under Bishop's watch, the Abbott/Turnbull government's foreign policy has been based on tangible benefits rather than on a nebulous concept of Australia as a good global citizen – an understanding of Australia that was self-professed as both "pragmatic... and realistic"⁵ – and

Designed to project and protect our [Australia's] reputation as an open market export oriented economy; and so all we do and say supports those values we have on the economic front, and our values as an open liberal democracy committed to rule of law, committed to freedoms, and committed to international norms and being a respected international player. So, when something affects our national interest then we should make it very clear about where we stand and not be ambiguous.⁶

(until the appointment of Sussan Ley in December 2014 as Health Minister), and the first female to ever hold the position of Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party of Australia (and only the third Deputy Leader of the Opposition). Phillips, Yasmine. 'Deputy leader of the opposition and federal member for Curtin Julie Bishop on Spill the Beans', *Perth Now*, August 31st 2013, accessed October 8th 2014.

³ Garnaut, James. 'China: Julie Bishop comments that sparked Beijing's rebuke 'never' made', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 16th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014.

⁴ Although with the understanding that there was a framework which Australian foreign policymakers would operate within. Garnaut, James. 2014.

⁵ Garnaut, James. 2014.

⁶ Garnaut, James. 2014.

This broad statement reflects both Australia's ongoing prioritisation of its economic interests, but also the Abbott/Turnbull government's commitment to liberalism as an end to both the international rule of law, and to the law of the free market.

When formulating foreign policy in response to international crises, Bishop has benefited from Australia's global reputation as a respectable player on the global stage. Abbott's declaration in the immediate wake of his 2013 electoral victory that Australia is once more "open for business"⁷ reflected not only his government's views on the openness of Australia's economy, but about the primary ways in which Australia interacts with the wider international and the motives it has for doing so. Here, Australia's 'national interest' is closely tied with its trade and investment interests.

3.2 Bishop's dealings with the Asia-Pacific region

Under the 'Abbott doctrine', Australia's disengagement with the region of North Africa came with an increased commitment to Australia's immediate region – the Asia-Pacific. As Foreign Minister, Bishop looked to establish the Abbott/Turnbull government's expectations for Australia's geographic neighbours in terms of values and relationship boundaries. Bishop was quick to deny that foreign policy under the Abbott government was aimed at containing China's economic growth and military capability, and that China's capability was not automatically a threat to Australia's national interests. Her argument was that a 'no surprises policy' would best ensure that all states of the Asia-Pacific were committed to interstate harmony, and that "open lines of communication and... high-level exchanges between [not only] the military, but also our political leaders"⁸ would be the most effective defence for both regional stability and Australia's national interests.

⁷ Maher, Sid. 'Tony Abbott claims victory and says Australia is 'open for business'', *The Australian*, September 8th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014.

⁸ Taylor, Rob. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *The Wall Street Journal*, July 7th 2014, accessed August 19th 2014 (2014b).

Within the three tenets that drive Australian foreign policy formation, Abbott's slogan of "more Jakarta, less Geneva"⁹ reflected an enthusiasm for a deepened engagement with the Asia-Pacific and one of Australia's closest neighbours – Indonesia. This was a deliberate policy choice on Abbott's part, as he had

Frequently been accused of being an admirer of the so-called 'Anglosphere' of supposedly like-minded states, which were instinctively bound together by their similar cultures and historical ties, and thus temperamentally unsuited to pursuing good relations with Asia. Demonstrating that the Coalition government also had a new attitude to foreign policy was consequently one of the first orders of business for the new government.¹⁰

Australia has had a tense but overall friendly and diplomatic relationship with Indonesia, one of its closest and most influential neighbours.¹¹ When polled in 2014 by the Australian National University, the Australian public showed a cautiousness in dealing with Indonesia that informed how the Abbott government related to its Indonesian counterparts – the largest majority of respondents viewed Indonesia as 'friendly but not an ally' (54.7 per cent), compared to an 'ally' (16.2 per cent), 'unfriendly' (16.4 per cent), 'an enemy of Australia' (2.7 per cent) and 'don't know' (9.6 per cent).¹² Comments from Opposition Leader Bill Shorten regarding some of the issues in the Australia-Indonesia bilateral relationship (Indonesia's actions in Timor Leste and West Papua, the ongoing dispute over the Greater Sunrise gas and oil project in the Timor Sea, inter-governmental spying) were tempered by an Australian political convention that Shorten referred to as a "bipartisan

⁹ *The Economist*. 'Australia and Indonesia: No Surprises', November 23rd 2013, accessed August 28th 2014 (2013a).

¹⁰ Beeson, Mark. 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 2013', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 60:2 (2014), pp 267.

¹¹ Issues with Indonesia included inter-governmental spying (Australia's actions taking place within the context of the 'Five Eyes' intelligence alliance with US, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and UK). When asked for comment, an Australian Defence Force spokesperson said that "in gathering information to support Australia's national interests, its intelligence agencies adhered strictly to their legal obligations, including when they engaged with foreign counterparts". Jabour, Bridie, and Martin Pengelly. 'Australia spied on Indonesia talks with US law firm in 2013', *The Guardian*, February 16th 2014, accessed September 5th 2014.

¹² McAllister, Ian. 'Foreign Policy ANUpoll' Australian National University, ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences, 16, 2014, pp 7.

tone”¹³ (an understanding that there are issues that transcend domestic political concerns), and that whilst these issues can be engineered for political gain (for example, using very specific terms to direct public discourse), there are rules that cannot be completely overridden.

Tanya Plibersek, Opposition Minister for Foreign Affairs, responded to Bishop’s claims that it had been a mistake for previous Australian governments on both sides to avoid making statements on the subject of China in order to lessen the chances of giving offense by saying that

I think the comments today reflect loose language that is quite counterproductive. It’s important to understand that there’s a big difference between being a foreign policy commentator and the foreign minister of Australia... our best interests are reflected in close relationships with both of our friends, China and Japan, and also by efforts on our part to ensure that China and Japan better understand one another.¹⁴

This demonstrates that the Opposition’s view of Australia’s role on the global stage was that of facilitator – a ‘middle power’ with the power and the willingness to ensure that major players in the region, such as global superpower China, enjoy a harmonious relationship that allows Australia to pursue its economic interests to its full potential

Australia’s foreign policy formation in response to the rise of China in the immediate Asia-Pacific region has been shaped by the existence of the ANZUS treaty, which has been a “diplomatic reality... [and] an essential, non-negotiable part of Australian foreign policy”¹⁵ for the last fifty years, with former Foreign Minister Bob Carr writing that

As Foreign Minister, I’d been describing the US alliance as a ‘cornerstone’. That’s our liturgy. All Australian foreign ministers say that. Simple truth is, I haven’t got a mandate to change or, or a burning conviction to do so. No mission to tilt us to armed neutrality, which is the only alternative to a treaty relationship with the

¹³ Jabour, Bridie, and Martin Pengelly. 2014.

¹⁴ Farrell, Paul. ‘Plibersek: Julie Bishop jeopardising Australia’s relations with China’, *The Guardian*, July 10th 2014, accessed August 23rd 2014.

¹⁵ Beeson, Mark. 2014, pp 277.

world's, the region's, dominant maritime power.¹⁶ China's rise as a global superpower undercuts and threatens US interests in the Asia-Pacific region, a firm influence on Australian foreign policymakers considering that the ANZUS treaty is a keystone of Australia's defence strategy. This treaty enjoys bipartisan domestic support in Australia and relates back to the foreign policy working theory that Australia's national interest is best served by an intimate working relationship with a 'great and powerful friend'. To date, no Australian Foreign Minister has enjoyed a domestic electoral mandate of the sort that would permit the abandonment of the ANZUS treaty, with all of the benefits and obligations that it entails.¹⁷ The Abbott government, following the Coalition tradition of a deep cynicism about the benefits and effectiveness of multilateral institutions like the United Nations, ascribes even more importance to the ANZUS treaty and all the hub-and-spokes diplomatic decisions it naturally entails. In contrast to the Abbott government, the Rudd government was more obvious in its construction of the United Nations as the most positive avenue for peacekeeping.

3.3 The 'Abbott Doctrine' and the role of international conflicts in Australian domestic political strategy

Australia's engagement with North Africa developed under the auspices of the Rudd government and declined under the succeeding Abbott government – beyond this disengagement, Abbott's

¹⁶ Though "I would like to make us a little less craven, to correct the recent tilt away from China and the too-desperate embrace of the US, symbolised in last year's announcement of a rotating marine presence in Darwin and Obama's criticism of China in our parliament". Carr, Bob. 'Diary of a Foreign Minister', NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2014, pp 24.

¹⁷ Even Gareth Evans, one of the ALP's most active policymakers (along with Paul Keating and, more recently, Kevin Rudd) found his decisions restrained by the reality of the US alliance, though he famously told the Foreign Policy Association in New York in 2002 – a year after the inauguration of Republican US President George W. Bush – that "we have to recognise that it's up to us to approach our relationships with the US in a mature and constructive way - pulling our own weight in world affairs to the extent of our capacity, helping out on the tough and necessary military tasks to the extent of our capacity, supporting and not retreating from hard calls in the UN when they become necessary, and generally, when we confront the omnipresent reality of American power, being neither petulant whiners about the iniquity of it all, nor pathetic acolytes, happy to lie on our backs like puppy dogs with four paws waving and pink tummies exposed". Evans, Gareth. 'The U.S. vs the World? How American Power Seems to the Rest of Us', (speech given to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, November 19th 2002), accessed April 6th 2013.

domestic aspirations regarding issues of security saw Australia contribute to the global fight against Islamic State forces in the MENA region, and to the conflict taking place in Ukraine. Australia's commitment of troops overseas (ADF personnel and policing forces) was a deliberate foreign policy decision on the part of the Abbott government, in the same way that Australia's support for the Western bombing campaign during the Libyan civil war was a deliberate foreign policy decision on the part of the Rudd government. A critique of foreign policy formation under the Abbott government, and discussion of the domestic political environment this was taking place in (including increased fears of a domestic terrorist attack) contributes to a greater understanding of the formation of Australian foreign policy and the influence of the 'Abbott doctrine', as well as what this spelled for Australian foreign policy formation towards disparate regions like North Africa.

According to Gerard Henderson, head of the conservative think-tank The Sydney Institute, Australia's international standing as a self-declared 'middle power' in a wider alliance with the US means that "it is easier for Australia to speak".¹⁸ John Blaxland, a fellow at the Australian National University's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, maintains that the Abbott government's commitment to the global fight against Islamic State forces in the MENA region was out of line with traditional Australian policy in times of international conflict, despite its alliance with the US, as "I think you'd have to go back to about 1956 to find a parallel sort of unilateral, muscular intervention in a Middle Eastern issue that has placed Australia so prominently".¹⁹

James Brown, military analyst at the Lowy Institute and former ADF officer, argued that it was particularly concerning that Abbott was dedicated to providing Australian assistance and equipment to Ukraine, where Australia lacked diplomatic representation until just three months ago, and that this was an example of the Abbott finding himself

¹⁸ Mercer, Phil. 'Tony Abbott's foreign policy foray', *BBC News*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014 (2014b).

¹⁹ Siegel, Matt. 'For Australian PM Abbott, crises lead to strident foreign policy', *Thomas Reuters UK Edition*, September 5th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014.

Over-committed with his use of military force. He came to power claiming a foreign policy that would be more Jakarta-orientated than Geneva-orientated. Now Australia finds itself contributing soldiers into the Ukraine - into a European war. It finds itself contemplating contributing significant forces to Iraq and Syria, and all the while we have still got issues in our region that we are responsible for if they flare up.²⁰

In an interview with ABC's *The World Today*, Brown argued that the Abbott government's decision to commit Australian military assistance to Iraq and Ukraine was part of a trend of using the ADF as an instrument of foreign policy. This is part of the 'Abbott doctrine', "doctrine that's reactive, its doctrine that leads with the military and its doctrine that's very values driven".²¹

Brown argues that Australian foreign policy formation driven by this doctrine lacks the capacity to effectively back up Abbott's rhetoric; and that Australian involvement with multiple crises in multiple geographical locations results in an over-extension of Australian forces and resources. This sentiment – that Australia was over-extending itself – was intensified by the lack of Parliamentary consensus regarding Australia's military contributions. In response to a proposed bill by the Australian Greens aimed at legislating compulsory full parliamentary debate before any future military deployment, Brown specified that

That being said, I think the big lesson we should have learned from the last decade is that if we don't build political consensus from military deployments before the going gets tough, we set ourselves up for failure later on, and I think an enhanced parliamentary role would be very useful to building that consensus.²²

Foreign Minister Bishop was correct when she stated that the federal government has the ultimate responsibility for committing Australian troops overseas, and that although in most instances of

²⁰ Mercer, Phil. 'Australia's Military Aid to Ukraine Raises Questions at Home', *Voice of America*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014 (2014a).

²¹ Hall, Eleanor. 'Military analyst raises questions over 'Abbott Doctrine'', *The World Today*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014.

²² Hall, Eleanor. 2014.

international conflict the decision to commit Australian troops was bipartisan, no Australian parliament since 1901 has ever actively debated the Cabinet decision to commit national troops to a foreign conflict.

Hugh White argued in *The Age* that although the Abbott government did well in assuaging the grief of those Australian citizens who had lost loved ones in the MH17 accident, the catastrophe has no wider implications for Australia's long-term foreign policy strategy.²³ Although a discussion of Australia's actions and decisions during this time contributes to a greater understanding of how successive Australian governments formulate foreign policy responses to international crises, White reminds us that "we should not exaggerate what it means for us and in particular, we should not exaggerate the direct threat it poses to Australia's security".²⁴

In September 2014, ASIO raised Australia's *National Terrorism Public Alert System* terrorist alert from Medium (when an attack 'could' happen, and at which Australia has been since 2003, when the system was launched) to the next level of High (where an attack is 'likely').²⁵ This is the highest rating in Australia's history, and is a result of

The number of its citizens believed to be fighting with armed groups in the Middle East, including a suicide bomber who killed three people in the Iraqi capital Baghdad in July and two men shown in images on social media holding the severed heads of Syrian soldiers.²⁶

This extraordinary change was implemented by Abbott after recommendations from ASIO director-general David Irvine, whose five-year tenure as ASIO chief ended on the same day.²⁷ This decision

²³ White, Hugh. 'Tony Abbott's 'swings and roundabouts' foreign policy', *The Age*, August 19th 2014, accessed August 29th 2014.

²⁴ White, Hugh. 2014.

²⁵ The only higher level is Extreme, where an attack is 'imminent'. Griffiths, Emma. 'Terrorism threat: Australian alert level raised to high; terrorist attack likely but not imminent', *ABC News*, September 12th 2014, accessed September 12th 2014.

²⁶ *Al Jazeera*. 'Australia raises 'terror attack' threat level', September 12th 2014, accessed September 12th 2014 (2014a).

²⁷ Meers, Daniel. 'Prime Minister Tony Abbott raises Australia's terror alert to 'High'', *The Daily Telegraph*, September 12th 2014, accessed September 12th 2014.

was accompanied by repeated government declarations that “this does not mean a terror attack is imminent.... we have no specific intelligence of a particular plot”²⁸ regarding a terrorist attack on Australian soil. Abbott denied that the raising of Australia’s security levels to ‘High’ was connected to Australia’s increased involvement with the US-led fight against Islamic State forces in the Middle East.²⁹

Prior to the Turnbull leadership spill of late 2015, White argued that the Abbott government had “lost their foreign and security policy bearings over the past few months”³⁰ as a consequence of waning public support for their domestic policy decisions – the only praise they appeared to be receiving was for their reactions to international crises. This complements Bowen’s argument – discussed above – that Australia’s foreign policy decisions under the Abbott government (the commitment of Australian troops and equipment to an international airlift of military equipment in Iraq, and military and humanitarian aid to Ukraine) was an over-extension, albeit a successful one, especially as the Australian armed forces have “traditionally been small, yet well-resourced and sophisticated”.³¹

Writing for *The Canberra Times*, Nicholas Stuart painted a picture of Abbott as a statesman uncomfortable in the domestic sphere, able to formulate policy but unable to properly speak on it without much prior preparation as

His speech reveals, only too accurately, exactly what he thinks. He knows that letting his mouth run in front of his brain invites disaster – so he slows things down. Watch his eyes carefully next time he’s being interviewed. You see them darting quickly from side to side. He’s weighing up every word

²⁸ Meers, Daniel. 2014.

²⁹ Griffiths, Emma. 2014.

³⁰ White, Hugh. 2014.

³¹ Mercer, Phil. 2014a.

carefully before its utterance; probing for the unexploded bomb; watching for the accidental discharge. Yet every now and then he drops his guard, and the harpies begin shrieking again.³²

The positive features of Abbott-as-statesman that were emerging as a result of crisis like the MH17 crash were the result of Bishop's foreign policy decision. As Hugh White has aptly pointed out

Abbott spent last week [early August 2014] overseas on a trip with no discernible purpose or outcome, except to identify himself more closely with the events in Ukraine and Iraq. Julie Bishop [on the other hand] wins plaudits for her success in getting a resolution through the Security Council on MH17, while Australia [under Abbott] is taking a lead in urging stronger sanctions against Moscow over its policy in Ukraine.³³

Like the Rudd/Gillard governments before it, the Abbott government formulated foreign policy responses to international conflicts with a weather eye on the domestic political climate. This included the commitment of Australian troops overseas, whether or not this commitment enjoyed bipartisan political support. The Abbott relative government's disengagement from North Africa (when compared to the preceding Rudd government) did not see a retreat from the MENA region, but rather a recommitment of Australian troops to other conflicts with a more tangible impact on Australia's interests (the rise of Islamic State forces).

3.4 The domestic and foreign policy implications of the MH17 disaster and conflict in Ukraine

In the lead-up to the 2013 federal election, then-Opposition Leader Abbott frequently criticised the Rudd/Gillard government's activist tendencies. When discussing Abbott's resistance to Australia's

³² Stuart, Nicholas. 'Tony Abbott's gaffes show dangerous fissures opening in foreign policy', The Canberra Times, July 18th 2014, accessed August 26th 2014.

³³ White, Hugh. 2014.

successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, Foreign Minister Bob Carr argued that

If Tony Abbott says that spending money to promote this country ... is a waste of money, then I'm afraid he hasn't got the breadth of vision to be prime minister of Australia... his notions of retreating to the Anglosphere ... is I think a pretty diminished vision for someone who would want to be prime minister of this serious, global citizen.³⁴

Carr's depiction of Abbott's leadership as a 'diminished vision' for Australia is difficult to assess. However, Abbott's response to the disappearance of the Malaysian Airlines Flight MH-370, and the later shooting down of MH17 over Ukraine, garnered domestic praise, with the Coalition government enjoying a subsequent boost in the opinion polls. Abbott's purported 'diminished vision' of Australia resulted in a disengagement from regions like North Africa but in increased action in response to international events where the Coalition government would receive a domestic political boost, in an area (predominantly security-based) that Coalition governments traditionally felt comfortable legislating for.

When questioned about the UN Security Council's recent resolution condemning the shooting down of MH17, and when asked whether the Abbott government deserved any credit for pushing for an early UN resolution and taking a strong stance on the issue, Tanya Plibersek told *ABC News 24* that

I think it shows that organisations like the Security Council can, when they're operating well, be very effective... I think it's very important that this resolution has been supported unanimously. It is important that Australia has taken a leadership role in doing that because of course we have had a significant number of citizens and permanent residents affected.³⁵

³⁴ Gyngell, Allan. 'Emerging challenges for Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68:4 (2014), pp 383.

³⁵ The ALP opposition was loath to give credit to Abbott's actions regarding MH17, though they found it difficult to properly oppose his commitments to Ukraine and Iraq due to the government's portrayal of dissent as 'unpatriotic' and not in Australia's security interests. Crowe, David. 'Plibersek plays the partisan', *The Australian*, July 25th 2014, accessed August 24th 2014.

Plibersek's inability to acknowledge the Abbott government's accomplishments mirrors Abbott's inability to acknowledge the Rudd government's contributions to Australia's historical win of a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council without also mentioning the costs associated with the campaign.³⁶

Despite domestic criticisms of the costs associated with Rudd government's campaign and the effectiveness of the UN as a means of effecting change on a global level, the Abbott government's response to the MH17 disaster was to push for a binding UN resolution "calling for a full and impartial investigation with full access to the site, with full access to the debris, with full access to the black box and with full access to all individuals who might be in a position to shed light on this terrible event".³⁷ The Australian opposition proposed the idea of a NATO-sanctioned ban on Putin's attendance at the G20 summit, demonstrating that international catastrophes of this nature rarely permit domestic dissent without serious political repercussions.

As Foreign Minister, Bishop has been responsible for many of Australia's international 'successes' since 2013,³⁸ with her decisions after the MH17 catastrophe exposing Australia as both competent and humanitarian when faced with a complex international situation.³⁹ This included negotiating an agreement with the Ukrainian and Dutch governments to allow international forces to be deployed to secure the crash site and retrieve the bodies and belongings of the victims, and floating the idea

³⁶ "Experts might dispute how great the acclaim should be but Plibersek found it hard to even name the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister, let alone acknowledge the effort". Crowe, David. 2014.

³⁷ Kenny, Mark. 'MH17 crash: Russia furious at 'unacceptable' Tony Abbott comments', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 19th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014.

³⁸ Julie Bishop was presented with a 'Commander of the Order of Merit of the (Dutch) Ministry of Foreign Affairs' on the 5th September 2014 by her Dutch counterpart Frans Timmermans, as a result of her actions in the wake of the MH17 catastrophe.

³⁹ Of the 298 victims of the MH17 crash – 283 passengers and 15 crew – Australia made up 27. The rest were, from biggest to smallest, Netherlands (193); Malaysia (43); Indonesia (12); United Kingdom (10); Belgium (4); Germany (4); Philippines (3); Canada (1); and New Zealand (1). Eighty of the passengers were children. Malaysia Airlines. Media Statement & Information on Flight MH17', July 19th 2014, accessed October 8th 2014.

of having a restricted number of Australian Defence Force and Australian Federal Police personnel play a larger role at the crash site.⁴⁰

Australia's time as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (campaigning for under the Rudd government but enjoyed in large part by the Abbott government) coincided with multiple examples of active Australian involvement in international policing, with Australian foreign policymakers having learned from their experiences in East Timor. Australia's drafting of a United Nations resolution on policing in peace operations – which it did on November 20th 2014 – took place under the Abbott government and was the first-ever resolution of its kind, addressing the need to build up missions with training and clear guidance to officers in the field.⁴¹ Bishop's role in this campaign was strengthened by Australia's experience as one of the few states with a dedicated police unit for international deployment, having contributed to policing missions for over 50 years.⁴²

When questioned about the potential involvement of Australian troops in training Ukraine forces, Bishop remained cautious about committing Australia to any one particular course of action, stating that "the Ukrainian government has not sought assistance in that regard, I don't believe it's sought assistance from NATO at present, so we keep these matters under review".⁴³ In July "it was reported that the Australian government had seriously considered deploying 1000 Australian soldiers to occupy the MH17 crash site in Eastern Ukraine. Fortunately wiser, cooler heads prevailed".⁴⁴ Bishop's foreign policy decisions regarding military deployment were in accordance with the approach taken by the wider international community, which believed that although a response was warranted, a political solution would be preferable to a military one in the first instance.

⁴⁰ Wroe, David, and James Massola. 'Tony Abbott admits Federal police face 'difficulty' on mission to MH17 crash site', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 25th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014.

⁴¹ Knight, Ben. 'Australian-drafted UN policing resolution 'groundbreaking' for international missions', *ABC News*, November 21st 2014, accessed June 15th 2015.

⁴² Knight, Ben. 2014.

⁴³ Miller, Nick. 'NATO summit: A medal for Julie Bishop and promises of more help for Ukraine', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, September 5th 2014, accessed September 6th 2014.

⁴⁴ White, Hugh. 2014.

During their almost two years in office, the Abbott government framed dissent in a similar way that the Howard government framed dissent in the build-up to the 'Coalition of the Willing' invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003.⁴⁵ The idea of a 'War on Terror' contributed to a narrative whereby

Foreign policy becomes not something the state *does*, but rather what the state *is*; in such a situation, to contest foreign policy is often to contest a prevalent and popular understanding of the national identity... [as] intervention was clearly linked to what it meant to *be* an Australian and this 'essence' was dripping with clichéd stereotypes of masculinity.⁴⁶

In the same way, Australia's commitment of Australian forces to Ukraine and Iraq – the second time in a decade that a conservative Coalition government has committed Australian forces to a US-directed assault, though this time against Islamic State forces, the jihadist successor to Al-Qaeda – occurred as a consequence of Abbott's interpretation of what was in both Australia's best interests but also his own domestic political interests.

State leaders (especially conservative ones) accrue domestic political benefits during times of crisis and, as ALP Senator Sue Lines daringly suggested, Abbott used talk of 'Team Australia' and hypothetical terrorist threats to "look... for opportunities in the media and elsewhere to try and scare the Australian public and to distract everyone from the budget".⁴⁷ Tellingly, then-Immigration Minister Scott Morrison said that if Lines "doesn't believe the IS involvement in Iraq and Syria presents a genuine and real threat to Australia than she's a muppet,"⁴⁸ that she should leave debate

⁴⁵ Holland, Jack. 'Foreign policy and political possibility', *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(49), 2013, pp 55.

⁴⁶ Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 55.

⁴⁷ Greene, Andrew. 'Terror laws 'a budget distraction'', *The New Daily*, August 28th 2014, accessed September 9th 2014.

⁴⁸ O'Regan, Sylvia. 'Morrison calls Labor senator a 'muppet' over Iraq comments', SBS News, August 28th 2014, accessed September 9th 2014.

over security to the adults, and the Coalition's decisions regarding Australia's involvement in the Middle East would be determined by reference to Australia's "national interest".⁴⁹

This inability to tolerate political dissent, or at least a willingness to frame dissent in such a way as to paint the dissenter as a threat to Australian national security and identity, is not a new phenomenon. However, it is indicative of how the Abbott government understood the connect between foreign policy and domestic political legitimacy – that catchphrases like 'border security' and the "death cult"⁵⁰ of Islamic State forces can be used to

Provide the lens through which issues of asylum and climate change respectively are viewed, and constitute the key axis of engagement with these issues in public debate. Discussions about asylum policy are underpinned by the perceived need to ensure border security, while discussions about climate change are underpinned by the perceived need to protect economic growth in the short term.⁵¹

A greater understanding of the association between foreign policymaking and political possibility (discussed in further detail in chapter one) is important because it contributes to a better understanding of how dissent can be portrayed as unpatriotic and a danger to the 'Australian way of life'. It can contribute to a better understanding of how foreign policy is formed, especially in relation to regions that are geographically distinct from Australia, and regarding incidents that are only tangentially related to Australia's interest.⁵² The MH17 disaster and the conflict in Ukraine provided the perfect opportunities for the Abbott government to involve Australia in crises that required international policing, even if those crises took place in geographically distinct regions like the MENA region, while Bishop on the global stage was able to advocate for a conventional foreign policy doctrine – the 'Abbott doctrine' – that put Australia's national interest first.

⁴⁹ O'Regan, Sylvia. 2014.

⁵⁰ Hurst, Daniel. 'Tony Abbott says extreme force needed to counter Isis 'death cult'', *The Guardian*, September 2nd 2014, accessed September 9th 2014.

⁵¹ McDonald, Matt. 'Foreign policy internationalism and political possibility', *International Politics*, 50 (2013) (2013b), pp 112.

⁵² Holland, Jack. 2013, pp 64.

3.5 Australian foreign policy formation regarding Australian-Egyptian bilateral relations during the Greste case

This section will analyse what Australia's diplomatic response to the Greste case demonstrates about the Australian-Egyptian bilateral relationship, as well as what it demonstrates about the effectiveness and approach of Julie Bishop in her role as Foreign Minister. Foreign policy formation under the Abbott government regarding the Greste case recognised that the Egyptian government was new, but that the bilateral relationship was already firmly established. As discussed further in this section, Australia's foreign policy formation in response to crises like this are measured, rarely out of line with the reactions of the international community, and rarely result in a breakdown in relations between Australia and the state in question. The dismay and condemnation communicated in the Abbott government's initial response gave way to a more measured approach as Australia attempted to find a balance between respect for Egyptian sovereignty and judicial independence, Australia's international obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the promotion of Australian values, and the protection of Australia's citizens.

Australian-born⁵³ Al Jazeera journalist Peter Greste was arrested by Egyptian authorities on 29th December 2013 along with his colleagues, Egyptian-Canadian Mohamed Fahmy and Egyptian producer Baher Mohammed, on the grounds of aiding the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and reporting news that was "damaging to national security".⁵⁴ He was found guilty by the Egyptian courts on 23rd June 2014, sentenced to seven years in an Egyptian jail, and released on 1st February 2015.⁵⁵ Egyptian prosecutors alleged that the three Al Jazeera journalists were members of the

⁵³ Born in Sydney and holding Australian-Latvian dual citizenship.

⁵⁴ Miles, Hugh. 'Egypt crisis: Al-Jazeera journalists arrested in Cairo', *BBC News*, December 30th 2013, accessed February 10th 2015.

⁵⁵ The Greste case included 17 co-defendants – seven journalists and ten students accused of supplying footage – the majority of which did not deny their support for the Brotherhood. Only two were acquitted – of the rest, four were sentenced to seven years and the rest were sentenced to ten years. When the verdict was

Muslim Brotherhood, while Al Jazeera coverage of the demonstrations was designed to damage Egypt's national interests.⁵⁶ A spokesman for Al Jazeera stated that

Baher, Mohamed and Peter have been incarcerated for nearly ten months on the patently absurd charges of falsifying news and being involved in terrorism... in reality, they are fine journalists, convicted on the basis of a weak investigation and a court case riddled with procedural flaws. We hope that the court date of 1st January means that the new year can herald a new chapter, with the release of our journalists and the betterment of press freedoms in Egypt.⁵⁷

Immediately following the announcement of Greste's sentence, the Egyptian foreign ministry put out a statement claiming that the Egyptian judicial system

Enjoys full independence, and the new constitution provides safeguards to ensure media freedom and to guarantee due process in judicial proceedings... the defendants in this case were arrested in accordance with warrants issued by the relevant investigative body, the Office of the Public Prosecutor; due process was adhered to with all of the defendants.⁵⁸

The international community was almost unanimous in its criticism of the Egyptian court's verdict. Of Australia's two great and powerful friends, US Secretary of State John Kerry told reporters that "we'll... be working side by side with our Australian counterparts as they seek to have this decision reversed"⁵⁹ and British Foreign Secretary William Hague declared that the Egyptian ambassador

read out to the court, the students recited an anthem by Sayed Qutb, a Brotherhood ideologue executed in the 1950s, against the "army of darkness" and shouted "God is great". *News Limited*. 'Peter Greste marks 300 days behind bars and appeal date set', October 24th 2014, accessed October 24th 2014 (2014c).

⁵⁶ As a measure of their suspicion, the Egyptian government has branded the Brotherhood a terrorist organisation.

⁵⁷ *News Limited*. 2014c.

⁵⁸ Navi Pillay, the UN Commissioner for Human Rights, noted that the guilty verdict passed down on Greste and his colleagues was just one incident in a concerted and continuing attack on fundamental human rights, the freedom of speech, and the Muslim Brotherhood supporters of ex-President Morsi. The sentencing of the Al Jazeera journalists came after an earlier mass trial where 183 Muslim Brotherhood members and supporters were sentenced to death. Pillay described the Egyptian judiciary as "rife with procedural irregularities and in breach of international human rights law". Pollard, Ruth. 'Peter Greste case: international anger for Egypt's sentencing of Al Jazeera journalists', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014.

⁵⁹ *SBS News*. 'US vows to work with Australia on Greste', June 25th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014 (2014c).

would be summoned to the Foreign Office in order to discuss the “unacceptable”⁶⁰ sentence. The Australian government’s response to the Greste case cited this support, with Foreign Minister Julie Bishop declaring that

This verdict has drawn international condemnation from the United Nations, from the United States, from the European Union from countries around the world. Egypt claims to be on the path to democracy and we support that and we have said publicly that we will support the Egyptian Government in its transition to a democracy. Freedom of the press and freedom of speech are fundamental to a democracy and if Peter Greste were released that would be a demonstration that the Egyptian Government wanted to improve its image and show that it was in fact on the path to being a stable democracy and we would welcome that. But in the meantime we [Australia] will do whatever we can to get Peter Greste home as soon as possible.⁶¹

Unsurprisingly, Australia’s response to the situation is driven in part by the US’ response. Australia does not offer the same military aid to Egypt that the US does, and is thus incapable of the same kind of political pressure.

Across the globe, people are condemning what they see as a very crude attempt to blunt freedom of speech and freedom of the press in Egypt. We want to support Egypt to become a democracy in the Middle East, we have been supporting Egypt’s transition to democracy but a verdict like this does nothing to support Egypt’s claim that it is transitioning to a democracy.⁶²

The Human Rights Watch wrote that “the new constitution’s guarantees of free expression are not worth the paper they are written on”⁶³ and suggested that Egypt’s ongoing process of democratisation had taken a step in the wrong direction. Observing at the actual trial, Amnesty International criticised the prosecution’s case while he labelled the sentences “a travesty of

⁶⁰ Pollard, Ruth. 2014.

⁶¹ Carabine, Alison. ‘Interview with Julie Bishop’, *ABC Radio National*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

⁶² Stefanovic, Karl. ‘Interview with Julie Bishop’, *Channel 9 Today Show*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

⁶³ *Yahoo7 News*. ‘Abbott ‘bewildered’ by Greste decision’, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014.

justice”.⁶⁴ Speaking on the imprisonment of his colleagues, Al Jazeera’s managing director Al Anstey said in a statement that “not a shred of evidence was found to support the extraordinary and false charges against them”⁶⁵ and that the sentences defied all judicial logic.

Prior to Greste’s release in early February 2015, the Abbott government offered their support in assisting his family to overturn his sentence. Greste’s parents spoke about their shock at the verdict and their belief that the Egyptian authorities misrepresented his chances of being found innocent, saying that “I don’t want to suggest that anybody’s been misleading us but clearly the messages that we did get from the Egyptian authorities did truly give us great confidence certainly for everything other than this outcome. We are absolutely determined and committed to continue this battle until Peter, as well as his colleagues, are all out of prison and are free to do and go wherever they decide”.⁶⁶

Greste expressed gratitude for the support shown to him by Western governments, NGOs and foreign media outlets, claiming that it inspires him and keeps him strong.

That is why I know that our freedom, and more importantly the freedom of Egypt's press will never come without noisy, sustained pressure from individuals, human rights groups, governments and anyone who understand the fundamental importance of a free press to Egypt's fledgling democracy.⁶⁷

The Greste family has consistently thanked both the public and the Abbott government for the support they’ve received during this difficult, and was quick to point out that the Egyptian court’s decision affected more than just the Greste family – “we put it to you that this is also a slap in the face and a kick in the groin to Australia as well as all fair-minded people around the world”.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Including the fact that they “failed to produce a single shred of solid evidence”. *The Australian*. ‘Outcry over Egypt’s Greste sentence’, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014 (2014c).

⁶⁵ *Yahoo7 News*. 2014.

⁶⁶ Owens, Jared, and David Crowe. ‘Peter Greste verdict a ‘slap in the face’ parents Lois and Juris say’, *The Australian*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014.

⁶⁷ *Al Jazeera*. ‘Peter Greste decries court ruling’, June 26th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014 (2014c).

⁶⁸ Owens, Jared, and David Crowe. 2014.

The Abbott government's initial response to Greste's imprisonment was both sympathetic and suggestive of diplomatic efforts to come.⁶⁹ Egypt's senior representative, career diplomat Sherif Bedeir, was called in by the Abbott government to discuss with DFAT deputy secretary Gillian Bird the ongoing relationship between Australia and Egypt in light of the new developments surrounding the Greste case.⁷⁰ DFAT made it clear that Australia, whilst respecting the legitimacy and the right of the Egyptian judicial system to make decisions as it sees fit, would also be looking to bring Greste home by legal avenues as soon as could be arranged.

Diplomatically, the Abbott government was trapped between the proverbial rock and a hard place – because of this “the government is understood to [have] moderated its tone towards the Egyptian government because it plan[ned] to lobby for a presidential pardon if the legal appeals process fail[ed].”⁷¹ Abbott told reporters in Canberra that it was important that Egypt be seen to respect the concept of due process so that the international community could be reassured of Egypt's commitment to democracy and justice, and that Australians like Greste should not be the victims of a court system that accepts holiday photographs and doctored images as evidence. Because of this, the Abbott government said that they would be talking to both the Greste family and the Egyptian government “about what we can do to try to ensure that Peter Greste comes home as quickly as possible”.⁷²

The Abbott government maintained that there were a range of options open to the Greste family, including “presidential acts, presidential clemency, presidential pardons and so on and that's why

⁶⁹ Abbott was eager to use his own experience as a journalist for *The Australian* to illustrate his understanding of the situation, and to reassure the Al Jazeera team that “I assured him [Greste] — as a former journalist myself — that Peter Greste would have been reporting the Muslim Brotherhood, not supporting the Muslim Brotherhood... because that's what Australian journalists do”. *The Australian*. ‘Tony Abbott pleads Peter Greste's case directly with Egypt's president’, June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014 (2014d).

⁷⁰ According to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, the Abbott government “hailed in” Bedeir, who “brushed past” reports while refusing to answer questions – highly charged language that paints a very specific picture. Wroe, David. ‘Peter Greste case: Julie Bishop will press Egyptian government, but stopped short of condoning sanctions’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014.

⁷¹ Wroe, David. 2014.

⁷² Wroe, David. 2014.

I'm not in the business of being critical of the government as such".⁷³ When justifying a lack of strong response on Australia's part, Abbott warned against "unhelpful megaphone diplomacy"⁷⁴ (a clear reference to the public calls for governmental condemnation) which he said would be counter-productive, while his government preferred to "talk calmly and patiently and reasonably to the Egyptian government".⁷⁵

Foreign Minister Julie Bishop explained that the Abbott government had been putting political pressure on the Egyptian government for months regarding Greste's treatment and potential sentencing, and argued that "I cannot think of what more that we could have done".⁷⁶ Bishop claims that the Australian government would continue to make submissions⁷⁷ and that

On the political side of things, Egypt has been at pains to point out that they have an independent judicial system and of course we respect that, because likewise in Australia we have an independent legal and judicial system. But having seen the evidence, we just cannot understand how this verdict was reached. Now there haven't been reasons for the decision provided yet, I understand that they will be given to Mr Greste's legal team in the near future and then we might have a better idea of how or why this verdict was reached.⁷⁸

In the numerous interviews conducted with Julie Bishop on the day of Greste's verdict, she used the words 'dismayed' and 'appalled' multiple times. In interviews with both Channel 7's *Sunrise* program and ABC's *AM Program*, Bishop repeated that "we are utterly dismayed by this sentence. We're appalled by the severity of it".⁷⁹ She told a different ABC program – *Radio National* – that "as I said on hearing of the verdict, the Australian Government is shocked by the fact he has been convicted

⁷³ Wroe, David. 2014.

⁷⁴ Wroe, David. 2014.

⁷⁵ Wroe, David. 2014.

⁷⁶ *The Australian Financial Review*. "Appalled' politicians rally to Peter Greste", June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014.

⁷⁷ *The Australian Financial Review*. 2014.

⁷⁸ Uhlmann, Chris. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *ABC AM Program*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

⁷⁹ Armytage, Samantha. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *Channel 7 Sunrise*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

but we're utterly appalled by the severity of the sentence".⁸⁰ In an interview with News Talk 4BC's Patrick Condren, Bishop stated that "we are utterly dismayed and appalled that Peter Greste was convicted and such a severe custodial sentence has been imposed and on the basis of the evidence presented we just simply do not understand the verdict".⁸¹

Australia's politicians came out in overwhelming support of Greste, and the Abbott government faced increased domestic political pressure to take diplomatic action.⁸² The response from the Australian opposition and minor parties was not dissimilar to Bishop's, and there was clear bipartisan agreement that the Egyptian court's verdict and sentence was politically unacceptable. Opposition Foreign Minister Tanya Plibersek told ABC radio that "I think the most important thing is putting Peter Greste and his needs at the centre of any decisions we're making... [and that Egypt's verdict against Greste] has sent a very wrong signal about the commitment of Egypt to a free and functioning press."⁸³ Both the Coalition government and the ALP opposition reiterated Australia's commitment to its citizens.⁸⁴ On the 23rd June 2014, members of Parliament from both major parties backed a motion that argued that Greste's sentence was an affront to the idea of freedom of speech and referred to "the Government's ongoing representations, and notes Greste's imprisonment is contrary to the right of freedom of speech and expression".⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Carabine, Alison. 2014.

⁸¹ Condren, Patrick. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *News Talk 4BC*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

⁸² Australian politicians across the political spectrum took to social media to express their personal displeasure for the decision made by the Egyptian judicial system. Sarah Henderson, Liberal MP and former journalist, took the opportunity to focus on what Australia was doing right, posting on Facebook that "Devastated ... It's easy to take press freedom for granted in Australia". *The Australian Financial Review*. 2014.

⁸³ Owens, Jared, and David Crowe. 2014.

⁸⁴ Tanya Plibersek went as far as saying that "we [the ALP] remain ready to help the Abbott government do everything it can to assist in securing Peter's release [because] journalists shouldn't be put on trial or locked up for doing their job". Nonetheless, during one of Plibersek's many interviews she declined to discuss the appropriateness of the current calls to sanction Egypt. *The Australian Financial Review*. 2014.

⁸⁵ Abbott's colleagues came out in support of Abbott's calm approach. Philip Ruddock, Liberal backbencher and former immigration minister, argued that Australia would be walking a fine line in its dealings with the Egyptian government, between the protection of Australian citizens, the upholding of human rights, and respect for Egypt's national sovereignty. According to Ruddock, Australia has no desire to interfere with the Egyptian judicial system but instead wants to encourage respect for "certain fundamental human rights and values as it moves forward". *ABC News*. 'Peter Greste trial: Tony Abbott appeals to Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to release Australian Al Jazeera journalist', June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014 (2014c).

Prior to the handing down of the judgement in Egypt, Greste argued that the Abbott government had not been in contact with him to discuss his case. When asked by a journalist whether he thought that he'd received an adequate level of support from Abbott personally, Greste responded by saying that "we need him to speak out... everybody from the White House down has given their support to us. We haven't heard from the Prime Minister".⁸⁶ Greste's mother Lois clarified this statement with the acknowledgement that, at the time of the ninth court hearing, the Australian government had been left with few choices.⁸⁷

In response to an ABC inquiry, the Prime Minister's office replied with a three-sentence statement.

We strongly support a free media and the Australian Government is deeply concerned about the charges that have been laid against Mr Peter Greste, and the fact that he is currently subject to criminal proceedings in Egypt. The Australian Government has made a number of representations in support of Mr Greste's release. The Foreign Minister Julie Bishop has personally raised concerns about Mr Greste's arrest with the Egyptian Government and authorities and we will continue to make representations on behalf of Mr Greste to secure his release.⁸⁸

Prior to the verdict being handed down, Lois Greste expressed confidence in the Abbott government and indicated that there was much happening behind the scenes that the Australian public was not aware of, and that there would be "an appropriate time for Mr Abbott to speak out".⁸⁹

After the guilty verdict was handed down by the Egyptian court, Foreign Minister Bishop told Radio Station 4BC's Patrick Condren that one of her first actions after hearing the result was to ring Greste's parents – Lois and Juris – and assure them that "we would continue to provide whatever consular support we could to Mr Greste and all practical support to his family and I do have to

⁸⁶ Griffiths, Emma, and Hayden Cooper. 'Peter Greste trial: Tony Abbott expresses concern over trial after journalist detained in Egypt calls for PM's help', *ABC News*, March 6th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014.

⁸⁷ Cooper, Hayden. 'Peter Greste trial: Parents concede little more Government can do as case adjourned again', *ABC News*, June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014 (2014b).

⁸⁸ Griffiths, Emma, and Hayden Cooper. 2014.

⁸⁹ Griffiths, Emma, and Hayden Cooper. 2014.

commend the work that our dedicated officials have been doing ever since Peter was detained in December last year”.⁹⁰ Bishop also told Condren that DFAT’s head of consular in Canberra had frequently travelled to the Greste home in Queensland to offer consular assistance and support.⁹¹ To this end, Bishop argues that

We have been visiting Peter Greste on a regular basis – that is our diplomats in Cairo – our ambassador Dr Ralph King has visited Peter on a number of occasions, many occasions and through his representations I understand that some improvements have been made to Peter’s conditions but they are certainly cramped, they are not ideal, he’s in detention, he’s in a jail in Cairo so we’ve been doing what we can to improve those conditions for him and provide him with assistance and we will continue to do so.⁹²

Despite Greste’s understandable frustration at the lack of the success in securing his release, it is clear that the Australian government did take action. Bishop’s statement to a press conference on the day of the verdict indicated that “we [the Abbott government] will provide whatever consular assistance we can to Mr Greste”.⁹³

After Greste’s release in early 2015, Foreign Minister Julie Bishop told reporters in Sydney that “Australia has been at the forefront of calling for his release... we have worked very hard behind the scenes, working directly with the Egyptian government... [and] I personally spoke with the foreign minister in Egypt and made a number of representations, oral and in writing, and spoke to President al-Sisi”.⁹⁴ Bishop particularly made mention of fellow states who made submissions to Egyptian authorities on behalf of Australia in support of Greste’s release, and praising the actions of Australian consular staff.

⁹⁰ Condren, Patrick. 2014.

⁹¹ Carabine, Alison. 2014.

⁹² Condren, Patrick. 2014.

⁹³ Bishop, Julie. ‘Press conference on Peter Greste’, June 23rd 2014, accessed October 15th 2014.

⁹⁴ *Sky News*. ‘Bishop welcomes Peter Greste's release’, February 2nd 2015, accessed February 10th 2015.

Bishop justified Australia's previously unsuccessful attempts to secure Greste's release by highlighting the difficulties faced by Australian foreign policymakers when attempting to navigate the domestic politics of a state that was still heavily affected by regional security concerns and interstate rivalry. As she explained to Chris Uhlmann on *ABC Radio*

Another aspect to this case which makes it so complex and the issues so difficult to grapple with because Al Jazeera is clearly seen as part of the Qatari Government and the Qatari Government and Egypt are currently at odds, so this is a very difficult and complex issue. Unfortunately these kinds of cases are so difficult for us to get an outcome because you have a change of government. I've been dealing with different foreign ministers, our Prime Minister has spoken to the interim President and now the current President, President el-Sisi, and so we've been having to deal with an interim government that was put in place as the result of a military coup. There's now been an election, there is a new government and so we will be appealing to that new government to call this verdict for what it is and intervene.⁹⁵

Bishop's argument here was that although the involvement of Al Jazeera complicates the situation, the Greste case provided a clear opportunity for the newly-elected Egyptian government to improve its international standing. Australia's responsibility for Greste's wellbeing conflicted with the already-established bilateral relationship with Egypt, despite the relative newness of the Egyptian government that Australian foreign policymakers were doing business with. Ms Bishop also paid tribute to the role of consular staff in his release, noting that Greste had thanked the Australian government, the public and journalists who have rallied to his cause.⁹⁶

Foreign Minister Bishop noted that Australia was not limiting its diplomatic options, as

I haven't been providing a running commentary through the media because I wanted to give Peter Greste's legal team every opportunity to present his defence without there being seen to be a political interference from Australia. But I can assure you that, behind the scenes, we have been

⁹⁵ Uhlmann, Chris. 2014.

⁹⁶ "He told me that it had sustained him through the very long time that he spent in jail". *Sky News*. 2015.

working with other governments, including the United States. We've been working with governments in the region who are closer to Egypt than Australia is. We'll do all we can to get Peter Greste home as soon as possible.⁹⁷

This support from the wider international community has been ongoing and cross-regional. In particular, Bishop mentioned that Australia had been encouraging other governments to make representations on multiple political levels that Australia would not be capable of making, and that this support meant that Australia should “increase our level of representation because this new government now has an opportunity to prove to the world that it is on the transition to democracy and it does respect freedom of the press and freedom of speech”.⁹⁸

To this end, Bishop submitted to Radio 4BC's Patrick Condren that Greste's sentencing was not justification enough to impose on Egypt's sovereignty, despite the outpouring of international support from the media and fellow governments, and despite the general consensus from international humanitarian organisations that Greste and his fellow Al-Jazeera journalists were wrongly imprisoned following a sham trial.⁹⁹ When asked how Australia planned to balance the potential for offence against Australia's duty to its citizens, Bishop responded with

It is a very sensitive area. This is a new Government that has just been elected in the democratic elections. The new Government claims that it is on the path to democracy and we support that and want to be seen to be supporting Egypt, but it makes it very hard to accept Egypt's claim that it's on a transition to democracy when journalists - foreign journalists - are jailed for doing their job and we

⁹⁷ Armytage, Samantha. 2014.

⁹⁸ Uhlmann, Chris. 2014.

⁹⁹ Hassiba Hadj Sahraoui, Amnesty International's deputy director for the Middle East and North Africa, said after Greste's release that “continuing to detain Baher Mohamed and Mohamed Fahmy is completely unjust and unwarranted... it has become increasingly clear that the journalists have been used as political pawns in a dispute between the authorities of Egypt and the Qatar government, which owns the Al Jazeera network. It is unacceptable that the lives of these men have been so carelessly toyed with”. Magnay, Jacquelin. ‘Peter Greste's long road to freedom’, *The Australian*, February 3rd 2015, accessed February 23rd 2015.

are urging the new government of Egypt to reflect on what message is being sent to the world about the situation in Egypt.¹⁰⁰

When asked about indications given by successive Egyptian governments regarding the sentencing of Greste and his colleagues, Bishop replied that

From the outset they have said that this is an independent legal process. They draw the analogy to Australia to say you wouldn't like it if there were an Egyptian in detention in Australia, charged under Australian laws, and Egyptian politicians were trying to interfere in that. I mean they make that point to me and have made that point on a number of occasions that this is an independent judicial process.¹⁰¹

Greste's sentencing and imprisonment was not justification enough for Australia to impose on Egypt's sovereignty and it is unlikely that the previous Rudd/Gillard governments would have acted any differently in these circumstances.

The Australian diplomatic core was mobilised a number of times in North African states under the Rudd/Gillard government under very similar circumstances. In June 2012 Australian human rights lawyer Melinda Taylor was arrested and imprisoned in Libya while working as the Counsel and Deputy Head of the ICC Office of Public Counsel for the Defence (OPCD) after being accused of passing illegal documents to her client, a member of Gaddafi's family.¹⁰² Bob Carr, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, flew to Libya to take serious diplomatic steps to help secure her release and ensure that Australian citizens would not become casualties of the turbulent political changes occurring in North Africa at the time.

Australian aid worker Alexandra Bean was detained in Libya after having refused to sign a statement in Arabic regarding an incident she had allegedly witnessed. Bean was finally freed to depart Libya in

¹⁰⁰ Adshead, Gary. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *6PR Perth*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

¹⁰¹ Condren, Patrick. 2014.

¹⁰² *Libyan Herald*. 'Qaddafi ICC Defence Lawyer held in Zintan with "Dangerous" Documents', June 9th 2012, accessed August 20th 2013.

October 2012 after a senior Australian diplomat had flown into Tripoli to mediate the situation with assistance from the United Kingdom's Libyan embassy.¹⁰³ Carr later countered criticism directed at the perceived lack of response by the Australian government, saying that "I am offended on behalf of DFAT people ... [they] worked very, very hard and the politics of Libya are unsettled and complex, but they were there on the spot within 48 hours and in the meantime had attended to her needs".¹⁰⁴ Carr wrote in his published diary that "this one, I think, is going to be tough... getting Melinda released would be delicious. A public win, the icing on the cake".¹⁰⁵ According to Carr, the difference between the two cases was that "Ms Bean lives and works in Libya, she lives and works there, she wasn't a visitor on a humanitarian mission who got arrested and stuck in a prison in Zintan by armed militia like Melinda Taylor."¹⁰⁶

Both the Bean case and the Taylor case demonstrate that successive Australian governments have the ability to sustain solid working relationship with the governments of North Africa despite the deficit of direct diplomatic representation within these countries, and that Australian foreign policymakers are capable of responding to the imprisonment of Australian citizens without encroaching on another state's sovereignty. The Egyptian government's trial, imprisonment and subsequent release of Australian-born Al Jazeera journalist Peter Greste during the Abbott government's first term provides a noteworthy comparison for the Bean case and the Taylor case, illustrating as it does the differences between the Australian and Egyptian governments, set to a background of international outrage over what Amnesty International called a "ferocious attack on media freedom".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ DFAT stated that "as in the Melinda Taylor case, it is standard practice for us to co-operate with the UK on consular cases in regions where Australia has no diplomatic representation". Jones, Gemma. 'Freed Aid Worker Alexandra Bean on Way Home from Libya', *The Australian*, October 1st 2012, accessed November 5th 2013.

¹⁰⁴ Wilson, Lauren. 'Bob Carr "offended" on behalf of DFAT officials by Libya aid worker's complaints', *The Australian*, October 7th 2012, accessed November 5th 2013.

¹⁰⁵ Carr, Bob. 2014, pp 87.

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, Lauren. 2012.

¹⁰⁷ *The Australian*. 'Egypt court sets January 1 to hear Australian journalist Peter Greste's appeal', October 22nd 2014, accessed January 28th 2015 (2014a).

Bishop demonstrated an astounding understanding of the external factors influencing Greste's sentencing and the international response, while Abbott's foreign policy decisions during the Greste case demonstrate the unwillingness of the Australian government to endanger bilateral relations with Egypt. The success of Australia's diplomatic pressure cannot be measured in isolation from the immense influence of its 'great and powerful friends' in the form of other international states, actors and media outlets. Peter Greste was ultimately freed by the Egyptian government, while Melinda Taylor and Alexandra Bean were freed by the Libyan transitional government, but only after the Australian government applied a lot of diplomatic pressure. The Greste case illustrates the fact that on ongoing trade concerns, even with countries that imprison Australian citizens, will always take precedence, and that any diplomatic efforts to intervene in another states' sovereign affairs will be measured to account for that.

3.6 Abbott's domestic political landscape

As a result of the Abbott government's foreign policy decisions in the year immediately preceding his replacement with Malcolm Turnbull

Very suddenly a real choice has emerged in the way we [Australia] engage with the future. We need to ensure our politicians are articulating the right words as they frame which course we're choosing. It's time for Abbott to outline which alternative we're taking. Because not everyone may choose to join him on the boat.¹⁰⁸

Choice of analogy aside, this thesis rejects the idea that the Abbott government would attempt to move Australia away from the three tenets of Australian foreign policy listed above.¹⁰⁹ As former Foreign Minister Bob Carr wrote in 2014, neither he nor any other Australian foreign policymaker has received an electoral mandate saying otherwise.

¹⁰⁸ Stuart, Nicholas. 2014.

¹⁰⁹ Abbott's dedication to stopping the boats is well-known.

With regards to the third tenet's impact on the formation of foreign policy under successive Australian governments (especially regarding Australia's relationship with disparate regions such as North Africa), the employment of the United Nations as an instrument of implementation when responding to international crisis recognises that "the issues and circumstances will determine whether one approach will yield a better outcome than another. In many cases, bilateral and multilateral actions reinforce each other".¹¹⁰ The circumstances surrounding Rudd's spearheading of the international response to the crisis in Libya, discussed in greater detail in chapters one and two, were different to the circumstances surrounding the Abbott government's commitment of Australian troops and resources to the international fight against Islamic State forces in the MENA region, discussed further in the above sections.

The Abbott government's vocal support for US resolutions condemning the shooting-down of flight MH17, as well as resolutions against Islamic State incursions, demonstrates that neither major Australian political party has a monopoly on involvement with the UN. However, the Abbott government's unwillingness to acknowledge the Rudd government's achievement in successfully campaigning for a seat on the UN Security Council demonstrates that Australia's involvement with the UN is also an area in which domestic foreign policymakers feel comfortable trying to extract domestic political capital.

The circumstances surrounding Australia's involvement in international responses to crises in the MENA region (the Arab Spring uprisings in Libya, and the Islamic State conflict in the wider MENA region) have helped account for Australia's domestic employment of the United Nations as a means of resolving these crises.

¹¹⁰ Makinda, Samuel. 'Between Jakarta and Geneva: why Abbott needs to view Africa as a great opportunity', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69:1 (2014), pp 11.

3.7 Conclusion

Although the theoretical framework in which successive Australian governments formulate foreign policy remains the same regardless of the major political party forming government, there are differences in the domestic political climates in which successive Australian governments have operated. These differences contribute to the analysis in this thesis, as “these differences represent not only an argument about what Australia should be doing in response to challenges, but they also are part of enduring debates and ideas about the values and identity of Australia and its place in the world”.¹¹¹

Abbott’s actions in the wake of the MH17 catastrophe included a foreign policy factor that merged the immediacy of the MH17 catastrophe with the ongoing international issue of Russia’s incursions into Ukraine, where Australia has coordinated with the US, Canada and Europe in United Nations, NATO and European Union-endorsed sanctions against Russia, as “the bullying of small nations by big ones and assertions that might is right should have no place in our world”.¹¹² It is because of this, Barnes wrote, that

By standing up from the outset to Russian president Vladimir Putin, Abbott gave voice to the 38 Australian citizens and residents who perished so violently and senselessly in skies above strife-torn eastern Ukraine, their grieving families and the many others aboard MH17 who were winging their way to Australia.¹¹³

In the same way that the 9/11 attacks helped define the Howard government, and the same way that the Arab Spring helped define the Rudd government, MH17 was a crisis that allowed the Abbott government (with Julie Bishop as Foreign Minister) to demonstrate Australia’s ability to react to international crises without sacrificing its national interest. The MH17 catastrophe was one of the

¹¹¹ Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 2014, pp 19

¹¹² Milman, Oliver. ‘Australia to adopt tougher sanctions against Russia over Ukraine’, *The Guardian*, September 1st 2014, accessed September 8th 2014.

¹¹³ Barnes, Terry. ‘Faced with a crisis, Tony Abbott becomes a statesman’, *Conservative Home*, July 25th 2014, accessed August 24th 2014 (2014b).

major international crises that the Abbott government faced during its time in power¹¹⁴ (other issues of note being the wider Ukrainian crisis, and the emergence of Islamic State forces in the MENA region). Australia's foreign policy formation in these spheres, and Australia's investment in these regions, stems from the fact that it is one of the US' essential security partners in Eastern Europe and the Middle East.¹¹⁵

This chapter has demonstrated that the general consensus regarding Bishop's performance as Foreign Minister has been positive, especially in the wake of the MH17 disaster. Though polling poorly in the wake of the 2014 federal budget, the Abbott government continued to formulate foreign policy responses to international crises in the pursuit of domestic political legitimacy up until Abbott's replacement with Malcolm Turnbull in September 2015. Bishop's decisions have adhered strongly to the traditional three key tenets of Australian foreign policy formation – ongoing support for our 'great and powerful friend' the US; ongoing ties with the Asia-Pacific region (including China); and ongoing support for and active engagement with the UN – though she made a deliberate point of rejecting Rudd's 'creative middle power diplomacy' due to a fear that Australia will ultimately over-extend and lose its ability to enact effective change on an international scale.

¹¹⁴ The Abbott government being in power for one year and 361 days.

¹¹⁵ Mercer, Phil. 2014a.

Chapter 4 – The domination of Australian trade concerns

4.1 Introduction

Successive Australian governments have relied on trade to form the basis of its relationships with regions which it shares neither geography (the Asia-Pacific region) nor cultural/linguistic similarities (Europe and the United States). Nevertheless, writes Cynthia Dearin for *smartcompany*, there is a popular misconception that the MENA region remains too far away (although this has never stymied trade with Europe or the United States), too culturally different, and “too difficult to operate in”¹ to be worth the while for Australian governments and businesses.

Australia’s strong economic relationship (investment as well as trade) with the US and with Europe has a historical and cultural dimension lacking from Australia’s relationship with the Arab states of North Africa. The former is the result of an investment climate built on a shared common language, similar histories, and an in-built awareness of cultural norms. Australia’s close economic relationships with the United States and Europe are built on an established scale of commitments – similar investment climates, and domestic political support for trade liberalisation. The overwhelming majority of foreign investment in Australia supports overall economic growth and stood at \$3 trillion in 2015. The United States accounted for 28.4 per cent of this, and the United Kingdom accounted for 16.5 per cent. According to DFAT’s list of top twenty sources of foreign investment in Australia, not a single North African state was on the list (neither were any Middle Eastern or sub-Saharan Africa). Australia ranked twelfth in the global list of total foreign direct

¹ Media representation and business are not the same, and cannot be easily compared – it is worth noting here, however, that media representation can affect public perception of a region, and that public perception can then drive financial integration and trade links with a region. Therefore media representation plays a role in the formation of the relationship between Australia and North Africa, which is based predominantly on economic concerns. Dearin, Cynthia. ‘Australian companies should do business in the Middle East, here’s why’, *SmartCompany*, November 5th 2013, accessed May 1st 2014.

investment in a state (US\$537.4 billion, compared to the United States which ranked first with US\$5,588.0 billion).²

Australian trade with the Arab states of North Africa is insignificant in terms of overall Australian trade, even though trade makes up most of the relationship. Lacking this established scale of commitments, it is striking that the economic strength of Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa has been strong enough (despite lacking a shared history or a shared common language) to survive the tumultuous events of the Arab Spring; Australia's involvement in the international response to the unfolding crisis in Libya; and complications in Australia's bilateral relationship with Egypt, in particular when Egypt imprisoned Australian-born *Al Jazeera* journalist Peter Greste (discussed above in chapter three) and when Australia temporarily stopped the live cattle export trade with Egypt (to be discussed below in chapter five).

This chapter considers the practical issues that Australian politicians must take into account when making decisions within the frameworks that guide foreign policy formation. Of these practical considerations, trade is by far the most significant, and this is demonstrated by the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade's 2006 *'Inquiry into Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa'* which concluded that "the countries of North Africa are a growing but relatively untapped market for Australian exporters and investors".³ The MENA region holds 60 per cent of global energy resources, and includes six of the top fifteen oil-producing states and three of the top ten gas-producing states.⁴

Therefore this chapter will demonstrate that trade concerns continue to provide the basis for the relationship between Australia and the five Arab states of North Africa, although the levels of trade occurring within the bilateral relationships differ depending on the health of the North African

² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia and foreign investment: Which countries invest in Australia?', July 2017, accessed July 13th 2017.

³ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Expanding Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa', Chapter 3, May 22nd 2006, accessed 5th February 2017.

⁴ Dearin, Cynthia. 2013.

economy in question. Certain states – Egypt – enjoy a greater proportion of Australia’s economic attention, while other states – Libya – pose greater diplomatic difficulties due to their domestic political climate. Unlike Australia’s trade relationship with the United States and Europe, there is no shared historical or cultural dimension to help successive Australian governments respond to crisis points in the relationship – however, the trade relationships that have been established with the Arab states of North Africa have proven themselves strong enough to overcome the difficulties inherent in the Rudd government’s contributions to the international response to the Arab Spring unrest in North Africa.

For the purposes of this chapter the areas of trade will be divided up into the following – governmental trade; potential North African investment in Australia, especially in the areas of agriculture and mining; and Australian involvement in the North African mining and petroleum sector, with brief mention of budding inter-Maghreb trade and what this could mean for Australia. The live export trade to Egypt is a major part of Australia’s overall trade relationship with North Africa, but will be discussed in further detail below in chapter five, which focuses on Australia’s bilateral relationship with Egypt.

4.2 Australia’s historical trade relationships with North Africa

2002 DFAT’s Market Information and Analysis Unit released a document on *One Hundred Years of Trade* as part of their ‘Direction of Trade Time Series’ covering Australian imports and exports for the past 100 years (on a decade-by-decade basis).⁵ Egypt was the only North African state mentioned in this report, as Australia has had no history of trade with the other four states of North Africa until

⁵ “Values shown in this publication are expressed in terms of current dollars. Historical data in pounds (1901 to 1965) were converted to Australian dollars at the rate of one pound to two Australian dollars... Rates of growth measured over long periods in current dollar terms are influenced by the effects of price changes as well as changes in actual volumes”. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Direction of Trade Time Series 2000-01: One Hundred Years of Trade’, Market Information and Analysis Unit, February 2002, accessed May 1st 2014 (2002a), pp i.

relatively recently. The graphs covering Australia's Merchandise Trade by decade show peaks in 1920-1921 and especially in 1950-51 and 2000-01, but Australia's Trade Balance saw a decrease in 1920-21 and 2000-01, though peaks in 1950-51 and 1990-91.⁶ Merchandise exports from Australia to Egypt increased from \$183,000 in 1901 to \$800,544,000 in 2003.⁷ Decade-by-decade overview saw sharp increases in 1920-21 (from \$288,000 to \$13,214,000, back down to \$2,949,000) and 1950-51 (from \$11,475 to \$44,612,000, back down to \$5,818,000), and a huge spike between 1970-71 and 1980-81, after which there was no significant decrease again.

Merchandise imports on a country-by-country basis follow much the same patterns – from \$58,000 to \$75,000, back down to \$48,000 in 1920-21; from \$2111,000 to \$3,056,000, back down to \$114,000 in 1950-51; the huge spike here didn't happen between 1970-71 (which sat at \$164,000) but instead around 1990-91 (\$2,183,000) and 2000-01 (\$14,304)⁸ (due to a rise in overall international merchandise trade as a share of world GDP from approximately 15%⁹ and the Hawke-Keating government's introduction of productivity-raising reforms from 1983 to 1996).¹⁰

⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2002a, pp 8.

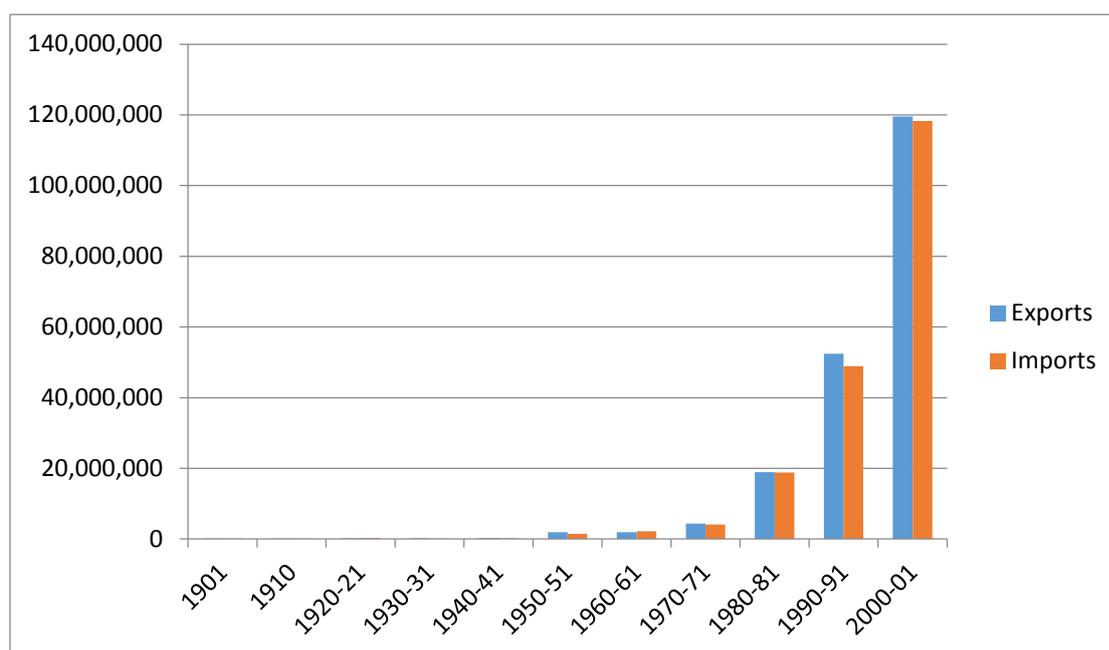
⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2002a, pp 3.

⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2002a, pp 8.

⁹ Kelly, Gerard, and Gianni La Cava. 'Value-Added Trade and the Australian Economy', *Reserve Bank of Australia*, Bulletin, March Quarter (2013).

¹⁰ Anderson, Kym. 'Australia's Competitiveness in Contributing to Asia's Food Bowl and Food Security', submission to the Agricultural Competitiveness White Paper, April 2014, accessed October 4th 2014, pp 2.

Figure 4.1 Australia's Overall Merchandise Trade: Exports and Imports



Source: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Market Information and Analysis Unit, 'Direction of Trade Time Series 2000-01: One Hundred Years of Trade')

This DFAT document covers Australia's trade with the world and was designed to provide readers with a comprehensive and easily-accessible overview of the state of Australia's economy and trade relationships with its major state partners for the past hundred years but, for the purposes of this chapter, only the information pertaining to Egypt will be included.

The same year this document was released Mark Vaile, National Party Minister and former Deputy Prime Minister under the Howard government, as well as the Minister for Trade and Investment under the same Howard government, said in a DFAT Media Release that "Australian companies have a proud tradition of selling high-quality agricultural products to North Africa and the Middle East. This trade has expanded to include value-added products, technology, and services in all industry sectors including mining, automotive and infrastructure".¹¹ Here, as always, trade forms the basis of

¹¹ Vaile, Mark. 'Building Stronger Links with Libya', Media Release, July 5th 2002, accessed April 29th 2014 (2002a).

the relationship between Australia and North Africa (which is usually considered with the Middle East, and not with the rest of Africa).

When the UN sanctions against Libya were lifted in 1999¹² trade doors were reopened for Australia and the Howard government took advantage of the opportunities presented,¹³ with the 2006 Joint Standing Committee into Australia's trade and investment with the countries of North Africa noting that "following normalisation of relations in 2002, Australian merchandise and services exports to Libya increased".¹⁴ In his position as Minister for Trade, Mark Vaile reported that the Howard government had been having

Wide-ranging discussions in Libya... to identify further areas where Australia might provide products and services. Such areas could include goods related to the refining and exportation of crude oil, domestic aircraft and components, and materials for the operations of airfields.¹⁵

Each of the five Arab states of North Africa varies considerably in terms of GDP, GDP growth, merchandise and service trade with Australia, and two-way investment levels. All have primary products as their principal imports from Australia, and all seem to have economies that are recovering well from the events of the Arab Spring – details for each of the state's economies will be given later in the chapter.

Under the Howard government, the economic arrangement of the relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa was predominantly bilateral trade agreements rather than multilateral ones. Bilateral trade with the Arab States of North Africa has driven the foreign policy

¹² Following the 1988 bombing of French airline Pan AM Flight 103 by Libyan nationals.

¹³ During the Howard years, with Alexander Downer at the helm of Foreign Affairs, the government released a publication in 2003 entitled 'African Renewal: Business Opportunities in South Africa, Botswana, Uganda, Mozambique and Kenya'. Whilst this was a welcomed report and was co-sponsored by the Australian Government and BHP Billiton, and was useful for businesses wanting to engage with African countries, there were no similar reports released about engaging with the countries of North Africa. Nor have any similar reports been published since. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'African Renewal: Business Opportunities in South Africa, Botswana, Uganda, Mozambique and Kenya', October 17th 2003, accessed April 25th 2014.

¹⁴ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2006.

¹⁵ Vaile, Mark. 2002a.

formation of successive Australian governments towards the region. This covers both governmental trade and private sector investment, especially within the resource and agriculture sector. The self-positioning of the Abbott/Turnbull government as good economic managers includes ensuring that Australian companies are well positioned to take advantage of the myriad of economic opportunities presented by the region, and that the region itself is stable enough to allow Australian companies to flourish.

4.3 What does North Africa have to offer Australia?

The bilateral trade relationships between Australia and the five Arab states of North Africa reflect a recognition on the part of Australian foreign policymakers that North Africa has a lot to offer Australia; that Australia's reputation as a global citizen could be served by spearheading an international intervention in Libya following popular uprisings against the Gaddafi government; and that the framework in which Australian foreign policymakers make their decisions is solid enough that trade relationships with developing regions such as North Africa can withstand crises such as the Arab Spring (despite the relationship not being a priority in the same way as the relationships with the US or with Europe). As demonstrated in this chapter, successive Australian governments have answered this question – “what does North Africa have to offer Australia?” – with variations of the answer ‘trade’. From the Howard government's emphasis on economic functionalism, through the Rudd government's leveraging of Australia's strong trade relationships with developing regions during the campaign for seat on the UN Security Council, to the Abbott government's declaration that Australia is once again “open for business,”¹⁶ Australia has concluded that a solid relationship with North Africa comes with a range of economic benefits.

¹⁶ Maher, Sid. 'Tony Abbott claims victory and says Australia is 'open for business'', *The Australian*, September 8th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014.

In May 2006 the Howard government commissioned JSCFADT to conduct an 'Inquiry into Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa' to address a relationship that, at that point, was seen as one of economic functionalism, a continuation of the Howard government's commitment to the tradition of "material interdependence"¹⁷ which relies on "economic reform...as the best engine of political freedoms and security".¹⁸ The pre-eminence of bilateral trade relationships with developing regions was reflected in the Howard government's response to the 2006 JSCFADT report whereby the Howard government, as per recommendations, committed to pursuing "opportunities to improve market access both through the World Trade Organisation processes and bilaterally through ministerial and officials level representations".¹⁹

Successive Australian governments have been aware that doing business within North Africa, and with North African companies, comes with both risks and opportunities. According to Deloitte

There are many opportunities in Africa for Australian companies including mining, oil and gas, technology enhancement and community engagement... with its untapped natural resources, Africa is experiencing significant growth and is fast becoming an attractive prospect for companies wanting a secure and high growth investment. However, North Africa poses many challenges including cultural, logistical, infrastructural, legal, financial and risk management.²⁰

Of the five Arab states of North Africa, Libya in particular poses multiple risks due to ongoing domestic political instability since the Libyan civil war during the Arab Spring. The knock-on effects of this unrest are just some of the issues that could potentially complicate efforts by Australian companies or investors to open Libya up to further trade with Australia.

¹⁷ Mitrany, David. 'A Working Peace System', Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1943, pp 35.

¹⁸ MacQueen, Benjamin. 'Australia and North Africa: The Missing Link?' in 'Australia and the Middle East: A Frontline Relationship', Fethi Mansouri (ed), Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2006, pp 155.

¹⁹ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Expanding Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa', Government Response, May 31st 2007, accessed August 19th 2014, pp 2.

²⁰ Deloitte. 'Doing business in Africa: Managing your African investments', ND, accessed May 5th 2014.

In a governmental brief prepared for the income Minister for Trade in 2010, obtained under the *Freedom of Information Act 1982*, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade wrote that

Australia has a limited trade policy agenda with Africa. Many markets remain difficult to operate in. The need for government support for economic interests will remain greater in Africa than in less difficult commercial environments. At the same time, institutional weakness limits the potential for growth in Australia's exports to Africa outside the resources sector.²¹

This same document states that “there are no serious trade irritants with African countries”²² though this was written before the momentous events of the Arab Spring and that particular section focussed on sub-Saharan Africa rather than North Africa. Though there are multiple dimensions to Australia’s foreign policy formation towards the North African region, it is safe to say that much of what the Arab states of North Africa have to offer to an increasingly interested global community is oil and gas – this is as true for successive Australian governments and potential investors as it is for any other states.

The MENA region's oil revenue has contributed to the development of the second most developed regional banking sector and the high levels of banking assets in the world.²³ With the exception of Israel, the gap between the Arab states with "huge oil and gas reserves but small populations"²⁴ and the other states of the region is noticeable. North Africa's proven reserves are 65 billion barrels, according to BP’s 2012 figures, second only globally to the Middle East's 795 billion barrels. Overall, the MENA region covers 52 per cent of global proven oil reserves.²⁵ Therefore, what North Africa has

²¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Trade’, FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014 (2011d), pp 87.

²² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 87.

²³ This is with regards to the levels of state domestic credit allocated to the private sector by governments. Durban, Matthew. ‘African Outlook – Australian Trade and Investment’ (speech given at the Africa Day Seminar, Australian National University, May 22nd 2012), accessed May 5th 2014, pp 33.

²⁴ Woodward, Richard. Mehdi Safavi and Piotr Kozarzewski. ‘Background Report on Private Sector Development in Latin America, the Post-Communist Countries of Europe and Asia, the Middle East and North Africa’, *Social Science Research Network*, CASE Network Studies and Analyses No. 434, January 2012, pp 31.

²⁵ Khatib, Hisham. ‘Oil and natural gas prospects: Middle East and North Africa’, *Energy Policy*, 64:C (2014), pp 72.

to offer Australia, is simple – an opportunity to compete globally for access to the world’s natural resources.

Despite the unique challenges posed North African markets, the region is not any more politically or diplomatically demanding than other regions which Australia does not share either cultural similarities or geographical proximity. Australia’s relationship with the Arab states of North Africa is heavily weighted towards trade elements, though this is true of many other developed states looking to re-engage with the region. Australia is not the only state attempting to reinvigorate trade relations with North Africa (for example, both China²⁶ and the US²⁷ have become increasingly interested in the region). Australia’s involvement with Africa’s resource sector is what David Mickler called “disproportionate... to its overall influence in Africa”²⁸ and is indicative of Australia’s ability as a middle power to punch above its weight.

Mark Vaile, National Party Minister and former Deputy Prime Minister under the Howard government, as well as the Minister for Trade and Investment under the same Howard government, argued that a newly-established new Council for Australian-Arab Relations (CAAR) would grow Australia’s global reputation as a respector of Islam, and would help facilitate a closer relationship between Australia and primarily Islamic states in the MENA region. This new council would “build on the recent spectacular growth in Australia’s trade with the Middle East [and North Africa]... Total merchandise exports grew by almost 40 per cent in 2001. This followed average annual growth in our exports to the Middle East of 12.7 per cent between 1996 and 1999”.²⁹ According to a statement by Austrade in 2014, this spectacular growth was the result of Australia’s MENA regional strategy

²⁶ Liu, Ted. ‘China’s economic engagement in the Middle East and North Africa’, *FRIDE*, Policy Brief 173 (2014).

²⁷ National Security Network. ‘The Case for Renewed U.S. Engagement in Africa’, June 26th 2013, accessed October 4th 2014.

²⁸ Mickler, David. ‘Australia and Insecurity in Africa: New Interests and Influence’, in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds.), ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Towards Africa’, Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 2013, pp. 171.

²⁹ Vaile, Mark. ‘Council for Australian-Arab Relations’, Media Release, December 30th 2002, accessed April 29th 2014 (2002b).

To promote, offer and deliver competitive suppliers of goods, services and technologies from Australia to the MENA marketplace and to facilitate two-way investment. Our network of offices has been established to deliver high quality business opportunities back to Australian companies and to provide advice and guidance to them in selecting the most appropriate market in which to begin business development across the Region.³⁰

This regional strategy highlights the main thrust of the Howard government's approach – to facilitate inter-governmental trade, and to increase the ease with which Australia's private sector could access international markets. This strategy has been successfully implemented by successive Australian governments and was referenced by a newly-elected Tony Abbott, who declared in his 2013 federal election victory speech that Australia was once again "open for business".³¹

In the opening address to the Australian Arab Business Women's Forum in March 2014, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Social Services, Concetta Fierravanti-Wells, said on behalf of Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Julie Bishop, that

In North Africa, Australian companies are exploring opportunities in mining, in agriculture, in construction and in renewable energy. The Government will continue to encourage Australian businesses to pursue opportunities across the Middle East and North Africa. We recognise it as a region of continuing economic and strategic importance to us. The Arab Spring, which began in Tunisia and has affected much of the Arab world, has led in some cases to political uncertainty. But in the longer term we are hopeful that countries in the Arab world will make a successful transition to democracy, with stronger civil societies and more diverse and open economies.³²

This forum was the perfect platform for Fierravanti-Wells to endorse Australia's traditional strategy – that trade is the most productive means of promoting Australia's national interest – but with the

³⁰ Australian Trade Commission. 'MENA Region Priorities', accessed April 29th 2014 (2014b).

³¹ Packham, Ben, and Sid Maher. 'Tony Abbott claims victory and says Australia is 'open for business'', *The Australian*, September 8th 2013, accessed August 19th 2014.

³² Fierravanti-Wells, Concetta. 'Australian Arab Business Women's Forum opening address', (speech given at Sydney, March 7th 2014), accessed August 18th 2014.

additional political hope that the Arab Spring would result in more stable environment in which to do business.

This strategy, based on the belief that trade is the most productive means of promoting Australia's national interest, has been endorsed by successive Australian governments, from Howard through to Turnbull. There has been no justification or mandate for disengaging with North Africa that would outweigh the benefits that come from such a relationship. However, the Rudd government's involvement in the international response to the crisis in Libya, the ongoing tensions in Australia's relationship with the region the treatment of Australian livestock in Egyptian abattoirs, and the ongoing imprisonment of Australian-born journalist Peter Greste in Egypt on the flimsiest of grounds) are issues that complicate attempts by the Australian government to develop, manage, and sustain regional business relationships.

Benjamin MacQueen argued in 2006, prior to the Arab Spring, that there was a "nascent, but prospectively valuable relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa".³³ A relative dearth in the literature available on the relationship has resulted from the fact that North Africa as a region has not been an economic or political priority for successive Australian governments. The 2003 report on 'African Renewal' was a useful contribution but focussed on just five sub-Saharan African states, reflecting an overall trend in literature to focus on sub-Saharan Africa at the expense of North Africa (which is generally included as part of the Middle East or subsumed into the broader MENA region).³⁴

The election of the Rudd government in late 2007, and the advent of the Arab Spring in late 2010, heralded an attempt to move Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa beyond the economic sphere. At a speech delivered to the Australia-Africa Business Council in February 2011 on behalf of then-Foreign Minister Rudd, ALP MP Melissa Parke said that it was appropriate that the

³³ MacQueen, Benjamin. 'Australia and North Africa: The Missing Link?' in 'Australia and the Middle East: A Frontline Relationship', Fethi Mansouri (ed), Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2006, pp 152.

³⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2003.

Australian government speaks to the “momentous events that have over the past two months swept North Africa from Tunis to Tripoli to Cairo and beyond”.³⁵ The suitability of the Rudd government’s response to the Arab Spring was determined and defined by Rudd’s vision of Australia as an activist ‘middle power’; Australia’s role in the international reaction to the Libyan civil war; and Australia’s deepening engagement with the region, not least in terms of trade.

Parke’s speech encapsulated Rudd’s approach to the region – pro-collaboration, pro-democracy and supportive of deeper engagement. For this reason

Australia has long encouraged peaceful, democratic reform across the region. We believe this is important to meet the political, economic and social aspirations of the region's people... [and it is towards this end that] the Australian Government and Foreign Minister Rudd in particular have been working hard in recent days to support a peaceful and stable democratic transition in Egypt.³⁶

Her speech detailed the actions taken by the Australian government at the time, and gives some indication of what its priorities were – to support a peaceful and stable democratic transition in Egypt, and to help formulate an effective international response to the crisis in Libya, illustrated in Rudd’s decision to travel to South Africa and Egypt to work with Egyptian representatives to coordinate the assistance being received from the international community. As Foreign Minister, Rudd also promised that “Australia will work collaboratively with other states on the practical and immediate challenges that lie before us across North Africa”.³⁷

Senator Carr and the first democratically elected President of Egypt Mohamed Morsi on September 6th 2012 in Cairo demonstrate that the Arab Spring was not predicted to unduly influence Australia’s relationship with Egypt, as

³⁵ Parke, Melissa. ‘Speech to Australia-Africa Business Council’, (speech delivered on behalf of Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd at the Australia-Africa Business Council, Queensland, February 24th 2011) accessed May 5th 2014.

³⁶ Parke, Melissa. 2011.

³⁷ Parke, Melissa. 2011.

Senator Carr said Australia was and remained a strong supporter of the new democratic Egypt. He was aware of the Egyptian government's developmental priorities, and believed Australia could help; had in mind the Australian ambassador working closely with his counterpart in Canberra to explore ways of drawing the attention of Australian businesses to opportunities in Egypt. Australia had considerable expertise in mining, dry land agriculture and in the financial sector, for example and these were all areas of political cooperation.³⁸

In 2011, in keeping with the ALP's traditional endorsement of multilateral action, and in response to the then-worsening situation in Libya, In 2011 Australia lobbied the UN Security Council for action on Libya, and welcomed the "strong statement the Security Council has issued condemning violence against protesters and calling for those responsible to be held accountable".³⁹ Rudd also attended a meeting of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva to consider the choices available to the international community.

Rudd's promotion of Australia as a responsible global citizen was backed up by Rudd's vision of Australia as an activist member of the international community 'punching above its weight' was strengthened by the participation of Australian governmental department representatives, with a senior DFAT official acting as Australia's representative at a meeting in Brussels aimed at coordinating the global community's response to protests. In this way, the Rudd government's involvement with the international response to the Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa was evidence of Australia "ramping up... [it's] efforts right across Africa delivering on our promise for much deeper engagement".⁴⁰

³⁸ Carr, Bob. 'Diary of a Foreign Minister', NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2014, pp 154.

³⁹ Parke, Melissa. 2011.

⁴⁰ Parke, Melissa. 2011.

4.4 Australian diplomatic representation in trade-relevant North African states

A government brief prepared for the incoming Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2010 prior to the Arab Spring, made available under the FOI Act, suggested that there should be “high level visits to North Africa where we have no resident representation support our growing trade and strategic interests”.⁴¹ There were multiple high level visits to sub-Saharan Africa by members of the members of the Rudd government in 2009-10, including the Governor-General Quentin Bryce, but there were no high level visits to North Africa at this time.

Figure 4.2 Australian Official Visits to Africa 2009-2010

Date	Official visit
January 2009 And January 2010	The Foreign Affairs Minister Stephen Smith. Addressed the African Union in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, January 2009. Visited Botswana for the Southern African Development Community (SADC) on 25 January 2010 and visited South Africa on 26 January 2010.
February 2009	The Defence Minister Joel Fitzgibbon. Visited the African Union in Ethiopia on 18 February 2009.
March – April 2009	The Governor-General Quentin Bryce. Visited ten African countries – Zambia (21 March), Botswana, South Africa, and Mozambique (24 March), Ethiopia (28 March), Kenya (29-30 March), Tanzania (30 March), Mauritius, Seychelles, and Namibia (Governor-General, 2009; Smith, 2009a; DFAT 2010b, p.33).
November 2009	The Parliamentary Secretary for International Development, Bob McMullan Visited South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi, “to strengthen Australia’s ties with key development partners” (McMullan, 2009; McMullan, 2009b).
February 2010	Trade Minister Simon Crean Visited the Mining Indaba in Cape Town, South Africa, where he emphasized that the benefits of the ‘Australian brand’ in the resource sector were its “consulting and capacity building” (Negin, 2010; DFAT 2010b, pp.33, 37).
March 2010	The Parliamentary Secretary for Defence Support, Mike Kelly. Visited Africa when he attended the <i>African Union International Symposium to enhance the Protection of Civilians in Conflict Zones</i> on 2-5 March 2010, in Addis Ababa (Kelly, 2010).

Source: Lyons, Tanya. ‘Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa’ in James Cotton and John Ravenhill (eds) ‘Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs Series 2006-2010’, Oxford University Press, December 2011, pp 204-205.

⁴¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Foreign Affairs’, FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014 (2011c), pp 75.

Most of the state visits made by Australian Ministers to African states in 2009-2010 were for trade or aid purposes – amongst these, the Parliamentary Secretary for International Development Bob McMullan visited South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi in November 2009 “to strengthen Australia’s ties with key development partners”.⁴² Australian Foreign Minister Stephen Smith visited Botswana for the Southern African Development Community (SADC) on 25th January 2010 and, most significantly, Trade Minister Simon Crean visited the Mining Indaba in Cape Town, South Africa, in February 2010, where he continued the tradition of successive Australian governments that stresses the advantages enjoyed by developing states in doing resource sector business with Australia, with the selling point being Australia’s “consulting and capacity building”.⁴³

Despite the fact that there were notable high-level visits by Australian representatives to African states, overall diplomatic engagement between the two regions remained relatively inadequate, with only a limited number of Australian Embassies and High Commissions operating in Africa. Of the Australian Heads of Missions (HOM) in the African Continent, the Cairo embassy was responsible for four of the Arab states of North Africa – Egypt, Libya and Tunisia and Sudan. This is the smallest total number of states covered by any HOM on the African continent.⁴⁴ The other two North African states – Algeria and Morocco – were not covered by any Australian HOM in Africa, but instead by the HOM in Paris, France. This is indicative of a wider trend whereby the Arab states of North Africa find themselves subsumed into other regions in governmental publications and analysis.

⁴² McMullan, Bob. ‘Travel to Africa’, International Development Assistance Charity Press Release, November 1st 2009, accessed January 15th 2015.

⁴³ Crean, Simon. ‘Strengthening the Australia-Africa Partnership’ Media Release, February 5th 2010, accessed February 15th 2015.

⁴⁴ Of the other five HOMs in Africa, Abuja (Nigeria) was responsible for eleven states – Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, The Gambia, Niger, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe. Accra (Ghana) was responsible for nine states – Ghana, Burkina Faso, Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. Nairobi (Kenya) was responsible for nine states – Kenya, Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania, and Uganda. Harare (Zimbabwe) was responsible for five states – Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Pretoria (South Africa) was responsible for five states – Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland. Lyons, Tanya. ‘Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa’ in James Cotton and John Ravenhil (eds) ‘Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs Series 2006-2010’, Oxford University Press, December 2011, pp 187.

4.5 Trade statistics⁴⁵

On the official Austrade site, in the section on Australian export markets, only three of the five North African states are listed – Egypt, Libya, and Morocco.⁴⁶ For Australia, Africa as a whole only accounts for 2.9 per cent of both overall imports and exports. Australia’s total trade in goods and services with Africa (including Egypt) increased 32.6 per cent to \$8.5 billion in 2010, a strong recovery from a fall of 24.3 per cent the previous year.⁴⁷ The exclusion of Egypt from DFAT’s 2010 publication ‘Australia’s Trade with Africa and the Middle East’ is the result of a long-term tendency to classify Egypt as part of the Middle East for policy purposes (and yet Egypt remains ‘included in Africa rather than the Middle East at the total services level as it is not separately compiled by the ABS [Australian Bureau of Statistics]’).⁴⁸

Australia’s total merchandise trade with North Africa (limited to Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco) only makes up 10.3 per cent of the total merchandise trade market with Africa overall. The 2008 total of \$685.6 million dropped to \$351.3 million but recovered to \$662 million in 2010,⁴⁹ thus exhibiting a growth rate of 88.4 per cent between 2009 and 2010 (with a predicted growth rate of 18.8 per cent up to 2015).⁵⁰ These growth trends occurred on the cusp of the Arab Spring.

A key sector for Australia’s trade relationships with the Arab States of North Africa is primary products. Unprocessed primary products performed better than processed primary products, which suffered a decrease in 2008–2010, whereas trade in primary products saw an increase of 39.0 per cent in the period 2009–10, with a predicted growth rate of 6.6 per cent to 2015. In this category, ‘unprocessed’ products experienced a 60 per cent increase in the period 2009–10 with a predicted

⁴⁵ Information set out below in this section has been extracted from my 2013 publication: Climas, Hannah. ‘Australia, North Africa and the Arab Spring’, in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy towards Africa’, Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 2013.

⁴⁶ Australian Trade Commission. ‘Export Markets – Country Index’, accessed June 3rd 2014 (2014a).

⁴⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Australia’s Trade with Africa and the Middle East’, November 2010, accessed 10th May 2014, pp 2.

⁴⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 83.

⁴⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 18.

⁵⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 24.

increase of 10 per cent to 2015, while 'processed' products experienced a significant decrease of 5.8 per cent in the same period, and this is predicted to only slightly improve to growth of -1.2 per cent up until 2015. This time period has been kind to manufactured products, with a 9.7 per cent increase in the period 2009–10, but with a predicted decrease of 0.5 per cent over the next five years.⁵¹

This trend of decreases extended to merchandise exports to North Africa, which saw a dramatic 13.4 per cent decline in the period 2009–10 with a predicted decrease of -9.9 per cent until 2015.⁵² Libya was the only exception to this within North Africa. Between 2009 and 2010 there was a massive 113.9 per cent increase in export trade to Libya, and this has been predicted to continue to grow by 17.9 per cent until 2015.⁵³ This is despite being just 1 per cent of Australia's total merchandise exports and imports to Africa.

Australia's total merchandise trade with Egypt makes up 4.8 per cent of Australia's total trade with the 'Middle East' for this category. Australia's trade relationship with Egypt looks to remain robust despite the recent upheavals in Egypt stemming from the Arab Spring. There was a growth of 11.9 per cent in the period 2009–10 and this is predicted to grow by 5.9 per cent until 2015.⁵⁴ Of Australia's top merchandise exports to Egypt, wheat has grown from \$0 in 2007–08 to around \$243 million in 2011, while Australia's trade in live animals grew from \$0 in 2007–09 to around \$48 million in 2010, before dropping to just over \$12 million in 2011.⁵⁵ Of the top imports from Egypt, floor coverings have remained relatively stable over the past five years, made-up textiles articles and prepared additives for mineral oils have both dropped slightly, while inorganic chemicals grew from

⁵¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 26.

⁵² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 18

⁵³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 20.

⁵⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 68.

⁵⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Composition of Trade 2011', accessed 13th December 2012 (2011b), pp 182.

\$0 in the period 2007–10 to just over \$25 million in 2011.⁵⁶ This is perhaps indicative of a potential area of future growth.

Excluding Egypt, Australian travel services exports⁵⁷ to North Africa jumped from \$10 million in 2008 to \$38 million in 2010, just prior to the start of the Arab Spring. Services to North Africa make up 5.9 per cent of the African total, and despite regional turbulence this is predicted to grow by 66.8 per cent up to 2015, due in part to a significant 111.1 per cent growth in the period 2009–10. Indeed this sector grew from \$8 million in 2008 to \$16 million in 2009 and then to \$36 million in 2010, with Libya contributing to most of this (5.6 per cent of the African total). This amounted to a growth rate of 125 per cent in the period 2009–10 and with a predicted trend of 77.9 per cent growth up to 2015.⁵⁸

Australian travel services imports from North Africa (mainly Australian tourism to the region), again excluding Egypt, sit at 3.5 per cent of the African total, with a 10.0 per cent decrease in the period 2009–10. The 16.6 per cent predicted growth up to 2015 stems mainly from Morocco, which makes up only 2.2 per cent of Africa's total for this area. It experienced a decrease of 8.3 per cent in the period 2009–10 but has a predicted growth of 22.4 per cent up to 2015.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Morocco ranks sixth in the sector of Australia's personal travel services (excluding education) imports from Africa, holding 2.5 per cent of Africa's total share. While Morocco experienced a decrease in this sector in the period 2009–10 it has a predicted growth of 21.8 per cent up to 2015.⁶⁰ This is perhaps due in part to the fact that Morocco, whilst undergoing post-revolution reform, managed to avoid the violence that plagued many of its neighbours. Tunisia also experienced an increase of 100 per

⁵⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011b, pp 183.

⁵⁷ Defined as 'goods and services acquired from an economy by travellers for their own use during visits of less than one year in that economy for either business or personal purposes', more commonly known as 'tourism'. Index Mundi. 'Australia – Travel Services', accessed October 10th 2012.

⁵⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 44.

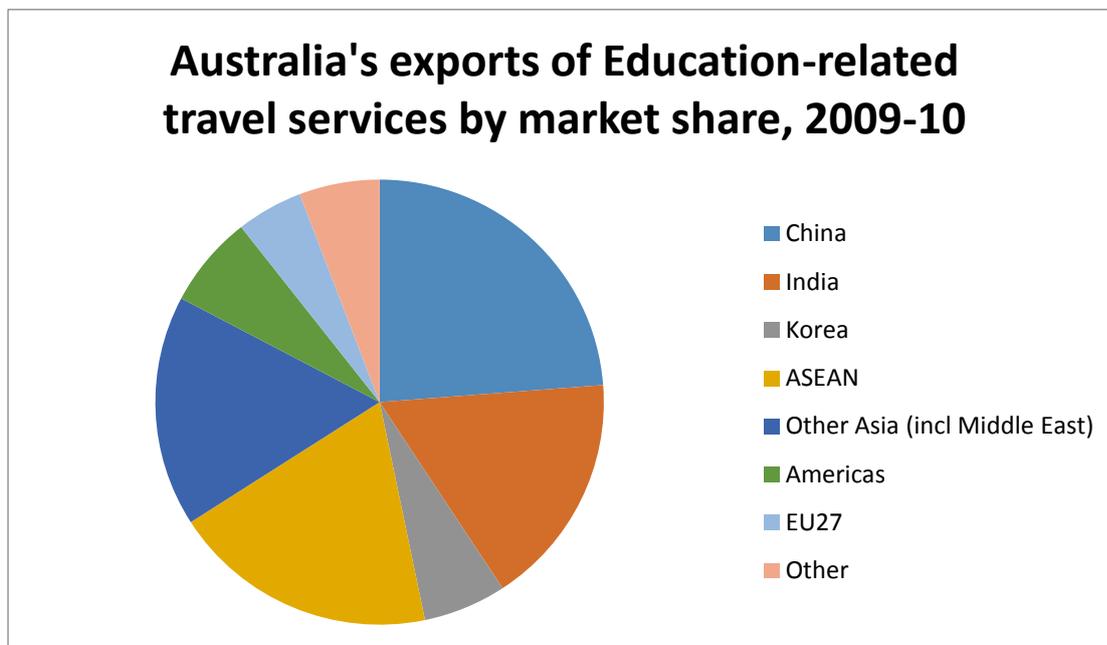
⁵⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 46.

⁶⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 48.

cent imports in the travel services sector in the 2009–10 period, significantly corresponding with the unfolding events of the Arab Spring.⁶¹

Of Australia’s education-related services exports⁶² to African countries, only one North African country is listed in the top ten—Libya, which ranks fourth, with 7.8 per cent of the African total. Of these top scorers, Libya had the largest growth in the period 2009–10—118.8 per cent—and the top predicted growth for the next five years—77.2 per cent.⁶³

Figure 4.3 Australia’s exports of education-related travel services by market share 2009-10



Source: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Analysis of Australia’s Education Exports’, March 2011, accessed August 18th 2014 (2011a), pp 1.

⁶¹ Suarez, Ray. ‘Morocco Avoids Arab Spring Violence, but Progress Is Mixed on Reforms’, *The Rundown*, December 19th 2011, accessed November 10th 2012.

⁶² For DFAT purposes, ‘education exports’ are made up of education-related travel services (including fees and living expenses of foreign students studying in Australia); and other education services (including the non-travel related education services such as consultancy services). Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Analysis of Australia’s Education Exports’, March 2011, accessed August 18th 2014 (2011a), pp 3.

⁶³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2010, pp 48.

Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa has been altered post-Arab Spring and this is reflected in both the above statistical increases and in the predicted growth trends.

4.6 Australia's tumultuous trade history with Libya – a case study

Australia's previous reengagement with Libya and the attempted normalization of diplomatic relations came as Australia hoped "to win hundreds of millions of dollars of export contracts with Libya after the country... promised to scrap its banned weapons programs".⁶⁴ Australia's history of trade with Libya has been influenced international condemnation of Gaddafi and his family. In 1987, Australia deported Libyan diplomats as a result of Libya's involvement in the diplomatic politics of Asia-Pacific in order to spread "anti-Western sentiment".⁶⁵ Yet, only two decades later, Greg Sheridan has demonstrated that the Gaddafi family actually contributed funds to Australian trade unions, as well as Australian politicians who opposed the ANZUS treaty with the US.⁶⁶

Saif al-Islam Gaddafi, second son of the Libyan dictator, (charged in 2015 by the International Criminal Court with committing crimes against humanity), visited Australia back in 2005 as a member of the Libyan soccer team for a World Cup training camp.⁶⁷ As part of his visit, it was reported that the Gaddafi family was funding "4000 Libyan students in Australia who [we]re studying at universities to become doctors, nurses and engineers."⁶⁸ Saif al-Islam Gaddafi also attended a business lunch with the ALP state ministers Norm Marlborough and Kim Chance, along with construction magnates Tim and John Roberts, to discuss potential investment in the local company Multiplex. Despite these attempts at wooing relations with Libya and its vast oil money, the current

⁶⁴ Gordon, Josh. 'Australia eyes Libya's billions', *The Age*, December 25th 2003, accessed October 4th 2014.

⁶⁵ Nicholson, Brendan. 'Libya advances to Pacific region', *The Australian*, January 1st 2014, accessed October 4th 2014.

⁶⁶ Sheridan, Greg. 'Dictator's useful idiots happy to take his money', *The Australian*, February 24th 2011, accessed October 4th 2014.

⁶⁷ Kennedy, Les. 'Gaddafi sons' Sydney romps', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 27th 2011, accessed October 4th 2014.

⁶⁸ Kennedy, Les. 2011.

and key sectors of the trade relationship between Australia and Libya are dominated by primary products, trade services, and education, as well as the 'natural resources' sector managed through the private sector, and the live export industry.

Mark Vaile emphasised the importance of Libya as an export destination for Australia's live cattle industry, describing it as a way to "further enhance Australia's reputation as a supplier of high-quality and value-for-money products and services".⁶⁹ In 1997 and 1998, the years immediately following the election of the Howard government, annual shipments of live cattle were valued at \$59 million and \$65 million respectively. Furthermore, Australian trade to Libya included other products such as meat, wheat, and milk powder, and in services such as in the water, oil and gas sectors. Libya was also seen as a prospective destination for investment by the Australian oil exploration sector.⁷⁰

Mark Vaile completed a trade mission to Libya in July 2002, where he

Stressed the importance of both countries committing to a stronger trade and investment relationship. I was also able to lay the foundations for dialogue on a full range of political issues; with the Libyan Foreign Minister telling me that as a result he agreed that at a mutually appropriate time he would meet with the Australian Foreign Minister.⁷¹

As a result of this dialogue, Vaile expressed the Howard government's satisfaction that Libya was trying to make amends for its past actions and was attempting to put an end to its international reputation as a state supporter of terrorist activities. This bilateral engagement was taken by the Howard government as evidence that the Libyan authorities were attempting to rehabilitate its international reputation after decades as a state supporter of terrorist activities. In an interview with ABC's AM program in 2002, Vaile stated that the Howard government

⁶⁹ Vaile, Mark. 2002a.

⁷⁰ Vaile, Mark. 2002a.

⁷¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Vaile Opens Door for Australian Business in Libya', July 15th 2002, accessed May 15th 2015 (2002b).

Took the decision following the lifting of sanctions last year and also importantly, Libya's declaration... [as] opposition to terrorism at the end of last year and certainly in the discussion that I had this afternoon, there's a clear intention of engagement with the rest of the world and I understand that the Libyans are engaged in negotiations to finally resolve the Lockerby issue and that, when dealt with, will clear the way for further development of the broader relationship.⁷²

The re-engagement with North Africa that took place under the Rudd government was predated by the Howard government's attempts to establish a stronger bilateral trade relationship with Libya at a time when the Gaddafi family was purportedly attempting to make amends for its previous history of state-sponsored terrorism. This effort by the Australian government was – unsurprisingly – based on trade concerns. Libya in particular has benefited from the Rudd government's re-engagement with the countries of Africa. In September 2011 the Australian government was quick to offer assistance to the “650 Libyan students, and their dependants, who have been left stranded in Australia without funds for study and living costs due to the conflict in their home country”⁷³ which included many Libyans being offered extensions to their visas. This was accompanied by an announcement by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs Craig Emerson and the Minister for Tertiary Education Senator Chris Evans, detailing a \$1.5 million loan to be managed by the Libyan Embassy for the use of Libyan students and their families.⁷⁴

This ongoing engagement with Libya through the Arab Spring is a continuation of the Rudd government's attempts at re-engaging with the wider North African region at a time of great upheaval.

⁷² *ABC Radio*. 'Federal government welcomes Libya's efforts to stamp out terrorism', July 13th 2002, accessed October 4th 2014.

⁷³ Emerson, Craig. 'Libyan Students Helped to Keep Studying in Australia', Media Release, September 1st 2011, accessed October 1st 2012.

⁷⁴ Australian Education International. 'Update for Libyan Nationals studying in Australia', September 5th 2012, accessed November 4th 2012.

4.7 The ongoing influence of the Arab Spring on Australia's trade with North Africa

Then-Trade Minister Andrew Robb, when interviewed at an Australia Unlimited Media Conference in 2013 (nearing the end of the Rudd/Gillard government's time in government) stated that

From an investment point of view there is never any question about investments from this part of the world - they are very welcome and I really want to capitalise on that which is why I'm the minister for trade, but for the first time ever we've included investment as a portfolio responsibility because where you've got trade, invariably you've got a strong investment relationship... So, in a sense, the real message we are trying to get over during the next four days is that Australia is open for business and we are very serious about deepening the relationship and the engagement with countries in the Middle East and North Africa and particularly the members of GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council].⁷⁵

The self-professed deepening of Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa may have been motivated by Rudd's activist ambitions and Australia's campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, but the pre-existing trade element to the relationship demonstrated in the above paragraphs suggests that this deepening was a natural fit, reflected in Robb's use of the phrase 'open for business'.

Australian trade in primary products and merchandise exports was backed up by foreign investment and a strong education sector – what Andrew Rodd put forward as a plan to establish Australia as one, a reliable trading partner; two, a key investment partner; three, a provider of world class education and training; and four, an appealing tourist destination.⁷⁶ According to DFAT

⁷⁵ Robb, Andrew. 'Australia Unlimited' (speech given at Dubai UAE, April 13th 2013), accessed 29th April 2014.

⁷⁶ Robb, Andrew. 2013.

recommendations for the incoming ALP Trade Ministry, “Australia has a major interest in preserving and building upon the multilateral rules-based trading system”.⁷⁷

When addressing the primary focus of this thesis – what do the Arab states of North Africa have to offer Australia – Nikola Pijovic notes that although “trade in merchandise with African countries is relatively two-sided (Australia both exports to, and imports from, a range of African countries) its trade in services is rather one-sided”.⁷⁸ Australia’s engagement with the region has clear and broad economic benefits, while the Arab states of North Africa benefit more in specific areas – namely merchandise, rather than services.⁷⁹

The DFAT publication ‘Trade at a Glance: 2013’ stated that the overall rate of growth Australia’s goods and services exports over the previous five years (2009-2013) had slowed to 6.2 percent per year, despite a rise in Australian export volumes, due to lower market prices received for Australia’s raw goods – metal ores, minerals and coal.⁸⁰ The government brief prepared for the incoming Minister of Trade stated that “domestic economic reforms that reduce business costs and boost productivity help our exporters stay competitive. Maintaining community support for an open Australian economy will be critical to the success of our trade policy agenda”.⁸¹

This government brief demonstrates that successive Australian governments in the past decade have been receptive to new investment and trade from foreign governments and companies – including those from North Africa – although Australia’s much-advertised resources boom could unfavourably

⁷⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Trade’, FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014 (2011d), pp 16.

⁷⁸ Pijovic, Nikola. ‘Australian investment and trade with Africa: The opportunities and challenges of a one dimensional relationship’ in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa’, Melbourne University Press, 2013, pp 102.

⁷⁹ See Appendix A.

⁸⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Trade At A Glance: 2013’, December 2013, accessed May 1st 2014 (2013l), pp 4.

⁸¹ This proved difficult, considering that Abbott government’s difficulties in selling its 2014 federal budget to the Australian public. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 61.

affect some of Australia's export sectors, with the resource and construction sectors absorbing large parts of the slighter finance and skills sector.

4.8 Bilateral investment opportunities with North Africa

Foreign investment is an important part of the relationship between Australia and North Africa. According to DFAT, this is because foreign investment provides access to much-needed capital and supplements insufficient domestic savings (especially as Australia has such a small population relative to the investment opportunities available); provides enhanced international competitiveness via access to new technologies; contributes to the creation of new employment opportunities for Australian workers in foreign subsidiaries; contributes to increased government revenue; while increased competitiveness driving up productivity growth.⁸²

Currently there is no DFAT data is available for Algerian, Libyan and Moroccan investment in Australia, suggesting that as a potential market its influence on the Australian economy is negligible, while Tunisian investment in Australia is nil and Egyptian investment in Australia was \$28,000,000 in 2013. Franchising⁸³ in the MENA region, a form of potential investment, is currently "worth more than \$30 billion and [is] growing at approximately 27% annually"⁸⁴ in what is referred to as a trillion dollar market. Of the five Arab states of North Africa, only Egypt has a marked investment relationship with Australia – overall, it is just Egypt and South Africa that Australia focuses on within the African continent. For all others, there is either little data available, or nothing to report on.⁸⁵

⁸² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013I, pp 41.

⁸³ A marketing model whereby "the franchisor (the owner of the business providing the product or service) assigns to independent people (the franchisees) the right to market and distribute the franchisor's goods or service, and to use the business name for a fixed period of time". 'Franchise Council of Australia. 'What is Franchising?', accessed August 14th 2015.

⁸⁴ Gereis, Camil. 'Franchise Opportunities in a Trillion Dollar Market', *Australian Business Consulting and Solutions*, accessed May 6th 2015.

⁸⁵ Pijovic, Nikola. 2013, pp 104.

Therefore, any discussion of the trading relationships between Australia and North Africa are mainly dependent on what Australia can export.

Despite this, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) found that any foreign investment that makes up a significant portion of GDP “is significantly and positively associated with productivity growth”.⁸⁶ A study authored by Access Economics for DFAT (published as ‘Trade at a Glance 2013’), found that an increase of 10 per cent in Australian foreign investment would result in an increase of more than one per cent in GDP by 2020.⁸⁷

Agcap Pty Ltd managing director John McKillop, who manages multiple eastern Australian grain, beef and dairy farms via the Sustainable Agriculture Fund, gives the number of agricultural businesses operating in Australia as 136,000. Of these, he says, only one per cent of them were “partially or wholly owned by foreign entities”.⁸⁸ This is in line with public opinions on the subject, with mining and natural resource acquisition the more ‘popular’ recipient of foreign investment (a 2010 survey found that just 36 per cent of people were in favour of foreign investment in agriculture, compared to 48 per cent in favour of foreign investment in the mining sector, with more people surveyed in favour of US investment than Chinese investment, 38 per cent compared to 23 per cent).⁸⁹ In 2013 Australia slipped to second, behind the US, in the list of top destinations of Chinese outbound ODI, with 12 per cent of the global share in 2005-2013 and 8 per cent in 2013.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013I, pp 41.

⁸⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013I, pp 41.

⁸⁸ He puts this down to a lack of public knowledge about the issue which, he says, results in rhetoric rather than real debate. Relatively high levels of foreign investment in Australia do not currently extend to the agricultural sector – “of the \$507 billion of direct foreign investment in Australia, just 0.12 per cent is in agriculture. Wagstaff, James. ‘Foreign investment in agriculture is good, Agcap Pty Ltd boss John McKillop says’, *The Weekly Times*, May 15th 2014, accessed June 2nd 2014.

⁸⁹ Wagstaff, James. 2014.

⁹⁰ The University of Sydney Chinese Studies Centre. ‘Demystifying Chinese Investment in Australia’, March 2014, accessed June 1st 2014, pp 3.

John McKillop says publically listed companies aren't "a good vehicle for corporate investment in agriculture".⁹¹ What McKillop refers to as a 'Sinophobic' approach by the Australian public to foreign investment may present barriers for potential increases in Chinese investment in Australia's agricultural sector under future Australian governments, with a drop in Chinese investment in Australia by around 10 per cent in 2013, which would need to be overcome in order for overall levels of FDI to increase.⁹² It is clear that foreign investment in the agricultural sector is an area where growth could be leveraged if public opinion could be swayed, future Australian governments could be convinced of the benefits to the Australian economy, and the Arab states of North Africa could be won over by the offer of high-quality Australian agricultural products at competitive prices.

Potential foreign investors from the Arab states of North Africa would be subjected to the same taxes, levies and tight market transfer rules as Chinese investors, unless future Australian governments made a conscious effort to court North African investment by relaxing the laws that apply to them.

4.8 The impact of the mining and petroleum industries on Australia's foreign policy formation

In 2013, Foreign Minister Bob Carr told the *Africa Down Under* Conference that there were currently 200 Australian businesses involved in 650 projects in 37 different African companies.⁹³ These statistics reflect the importance that the international community attributes to the continent as a supplier of natural resources, despite Africa accounting for "as little as 6 percent of global mineral

⁹¹ He claims that Chinese companies are subjected to the same taxes and levies that Australian companies are subjected to, with the natural transparency of the agricultural sector ("any day you can look up the price of wheat and soybeans, how much rumps will make") reinforced by tight market transfer rules. All this, he says, is in support of Australia's rural communities, with the loss of smaller, independent family operations just a part of the "natural cycle". Wagstaff, James. 2014.

The University of Sydney Chinese Studies Centre. 2014, pp 4.

⁹³ The Australian Centre for Independent Journalism. 'The African-Australian Mining and Development Nexus', June 3rd 2013, accessed May 5th 2014.

production, despite holding an estimated 30 percent of global mineral resources”.⁹⁴ To take advantage of this, Australian companies (in particular Western Australian companies, whose seafloor faces the African Continent over the Indian Ocean) are mobilising to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the continent, despite what Deloitte calls a “challenging global environment”.⁹⁵

There was an increase in the market capitalisation of Western Australian companies to \$148.6b at 31st December 2012, with over 220 companies currently investing in Africa.⁹⁶ Of these, the top movers for the period 2008-2012 were all in the industry titled ‘Materials’.⁹⁷ This is despite a general reluctance by overseas companies (including Australian companies) “to invest hundreds of millions of dollars in an operation that requires a stable framework for 30 years if they cannot rely on the government”⁹⁸ to provide a stable, legal framework to do business in.

Governmental support for the Australian mining sector can play a part in deepening the engagement with North Africa, with the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade writing in 2006 that “opportunities are expanding in the mining sector”.⁹⁹ Australia’s ongoing involvement in Africa as a continent has been shaped by the demands of Australia’s mining sector, so it is clear that “support for the mining sector is a bipartisan goal, which the Abbott [and, presumably, Turnbull] government is expected to pursue”.¹⁰⁰ The federal government has offered to train African policymakers in mining governance in order to better facilitate African states’ ability to negotiate with private companies.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Lane, Andrew, and Riccardo Reggio. ‘Mining in Africa: How Inclusive Solutions Can Mitigate Risk’, *Monitor Deloitte*, 2013, accessed May 5th 2014.

⁹⁵ *Deloitte*. ‘Opportunities abound: Australia’s footprint in Africa’, African Mining Indaba Special Edition, February 2013, accessed May 5th 2014, p 5.

⁹⁶ *Deloitte*. 2013, p 5.

⁹⁷ Including, but not limited to, precious metals and iron ores.

⁹⁸ Lane, Andrew, and Riccardo Reggio. 2013.

⁹⁹ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Makinda, Samuel. ‘Between Jakarta and Geneva: why Abbott needs to view Africa as a great opportunity’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69:1 (2014), pp 4.

¹⁰¹ Makinda, Samuel. 2014, pp 8.

The Australian private sector has been relatively successful in their attempts to integrate themselves into the North Africa economic landscape, especially as that attempted integration is hampered by what Transparency International refers to as a “global threat”.¹⁰² Increased concerns about the effects of the Arab Spring revolutions on the ability of foreign companies to do business can lead to “negative impacts on growth, exports, investment and employment [while the] currently complex political transitions arising from the Arab Spring stagnant economies, porous borders and the increase of security risks”¹⁰³ are a challenge that future Australian governments will face if they choose to facilitate a private sector reengagement in the region.

Within the North Africa region itself, intra-Maghreb trade (predominantly via the Arab Maghreb Union) represents just 3 per cent of global trade with its member states – Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia. IMF Managing Director Christine Lagarde confirmed that open regionalism and deeper integration “could lead to an increase in gross domestic product by 50 percent in ten years. It could also create, for each country, between 2 per cent and 3 per cent of additional GDP per year”.¹⁰⁴ A partnership established by the Arab Maghreb Union in October 2013 with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa found that trade exchanges and intra-North African investment could be improved by financial integration.

It is unlikely, however, that any future Australian government could achieve much regarding recent initiatives in this field, It is improbable that future Australian governments could contribute to recent initiatives in this field, with a later Maghreb Entrepreneurs Forum devoted to reaffirming the “commitment of the Maghreb employers to become more involved in the debate on regional integration and concretely contribute in actions intended to promote it”.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Transparency International. ‘Corruption Perceptions Index 2013’, accessed June 1st 2014.

¹⁰³ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. ‘The private sector to the rescue of regional integration in North Africa’, March 24th 2014, accessed May 5th 2014.

¹⁰⁴ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2014.

¹⁰⁵ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2014.

As Australia's national interest includes a reputation as a good global citizen, it is important that Australian mining companies note that the opportunities available to them in North Africa come with not only economic responsibilities, but also civic and ethical responsibilities

To deliver tangible value to local communities not only during the projects development and operation, but also in the form of long term benefits associated with education, training and infrastructure which can combine to act as a launch-pad for sustainable development long after the projects have been completed.¹⁰⁶

Increased and carefully managed economic integration would be in the interests of the Arab states of North Africa. Australian foreign policy formation aimed at encouraging greater regional integration would be in Australia's national interests – however, future Australian governments will most likely play a limited role in facilitating this.

4.9 Australia's corporate responsibilities and domestic governmental regulation

Australian companies have the potential to either help or hinder sustainable development in foreign states depending on their ability and willingness to work fairly with other parties, including additional companies (both Australian and otherwise), NGOs, North African governments, and local communities. When responding to overtures by Australian mining companies, North African governments will have different objectives to local communities. The challenge for Australian companies will be to navigate the tensions inherent in the system and balance their own needs with the needs of both North African governments and the local communities that will host them.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ *Deloitte*. 2013, p.5.

¹⁰⁷ Bureaucratic issues common to the Arab states of North Africa include, but are not limited to, regulations limiting the use of temporary workers and expatriates (including remittances); the complicated bureaucratic

Future Australian governments will have structures in place to address these concerns, including, but not limited to, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, aimed at promoting both human rights and mining security in a mutually beneficial way. In this way, Australia can contribute by “designing and committing to initiatives and regulations that promote and enforce genuine corporate social and environmental responsibilities for resources companies in their African operations”.¹⁰⁸

While North African governments will be pursuing the state’s economic interests, local communities will instead be seeking “to limit the disruption that mineral development will cause to their economic, social and cultural context, and want access to the new benefits created by large-scale mining”.¹⁰⁹ This also includes the funnelling of funds back into the local communities, rather than going straight back to central government (where local corruption may unduly affect the allocation of funds).

If there is conflict between North African governments who continue to seek the benefits of direct revenue, and local governments who wish to see the benefits instead flow to community organisations (especially in states where state governments lack perceived democratic legitimacy and do not have a history of delivering efficient social benefits), Australian mining companies may resort to either market-based solutions (absorbing lower-income communities into the market as suppliers, agents, distributors or consumers), or national cluster developments (where international companies assist investee states to develop traditionally low-productivity sectors). There are number of options available to Australian mining companies who wish to develop sustainable long-term relations with both North African governments and the local communities.

procedures involved in dismissing workers; large severance allowances; delays in the application for and issuance of land and construction permits; significant capital requirements in starting a new business; and difficulties in closing a business. International Food Policy Research Institute. ‘Food Security and Economic Development in the Middle East and North Africa: Current State and Future Perspectives’, IFPRI Discussion Paper 00985, May 2010, accessed July 23rd 2014, pp 17.

¹⁰⁸ Mickler, David. ‘Australia and Insecurity in Africa: New Interests and Influence’ in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa’, Melbourne University Press, 2013, pp 171.

¹⁰⁹ Lane, Andrew, and Riccardo Reggio. 2013.

These business strategies could work particularly well with those North African states whose percentage of the world's energy resources are not matched by their output, though to date market-based solutions have not often been used in the mining industry. This is a delicate balancing act for Australian companies, with interactions with local communities dependant heavily on either their integration into the wider market sphere, or the development of sectors for domestic benefit.

Future Australian governments have a role to play in promoting the domestic governmental regulation of the burgeoning North African resource sector. This is despite the fact that Australian foreign policymakers treat the two spheres – the North African resource sector and our own resource sector – differently. The EITI promotes 'good governance' within the resource sector, but Australia has been pushing for a fair application of EITI requirements to the resource sectors of African states, but not to its own resource sector. Though agreeing in late 2011 to help fund a 'pilot' of an international EITI, the Australian government views its national interest as best served by domestic regulation (an arrangement that works in Australia's favour).¹¹⁰

The potential for the economic exploitation of African states by Western and Chinese investors is an ever-present one, with public accusations of neo-colonialism affecting public opinions on overseas investment in developing regions (including Australian investment in North Africa). Abdalla Hamdok, deputy executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, said that "the continent's natural resource sector is currently haemorrhaging – leading to a significant loss of development revenue".¹¹¹ The answer to this, he says, is to develop the domestic government's ability to manage interactions with international investors including, but not limited to, the "capacity

¹¹⁰ Hawker, Geoffrey. 'Australian Interests and Responsibilities in the African Resources Boom' in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013, pp 122.

¹¹¹ The Australian Centre for Independent Journalism. 2013.

to physically audit mineral resource production and rents, enhance the skills of officials in negotiating fiscal issues and effectively monitor compliance with taxation laws”.¹¹²

In all likelihood, accusations of neo-colonialism will follow attempts by Australian governments and businesses to deepen economic relations with the Arab states of North Africa.¹¹³ So far “Australian miners in Africa have largely avoided the errors and excesses reported elsewhere, but political and reputational risks remain high for them”.¹¹⁴ This is in contrast to Australia’s mining presence in Indonesia, where the current mining boom has seen ventures like Ok Tedi, Bougainville and Freeport-Grasberg prove terrible for both Australia and affected local communities.¹¹⁵ Australia has a good corporate reputation in North Africa (with a “proven track record of management expertise... with strong corporate governance and a positive reputation for sensitivity to local conditions”)¹¹⁶ but has room for improvement.

This has not always been the case for Australian companies attempting to do business in developing regions or states. Lynas Corporation, an Australian company that operates out of their base at the Mount Welton Mine in Western Australia, has come up against widespread criticism from both Australia and Malaysia for its rare earths plant in the Malaysian seaside town of Kuantan, where 700,000 people live within 30 kilometres of the mine. Activists in early 2012 claimed that the plant was dangerous due to the amounts of radioactive waste it produced (although Lynas claims that it will produce radioactive waste, but that this is low-level and does not pose a threat to local health, and that its operations are currently based in Malaysia due to the Malaysian government offering it a ten-year tax break, contributing to a better economic environment than the one it faced in

¹¹² The Australian Centre for Independent Journalism. 2013.

¹¹³ Pijovic, Nikola. 2013, pp 106.

¹¹⁴ Hawker, Geoffrey. 2013, pp 129.

¹¹⁵ In terms of mining, it takes around four years to set up a mine in Indonesia and between seven and ten in Australia due to Australia’s processing, which involves “the company identifying any environmental issues, the government responding, terms of reference for an environmental impact statement [EIS] being drawn up, a statement undertaken and then, in most cases, a supplementary EIS being completed”. Fraser, Andrew. ‘Coal comfort: faster to start mine in Indonesia than here’, *The Australian*, June 30th 2014, accessed August 18th 2014.

¹¹⁶ Lumsden, Andrew, and Lizzie Knight. ‘Investing in Africa via Australia: Why it makes sense’, *Corrs Chambers Westgarth*, October 11th 2012, accessed February 26th 2015.

Australia). Activists like Australian Natalie Lowrey, who was arrested at a protest in Kuantan on 22nd June 2014 and released after five days, are confident that their protests will prove fruitful, citing the closure of Mitsubishi Chemicals (owner of Asian Rare Earth) in the early 1980s after local community resistance. If a similar mine were opened in Australia, it would have been mandatory for Lynas to complete a detailed EIS – to date it has not done this, nor a Social Impact Assessment.¹¹⁷

Australia's reputation when doing business with states like Malaysia and Indonesia illustrates the benefits and drawbacks of ongoing business relations in Australia's immediate region – the Asia-Pacific. Australia's access to markets in the Asia-Pacific ensures its economic prosperity, but there are (not insurmountable) cultural differences. Depending on North African regional requirements, Australia may be able to leverage its reputation as a good global citizen to carve out a solid position in North Africa's mining industry. Nevertheless, there is the potential for Australia's emphasis on the resource sector to backfire if developing regions classify it with other developed states who enjoy a less savoury reputation, especially if the governments of North Africa see Australia as failing to deliver on promises made during the campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council, and if Australia fails to manage its affairs in North Africa so as to avoid the mistakes it made in Indonesia and Malaysia.

4.10 The impact of North African food security on Australia's agricultural production and innovation

According to an International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) discussion paper, all five North African states (as well as Sudan) are classified as having "food security challenges".¹¹⁸ In determining this, IFPRI relies on what they refer to as the universally accepted definition of food security, "a

¹¹⁷ Bonacci, Mara. 'Australian mining activist released from Malaysian prison', *Green Left Weekly*, June 28th 2014, accessed August 17th 2014.

¹¹⁸ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 7.

situation when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life".¹¹⁹ Within this context

We consider food security as an integrated, multidimensional, and cross-sector concept. This conceptual framework differentiates food security on the national level (referred to as macro-level food security) and food security on the household and individual levels (referred to as micro-level food security) and emphasizes that improving food security is a multisector challenge. The main sector groups involved in improving food security are transportation/trade, public health/education, and agriculture/water, in addition to groups involved in working toward the general goal of accelerating economic growth that benefits the poor and food-insecure households.¹²⁰

IFPRI's definition is an attempt to capture the macroeconomic and grassroots elements of food security, including the ratio of total exports to food imports, food production per capita, and the state's position on the Global Hunger Index (GHI). According to these standards, the MENA region is

The most food import-dependent region in the world, and net food imports are projected to rise even further in the future... Managing future food security at the national level therefore must include strategic choices about securing access to food through a mix of domestic investments (agriculture and food stocks) and international market arrangements (trade agreements and hedging) or potential innovative mechanisms (such as virtual reserves).¹²¹

Reassuringly for the Arab states of North Africa, food security doesn't require self-sufficiency. According to IFPRI, MENA governments just need to be able to raise and stabilise goods and services export levels in order to sufficiently finance food imports.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. 'Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security', Rome, November 2009, accessed February 13th 2015.

¹²⁰ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 4.

¹²¹ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 3.

¹²² International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 4.

What states can learn from the experiences of other developing regions is that the best promotion of food security is individual people's incomes, and that this can best be served with economic growth. IFPRI argues that in order for MENA states to properly obtain food security, they must concentrate on encouraging economic growth, as "export-led growth in manufacturing, services, and agriculture (in countries with potential) will have to play an important role in MENA's future growth and the creation of jobs".¹²³ One important aspect of the issue of 'security' is 'food' or 'food security'. This section will therefore discuss the issue of food security and how this has impacted if at all, upon Australia's foreign policy formation in relation to North Africa.

The issue of food security in North Africa is relevant to this thesis in that it poses a number of questions regarding Australia's position in the world – does Australia have a humanitarian responsibility to concern ourselves with North Africa's food security concerns? Does Australia have the ability to influence North African governments? Or is direct involvement with the states of North Africa vis-à-vis their food security an optional opportunity for Australian businesses or government?

The effect of the Arab Spring on the issue of North African food security is curious, as

Food scarcity or high prices often underlie riots, unrest and revolutions. Today, any poor countries rely on the global food supply system and are thus sensitive to global food prices. This condition is quite different from the historical prevalence of subsistence farming in undeveloped countries, or even a reliance on local food supplies that could provide a buffer against global food supply conditions. It is an example of the increasingly central role that global interdependence is playing in human survival and well-being.¹²⁴

Trade for the Arab states of North Africa is particularly important, contributing as it does to macro-level food security with the improvement of the competitiveness of existing trade regimes and the

¹²³ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 5.

¹²⁴ Lagi, Marco, Karla Z. Bertrand and Yaneer Bar-Yam. 'The Food Crises and Political Instability in North Africa and the Middle East', New England Complex Systems Institute, July 19th 2011, accessed February 13th 2015, pp 2.

manufacturing of a comparative advantage. For North African imports especially, developing regions play a huge role. The direction of trade varies with regards to specific North African states within a wider MENA context, as

North African countries such as Morocco and Tunisia are more likely to trade with northern countries such as the E.U. 25, whereas Middle Eastern countries favor south–south trade within the MENA region, with shares of exports ranging between 39 percent for Egypt and 82 percent for Jordan. In imports, all countries mostly import from the E.U... Syria, which seems to favour imports from developing countries, is the exception.¹²⁵

The MENA states all enjoy high trade protection laws, with three of the five North African states – Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt – being in the top 11 most protectionist states according to the IFPRI Market Access Maps database.¹²⁶ Four of the five North African states are high in agricultural protection, whilst the fifth – Egypt – focuses on the protection of industry instead. The effects of increased trade liberalisation on the food security status of North Africa is dependent less on economic rationalisation and more on the sustenance of the state’s agriculture sector (and the prosperity of the state’s farmers) which, in turn, is dependent on domestic political and economic reform.¹²⁷

Significant from the Australian perspective is that Australia is just one of the potential trading partners mentioned in the IFPRI report, and is not considered a priority country or trading partner when compared to the EU, consisting as it does of 28 separate states.¹²⁸

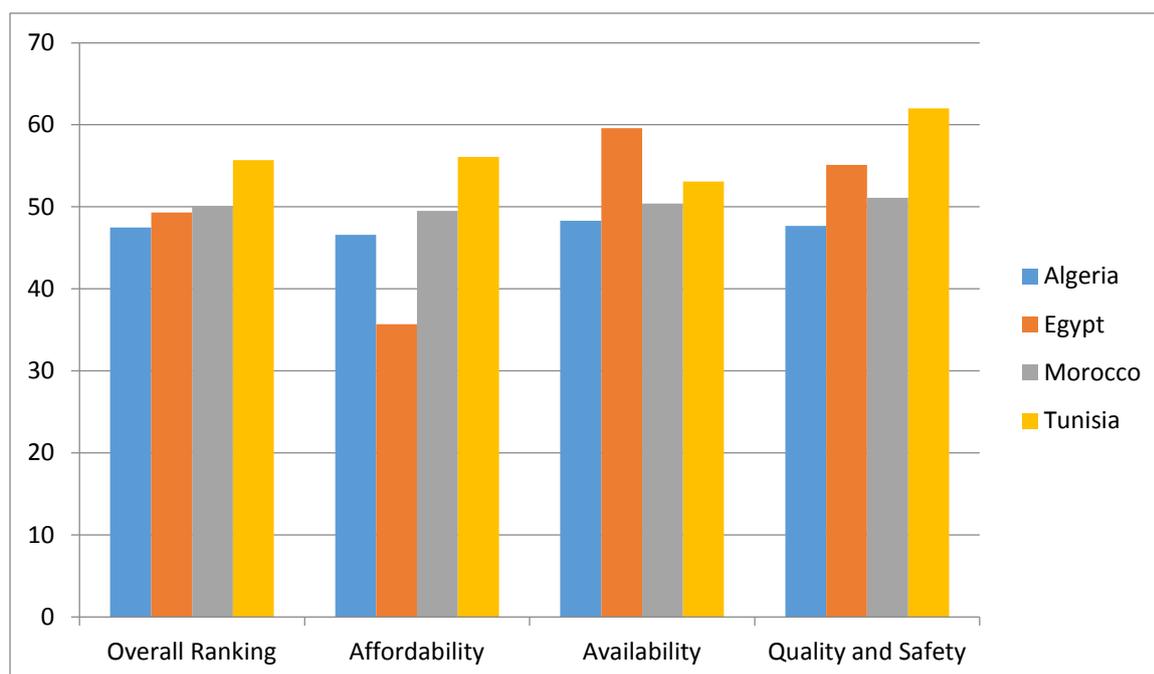
¹²⁵ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 9.

¹²⁶ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 9.

¹²⁷ Levels of trade liberalisation in North Africa vary. The effects on Egypt are minimal due to the dampening effects of higher wheat prices on domestic poverty levels (higher rice and horticultural prices boost poverty, but not enough to be an issue). Tunisian rural poverty is kept lower due to the removal of import barriers, though it has the added effect of reducing the prices of agricultural products. Morocco’s policies have the opposite effect, with the removal of agricultural protection lowering agricultural prices to such an extent that rural poverty is increased. International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 16.

¹²⁸ The article this information is taken from is focussed on future perspectives for MENA states, including those in North Africa. International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 9.

Figure 5.1 Food scores for the Arab states of North Africa (out of 100)



Source: ‘Food security in focus: Middle East & North Africa 2014’, The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2014, pp 13.

On a global scale, MENA states are large importers when compared to their counterparts in other developing regions. Overall, however, their consumption is so minor that the effects of a local trade policy on international price-setting are minimal.¹²⁹ When scored out of 100, four of the five North African states (excluding Libya) received moderate scores – Tunisia scored the best out of all four states except in ‘Availability’, where Egypt scored the highest.

An average real GDP growth of 4 per cent for North Africa since the 1990s was brought to a standstill by the momentous events of the Arab Spring, where “2011 brought a slowdown in Egypt (1.2 percent growth) and no growth at all in Tunisia. Only Algeria, due to its oil exports, is expected to continue to grow around 3 percent”.¹³⁰ According to IFPRI’s 2020 Global Food Outlook, “because most

¹²⁹ Wright, Brian, and Carlo Cafiero. ‘Grain reserves and food security in the Middle East and North Africa’, *Food Security*, 3:1 (2011), pp 71.

¹³⁰ United States Department of Agriculture. ‘International Food Security Assessment, 2012-22’, Economic Research Service, July 2012, accessed March 4th 2015, pp 23.

subsidies and trade barriers promote higher domestic production, full trade liberalization would generally cause agricultural production to fall somewhat, especially in the developed world”.¹³¹

North Africa’s food security prospects also continue to lag due to areas related to agricultural production – transport, policy, research and development. Due to these lags, the MENA region “scores worse than any other region in the volatility of agricultural production indicator”.¹³² On an inter-regional level, the Arab states of North Africa scored the worst out of all the MENA states, with Egypt particularly affected by the events of the Arab Spring.¹³³

Food security in North Africa remains an issue for North African governments which are reliant on foreign direct investment. However, the North African states are less vulnerable to food insecurity because currently fewer than 10 per cent of North African states’ citizens subsist below the recommended nutritional levels.¹³⁴

Figure 5.2 Projected annual growth in food security variables in North Africa between 2012 and 2022

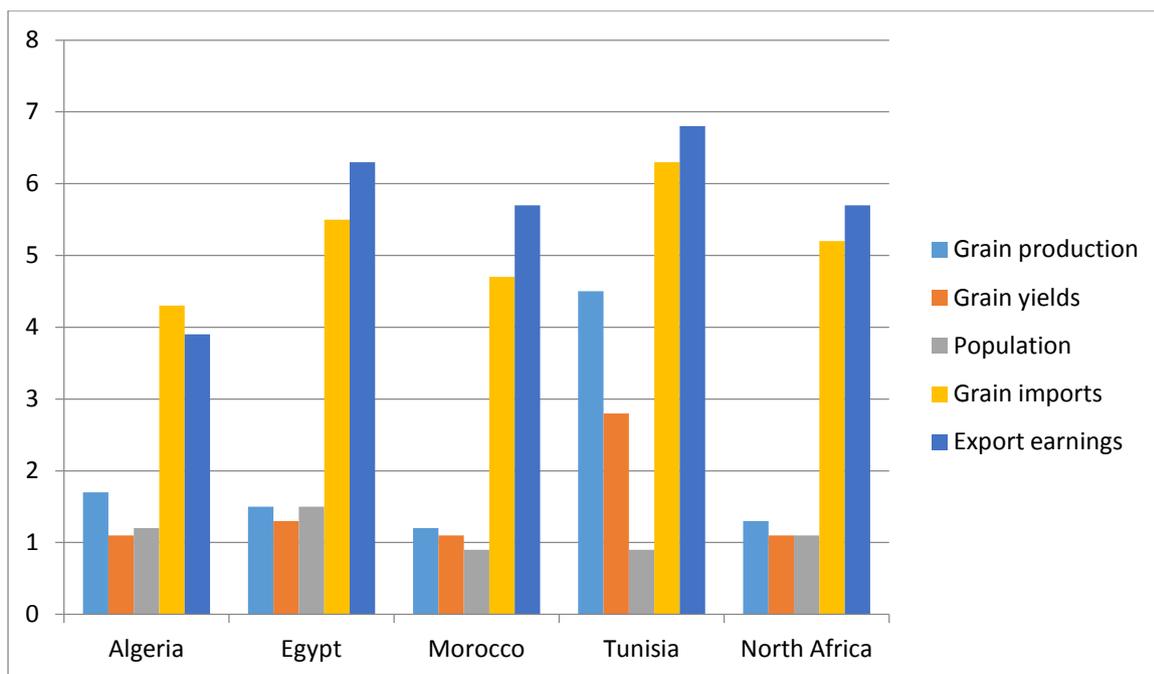
¹³¹ International Food Policy Research Institute. ‘2020 Global Food Outlook: Trends, Alternatives, and Choices’, Washington D.C., August 2001, accessed July 24th 2014, pp 13.

¹³² *The Economist Intelligence Unit*. ‘Food security in focus: Middle East & North Africa 2014’, 2014, accessed 15th July 2015, pp 8.

¹³³ *The Economist Intelligence Unit*. 2014, pp 10.

¹³⁴ This is especially interesting when compared to sub-Saharan Africa, which is predicted to see a rise of 54 million food-insecure people. Other developing regions seem to be following the same trend that North Africa is following, however – Asian states are evenly split between food-secure and food-insecure, ensuring a decrease in the number of food-insecure Asian citizens by around 10 million by 2022, while Latin America and the Caribbean are predicted to see a decrease in the number of food-insecure citizens by 15 percent in the same time period. United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 11.

¹³⁴ United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 24.



Source: United States Department of Agriculture. 'International Food Security Assessment, 2012-22', Economic Research Service, July 2012, accessed March 4th 2015, pp 24.

For North Africa, grain yields and population were both expected to grow by 1.1 per cent between 2012 and 2022. Grain production sits slightly higher at 1.3 per cent, while grain imports are much higher 5.2 per cent. Export earnings for North Africa are 5.7 per cent, with three of the four North African states listed showing growth equal to or higher than the region's average – Egypt at 6.3 per cent, Morocco with 5.7 per cent and Tunisia with 6.8 per cent. Algeria brings down the regional average, sitting at 3.9 per cent.¹³⁵

The manufacturing sector in Egypt and Tunisia makes up 18 per cent of their respective GDPs, while making up 15 per cent in Tunisia – this is to be expected in states that are not mineral-rich.¹³⁶

According to IFPRI, food security-challenged states rely on agriculture to boost economic growth – the issue for North African states will be to maintain per capita agricultural output while facing

¹³⁵ United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 24.

¹³⁶ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 10.

continued high population growth and water access constraints.¹³⁷ According to IFPRI's list of food security challenges, Algeria and Libya are both mineral resource-rich while Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia are defined as mineral resource-poor.¹³⁸

North Africa's reliance on commercial imports is a key factor in ensuring adequate food supplies – grain imports made up nearly half of North Africa's total grain supplies in 2011, and that percentage is predicted to increase to 63 per cent by 2022. The bulk of this increase comes from Tunisia (predicted to import 77 per cent of domestic grain supplies) and Algeria (74 per cent), while Egypt and Morocco's predicted growth is from 40 per cent to 50 per cent).¹³⁹

Compared to sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa's domestic food production is not as essential to the domestic population, relying as it does on high levels of imports. Of the total food consumed, 45 per cent comes from domestic production which has grown 2.4 per cent annually in the last two decades (due to yield increases rather than area expansion), compared to 1.6 per cent population growth in the same time frame. North Africa's production growth looks to exceed population growth over the next decade, 1.4 per cent to 1.1 per cent.¹⁴⁰ On an individual state level

Arable land is relatively abundant in Morocco and Tunisia, less so in Algeria, and scarce in Egypt. Egypt's arable land scarcity has led to high investment in irrigation technology, and most of its production is irrigated.... Average production growth masks dramatic annual variations, as the region is susceptible to droughts. During the last 20 years, production levels in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia—where less than 5 percent of the arable land is irrigated—have been as low as 30 percent and as high as 170 percent of these 3 countries' 20-year averages. Given consumption levels, recent economic and grain production trends, and external trade performance, the North African countries included here are projected to have the means to provide sufficient food supplies through 2022.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 10.

¹³⁸ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 45.

¹³⁹ United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 25.

¹⁴⁰ United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 25.

¹⁴¹ United States Department of Agriculture. 2012, pp 25.

North Africa's reliance on oil exports and exposure to oil price fluctuations exposes it to food security risks, exacerbated by the region's declining manufacturing export industry as a share of total exports, posing "larger development questions about economic transformation and diversification".¹⁴²

Australia's agricultural sector – including, but not limited to, livestock, crops, horticulture and viticulture, fisheries, wool, cotton and dairy – is one of the biggest contributors to the Australian economy, contributing approximately 12 per cent of annual GDP and making up over 60 per cent of Australia's landmass. This sector is productivist in nature, a form of agriculture that emerged in Australia following the end of the Second World. It is based upon the desire to improve productivity as a means of both expanding the volume of production and of employing factors of production (land, labour, water and so forth) more efficiently.¹⁴³

Australia's success in this area is due to the effective development of new technologies, a strong research base including "impacts, adaptation and mitigation"¹⁴⁴ in relation to climate change, and an expert community of farmers.

Rising global population rates could easily justify increased food production in Australia – currently Australia's domestic population is sitting at 22 million while the agricultural sector exports enough to feed another 40 million. Australia's domestic population is predicted to double between 2013 and 2053, while the global population is meant to increase by 2 billion, reaching 9 billion by

¹⁴² International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 5.

¹⁴³ The three most recognizable characteristics of productivism are those of specialisation, intensification and economic concentration. Farms tend to specialize, allowing them to capture economies of scale. They intensify in an effort to employ external inputs in an efficient, targeted manner, and they seek to become bigger and more capital intensive to achieve increased output and improved market access. Lawrence, Geoffrey, Carol Richards and Kristen Lyons. 'Food security in Australia in an era of neoliberalism, productivism and climate change', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 29 (2013), pp 35.

¹⁴⁴ Langridge, Peter, Dana Cordell and Michael D'Occhio. 'Agriculture in Australia: growing more than our farming future', *The Conversation*, July 15th 2014, accessed November 20th 2014.

approximately 2050.¹⁴⁵ Australia's conservative parties, enamoured as they are by liberal economic policies are

Encouraging this expansion at the same time as they are facilitating importation of foods, higher levels of foreign direct investment and the commoditisation of resources (such as water). Yet, expansion in food production - and in an era of climate change – will continue to compromise the environment.¹⁴⁶

The impact of climate change on Australia's ability to export agricultural goods, and domestic consumption of those same goods, could be a thesis in and of itself – however, it is relevant here as the state of Australia's agricultural sector will have an impact on the potential relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa.

The MENA region is the region most vulnerable to water scarcity and the effects of climate change, with water availability in the region predicted to decline to 400 cubic metres per capita by 2050 (as opposed to 757 cubic metres available now in the MENA region, and 7,130 cubic metres global average).¹⁴⁷ The effects of this decrease on the MENA region's agricultural sector looks to be severe, with competition between agriculture and other sectors rising – agriculture makes up 89 per cent of water consumption but only contributes 12 per cent to the region's economy, with water consumption predicted to increase due to ongoing population growth and increased urbanisation. Therefore "growing pressures on limited water resources pose important questions for the future allocation of this scarce resource among agricultural, industrial, residential, and environmental demands".¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Lawrence, Geoffrey, Carol Richards and Kristen Lyons. 2013, pp 30.

¹⁴⁶ Lawrence, Geoffrey, Carol Richards and Kristen Lyons. 2013, pp 30.

¹⁴⁷ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 18.

¹⁴⁸ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 19.

North African states can deal with the issue of water use effectiveness by making better use of both the public and private sectors, including implementing widespread reform of the public agencies and statutory laws responsible for water usage. In particular

Of incentives for excess irrigation offered – barriers to imports; domestic price support; subsidized credit; and energy subsidies – Algeria, Egypt, and Libya offer all four, Tunisia offers all but energy subsidies, and Morocco offers only two (barriers to imports and domestic price support).¹⁴⁹

With regards to the effects of climate change on food security in North Africa, the global prices for staple foods such as meats and cereals are particularly illuminative when it comes to investigating the effects of climate change on agricultural production and the ability of emergent regions to achieve food security.¹⁵⁰

Although Australia may feel the effects of climate change, with a resulting decline in food production (though the impact can be exacerbated or limited by governmental policy), it may still be well placed to continue exporting food to other vulnerable regions due to ongoing innovations in technology (again, this is contingent on governmental policy in that area).¹⁵¹ Australia has the potential to contribute to food security in North Africa not just via the exportation of agricultural products, but via our agricultural research capabilities – “agriculture is among our most technologically advanced industries”¹⁵² and the Centre for Policy Development describes Australia’s ideal approach as one that encourages initiatives that “farm smarter, not harder”.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 22.

¹⁵⁰ International Food Policy Research Institute. 2010, pp 31.

¹⁵¹ There is the potential for food boom to replace mining boom, but much of this growth is directed towards Asia (Australia as the ‘food bowl’ of Asia etc) rather than North Africa, which is seen as too geographically distant.

¹⁵² Langridge, Peter, Dana Cordell and Michael D’Occhio. 2014.

¹⁵³ Eadie, Laura, and Christopher Stone. ‘Farming Smarter, Not Harder: Securing our agricultural economy’, *Centre for Policy Development*, October 30th 2012, accessed November 20th 2014.

4.11 Conclusion

Successive Australian governments have concluded that North Africa has much to offer Australia and that an ongoing relationship is in Australia's best interest. What North Africa has to offer is trade and investment opportunities, and this forms the basis of the Australian foreign policy formation towards the region for decades. The strength of this trade relationship was enough to ensure Rudd's prompt enthusiasm for the Libyan rebels during the Arab Spring; Australia's involvement in the international response to the Libyan crisis; and the wooing of North African states as part of Australia's successful campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council.

As the after-effects of the Arab Spring settle and the global economy improves, "Australia's trade prospects remain positive".¹⁵⁴ Following the Arab Spring revolutions, expectations were high for the economic future of the Arab states of North Africa. Durban stated in his address to an Austrade forum on the occasion of Africa Day in 2012 that, according to IMF projections

Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria are all expected to achieve year on year growth over 1.5 per cent in 2012, with further expansion forecast for 2013. In contrast, Sudan's growth for 2012 is forecast to be negative with some recovery expected in 2013.¹⁵⁵

Overall, the economic performance of the North African region as a whole during the time of the Arab Spring was "below trend... due to significant internal challenges in some economies in the region in addition to external challenges of oil prices and trade linkages with Europe".¹⁵⁶ Australia's trade relationship with the region during this time saw only mild growth, despite Rudd's re-engagement.

¹⁵⁴ Emerson, Craig. 'Australia's trade performance improved in February 2012, but remained in deficit', Media Release, April 4th 2012, accessed May 25th 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Durban, Matthew. 2012, pp 2.

¹⁵⁶ Durban, Matthew. 2012, pp 2.

As the Arab states of North Africa attempt to rebuild themselves in the wake of various uprisings and protests, financial lessons could be learned from the period of time immediately following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the USSR. Here, the successful political, economic and social transition from a failing block of multiple sub-national constituent republics with a state-controlled economy, to a series of independent states, was made possible in large part by free trade. In the same way, the Arab states of North Africa may benefit from a more laissez-faire governmental approach to interstate trade. The path taken by ex-Soviet states in the period immediately following the fall of the Berlin Wall could easily be the one taken by post-Arab Spring states in the MENA region, with an effective post-revolution transition “requiring implementing basic principles of a market economy, the introduction of new systems as an investment requiring substantial foreign financial and technical assistance, and participation in common institutions”.¹⁵⁷

Trade has provided the foundation for Australia’s previous interactions with the Arab states of North Africa. Along with humanitarian aid and trade, a re-engagement under the Rudd/Gillard government took place both as a response to the Arab Spring revolutions and in the (ultimately successful) campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council. The parts of this re-engagement that were driven by Australia’s resources boom cannot entirely be attributed to the Rudd/Gillard government though, as no particular Australian government can claim credit for this. North Africa’s growing middle class, driven by progressively high levels of education across the region, could provide a potential market for Australian goods and services, though there would be competition against juggernauts like China for the opportunity. The differences between the five Arab states of North Africa would warrant different approaches.

Algeria’s general level of domestic political stability was maintained Algeria maintained domestic political stability throughout the Arab Spring (compared to its neighbours) thanks to the Algerian

¹⁵⁷ Gylfason, Thorvaldur, Inmaculada Martínez-Zarzoso and Per Magnus Wijkman. ‘How Free Trade Can Help Convert the ‘Arab Spring’ into Permanent Peace and Democracy’, CESifo Working Paper: Trade Policy, No. 3882, July 2012, accessed May 1st 2014, pp 4.

government's engagement of moderate Islamist parties since 1997,¹⁵⁸ while "ambitious public investment program and prudent macroeconomic management"¹⁵⁹ have contributed to sustained economic growth. Overall, the domestic economy continues to be dependent on the hydrocarbon sector. Any attempts made the Australian government to deepen the economic relationship would face "difficult access to credit, a complex regulatory environment, and time-consuming procedures to set up a business".¹⁶⁰ Until the Algerian government puts in place trade reforms, future Australian governments may struggle to gain a foothold.

For Egypt, "economic growth remains weak with a high fiscal deficit and gross public debt (domestic and external) rising to nearly 100% of GDP at the end of June 2013".¹⁶¹ This comes on the back of strong growth since the early 2000s. According to the World Bank, Egypt's increases in the corporate income tax rate made paying taxes more costly for companies. For Australia, Egypt's prioritisation of workforce development could use investment in education and training.¹⁶² A fall in foreign direct investment in Egypt following the global financial crisis did not help – there is potential room for Australian investment if welcomed by the new Egyptian government. With exports making up the majority of Australia's trade with Egypt, it is important to note that "Egypt has consistently supported reductions in trade barriers and the concept of open and multilateral trading systems. The government has encouraged free trade by active participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and similar forums".¹⁶³

Libya's economy boomed in 2012 with a post-revolution oil-financed consumption boom, fell into recession, and then recovered as oil production increased, which in turn stimulated state budget

¹⁵⁸ Tamani, Salim. 'Why Algeria remains stable: past lessons and new challenges', *Aspenia*, April 19th 2016, accessed February 5th 2017.

¹⁵⁹ The World Bank. 'Algeria – Country partnership strategy for the period of FY20011-20014: Chairman's summing up', February 10th 2011, accessed June 2nd 2014.

¹⁶⁰ The World Bank. 'Algeria Overview', March 12th 2014, accessed June 2nd 2014 (2014a).

¹⁶¹ The World Bank. 'Egypt Overview', March 17th 2014, accessed July 2nd 2014 (2014e).

¹⁶² The World Bank. 'Arab Republic of Egypt: Workforce Development', Saber Country Report March 2014, accessed June 2nd 2014 (2014b), pp 1.

¹⁶³ Australian Trade Commission. 'Egypt: Doing Business, Tariffs and Non-Tariff Barriers', April 10th 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014 (2012a).

revenues and swift GDP growth. It looked for a while as though Libya's economy would continue to improve, with new and increased revenues being pumped into wage increases and subsidies, while the increased domestic consumption of goods due to higher levels of disposable income resulted in high import levels. However, ongoing political uncertainty hindered the private sector, thus adversely affecting investment levels.¹⁶⁴ The Libyan economy was in recession for three consecutive years, as oil production and export levels dropped as a result of disturbances at multiple oil terminals post-June 2013.¹⁶⁵

Until security is reinstated and reforms are implemented, the Libyan government will struggle to restore economic stability. Government institutions and a healthy public sector need to be rebuilt, while "other priorities include rebuilding infrastructure, reorienting the economy away from hydrocarbon dependence, and setting up a governance framework that promotes private sector development, job creation, and inclusive growth".¹⁶⁶ The fact that imports from Libya are 73 times bigger than Australian exports to Libya should be acknowledged within the context of an emphasis on state-based trade, as "most business dealings take place with state organizations".¹⁶⁷ According to the World Bank, Libya's economic improvement is critically dependant on the support of the House of Representatives of the Government of National Accord (the Libyan interim government, endorsed by the UN Security Council in 2015).¹⁶⁸

Australian trade with Morocco remains relatively average, both for exports and imports. Morocco's multiple ambitious domestic reforms should result in a situation whereby public institutions are strengthened, the disparity between education levels and unemployment are addressed, and the

¹⁶⁴ Stratfor: Global Intelligence. 'Complexities of Future Energy Investment in Libya', July 5th 2012, accessed February 15th 2015.

¹⁶⁵ The World Bank. 'Libya Overview', March 20th 2014, accessed July 2nd 2014 (2014f).

¹⁶⁶ The World Bank. 2014f.

¹⁶⁷ Australian Trade Commission. 'Libya: Doing Business, Business culture', May 22nd 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014 (2012c).

¹⁶⁸ The World Bank. 2014f.

economy is more open to investment.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, “prudent macro-economic management and sustained implementation of reform measures... [should] help mitigate the impact of domestic and external shocks”.¹⁷⁰

This is particularly vital as although Morocco was not hugely impacted by the Global Financial Crisis, its terms of trade declined in the wake of the Eurozone crisis and fuel/fuel crisis. Moreover, “although Morocco has reduced barriers to trade by liberalising controls and customs clearance in the last 10 years, there is still a substantial level of protection... [though] there is a free trade zone in Tangiers”.¹⁷¹ Overall the Moroccan economy is based on non-tradeable services and a poorly performing agricultural sector.¹⁷² There is room for future Australian governments to increase their emphasis on free trade, despite relatively high trade costs.

Tunisia’s strong economic growth since former President Ben Ali’s bloodless coup in 1987 and the state’s subsequent liberalization policies have not come without a price – namely, consistently high levels of unemployment (a regional trend) and extreme social inequality.¹⁷³ Increased integration into the international financial community has only fuelled Tunisian growth. Any pursuit of Australia’s national interest could see future Australian governments take advantage of the “investment opportunities, the restructuring, the level of qualification of the workforce, [and] the mastery of new technologies”¹⁷⁴ posed by Tunisia.

Any future engagement with Tunisia would occur within the context of two new agreements signed by representatives from both countries in July 2011, when the Arab Spring revolutions were still occurring in North Africa. Tunisian Foreign Affairs Minister, Mouledi Kefi, and the Australian under-

¹⁶⁹ The World Bank. ‘Morocco: Country partnership strategy: chair summary’, April 29th 2014, accessed June 3rd 2014 (2014g), pp 1.

¹⁷⁰ The World Bank. 2014g, pp 1.

¹⁷¹ Australian Trade Commission. ‘Morocco: Doing Business, Tariffs and Non-Tariff Barriers’, July 2nd 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014 (2012d).

¹⁷² The World Bank. ‘Country Partnership Strategy for the Kingdom of Morocco for the Period FY 2014-2107’, April 1st 2014, accessed June 3rd 2014 (2014d), pp 5.

¹⁷³ Bank Information Centre. ‘The World Bank Group and Tunisia: A Country Study’, March 2013, accessed 3rd June 2014, pp 4.

¹⁷⁴ Australian Business Consulting and Solutions. ‘Tunisia Report’, April 22nd 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014.

secretary of Foreign Affairs, Paul Grigson, both signed these agreements to support a re-engagement that had seen the opening of the Tunisian Embassy in Canberra in November 2010. The two agreements – firstly, to improve the political and economic relationship between the two states via new and improved actions and secondly, to enhance scientific and technical links especially within the field of agriculture – came as Australia expressed “complete support and understanding of the democratic transition and that... [Australia] will stand by the Tunisian people and sign more agreements with it in order to boost more varied sectors of mutual interest”.¹⁷⁵ As Tunisian agricultural productivity grows, the sector may become more internationally competitive, though Australia’s own booming agricultural sector will avert economic losses associated with high import levels. As Tunisia’s global integration improves, trade costs will decrease – however, this is less of a specific encouragement for Australia and more of a general benefit for Tunisia.¹⁷⁶

The extent of Australia’s economic re-engagement with the Arab states of North Africa during the Arab Spring depended on the circumstances of the specific state in question. This chapter has built on the Australian foreign policy framework described in chapters one-three, and demonstrates that Australia’s trade relationships with the individual states, and with the region as a whole, were strong enough to overcome the difficulties inherent in the Rudd government’s contributions to the international response to the Arab Spring unrest in North Africa.

As successfully argued in this chapter, trade continues to provide the basis for the relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa, and played a part in the re-engagement that took place under the Rudd government (even if, as discussed in chapters one-three, it was not the sole contributing factor). Like the Howard government’s emphasis on bilateral trade relationships, trade with North Africa under the Rudd government was shaped by the unique difficulties posed by the five unique North African states – especially during and following the Arab Spring upheavals – as

¹⁷⁵ Tunisia Live. ‘Tunisian and Australia sign agreements to boost economic and political relations’, July 9th 2011, accessed June 3rd 2014.

¹⁷⁶ The World Bank. ‘Country Partnership Strategy for The Republic of Tunisia for the Period FY10-13’, November 23rd 2009, accessed June 3rd 2014, pp 26.

demonstrated by the case study focusing on Libya. Unlike Australia's trade relationship with the United States and Europe, there is no shared historical or cultural dimension. For all that trade has driven engagement under successive Australian governments, North Africa remains what JSCFADT referred to as a growing but relatively untapped market.

Chapter 5 – The effects of Australia’s live export industry on Australia’s relationship with Egypt

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will demonstrate that although Australia’s live export industry has been subject to extreme domestic political pressure from animal welfare groups (Animals Australia, RSPCA, Greenpeace, Ban Live Export), successive Australian governments have considered the impact of this pressure negligible when compared to the benefits to the Australian economy of trade with North Africa in this area. This trade is relevant to any discussion on Australian foreign policy due to the sheer size of the industry – Australia is the world’s largest exporter of sheep and cattle¹ – and the effect this has on the Australian economy, with the live export sector earning \$996.5 million in 2009² and employing around 10,000 people in rural Australia.³

The live export industry remains highly contentious, and public opinion varies wildly regarding the appropriateness of the treatment of exported Australian livestock. As a result, Australia’s agricultural sector faces a range of challenges from animal welfare organisations and special interest groups. However, as evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates, Australian foreign policymakers have determined that the benefits of the live export industry for Australia’s economy justify ongoing engagement with states like Egypt, despite both regime change in Egypt and domestic political pressure within Australia.

As established in previous chapters, Australian foreign policymakers under successive Australian governments have determined that North Africa has much to offer Australia in the realms of trade

¹ The particular breed of cattle that is most popular in Australia’s northern states – the *Bos indicus* breed – is unlikely to find a domestic niche as it seems to be rejected by Australian consumers (unless the breed is produced for low quality manufacturing purposes, in which case it only sells for a comparatively low price).

² Before a peak in the ongoing controversy surrounding the inhumane treatment of Australian livestock in foreign abattoirs and the subsequent bans on live exports to Indonesia in 2011 and Egypt in 2013.

³ Department of Agriculture, ‘Live Animal Export Trade’, February 25th 2015, accessed June 2nd 2015.

and investment – an example of this is Australia’s live export of livestock to Egypt. The bilateral Australian-Egyptian relationship was economically strong enough to survive Australia’s activist response to the Arab Spring revolutions and subsequent regime change in Cairo. Consequently, the dynamics of the bilateral relationship were strong enough to also survive the temporary cessation of the live export trade under the Gillard government in 2013.⁴ Australia’s live cattle trade with Egypt restarted in March 2014 after new arrangements by the Department of Agriculture were implemented to address animal welfare concerns and (to a lesser extent) “to address Egypt concerns regarding the use of hormone growth promotants”.⁵

Australia’s live export to Egypt was first terminated in 2006 under the Howard government, following footage obtained by Animals Australia showing Australian cattle being mistreated in an Egyptian abattoir. This trade resumed in 2010 but was again terminated in 2013 after the release of footage of Australian livestock being exposed to ‘needless’ cruelty in another Egyptian abattoir.⁶ Of the five Arab states of North Africa, Australia’s only significant live export partner is Egypt. There was a one-month ban on the live animal trade with Indonesia, but this will not be substantively covered in this thesis due to its focus on North Africa.⁷

⁴ Sheep had not been exported to Egypt since 2006.

⁵ Department of Agriculture. ‘2014-02 Resumption of trade in livestock to Egypt’, March 20th 2014, accessed May 17th 2017 (2014a).

⁶ On the 6th May 2013, the ABC’s 7:30 Report aired a story based on footage (again provided by Animals Australia) demonstrating cruelty to Australian cattle in Egyptian abattoirs. Animals Australia received this footage from Egyptian vet Dr Mahmoud Abdelwahab, who later told the ABC’s 7:30 Report that he “wanted to send a message to the whole world. So I contacted Animals Australia to make this - to take this footage and show it internationally and make pressure to our government to move to improve itself, to improve its abattoirs, to make a punishment for the killer - butcher or killer worker”. Peacock, Matt. ‘Cattle cruelty footage suspends trade, sparks live export debate’, 7:30, May 6th 2013, accessed June 27th 2014.

⁷ The 2011 ban on live exports to Indonesia came in the wake of the Four Corners report “A Bloody Business” which aired on 30th May 2011 and included graphic footage (supplied by Animals Australia) of 11 Indonesian abattoirs slaughtering Australian cattle in ways that clearly breached OIE animal welfare standards. The Four Corners report won both a Logie Award for ‘Most Outstanding Public Affairs Report’ and the 2011 Gold Walkley Award for journalistic excellence. Following public outrage (around 200,000 people signed an anti-live export petition) the Gillard government temporarily suspended all live cattle trade to Indonesia. The 2011 ban on live exports to Indonesia predated the 2013 ban on live exports to Egypt. However, both of these recent bans took place under the Gillard government, and both were triggered by public anger following media stories exposing abuses of Australian livestock during the live export process. The failure of successive bills to pass the House of Representatives demonstrates that Australian politicians recognise the economic benefits that the industry offers to Australia, and recognises that Australia’s agricultural sector will always be more

This chapter demonstrates that Australia's live export of livestock to Egypt under successive Australian governments has contributed to a bilateral relationship that is economically solid, despite the results of whistleblower action within the live export industry which caused Australia's bilateral trade with Egypt to temporarily cease for 12 months in 2013. Australia's bilateral relationship with Egypt, like Australia's relationships with the other Arab states of North Africa, is predominantly trade-based – part of what North Africa has to offer Australia is a lucrative market for Australia's livestock, while temporary setbacks in the bilateral relationship (the Arab Spring, and a ban in trade resulting from domestic political concerns) were never going to be enough to overshadow these economic benefits.

5.2 The ESCAS system

The Gillard government introduced the Exporter Supply Chain Assurance System (ESCAS) in 2011 after bowing to domestic pressure from animal rights interest groups.⁸ These reforms were based around the idea that

Australian welfare regulations should be attached to the animal rather than to its geographical location at each stage of meat production. Therefore, the standards regarding the welfare of Australian livestock should be attached to the animals from birth to death, regardless of where the livestock is destined to be slaughtered.⁹

These reforms implemented by ESCAS would theoretically “ensure the future welfare of livestock; maintain the strength of the Australian livestock industry; and increase employment opportunities

strategically important than the animal welfare sector. Ferguson, Sarah, and Michael Doyle. 'A Bloody Business', Four Corners, May 30th 2011, accessed September 20th 2014.

⁸ These reforms came after the Gillard government moved to suspend Australia's live export trade with Indonesia, while live trade with Egypt under these regulations only recommenced under the Abbott government in 2014.

⁹ Craig, Katrina. 'Beefing up the Standard: The Ramifications of Australia's Regulation of Live Export and Suggestions for Reform', Macquarie Law Journal, 11:51 (2013), pp 74.

for those involved in the distribution of livestock, both domestically and internationally”.¹⁰ Issues were identified as a need for additional funding (which would then be passed on to consumers via higher meat prices); a lack of interest from the Australian government; and legal barriers put in place regarding the legal difficulties surrounding Australian animal welfare standards for foreign abattoirs. Under the new system, the burden of responsibility for livestock welfare is placed squarely on Australian exporters, with this responsibility extending up until the point of slaughter. This is in contrast to before, where the responsibility of Australian exporters was based on the geographical location of the Australian livestock in question.¹¹

The implementation of the ESCAS reforms in 2011 were based on the idea that the standard of care in non-Australian abattoirs was much lower, and thus Australian livestock was more likely to be subjected to inhumane treatment.¹² This system was purportedly an answer to these concerns regarding the treatment of Australian livestock once they’d left Australia’s shores, although animal welfare groups would debate its success. The Australian organisation ‘Live Export Shame’ (or LES, who claim on Facebook to focus “predominantly on live export, land transport of live animals and animal welfare issues”) alleges that although requirements under ESCAS are mandatory, the level of enforcement is inadequate, while *Australian Quarantine and Inspection Service (AQIS)* visits are “inconsistent”.¹³ The LES also poked fun at the acronym ESCAS, claiming that it could just as easily stand for Even Singapore Condone Animal Sacrifice or Every Shipment Causes Animal Suffering – both of which link to publicity flyers branding the implementation of ESCAS “a blatant admission that this government’s moral bre [sic] is no more admirable than its commitment to the Australians it

¹⁰ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 75.

¹¹ Vidot, Anna. ‘Australia to resume live exports to Egypt’, *ABC Rural*, March 20th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

¹² Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 75.

¹³ Live Export Shame. ‘Live animal export Australia’s shame’, accessed July 7th 2014 (2014a).

represents".¹⁴ As part of their anti-export campaign, LES disputed claims from the MLA argued that around 99 per cent of all Australian livestock arrived safely and healthily at their final destination.¹⁵

Abbott government Minister for Trade Andrew Robb described the live export industry as "substantial but sensitive"¹⁶ and went on to argue that

Australia has signed Memoranda of Understanding with ten countries in the Middle East and North Africa region to facilitate the live animal trade in line with our legislative requirements. We should continue to support this trade and look for new opportunities (such as Iraq), however there will continue to be sensitivities in Australia arising from concerns about animal welfare issues.¹⁷

This substantial and sensitive trade has driven Australia's relationship with Egypt via trade linkages and political tools such as the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Australian and the Egyptian governments, which was signed in February 2006 to mark the reestablishment of live trade with Egypt after "assurances that the health and welfare of Australian livestock exported to Egypt would be protected in line with the MOU and agreed international standards".¹⁸

These claims were disputed by LES, who maintained that the pre-ESCAS regulations were insufficient to protect animal interests and that Australia's influence on the international live export industry was being used for the benefit of the traders rather than the animals, with organisations like the MLA deliberately misleading the public. As a result, they declared that

Australia also leads the world in causing massive 'suffering, cruelty and brutality to millions of animals every year' through the current regulation of the livestock trade. Moreover, these guidelines are not mandatory. It may be sufficient for companies to merely consider these standards, rather than strictly

¹⁴ Live Export Shame. 'What the government regulations really mean', accessed July 7th 2014 (2014b).

¹⁵ This was considered to be revolutionary at the time, requiring as it did close levels of scrutiny from both the Australian and Egyptian governments. Ban Live Export. 'Memorandum of Understanding with Egypt', November 1st 2006, accessed July 5th 2014.

¹⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Trade', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014 (2011d), pp 85.

¹⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2011d, pp 86.

¹⁸ Ban Live Export. 2006.

abide by them, before exporting livestock. Once offloaded at international ports, livestock are beyond the jurisdiction of Australian law. Consequently, the Australian Government is unable to ensure that livestock are handled or slaughtered in accordance with Australian standards. Research has indicated that inhumane slaughter and handling practices that would be considered to be in breach of Australian laws, are common among importing countries.¹⁹

Now that ESCAS has been implemented, Australian exporters can only send livestock to Australian Government-approved abattoirs that comply with welfare standards set out by the World Organisation for Animal Health (the *Office International des Epizooties*, or OIE).²⁰ This has been a gradual process, starting in 2011 in the wake of the 2011 ban on exports to Indonesia. Agricultural Minister Barnaby Joyce told ABC Rural that Australia and Egypt are now in agreement “on all matters” regarding the resumption of the live trade industry.²¹

The new ESCAS system replaces the previously-mentioned MOU with Egypt, which was found by the Australian Department of Agriculture to provide insufficient protection to Australian livestock following an ABC expose on the treatment of Australian animals in Egyptian abattoirs, using footage recorded by Egyptian meat workers. Federal Agricultural Minister Joyce praised the decision to implement such a system, but made it clear that “market access is, and will continue to be, a priority for the Australian government”.²² The implementation of the ESCAS system, touted by the Abbott government as obtaining a balance between the productivity of Australian farmers, the interests of the Australian government, and the welfare of Australian livestock, enjoys bipartisan support. The ALP used the opportunity to restate their commitment to the live trade industry, and to publically support the ESCAS system, with the Opposition Minister for Agriculture Joel Fitzgibbon saying that

¹⁹ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 55.

²⁰ Vidot, Anna. 2014.

²¹ Vidot, Anna. 2014.

²² Beef Central. ‘Australia and Egypt agree to recommence livex trade under ESCAS’, March 20th 2014, accessed September 17th 2014 (2014a).

"I'm very confident, in fact I'm sure, that ESCAS gives us the best animal welfare program in the world".²³

Until the Australian government implemented the ESCAS system, the argument was that Australia's live export trading partners would be forced into compliance with basic international animal welfare requirements by the demands of the open market – that Australia's refusal to supply superior quality produce would force states into either compliance, or into trade with inferior suppliers. The requirements under the new ESCAS system "are in accordance with international animal welfare models as recommended by organisations such as the OIE"²⁴ and put Australia in line with the wider global community.

Successive Australian governments have continued to provide Australian livestock to states like Egypt, tacitly affirming that the economic benefits stemming from the continuation of the live export industry will continue to take precedence over concerns for livestock welfare. The implementation of the ESCAS system suggests that Australia's international trade reputation is worth taking action over, although "ensuring the welfare of Australian livestock is not currently considered a priority for the Australian Government".²⁵

5.3 The domestic political influence of Australia's agricultural sector

When addressing the influence of the live export trade on Australia's bilateral relationship with Egypt, it is important to explore the political influence of Australia's agricultural sector on the ability of Australian foreign policymakers to successfully implement decisions that affect Australia's sheep and cattle farmers.²⁶ Australia's live sheep exports peaked in 2001 but have been dropping ever

²³ Vidot, Anna. 2014.

²⁴ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 72.

²⁵ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 69.

²⁶ Western Australia supplied the majority of the sheep for exporting (1,634,363 head, valued at A\$139 million) with Victoria supplying the second biggest amount (267,455 head) and South Australia third (61,126 head).

since due to a significant restructuring of the industry via “a re-weighting of the value derived from the sheep and lamb meat industries relative to the value derived from wool”.²⁷ Despite this, Australia’s live export industry still accounted for \$172 million in 2013, with just under 2 million sheep being exported live (1,973,418), though this was a decrease of 13 per cent since 2012. Of these, the Middle East made up 98 per cent of annual sheep exports.²⁸

Australia’s live cattle exports follow the same patterns, with most livestock sourced from the northern states – 40 per cent from the Northern Territory, 39 per cent from Western Australia and 13 per cent from Queensland.²⁹ Western Australia supplied the majority of the sheep for exporting (1,634,363 head, valued at A\$139 million) with Victoria supplying the second biggest amount (267,455 head) and South Australia third (61,126 head). Here, Western Australia dominates and thus has the potential to be most affected by the direction taken by future Australian governments. Australia’s live cattle exports were valued at \$605.7 million in 2012, with 617,301 head of cattle being moved, though (like sheep) this saw a dip since the previous year (down 11 per cent since 2011).³⁰ The industry recovered quickly, with Australian live cattle exports reaching 1.38 million head in the 2014-15 fiscal year (up 22%) with a total value of \$1.35 billion.³¹

As a subset of Australia’s wider agriculture sector, the live export industry argues that its contribution to the Australian economy are too great to be ignored, “generating \$1.8 billion annually towards the country's Gross Domestic Product... provid[ing] for almost 13,000 jobs within 30 individual business types and pay[ing] a total of \$987 million per year in salaries”.³² The industry

Here, Western Australia dominates and thus has the potential to be most affected by the direction taken by future Australian governments. Meat and Livestock Australia. ‘Live exports’, accessed June 26th 2014 (2014b).

²⁷ Curtis, Kimbal. ‘Recent Changes in the Australian Sheep Industry (The Disappearing Flock)’, Department of Agriculture and Food (Western Australia), August 21st 2009, accessed August 17th 2015, pp 1.

²⁸ Meat and Livestock Australia. 2014b.

²⁹ Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry. ‘Independent Review of Australia’s Livestock Export Trade’, August 31st 2011, accessed July 4th 2014.

³⁰ Meat and Livestock Australia. ‘Australian livestock export industry statistical review 2013’, February 2013, accessed 1st July 2014, pp 2.

³¹ Meat and Livestock Australia. ‘Australian livestock export industry statistical review FY2014-15’, October 2015, accessed March 15th 2017, pp 2

³² Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 64.

claims that the positive effects of this sector are most keenly felt in regional Australia, where many of the jobs in the chain of supply are located, and where the industry contributes to the “economic activity and social welfare within large divisions of these rural communities that, in turn, assist[s] in maintaining the wellbeing of Australian families”.³³ Two years into the Abbott/Turnbull government at the time of initial thesis submission, and millions of heads of Australian livestock continue to be exported.³⁴

In 2011 the Centre for International Economics (CIE) calculated the potential impact of the termination of the live export sheep industry on Australian farmers, using statistics from 2005-06 to 2008-09. What they found was that Australian sheep farmers would be \$119 million worse off, live sheep exporters would be \$30 million worse off, and meat processors would be \$38 million better off.³⁵

There are two main thrusts to this pro-export argument from the live export industry – that the industry contributes to the wellbeing of a significant proportion of the Australian population, either through generalised national economic prosperity or through direct employment, and that the industry contributes to a greater understanding between Australia and its overseas trading partners, especially in regions such as North Africa that lack the geographical immediacy of Australia’s South-East Asian neighbours.

A complete cessation of live exports to Egypt, this argument goes, would threaten the strong bilateral relationships that currently exist between Australia and its trading partners – including Egypt. According to estimates by the Department of Agriculture, Farming and Fisheries (DAFF),

³³ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 64.

³⁴ Bettles, Colin. ‘One year in: live exports’, Stock and Land, September 6th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014.

³⁵ Some of the assumptions underlying these statistics – that the striking fall in the farm gate prices for older sheep was the result of additional transport costs experienced in the wake of a shortage of Western Australian processing capacity, that the impact of reductions in the farm gate price would be sustainable thanks to the lack of realistic alternatives – are contentious. Davey, Alistair. ‘Economic impact of phasing out the live sheep export trade’ (report prepared for the World Society for the Protection of Animals, Sapere Research Group, March 2013), accessed June 26th 2014, pp 15.

however, alternatives exist – “the total value of live exports in 2005 was approximately \$700 million compared to over \$5.9 billion contributed by processed meat exports”.³⁶ Therefore, live export trade with Egypt continues to be a priority for Australian policy-makers, especially those looking to benefit from the domestic political support of the agricultural sector.

Proponents of Australia’s live export trade with states like Egypt argue that the economic benefit derived from these bilateral relationships is in Australia’s national interest, and that these benefits subsume all other animal welfare concerns, especially as the new ESCAS laws force suppliers to take a greater level of responsibility than they otherwise might have, and especially beyond Australia’s borders.³⁷ Successive Australian governments have agreed with this trade-based definition of the national interest, which has contributed to a strengthened relationship with states like Egypt.

5.4 The 2013 ban on live exports to Egypt

On the 6th May 2013 the ABC’s *7:30 Report* aired a story based on footage again provided by Animals Australia. This footage included

An Australian bull appear[ing] to have broken a leg after escaping from the slaughter room into a holding pen. A worker circles with a knife. He repeatedly stabs at the bull, striking at its tendons, at its face. Blood can be seen coming from the animal's eye. The worker is goaded on by a buyer waiting for the bull to be killed. The whole tortuous process continues for five minutes, until eventually the bull collapses in a pool of its own blood.³⁸

Animals Australia received this footage from Egyptian vet Dr Mahmoud Abdelwahab, who later told the ABC’s *7:30 Report* that he “wanted to send a message to the whole world. So I contacted Animals Australia to make this – to take this footage and show it internationally and make pressure

³⁶ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 65.

³⁷ Locke, Sarina. ‘How does Australia's live export welfare system compare?’, *ABC Rural*, April 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014.

³⁸ Peacock, Matt. 2013.

to our government to move to improve itself, to improve its abattoirs, to make a punishment for the killer - butcher or killer worker".³⁹

As a response to ABC exposé, the Gillard government made it abundantly clear that animal abuses within the live export industry would not be tolerated, saying that

Any animal cruelty is repulsive to all of us, it is also repulsive to this industry... I know from my own discussions with the industry that the people who raise these animals don't want them to be treated in a cruel way so I very much welcome the voluntary suspension that the industry has put in place for exports to Egypt.⁴⁰

The Gillard government was quick to respond after the exposé aired, with the Australian Agriculture Minister Joe Ludwig describing the images shown to the Australian public as "sickening".⁴¹ At the same time, the Australian Live Exporters' Council chief executive Alison Penfold, said she was "distracted and disgusted"⁴² by what was shown in the report. The industry then instigated a "self-imposed ban".⁴³ The Gillard government – like successive Australian governments before it – would have been unable to successfully legislate against the industry without the wider domestic political support stemming from exposés such as this. Independent MP Andrew Wilkie, who introduced the unsuccessful Live Animal Export Restriction and Prohibition Bill 2011, told ABC's 7:30 Report shortly after their story aired that "there is no doubt that Australia's live animal export industry is systematically cruel, it doesn't have public support and it's not in Australia's economic self-interest. And it takes a person with a very, very cold heart to allow this trade to continue".⁴⁴ These criticisms continue to form the basis of most anti-live export industry sentiment and helped shape foreign policy decisions made by the Gillard government regarding Australia's live animal trade with Egypt.

³⁹ Peacock, Matt. 2013.

⁴⁰ *News Limited*. 'Cruelty sparks live export suspension from Australia to Egypt as footage emerges', May 4th 2013, accessed July 5th 2014 (2013a).

⁴¹ Johnson, Chris. 'Live export row dogs Gillard', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, May 5th 2013, accessed June 27th 2014.

⁴² Johnson, Chris. 2013.

⁴³ Vidot, Anna. 2014.

⁴⁴ Peacock, Matt. 2013.

Thus, as this section demonstrates, Australia's bilateral relationship with Egypt has suffered temporary setbacks resulting from domestic public criticism of the live export industry. Australian foreign policymakers have recognised this domestic concern and reacted accordingly, noting that any trade policy that affects Australia's live export to Egypt will affect sheep farmers more than cattle farmers, and thus as was determined by Australia's ban on live exports to Egypt in the years 2013-2014 Australian sheep farmers were hit the hardest, but the ESCAS reforms aimed to address all concerns.

In response to concerns from the RSPCA regarding the resumption of the live export trade to Egypt, Agriculture Minister Barnaby Joyce praised the ESCAS system, but drew the line at saying that the events of 2011 and 2013 were isolated incidents or, indeed, that they would never be repeated. He assured the Australian public that the industry "will be watched over and regulated to best of our ability. But we can never make promises that would be insincere and say, from this point forward, there will never be another drama in this sector. I'm not going to make that promise. I'm going to say that we're going to manage these issues as they occur".⁴⁵

Alison Penfold, the chief executive of the Australian Livestock Exporters Council, joyfully greeted the government's 2014 decision to restart trade with Egypt, while at the same time recognising the necessity of the 2013 bans in the face of "intolerable cruelty".⁴⁶ Describing the decision by then-Prime Minister Abbott to reinstate the live export industry in Egypt as "enabl[ing] industry to move forward on the announcement made by the Minister today",⁴⁷ the Australian Livestock Exporters Council vowed to abide by ESCAS requirements. As evidenced by an attempted disallowance motion by the Greens in June 2014 aimed at shutting down the recently reintroduced live animal trade with

⁴⁵ Gribbin, Caitlyn. 'Live animal exports to Egypt resume', ABC News, March 20th 2014, accessed June 25th 2014.

⁴⁶ Gribbin, Caitlyn. 2014.

⁴⁷ Gribbin, Caitlyn. 2014.

Egypt, a move described by Agricultural Minister Barnaby Joyce as “irresponsible,”⁴⁸ this looks to be an area of concern that will affect Australia’s relationship with Egypt for decades to come.

The importance and weight given to the live export industry, and the agricultural industry as a whole, comes on the back of a boom in the Australian resources sector, and fears for the Australian economy when this ‘boom’ comes to an inevitable end. Joyce described Australia’s capacity to economically integrate into the MENA region as an important part of our foreign trade, in order to ensure Australia’s national interests were supported by this agricultural sector “that is turning around the financial outcomes of ... our nation in general”.⁴⁹

5.5 The domestic political viability of alternatives to Australia’s live export industry

The Rudd government’s 2009-10 budget recognised the importance of the live export industry to Australia’s economic prosperity, but also contained concessions to the demands of animal rights organisations (the prevention of animal cruelty during the live export process) with the announcement of the Live Trade Animal Welfare Partnership, which invested \$3.2 million in government funds with the aim of improving animal welfare in overseas markets.⁵⁰ Wellard, an Australian agribusiness which specialises in the export of sheep and cattle to the Middle East and Asia,⁵¹ argues that “the livestock export trade is vital” for local producers.⁵² Wellard notes that they work carefully with state and federal governments, as well as other live export stakeholders, to

⁴⁸ Beef Central. ‘Greens’ attempt to derail Egypt cattle trade fails’, June 19th 2014, accessed July 8th 2014 (2014b).

⁴⁹ Gribbin, Caitlyn. 2014.

⁵⁰ Overall, the Australian Standards for the Export of Livestock are controlled by the Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (Australia). Department of Agriculture. 2015.

⁵¹ Wellard Rural Trading. ‘Rural Trading Overview’, accessed July 4th 2014 (2014a).

⁵² Wellard Rural Trading. ‘Live Export Important Role’, accessed June 27th 2014 (2014b).

ensure that Australian sheep and cattle receive humane treatment prior to being slaughtered in overseas abattoirs.

The void left by Australia's temporary withdrawal from the live export market Egypt was filled by other major state exporters of live cattle – in particular Brazil, which had moved in on the Australian supply chains after the 2013 ban on live exports to Egypt, and which does not have the same welfare standards providing a solid foundation for the industry.⁵³ However, *Animals Australia* claims that “no other country has the capacity to export the number of disease-free animals of the size and type that Australia does”⁵⁴ and Australia's refusal to export live cattle would just result in an increase in the importation of chilled or frozen meat.⁵⁵

Proponents of the chilled or processed meat industry as an alternative to the live export industry argue this as a point in their favour, as while “several Middle Eastern countries have proven to be extremely fickle customers for Australian live sheep exports. However, no apparent problems have been encountered in exporting chilled and frozen sheep meat products to the Middle East and surrounding region”.⁵⁶ The potential replacement industry – pre-slaughtered meat – would not face the same domestic pressures as the live export industry.

The Australian trade in processed sheep meat products with major sheep importing states in the MENA region (such as Egypt) has increased significantly, leading to the suggestion that this could eventually overtake the live export industry as a major contributor to the agricultural sector, and a sustainable and ethical alternative for Australian suppliers.⁵⁷ The Department of Agriculture and Food, Western Australia (DAFWA) suggests that this could be a possibility, though the Western Australian meat processing sector would have to employ more people in order to cope with increased demand – not a negative impact while unemployment rates remain high. Australia's

⁵³ Vidot, Anna. 2014.

⁵⁴ *Animals Australia*. ‘Live export myths – busted’, June 24th 2013, accessed September 16th 2014.

⁵⁵ This is an argument popular with many anti-live export activists.

⁵⁶ Davey, Alistair. 2013, pp 5.

⁵⁷ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 76.

reputation as a source of disease-free meat would help the potential transition, however, as importers of Australian processed meat would be assured of high quality.

A recent increase in the consumption of processed sheep meat in the MENA region suggests that, in the event of a permanent ban on the live export of Australian livestock, there would still be opportunities for Australia's agricultural sector to profit from Egypt in the form of mutton sales.⁵⁸ Craig argues that a proactive approach to some of the issues that have plagued the live export industry would be more beneficial to both the Australian government and the agricultural sector. This approach is predicated on the assumption that, at some point, Australia will have to find a viable alternative to the live trade industry. Until a suitable alternative is accepted by Australia's agricultural sector, Craig acknowledges that trade forms the basis for Australia's relationship with states like Egypt, and plays a huge role in Australia's foreign policy formation.

Reports in recent years have suggested that the processed meat industry – the key alternative to the live export industry – is currently being undercut by the actions of the live export industry.⁵⁹ In 2009 ACIL Tasman, an Australian-based economic consulting firm, commissioned a report which concluded that replacing Australia's live export industry with an increased processed meat industry would “reap long-term benefits for farmers and the economy rather than be of significant detriment to the wellbeing of farming families”.⁶⁰ Bringing the processed meat sector to the forefront of the agricultural sector may endanger the prices fetched by Australian live meat, but Australia's agricultural sector has the capacity to absorb most of the live export sector (should the need arise)

⁵⁸ This is reinforced by the fact that Western Australian sheep farmers earn the majority of their income from cropping – this would potentially make up for the fact that “the cessation of the live sheep export trade would see sheep farmers selling heavy wethers lose the premium they currently receive at sale yard auctions when they sell to live sheep exporters”. Davey, Alistair. 2013, pp vi.

⁵⁹ These reports were mentioned collectively in Craig, Katrina. 2013.

⁶⁰ World Society for the Protection of Animals. ‘Australian live sheep exports: economic analysis of Australian live sheep and sheep meat trade’ (report prepared for the World Society for the Protection of Animals, 2009), accessed July 6th 2014.

as “leading meat processors have unanimously confirmed that Australia possesses the ability to process all sheep and cattle currently being exported live”.⁶¹

A separate report commissioned by Teys Bros, Swift Australia and Nippon Meat Packers Australia – three of Australia’s foremost meat processors – concluded that Australia’s beef exports were tangibly damaged by the live export industry, to the extent that it threatened 36,000 jobs, \$5 billion in turnover, and around \$3.5 billion worth of assets.⁶²

Domestic sensitivities in Australia continue to affect the ability of Australian foreign policymakers to shape Australia’s bilateral trade relations with states like Egypt, while non-governmental actors such as GetUp and the RSPCA continue to influence public discourse on the topic. Animal welfare groups lobbying the Australian government in favour of banning live exports to places like Egypt argue that the industry depends too heavily on two particular arguments – that the live sheep export trade underwrites the market, and that the live sheep export trade delivers a price premium to sheep farmers.

The proposal (led by animal rights groups and the parts of Australia’s agricultural sector that would benefit from the chilled or frozen meat trade) that ending the live export industry would be good for the processed meat industry rests on the assumption that “all importing countries in the Middle East are also purchasing chilled meat that generates greater profits than the export of live animals”.⁶³

In 2008, the Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics (ABARE) wrote that

⁶¹ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 70.

⁶² However, it is important to note that this concerns exports to Indonesia in particular, whose attempts to protect their own beef industry include high tariffs on beef products imported from Australia and bans on the import of ‘fundamental’ cuts of beef. This undercuts both Australia’s live export industry and its processed meat industry, as the cattle that was exported live from Australia is slaughtered in Indonesia and then sold in competition with pre-slaughtered Australian beef products. SG Heilbron Economic & Policy Consulting. ‘The Future of the Queensland Beef Industry and the Impact of Live Cattle Exports’ (report prepared for Teys Bros, Swift Australia and Nippon Meat Packers Australia, 2010), accessed July 3rd 2014.

⁶³ With \$433 million being made in 2010 by the exportation of processed mutton and lamb to MENA states. Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 72.

If Australia were to restrict live exports it is likely that there would be significant regional economic effects, particularly on ... the sheep industry of Western Australia. It is generally accepted that there would not be a 100 per cent transfer of the industry from live animal sales to their meat equivalent, despite the potential that currently exists for sheep meat. This would result in a loss of farm income to producers currently specialised in the trade of live animals.⁶⁴

According to this report, Australia's cattle industry would struggle to replace live exports with pre-slaughtered meat for two reasons – a lack of decent refrigeration (an issue found more with South-East Asian markets than with Middle Eastern markets), and a lack of halal-certified abattoirs in Australia's northern states (the ones who contribute the largest proportion of cattle).⁶⁵

Research conducted for this chapter suggests that alternatives to the live export industry (frozen or chilled meat trade) are not financially viable enough for Australia's agricultural sector to consider lessening political pressure on successive Australian governments. The strong cultural preference for fresh meat means that there will always be a demand that can only be met by live exports, and that any attempts by future Australian governments to terminate the live export industry will just see import countries like Egypt turn to alternative suppliers.

Successive Australian governments have acknowledged the concerns of animal welfare groups, and have occasionally made concessions in this area. However, what Egypt has to offer Australia – a market for Australian livestock – is a strong enough incentive that Australian foreign policymakers feel politically justified in disregarding these animal activists' concerns and continuing to engage with the bilateral relationship based on trade with Egypt.

⁶⁴ Drum, Frank, and Caroline Gunning-Trant. 'Live Animal Exports: A Profile of the Australian Industry', Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics, February 2008, accessed July 7th 2014, pp 25.

⁶⁵ Halal slaughter involves a professionally trained slaughterman invoking the name of Allah prior to slaughter while facing the holy Kaaba located in Mecca. The animal must be disease-free and must suffer only a minimal amount of pain. For more details, see the Halal Australia page. Halal Australia. 'Consumers: How do I know if a product is Halal?', accessed July 7th 2014.

5.6 Conclusion

Live export to Egypt is just one element of Australia's broader trade relationship with the Arab states of North Africa, and successive Australian governments have formulated foreign policy in this area in order to benefit local producers, exports and others employed as part of the supply chain. Future Australian governments who want to strengthen the trade relationship with Egypt will have to strike a balance between responding to domestic political pressure from animal welfare groups, and pressure from Australia's powerful and influential agricultural sector, whose livelihoods are dependent on the live export industry's ongoing opportunity to meet the needs of Egyptian consumers.⁶⁶ The Livestock Export Program, funded by organisations like MLA and LiveCorp, aims to improve the state of the Australian live export industry (both in the treatment of animals, and in the economic success of the industry as a whole) with the hope of assisting "the future of the live export industry in Australia".⁶⁷

Australia's agricultural sector has bounced back from the 2011 ban on live exports to Indonesia. When interviewed by *ABC Rural*, Queensland rural livestock agent Brad Passfield spoke positively of the reinstatement of trade relationship, saying that the lifting of the ban has doubled the workload for people employed by the industry (including stockmen working on Australian properties, people working in the saleyards, truck drivers and logistics personnel).⁶⁸ Passfield restated the live export industry's continued commitment to supplying international markets with Australian produce, as "we go back to the drawing board, set ourselves up for the next orders, see what cattle are left about, and we just keep going".⁶⁹ The implementation of the ESCAS system in 2011 and the

⁶⁶ Future Australian governments may have to remember that ongoing animal welfare standards can "only be enforced through trade agreements, contractual promises and diplomacy, all of which are difficult to achieve when negotiating increased commercial standards, stricter regulation and higher costs with an economically weaker country". Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 75.

⁶⁷ Craig, Katrina. 2013, pp 69.

⁶⁸ Sparkes, David, and Lisa Herbert. 'From saleyard to port: the logistics of live export', *ABC Rural*, September 14th 2014, accessed September 26th 2014.

⁶⁹ Sparkes, David, and Lisa Herbert. 2014.

reopening of the Egyptian market in 2014, were steps towards strengthening trade relationships with the otherwise difficult region of North Africa.

The Australian government's ongoing support for the live export industry will have a major impact on Australia's future relationship with the rest of the world, including the Arab states of North Africa. This chapter argues that Egypt is by no means reliant on Australian exports of live animals, and that Australian foreign policymakers under successive Australian governments have determined that the economic benefits stemming from the bilateral relationship is worth the low-level domestic pressure from animal welfare groups. These animal welfare movements (led by activist organisations such as Animals Australia, RSPCA, Greenpeace, Ban Live Export) have been vocal but have failed to have any long-term success, with successive government bans on the trade being eventually overturned.

The Australian and Egyptian governments were thus able to negotiate through the temporary cessation of the live export trade implemented by under the Gillard government in 2013, in the same way that the bilateral relationship with Libya withstood Australia's activist response to the Arab Spring revolutions. Ultimately, the Arab Spring – a momentous event – had the potential to influence Australia's live export trade with Egypt (within the broader trade relationship), but ultimately domestic issues were a more substantial influence – including the concerns of animal welfare groups, but predominantly the political influence of Australia's agricultural sector. This chapter demonstrates that Australia's live export of livestock to Egypt under successive Australian governments has strengthened economic ties between the two states, and that temporary cessations in the live export trade were not enough to substantially derail bilateral relations with Egypt.

Chapter 6 – Australia’s humanitarian aid and developmental programs

6.1 Introduction

The Rudd government deployed Australia’s humanitarian aid program (including migration strategies) as part of Australia’s re-engagement with Africa and including North Africa (and other developing regions) in the build-up to Australia’s successful campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council, in which the support of most African states proved invaluable.¹ Rudd’s vision of Australia as a successful ‘middle power’ drove this campaign, which included wooing the influential African voting bloc, helped to guide Australian foreign policy formation involving bilateral relationships that had previously been dominated by trade concerns. When asking the question that has driven this thesis – “what does North Africa have to offer Australia?” – the Rudd government extended Australia’s involvement with the region beyond the usual trade sphere for diplomatic reasons of its own – the campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council.

This chapter will demonstrate that successive Australian governments have determined that stable relationships with the Arab states of North Africa have been in Australia’s national interest, and that trade has been the most effective way to solidify this. However, due to the activist tendencies of the Rudd government, Australia’s campaign for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, and the Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa, there was recognition by the Rudd government that Australia’s humanitarian aid program could be leveraged to strengthen these relationships. After their election in 2013, the Abbott government felt comfortable slashing

¹ As well as campaigning for a seat on the UNSC, Rudd also claimed membership of the expanded G20. Altman, Dennis, Joseph A Camilleri, Robyn Eckersley and Gerhard Hoffstaedter (eds). ‘Why Human Security Matters: Rethinking Australian Foreign Policy’, Allen & Unwin, MSW, 2012, pp 127.

Australian humanitarian aid to North Africa due to the strength of the trade links already established between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa.

There was a clear link between increases in Australia's foreign aid budget under the Rudd government, and Australia's campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council. The allocation of 0.5 per cent of Australia's Gross National Income (GNI) to overseas aid was dependant on the budget forward estimates for 2011-2013 – the years leading up to the UN Security Council vote. Of the 23 Development Assistance Committee members involved in the vote, only eight saw an increase in their aid budgets between 2010 and 2011.² Australia was one of these, with an increase in real terms of 9.8 per cent – the only states with a higher increase being Italy (35.7 per cent), Switzerland (12.9 per cent) and Sweden (10.4 per cent). There was also an increase in the percentage of Australia's Official Development Assistance (ODA) to GNI – from 0.32 per cent on 2010 to 0.34 per cent in 2011.³

As leader of the Opposition, prior to both the beginning of the Arab Spring and the October 2012 vote on Australia's bid for a UN Security Council seat, Abbott stated that "the Howard government considered and ultimately rejected the option to campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council,"⁴ rejecting the vision of Australia as a capable 'middle power'. In his 2010 Distinguished Speaker Series speech on 'National Security Fundamentals' Abbott stated that, if successful in the 2010 federal election, a Coalition government would not pursue a seat on the UN Security Council, would refocus the allotment of aid, and would instead "deploy the freed-up diplomatic capacity to advance our [Australia's] core interests".⁵

² An organisation that remains central the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate, and coined the term Official Development Assistance (ODA). Though created with the aim of discussing issues surrounding development and aid, the DAC describes itself as the 'voice' of the world's major donor countries (as opposed to airing the views of recipient countries).

³ Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia's International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014 (2013b), pp 35.

⁴ Abbott, Tony. 'Distinguished Speaker Series: National Security Fundamentals' (speech given at The Lowy Institute for International Policy, April 20th 2010), accessed March 3rd 2014.

⁵ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

Under the Abbott government's definition of Australia's core interests, Australian foreign policymakers did not require an official seat on the UN Security Council in order to exert their diplomatic influence (although the United Nations has provided and will continue to provide a forum for Australia's diplomatic efforts in general). When discussing what the Abbott government was able to accomplish during Australia's term on the UN Security Council, Bishop stressed that

We took our values to the world, in a measured, collaborative, practical and determined fashion... those values were our foundation during many difficult debates and decisions, and they served us well. We used the security council to serve our national interests and to garner international support for our priorities.⁶

Discussed in further detail in chapter one, Allan Gyngell argued that Australia's involvement with the United Nations in varying capacities enjoys bipartisan support and represented "no more than an unweighted statement of the perennial themes in Australian foreign policy".⁷

Australia's aid response to the Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa (in particular, Australia's involvement with the international response to the crisis in Libya) could have been unforeseen from a country that had previously focussed most of its diplomatic efforts on the immediate Asia-Pacific region. However, it was foreseeable when taken within the context of Rudd's international ambitions for Australia. It was these ambitions that saw an increase in "Australian assistance to North Africa... in response to events in 2011". Prior to "the revolutionary wave of non-violent and violent demonstration and protests, riots and civil wars in the Arab world that began on 18 December 2010"⁸ Australia's aid program has focused on sub-Saharan Africa, with foreign policy formation being driven by the quest for the successful completion of the Millennium Development

⁶ Medhora, Shalailah. 'Julie Bishop seeks second term on UN security council for Australia', *The Guardian*, March 26th 2015, accessed May 15th 2015.

⁷ Gyngell, Allan. 'Ambition: The Emerging Foreign Policy of the Rudd Government', *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, December 2008, accessed June 25th 2014, pp 274.

⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'The Middle East and North Africa Aid Program Performance Report 2012-2013', February 4th 2014, accessed March 25th 2014 (2014i), pp 1.

Goals. Developmental aid played a role in the relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa even before Australia's campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council, but it was the Rudd government's activist tendencies that resulted in a more dramatic spike than occurred under previous Australian governments.

6.2 The impact of Australia's humanitarian aid budget on the successful campaign for a seat on the United Nations Security Council

One of Kevin Rudd's first major international actions after being elected Prime Minister of Australia in November 2007 was to announce, in March 2008, that Australia would be vying for one of the two non-permanent seats on the UN Security Council available for members of the Western European and Other Group (WEOG).⁹ The success of this campaign, on 18th October 2012, meant that Australia had a representative on the Security Council for the first time in 27 years, what Rudd called "a long time between drinks".¹⁰

Partially driven by this (ultimately successful) diplomatic campaign, Australia's response to the Arab Spring revolutions in North Africa (in particular the crisis in Libya, the international response to which was spearheaded by Rudd in his capacity as Foreign Minister) was both swift and almost unexpected from a self-proclaimed 'middle power.' As part of Rudd's diplomatic campaign, Australian humanitarian aid towards the Arab states of North Africa was delivered through both bilateral and multilateral channels, and was aimed at addressing both the short-term and the long-term challenges posed by the Arab Spring revolutions. According to DFAT

⁹ United Nations Association of Australia, 'Security Council Campaign', accessed 25th February 2014.

¹⁰ With previous Australian representatives serving 1946-47, 1956-57, 1973-74 and 1985-86. Kelly, Joe. 'Kevin Rudd states Australia's case for place on UN Security Council', *The Australian*, June 1st 2011, accessed February 25th 2014.

Australia is providing support [in Egypt] for agricultural productivity, job creation and mine action, to assist in the clearance of mines, victim assistance and mine risk reduction. An aid package for Tunisia is focused on agricultural capacity building and electoral support. In Libya, Australia was on the International Contact Group and was the third largest humanitarian contributor providing \$44.6m million in assistance to meet the most urgent humanitarian needs.¹¹

Australian support for the Arab states of North Africa during this period of upheaval was one of the two decisive aims of Australia's humanitarian aid program to the MENA region.¹² Proactive Australian responses to international crises generally enjoy support from a domestic population that "find it unacceptable that people still live without sufficient income to lead a decent life, or have the resources to buy medicines or send their children to school"¹³ – this public support allowed the Rudd government to spearhead the international response to the crisis in Libya, allowed for the courting of the Africa voting bloc via the careful attribution of developmental aid, and helped guide Australian foreign policy formation towards a region whose bilateral relationships had previously been dominated by trade concerns.

Australia's engagement with the North Africa post-2007 has had a strong aid element, due in no small part to this campaign, while ODA increased as a result of the Arab Spring revolutions. During this campaign, Australia needed to attract at least 129 votes from the 193 United Nations members eligible to vote, with many of these potential votes coming from states in developing regions such as the Caribbean, the Asia-Pacific, and Africa. According to official figures, Australia's success with 140 votes (to Luxembourg's 128 votes and Finland's 108 votes) cost \$25 million, while foreign aid

¹¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia and Africa: Partners into the Future', July 5th 2012, accessed March 25th 2014 (2012b), pp 15.

¹² The other being a response to the humanitarian crises in states like Yemen and Syria. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 3.

¹³ Australian Agency for International Development. 'Helping the World's Poor through Effective Aid: Australia's Comprehensive Aid Policy Framework to 2015-16', May 2012, accessed March 21st 2014 (2012a), pp 5.

increased by more than \$3 billion since the official UN Security Council campaign launch.¹⁴ In relation to Africa specifically, "Australian development assistance across Africa has tripled since 2007-08 and will continue to increase".¹⁵

Writing in his diary, published in 2014 following Australia's successful UN Security Council campaign and following the election of the Abbott government, then-Foreign Minister Bob Carr described his phone call to Prime Minister Gillard in April 2012, describing how he received confirmation from the Tanzanian Foreign Minister Bernard Memba that Australia's successful bid for a UN Security Council seat was "positive proof"¹⁶ that Australia's increased humanitarian aid budget towards regions like North Africa served Australia's national interests.

Of the eight elements that drove Australia's successful bid for a UN Security Council seat (according to the United Nations Association of Australia), several specific points stand out in relation to Australia's history of humanitarian aid.¹⁷ First, Australia was one of the top ten contributors to the WHO; the World Food Programme; the UN Children's Fund; the UN Women; the Central Emergency Response Fund; the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; the UN Peacekeeping Fund; and the UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations. Second, Australian aid is set to reach \$9 billion by 2016-17, "which could see Australia rank as high as the sixth largest donor globally".¹⁸ Of the eight

¹⁴ Bob Carr went on record as saying that even a loss would still be in Australia's favour, as the campaign "forced us to intensify our diplomacy with, for example, Africa". Eastley, Tony, and Lisa Millar. 'Australia wins seat on UN Security Council', *ABC News*, October 19th 2012, accessed March 3rd 2014.

¹⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2012b, pp 2.

¹⁶ In response to comments from Memba, Carr "rang the PM and left a message quoting this and saying it was positive proof that we [Australia] need to maintain our support for Africa in the aid budget and that meant that we must veer to my favoured option in the treatment of aid in the May [2012] budget". Carr, Bob. 'Diary of a Foreign Minister', NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2014, pp 14.

¹⁷ These eight elements were a commitment to the United Nations spanning 65 years; a record of achievement in international peace and security; a strong endorsement of and action on the Millennium Development Goals; a strong record of global action on climate change; a strong commitment to an effective United Nations; a strong commitment to making a difference for small and medium countries; special commitment to the Indigenous peoples of the world; and a commitment to interfaith and inter-religious dialogue. The formal statement on the official website promoting Australia's campaign is "Australia: Making A Difference For The Small and Medium Countries Of The World". This was Rudd's ambition for Australia – to punch above its weight. United Nations Association of Australia. 2014.

¹⁸ United Nations Association of Australia. 'Australia: Candidate for the United Nations Security Council 2013-14', June 2012, accessed February 21st 2014 (2012b), pp iii.

elements, some were of particular relevance to Australia's re-engagement with North Africa (and Australia's response to the Arab Spring uprisings) under the Rudd government – these were Australia's ongoing achievements in international peace and security, Australia's commitment to an effective United Nations, and Australia's strong commitment to making a difference for small and medium countries (such as the Arab states of North Africa).

According to the 2010 AusAID document 'Australian aid at work in Africa'¹⁹ and the DFAT document 'The Middle East and North Africa Aid Program Performance Report 2012-2013',²⁰ Australian humanitarian aid to North Africa was directed by two objectives – support for sustainable economic growth, including helping vulnerable groups and rural communities overcome poverty; and supporting humanitarian responses, post-conflict stabilisation and recovery.²¹

The current rating of the first objective is Amber (progress being somewhat less than predicted for this stage in the process, with restorative action and close performance monitoring necessary if the objective is to be achieved), with the success of multiple humanitarian programs in Iraq being balanced out by the relatively recent start and subsequent lack of development regarding "rural development and employment-generation activities in North Africa".²² The rating of the second objective as Green (for progress being as expected for this point in time, with a good chance that the objective will be achieved) can be attributed to the success of Australian aid responses to Syria and Yemen, although there are a number of bilateral activities taking place between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa, not least being the Australia Awards focusing on agriculture plus technical and vocational training.²³

¹⁹ Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australian aid at work in Africa', January 2010, accessed March 5th 2014 (2010a).

²⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i.

²¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 5.

²² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 5.

²³ In 2012 Australia awarded Egypt three long-term and 25 short-term awards – in 2013 this dropped to three long-term and three short-term. That same year, Tunisia received one long-term and five short term awards; Morocco received four short-term awards; and Algeria received five short-term awards. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 10.

When it comes to humanitarian aid, Australia's involvement with the United Nations has been firm (domestic political predisposition aside). Under the Howard government (1996-2007), Australia joined all other United Nation members in adopting the Millennium Development Goals, with the government's stance being that both the 0.7 per cent target and the use of the MDGs to benchmark aid effectiveness were "aspirational".²⁴ Further to this, at a 2005 UN conference, Howard committed Australia to doubling its aid program (bringing it from \$2 billion to \$4 billion).²⁵

In May 2007, just months before the next federal election and coming off the back of a twenty-year resources boom, the Howard government's final aid budget statement committed Australia to assisting developing country partners with the delivery of deliver better education and health services (\$1.1 billion over four years); the improvement of infrastructure (\$500 million over four years); and the addressing of environmental and climate change challenges (\$196 million over five years). It wasn't until the election of the Rudd government in late 2007 that Australia began to measure the effectiveness of its own aid program using the levels set out in the Millennium Development Goals.²⁶

In 2010, AusAID argued that "the Australian Government is committed to broadening and deepening engagement with African countries... Australian aid to African countries will continue to increase significantly over coming years".²⁷ According to the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate (DAC) Database, the aid element of Australia's relationship with Africa prior to the Arab Spring revolutions represented a miniscule 0.2 per cent of all aid to the continent in 2009 despite almost a decade's worth of increases in Australia's aid budget and in the size of AusAID.²⁸

²⁴ Parliament of Australia. 'Changes to Australia's overseas aid program under the Abbott and Turnbull governments 2013–2016: key policies and responses', September 22nd 2016, accessed February 17th 2017.

²⁵ Parliament of Australia. 2016.

²⁶ Parliament of Australia. 2016.

²⁷ Australian Agency for International Development. 2010, pp 1.

²⁸ Negin, Joel, and Glenn Denning. 'Study of Australia's Approach to Aid in Africa: Commissioned Study as part of the Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness', February 21st 2011, accessed March 9th 2014, pp 9.

6.3 The substance and functionality of Australia’s humanitarian aid towards North Africa during the Arab Spring

Ongoing Australian humanitarian support for the Arab states of North Africa affected by the Arab Spring uprisings will continue to be required even after the nominal cessation of conflict, as

Despite a formal end to the conflict, vulnerabilities remain as many people are still displaced from the conflict. Families seeking to return to their homes are facing new challenges, as infrastructure has been damaged, mines and unexploded ordnance threaten their safety and basic services are being restored.²⁹

The vulnerabilities faced by North Africans and the disturbances to ongoing development in North Africa posed by the Arab Spring uprisings helped drive Australian humanitarian aid towards the region. For Australian foreign policymakers, Australia’s developmental aid program is driven by its effectiveness – in this sense, the Arab Spring revolutions provided a tangible reason for a deepened humanitarian engagement in pursuit of a tangible diplomatic benefit for Australia (the successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council). Australian foreign policymakers were able to respond to an international crisis – the Arab Spring – by leveraging the humanitarian aid budget on top of Australia’s strong economic relationship with the region.

This wave of regional revolutions fortuitously coincided with Australia’s efforts to woo the African voting bloc as part of the campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, although did not bode well for the successful completion of the MDGs by the North African states, with “instability and uncertainty brought about by the 2011 Arab Spring and ongoing conflict in the region... likely [to] see past achievements curtailed, and eroded, in some MENA countries”.³⁰

²⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Helping people affected by the conflict in Libya’, October 21st 2013, accessed March 5th 2014 (2013f).

³⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 3.

According to DFAT's Economic Development Overview for the MENA region, "improving food security, agricultural productivity and employment generation is a priority for Australia's aid engagement. This approach targets areas of need where Australia can provide expertise that addresses the drivers of instability and contributes to widespread development".³¹ These priorities are designated areas where the Australian government believes that, due to previous experience or specialised knowledge, it can make the biggest differences. However, ongoing instability in North Africa post-Arab Spring has affected the ability of the Australian government to measure the success of humanitarian aid.

Domestic uncertainty in North Africa has affected Australia's ability to measure the success of attempts in that area – overall, rural poverty is double that of urban poverty. The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative used the 2014 Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) to calculate rural and urban poverty levels on a global scale – they discovered that 75.3 per cent of the MPI poor in North Africa were living in rural areas (6,271 living in urban areas compared to 19,074 in rural areas).³² This was the third highest percentage by region – only Sub-Saharan Africa (85.8 per cent) and South Asia (86.3 per cent) had higher percentages of MPI poor living in rural areas.³³

As discussed in chapter four, the MENA region continues to struggle in the area of food security, both for economic reasons (the region continues to be the most food import-dependent region globally, increasing from 56 per cent in 2000 to an estimated 63 per cent by 2030) and for climate/resource reasons (domestic food production being constrained by the regions renewable

³¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Middle East and North Africa: Economic Development Overview', November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014 (2013h).

³² Alkire, Sabina, Mihika Chatterjee, Adriana Conconi, Suman Seth and Ana Vaz. 'Poverty in Rural and Urban Areas: Direct comparisons using the global MPI 2014', Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, June 2014, accessed 15th September 2014, pp 2.

³³ Alkire, Sabina, Mihika Chatterjee, Adriana Conconi, Suman Seth and Ana Vaz. 2014, pp 3.

water resources, the lowest in the world).³⁴ According to the Aid Program Performance Review (APPR), Australia is involved with a number of schemes in North Africa,³⁵ including

- Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) Agricultural and Research Development Partnership in North Africa (in 2009 a four-year global food security initiative was announced due to the fact that Australia and recipient states in North Africa share a similar climate)³⁶
- World Bank Egypt Farm Level Irrigation Management Project
- Egypt Employment Generation Program
 - Employment Promotion Program in Egypt
 - Decent Jobs for Egypt's Young People

In terms of agriculture specifically, Australian developmental aid to Africa is being used

To foster sustainable development in the aftermath of the 'Arab Spring', Australian aid is supporting country priorities for dryland agricultural research in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco; and improved water and salinity management in the Nile Delta and Egypt. These priorities emerged from direct consultations with governments and are aligned with ... [African Union] priorities.³⁷

The scope of these bilateral activities includes issues – food security and resource management – that are integral to the political and economic wellbeing of the Arab states of North Africa.

³⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013h.

³⁵ In terms of government funding, the ACIAR Agricultural and Research Development Partnership in North Africa received \$2.3 million over the APPR period; the World Bank Egypt Farm Level Irrigation Management Project received \$1.5 million over the APPR period; the two Egypt Employment Generation Programs received a combined total of combined total of \$2.67 million over the APPR period. The Australia Awards, during the same period, received \$331 million. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 5..

³⁶ Australian Agency for International Development. 2010a, pp 3.

³⁷ Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research. 'Where We Work: The Middle East and North Africa', accessed March 3rd 2014.

As a ‘middle power’ punching above its diplomatic weight, Australian humanitarian assistance to Libya occurred via a number of multilateral organisations – various United Nations agencies, the Red Crescent movement, and a number of NGOs. In order to meet “the most urgent humanitarian needs”³⁸ the Australian government provided six humanitarian experts to North Africa to support the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UNICEF and UNHCR initiatives in Egypt and Tunisia, and to assist people displaced by the then-deepening crisis in Libya.³⁹

With regards to Libya in particular, Australia also appointed an Australian Civilian Corps stabilisation specialist to the planning mission of the UK-managed International Stabilisation Report Team in May 2011.⁴⁰ Statistics surrounding Australian Volunteers Program ODA, Type of Volunteer by Partner Country 2011-12, mention none of the Arab states of North Africa – under the heading of Africa there are no North African states, just eleven sub-Saharan states, while the Middle East has no breakdown by state at all, with analysis resting on a regional level rather than a state level.⁴¹

The ‘Humanitarian and Disaster Response’ section of the ‘Australian Official Development Assistance, Strategic Goals and Development Objectives 2009–10 to 2011–12’⁴² indicated an increase in the overall aid budget dedicated to both humanitarian responses, and to conflict prevention and resolution. There was an increase in the total ‘Humanitarian and Disaster Response’ budget from \$438,181,000 in 2009-10 to \$549,098,000 in 2011-12 (with a decrease of \$4,059,000 in the intervening year). The total Australian Official ODA saw a straight increase – from \$3,865,036,000 in 2009-10 to \$4,303,155,000 in 2010-11 to \$4,825,159,000 in 2011-12.⁴³

Unlike sub-Saharan Africa, which saw an increase in ODA from \$140,530,000 in 2009-10 to \$264,341,000 in 2010-11 to \$436,348,000 in 2011-12, North Africa and the Middle East (conflated in

³⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

³⁹ Australian Agency for International Development. ‘Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee: Senate Supplementary Budget Estimates October 2011’, October 20th 2011, accessed March 21st 2017, pp 29.

⁴⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

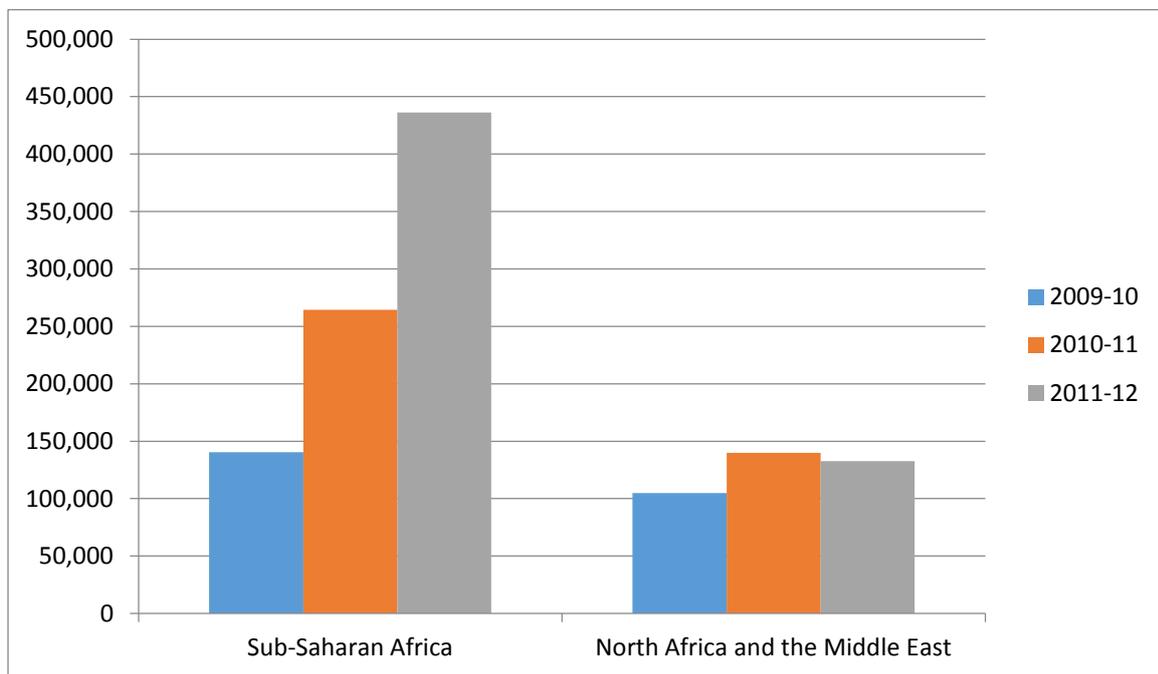
⁴¹ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 29.

⁴² Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 28.

⁴³ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 4.

the 'Regions of Benefit' table of Australian ODA) saw an increase between 2009-10 and 2010-11 (\$104,932,000 to \$139,985,000) but a decrease between 2010-11 and 2011-12 (to a slightly lower \$132,775,000).⁴⁴

Figure 6.1 Australian Official Development Assistance, Region of Benefit by Strategic Goals, 2009–10 to 2011–12



Source: Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia's International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014 (2013b), pp 7.

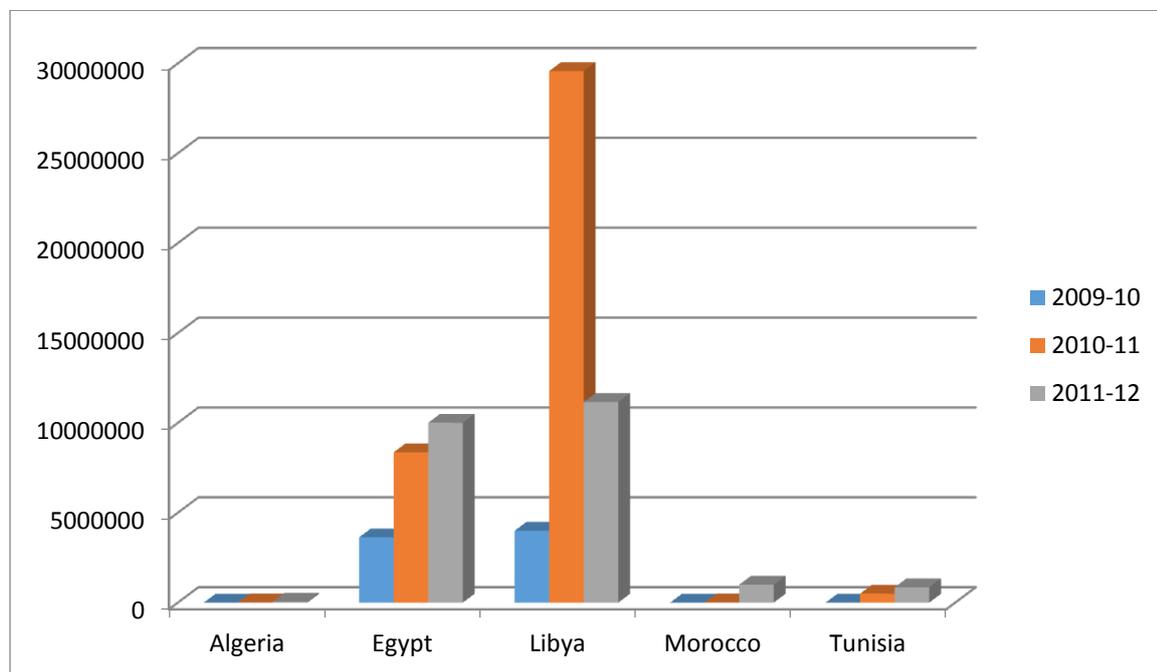
On a state-specific level, the five Arab states of North Africa each saw an increase between 2009-10 and 2010-11. Of the five, all except Libya saw another increase between 2010-11 and 2011-12. Of

⁴⁴ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 7.

the five states, three received no ODA in 2009-10 – Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia – which is consistent with a foreign policy that prioritises Egypt and Libya in the region.⁴⁵

Algeria received no ODA in 2009-10 but jumped to \$18,000 in 2010-11 and \$54,000 in 2011-12. Egypt, the second biggest recipient after Libya, already received \$3,635,000 in 2009-10. This more than doubled in 2010-11 (\$8,366,000) and then increased again to \$10,011,000 in 2011-12. Morocco (like Algeria) received no ODA in 2009-10, but (like Algeria) jumped in 2010-11 – this time to \$9,000 – and again in 2011-12 to \$999,000. Tunisia, the third state of the five to receive no ODA in 2009-10, saw a flat increase to \$500,000 in 2010-11 and then again to \$852,000. Libya, by far the biggest recipient of Australian ODA in this time period, started at \$4,000,000 in 2009-10 (more than the other four states combined for the year) before increasing to \$29,577,000 in 2010-11.⁴⁶

Figure 6.2 Australian Official Development Assistance to the five Arab states of North Africa



⁴⁵ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 11.

⁴⁶ It did, however, fall in 2011-12 to \$11,161,000 – the only state of the five to see a decrease in ODA. Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 11.

Source: Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia's International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014 (2013b), pp 11.

This indicates an increasing level of urgency felt by the Australian government regarding each state – Egypt and Libya the biggest beneficiaries by dint of the momentous social, economic and political upheaval occurring in those states at the time, and Australia's previously established trade relationships with these two states in particular.

Of the indirect assistance via multilateral agencies granted to Libya, \$9 million went to the Office for the UNHCR, a "key partner in meeting critical humanitarian needs in Libya"⁴⁷ which provided emergency assistance to 1 million displaced Libyans and Tunisians, and to those states hosting them, and similarly \$6.5 million to the International Organisation for Migration to help with the immediate evacuation of around 215,000 'vulnerable' Libyans and third country nationals, including more than 2,000 people in May 2011 from Misrata as the city was being shelled.⁴⁸

Of the \$44.6 million in Australian aid offered, \$14.1 million went to organisations for medical purposes – generally based in and around Libya - \$8.1 million to the International Committee of the Red Cross (particularly relevant as the ICRC was one of the only agencies granted humanitarian access to both government-controlled and Transitional National Council locations), \$3.5 million to the World Health Organisation (for the immediate health needs of civilians in Misrata and Benghazi in particular) and \$2.5 million to the International Medical Corps for permanent and mobile primary health facilities in Libya (including the areas bordering Egypt and Tunisia).⁴⁹

With this in mind, Australia's assistance to the region, and specifically Libya, was tempered by the fact that the lessons learned from international responses to previous crises needed to be tailored to

⁴⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

⁴⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

⁴⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

suit a new emerging predicament⁵⁰ – that “UNICEF reports that Libya was not a classic humanitarian crisis, rather one in which protection was – and continues to be – the highest concern, particularly for women and children”.⁵¹ The response of Australian foreign policymakers was shaped by Australia’s previous experiences in times of crisis – in formulating a foreign policy response and allocating humanitarian aid accordingly, Australia was able to draw on previous state-building experience with Iraq and the Palestinian territories. Here, the situation in Libya was not one which a standard response would be appropriate.⁵² Australia viewed itself as having transitioned

Beyond simply keeping peace to actively building peace. This includes promoting good governance and human rights, strengthening the rule of law, reforming the security sector (including police) and laying the groundwork for sustainable economic development.⁵³

By working with international partners, not least being the United Nations Development Programme, Australia’s long-term aid “will encourage state engagement with civil society groups and assist efforts to build more responsive and resilient communities, to support long-term peace and stability, and create opportunities for development and poverty reduction to take place”.⁵⁴

Figure 6.3 Aid allocated in the Australian budget by region and associations

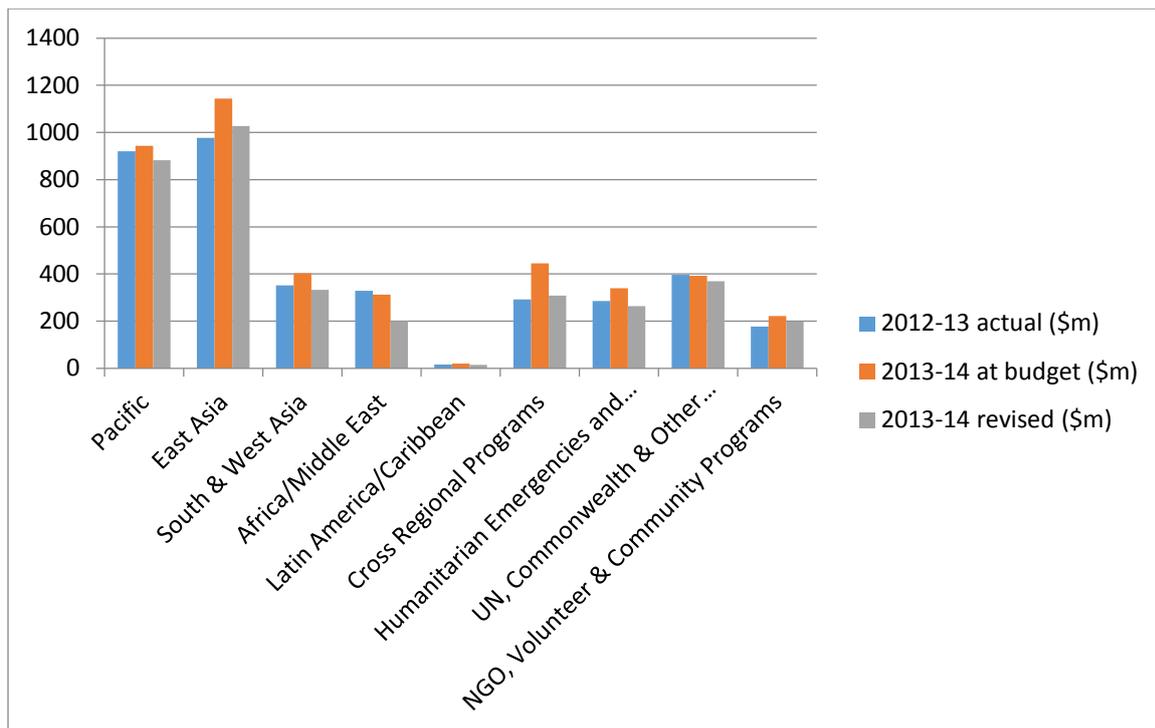
⁵⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Middle East and North Africa: Governance Overview’, November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014 (2013i).

⁵¹ For this reason, Australia donated \$3 million to UNICEF for the protection of women and children. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

⁵² United Nations Association of Australia. 2014.

⁵³ United Nations Association of Australia. 2014.

⁵⁴ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013i.



Source: Dornan, Matthew. 'Winners and losers in the 2014-15 aid budget', *Development Policy Centre*, May 14th 2014, accessed May 15th 2014.

The 2013 federal election, which saw a change of Australian government, impacted the allocation of humanitarian aid to North Africa. Despite the change of Australian government, however, security issues in the MENA region resulting from the Arab Spring uprisings continued to impact on the formation of Australian foreign policy. It is for this reason that DFAT wrote that

Recent and current turmoils in North Africa and the Middle East have the potential to trigger major economic and security challenges in the region, which could have global implications, as well as being of considerable national interest to Australia. We are committed to building strong bilateral and regional ties with our partner countries in the Middle East and North Africa.⁵⁵

Revolutions rarely produce immediate democratic reform, while the rebuilding of government institutions is often not the most useful objective for humanitarian aid in the wake of a crisis. As

⁵⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia's International Development Assistance Program 2013–14 Budget', May 14th 2013, accessed March 21st 2014 (2013c), pp 71.

detailed in the Aid Program Performance Review, domestic uncertainty in North Africa affected the ability of the North African states to attract overseas investment, which in turn affected domestic economic growth.⁵⁶ The sole exception to slow overall growth in the region has been Tunisia, due predominantly to both its tourism industry and domestic demand, rising from 2 per cent in 2011 to 3.6 per cent in 2012. In comparison, Morocco's agricultural industry was hit heavily by drought, which then made the economy more susceptible to a weakened demand for Euro trading – because of this, growth between 2011 and 2012 almost halved, from 5 per cent to 2.7 per cent. Overall, regional growth was spearheaded by Egypt and Libya, with Libya's crude oil production prompting a gross domestic product expansion of 105 per cent, though external demand from Euro trading partners continued to be weak.

Australian aid is often distributed through multilateral institutions and NGOs while still acting effectively as good publicity. In turn, this aid helps local communities develop sustainably rather than investing in short-term schemes that are driven less by recipient interests and more by donor interests. In a governmental brief prepared for the incoming Minister for Trade, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act 1982, DFAT wrote that

Expanding aid-for-trade activity with Africa would help maintain and enhance our credentials with African countries in WTO negotiations. A continuing focus in the Africa aid program on capacity building in resource sector governance would help signal that Australia is willing to make a contribution in the sector of greatest interest to us.⁵⁷

For this reason, the quality of Australian aid is generally recognised to be quite high, as

While most NGOs stated they are clear, when serving communities, that funding is Australian, they also emphasised that explicit badging can harm community ownership and compromise good

⁵⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 1.

⁵⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Trade', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014 (2011d), pp 88.

development practice. Efforts are made to ensure communities own projects and see them as their own – not something ‘from overseas.’⁵⁸

The DFAT Governance Overview for Aid in the MENA region lists the following as particular goals for Australia in North Africa:

- Strengthen electoral institutions and processes in Egypt and Tunisia
- Establish Electoral Commissions and facilitate successful elections in Egypt and Tunisia
- Enable civil society to engage in electoral processes
- Provide public outreach campaigns to disseminated gender-sensitive voter information, enabling public understanding and knowledge of electoral processes and citizenship rights
- Deliver on specific targets to improve access for women, increasing their ability to vote in elections in Egypt and Tunisia
- Build the capacity of women enabling them to become potential political candidates.⁵⁹

Australian developmental aid to the Arab states of North Africa during the rapid upheavals and revolutions of the Arab Spring increased both in absolute dollar terms and in the scope of the proposed projects and goals set.

Australia’s reputation as a good global citizen has helped drive both foreign policy formation and humanitarian aid distribution under successive Australian governments. The Rudd government’s distribution of aid to developing regions such as North Africa, as part of a campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, was claimed to be in the best interests of all states involved – Australia supported

⁵⁸ Negin, Joel, and Glenn Denning. 2011, pp 30.

⁵⁹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013i.

Reform of the UN Security Council to ensure it reflects the 21st century and to ensure it is strong, effective and properly representative of all regions of the world. Australia has therefore consistently and actively supported Africa's position for greater representation on the UN Security Council, including two permanent seats in the Security Council and for an equitable proportion of new elected seat. Achieving this will bolster the UN Security Council's ability to perform its mandate for international peace and security.⁶⁰

Australian aid to Egypt and Tunisia in particular took the form of "post-conflict stabilisation activities... [to] help improve the efficiency and transparency of electoral institutions and processes... [this includes] working with international partners such as the United Nations Development Programme".⁶¹ These activities are in the pursuit of the establishment of strong civil societies, which support and contribute to long-term state-building actions. According to AusAID, in 2011-12 Multilateral Organisations received a total of \$1,729,876,000 – the next highest recipient being with Commercial Suppliers⁶² with \$707,276,000 and Non-Government Organisations with \$565,791,000.⁶³

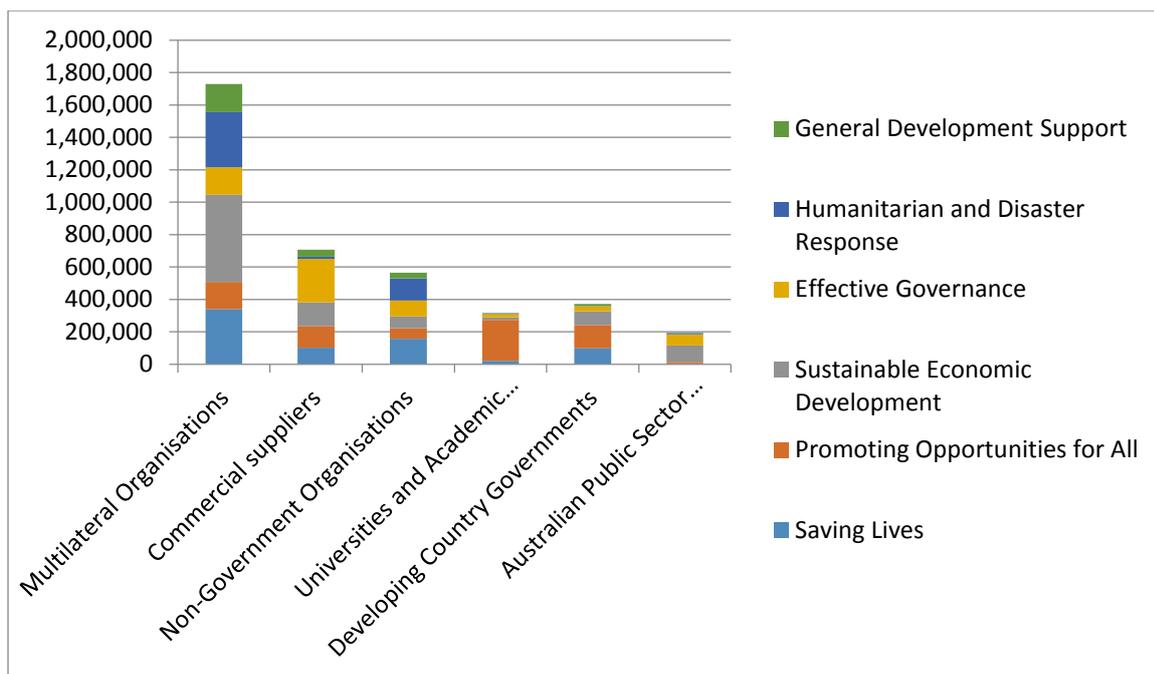
Figure 6.4 AusAID Official Development Assistance, Strategic Goals by Type of Partner, 2011-12, \$*000

⁶⁰ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2012b, pp 4.

⁶¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013i.

⁶² 'Commercial suppliers' being Australian private sector companies dedicated to delivering aid to developing states, including International Development Contractors Australia.

⁶³ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 5.



Source: Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia's International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014 (2013b), pp 5.

When addressing the breakdown of Australian ODA via Multilateral and Regional Organisations, the total amount allocated to Development Banks (the World Bank, International Development Association, International Finance Corporation etc.) is the largest amount, coming in at \$947,653,000 in 2011-12.⁶⁴ The United Nations subheading, covering 26 individual departments (plus the 'other' category), jumped considerably between 2009-10 and 2010-11 – from \$460,141,000 to \$638,312,000 – but decreased ever so slightly in 2011-12 to \$634,400,000. Of all the departments listed, the three biggest recipients of Australian ODA were the UN Children's Fund, the UN Development Program, and the World Food Program.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 31.

⁶⁵ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 31.

Evaluated by 'Region of Benefit',⁶⁶ the total of Australian ODA given via non-governmental assistance to the MENA region came to \$26,737,000.⁶⁷ Of the eight geographical categories – Papua New Guinea and Pacific Island Countries; East Asia,; South and West Asia; Other Asia; Sub-Saharan Africa; North Africa and the Middle East,; Other Africa; and Latin America and the Caribbean – the MENA region comes fifth, ahead of Other Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Other Africa.⁶⁸

With regards to post-Arab Spring funding, AusAID predicted that

The four-year budget strategy anticipates that total funding to non-government organisations will increase from roughly \$500 million in 2011–12 to between \$700 and \$800 million by 2015–16, with more than half channelled through partnerships between AusAID and Australian non-government organisations.⁶⁹

In AusAID's publication 'Helping the World's Poor through Effective Aid: Australia's Comprehensive Aid Policy Framework to 2015-16', none of the 'Priorities for our bilateral program' were for North Africa.⁷⁰

Furthermore, even during the Rudd government's re-engagement with developing regions like North Africa, Australia showed no indication of abandoning traditional aid recipients in the Asia Pacific – at the at the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, South Korea, on 29th November-1st December 2011, Rudd reassured the global aid community that any new mechanism for international dialogue on aid effectiveness must take into account the emerging economies of Australia's immediate neighbour in the Asia-Pacific, especially "where important challenges to meeting the MDGs remain".⁷¹ Though the demands of Australia's campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council required a deeper commitment to developing regions, the basic framework that

⁶⁶ Where there is no breakdown by individual state.

⁶⁷ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 33.

⁶⁸ Australian Agency for International Development. 2013b, pp 33.

⁶⁹ Australian Agency for International Development. 2012a, pp 18.

⁷⁰ Australian Agency for International Development. 2012a, pp 16.

⁷¹ Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia at global forum on aid effectiveness', October 21st 2013, accessed February 21st 2014 (2013a).

supports Australian foreign policy making does not allow for a serious withdrawal from the Asia-Pacific.

Foreign policy formation under the Rudd government included an understanding that Australia, as a 'middle power' punching above its weight, was able to increase ODA levels to both the Asia-Pacific and to Africa without compromising Australia's budget bottom line. The unrest in North Africa as a result of the Arab Spring revolutions offered Australia a chance to extend its influence into a developing region, with voting power in the upcoming UN Security Council, via the careful distribution of humanitarian aid with the ultimate goal of a stable environment with which Australia can trade.

Australia's foreign policy formation in response to the Arab Spring revolutions in North Africa took place within the multilateral framework constructed by the United Nations, within the three tenets that continue to drive Australia's foreign policy formation in general (in particular Australia's commitment to the United Nations), using a means (the humanitarian aid budget) that posed no threat to the strong trade relationships already established with the region.

6.4 The effects of Australia's self-identification as a 'middle power' on the development of its humanitarian aid program

The size and direction of the humanitarian aid program under successive Australian governments has been driven by the Prime Minister of the day's perception of Australia's national interest and how best it can interact with the wider global sphere – this includes to what extent Australia self-identifies as a 'middle power'.

The idea of Australia as a 'middle power' (or what we would understand as middle power diplomacy) is dependent on the contemporary government's attitude towards multilateral institutions like the

United Nations, and whether the assignment of Australia's humanitarian aid takes these responsibilities into account.⁷² This working definition of 'middle power' is both generally accepted and not without criticism – that the theory is an expression of expediency, rather than something functional, encompassing as it does numerous schools of thought. Although neither major Australian political party has a monopoly on multilateral involvement, successive ALP governments have tended to place a higher emphasis on foreign policy formation that relies on it.

When addressing the differences between the Howard government and the Rudd government in terms of foreign policy prior to the Arab Spring, the authors in *Middle Power Dreaming* suggest that the concept of a 'middle power' "refers principally to aspects other than size, but most definitions refer, in one way or another, to capability or 'capacity'".⁷³ This definition draws upon the traditional assumption that middle powers prefer to confront global challenges with the support of like-minded states, to "pursue multilateral solutions to international problems... embrace compromise positions in international disputes and... embrace notions of 'good international citizenship' to guide their diplomacy".⁷⁴

This emphasis on multilateral solutions to international crises helped determine Australia's self-definition as a 'middle power' and the extent to which successive Australian governments approached the United Nations (discussed in further detail in chapter one). Under both the outgoing Howard government and the incoming Rudd governments, the budgets and deployments of DFAT were poor compared to other OECD states, reflecting a level of indifference for the instruments of diplomacy.⁷⁵ This includes the portion of Australia's yearly budget dedicated to humanitarian aid for

⁷² It is for these reasons that the term 'middle power', or what we would understand as 'middle power politics', has always been more closely aligned with the foreign policy decisions of successive ALP governments. Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 'Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs 2006-2010', Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2011, pp 2.

⁷³ Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 2011, pp 2.

⁷⁴ Cooper, David. 'Challenging Contemporary Notions of Middle Power Influence: Implications of the Proliferation Security Initiative for "Middle Power Theory"', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7:3 (2011), pp 319.

⁷⁵ Under both the outgoing Howard government and the incoming Rudd governments, the budgets and deployments of DFAT were poor compared to other OECD states, reflecting indifference for the instruments of diplomacy. Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 2011, pp 3.

non-Asia-Pacific regions. Under successive Australian governments, the allocation of humanitarian aid (especially to developing regions that aren't the Asia-Pacific) was guided by an interpretation of 'middle power' with its varying understandings of what constitutes good international citizenship and multilateral engagement.

Successive changes in Australian government have had consequences for Australia's humanitarian aid budget, as

With the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) taking over responsibility for aid, and with the abolition of the specialised aid agency, AusAID, the need for parliamentary scrutiny and oversight becomes more not less important.⁷⁶

The allocation of humanitarian aid by successive Australian governments has been driven, in large part, by the concept of Australia as a 'middle power' – a state whose foreign policy formation is guided by notions of good international citizenship and multilateral engagement. This emphasis on multilateral engagement – driven by Australia's self-identification as a 'middle power' – resulted in the Rudd government's successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, the campaign for which included the allocation of aid to developing regions beyond the Asia-Pacific region.

6.5 Differences in Australian humanitarian aid to North Africa and to sub-Saharan Africa

Australia's humanitarian aid towards developing regions under the Rudd government (whether in the form of financial payment, or the organisation of schemes based around the imparting of services, knowledge, or support) was increased as part of the campaign for a seat on the UN Security

Council – as discussed in this section, however, a larger portion of this went to sub-Saharan Africa (though the amount assigned to North Africa is still enough to warrant discussion in this thesis).

As then-Foreign Minister Stephen Smith said to the African Union Executive Council in 2009, Australia “wants to be part of Africa’s future in ways where our expertise and experience can make a unique and positive contribution”.⁷⁷ In the same way that the trade relationships established between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa are sustained by Australia’s reputation as a reliable trading partner, the aid relationship (though one-sided) is sustained by Australia’s reputation as a source of reliable and effective aid.

An evaluation of Australia’s ODA budget for 2007-08 (the transitional period between the Howard government and the Rudd government) illustrates that, of the twelve biggest recipients of Australian aid to Africa, only one was from North Africa (Egypt), while the \$8.9 million they received was earmarked for debt relief rather than for the humanitarian purposes inherent in the allocation of aid for states like Sudan and Zimbabwe.⁷⁸ This was prior to the Arab Spring and Rudd’s campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council, where events warranted the earmarking of Australian aid to the region for ‘emergency response’ purposes.

At the change of Australian federal government in 2007

Many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) applauded the decision to increase the aid budget... [though] they were less generous in their assessments of the quality of Australia’s program. They found plenty of ammunition in the reports from the Office of Development Effectiveness (ODE), a freestanding unit within AusAID created by the Howard government. In its first report, tabled in 2008,

⁷⁷ Smith, Stephen. ‘Presentation to the Executive Council of the African Union’, (speech given at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 29th January 2012), accessed 20th March 2014.

⁷⁸ These statistics were from the years immediately preceding the Arab Spring revolutions. Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 2011, pp 201.

the ODE estimated that as much as 50 per cent of the Australian aid program was devoted to technical assistance, much of which was supplied through highly paid expatriates.⁷⁹

This report addressed the potential for the deployment of Australian aid through reliable channels and for appropriate purposes, and concluded that the expansion of Australia's aid program beyond 'traditional' forms of engagement may result in less sustainable development in the long term. Of the 48 least developed countries in the world, African countries make up 33. Australian assistance to the sub-Saharan region focuses on health, economic growth, governance, humanitarian, emergency, and refugee aid, with a 2011-12 ODA budget of \$291.3 million for the 'Africa Regional Program'.⁸⁰

In the same time period, what the ABS termed 'Arab Spring Countries'⁸¹ received \$99.5 million for food security and rural development, post-conflict stabilisation and recovery, and humanitarian assistance.⁸² Specific mention was made of the fact that "in 2011, Australia responded to the pro-democracy movements that occurred across the Middle East and North Africa (known as the Arab Spring) through humanitarian aid and development assistance to Libya, Tunisia, Syria and Yemen".⁸³ Aid to the MENA region during the Arab Spring was not limited to North Africa, though these were some of the most affected states, but was also directed toward Middle Eastern countries such as Syria.⁸⁴

According to AusAID, the three main objectives of Australian aid to Africa have been

⁷⁹ Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 2011, pp 51.

⁸⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics. 'International Relations: Where We Give Aid', May 26th 2012, accessed March 3rd 2014 (2012b).

⁸¹ What is interesting here is that the ABS had to specifically define 'Arab Spring Countries' as both a geographical region and a political unit because it had an impact on Australia in terms of immigration and the aid budget allocation.

⁸² Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2012b.

⁸³ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012b.

⁸⁴ MDG reporting from 2010 suggests that all of the MENA states "stand to meet or narrowly miss most MDGs" with the exceptions – Iraq, Syria and Yemen – all in the Middle East rather than North Africa. If we use the MDGs to judge the success of humanitarian aid to North Africa so far, it has flourished compared to many of its neighbours to the North or to the South. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 3.

- a. To help selected African countries progress in Millennium Development Goals in areas where Australia has particular strengths, where progress is seriously off track and where strong frameworks exist for achieving effective results.
- b. To help build the human resources capacity of African countries, particularly in areas and ways where Australia has recognised strengths and expertise.
- c. To help African countries manage and respond to major threats to development and to take advantages of broader economic opportunities.⁸⁵

DFAT's overview on 'Progress against Millennium Development Goals Middle East and North Africa' indicates the broad successes of two of the Arab states of North Africa – Egypt and Tunisia.⁸⁶ Of the eight Millennium Development Goals, DFAT has declared that Egypt and Tunisia have achieved all except one (the improvement of maternal health). Libya, conversely, has yet to receive DFAT approval for any except one – the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women.⁸⁷

When evaluating the MENA states, AusAID classified that its regional growth band is 'Medium' as while

Overall poverty levels in this region are comparatively low... there is inequity and the region is undergoing rapid political and social change with major humanitarian consequences. The region's democratic transition and rapidly increasing links through trade, investment and migration make this region of significant national interest at the present time.⁸⁸

The 2011 Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness argued that Australian aid to Africa prior to the re-engagement under the Rudd government was both highly specialised (focusing on just nine

⁸⁵ Australian Agency for International Development. 2010b, pp 9.

⁸⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Progress against Millennium Development Goals: Middle East and North Africa', November 1st 2013, accessed March 7th 2014 (2013k).

⁸⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013k.

⁸⁸ The estimated volume of aid to the MENA region in 2011-12 was \$93 million, while the estimated volume of aid in 2015-16 was \$125 million. Australian Agency for International Development. 2012a, pp 13.

countries in East and Southern Africa) and low in real input. By the early 2000s, the percentage of Australian aid to Africa had decreased to around 2 per cent of the total budget, down from 6 per cent 25 years prior. Although there was an increase in the aid budget after the 2007 federal election (from \$116.4m in 2008-09 to \$163.9m in 2009-10, to \$200.9m in 2010-11) the 2010-11 figure still only represented 4.6 per cent of total Australian aid.⁸⁹

According to the AusAID 2007-08 Index Performance Report for Country and Regional Programs, the then-new Rudd government “has stated its intention to reinvigorate its engagement with Africa and the aid program will play a part in this. During 2007–08, AusAID commenced work on a new strategy to guide future Australian assistance to the continent”.⁹⁰ Writing for the *Lowy Interpreter*, Annmaree O’Keeffe contends that Rudd was the greatest proponent of aid to Africa, as

Rudd's hand was firmly on the aid tiller, leaving then-Foreign Minister Stephen Smith little room to do more than follow instructions. The very able Parliamentary Secretary at the time, Bob McMullan, had even less authority.⁹¹

Under the Rudd government, Australia’s humanitarian aid budget rose by more than 50 per cent, from \$3.1 billion to \$4.8 billion.⁹² Although sub-Saharan Africa enjoyed the majority of Australian humanitarian aid to the African continent, the momentous events of the Arab Spring ensured that North Africa was not completely overlooked. Whilst this humanitarian aid took a variety of forms, it still represented Rudd’s activist tendencies – towards a region previously dominated by trade concerns – in a way that resulted in tangible diplomatic benefits for Australia.

⁸⁹ Negin, Joel, and Glenn Denning. 2011, pp 9.

⁹⁰ Australian Agency for International Development. ‘Annual Report 2007-2008’, 2008, accessed September 15th 2014, pp 108.

⁹¹ O’Keeffe, Annmaree. ‘Foreign aid advice for the new minister’, *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, February 29th 2012, accessed September 15th 2014.

⁹² O’Keeffe, Annmaree. 2012.

6.6 The migration element of Australia's humanitarian program during the Arab Spring

This section argues that Australia's ongoing humanitarian aid program aimed at North Africa during the Arab Spring revolutions included a migration element as part of Australia's attempts at wooing the African voting bloc in the lead-up to the vote for non-permanent positions on the UN Security Council. Rudd's vision of Australia as a successful 'middle power' helped guide Australian foreign policy formation towards a region whose relationships had previously been dominated by trade concerns – Rudd's successful campaign involved adjustments to Australian migration policy towards the region during the Arab Spring (although with a particular emphasis on Australia's response to Libyans affected by the crisis, as "large-scale migration or displacement has only taken place in two of the affected countries, Libya, and Syria").⁹³ Proven economic benefits of increased migration levels aside, migration to Australia from both sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa has ebbed and flowed since the 1940s, although changes to Australia's migration streams has signalled adjustments in the regional focus of Australia's humanitarian aid program towards both subregions of the African continent.

Following World War II, African migration to Australia increased with each intercensal period.⁹⁴ North Africa saw a major increase in the first post-war intercensal period (1947-54), where the African-born population in Australia nearly doubled due to the phenomenally high numbers of Egypt-born migrants (from 803 in 1947 to 8,150 in 1954).⁹⁵ The African-born population doubled again in 1954-61, and again in 1961-71, peaking at the time at 61,936.⁹⁶ In the period following 1971, numbers from sub-Saharan Africa grew steadily and numbers from North Africa (including Egypt)

⁹³ Koser, Khalid. 'Migration, Displacement and the Arab Spring: Lessons to Learn', Brookings, March 22nd 2012, accessed June 13th 2017.

⁹⁴ The period of time between censuses.

⁹⁵ Hugo, Graeme. 'Migration between Africa and Australia: a demographic perspective' (background paper for African Australians: A review of human rights and social inclusion issues, commissioned by the Australian Human Rights Commission, December 2009), accessed May 17th 2014, pp 16.

⁹⁶ Hugo, Graeme. 2009, pp 16.

decreased. As the 'long boom' of the 1970s ended, manufacturing employment was reduced and unemployment rose on the African continent, and migrant flows from Africa changed to reflect this.⁹⁷ In the period post-1971 immigration from Africa was dominated by sub-Saharan African rather than North Africa. The post-war African diaspora was part of an "ongoing reconfiguration of power, authority, territoriality and governance on each of the local, national, regional and global levels".⁹⁸

Australia's post-2001 humanitarian focus on Africa as a source of migration to Australia originated in response to UNHCR recommendations regarding global resettlement needs.⁹⁹ With regards to levels of migration from North Africa specifically, Egypt was one of the ten slowest growing African birthplace source states, while no North African states were in the ten fastest growing in 2001-2006 (prior to the election of the Rudd government in 2007).¹⁰⁰ This trend was reinforced by the proportion of Australian resettlement grants to refugees in Africa, which dropped in the same period to just 55 per cent, followed by an announcement by the Department of Immigration revealing that this intake would fall to around 40 per cent in 2006-07.¹⁰¹ However, writing in 2007, Perrin and Dunn argued in the *Australian Geographer* that "in the past five years Australia has experienced a dramatic increase in the number of North African arrivals. The majority of North African arrivals for the past 4 years have arrived as humanitarian entrants. This migration stream reflected a shift in the regional focus of the humanitarian program towards Africa".¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Hugo, Graeme. 2009, pp 26.

⁹⁸ Davies, Rebecca. 'African diasporas, development and the politics of context', *Third World Quarterly*, 33:1 (2012), pp 96.

⁹⁹ Perrin, Rebecca-Lea, and Kevin M. Dunn. 'Tracking the Settlement of North African Immigrants: speculations on the social and cultural impacts of a newly arrived immigrant group', *Australian Geographer*, 38:2 (2007), pp 254.

¹⁰⁰ Hugo, Graeme. 2009, pp 25.

¹⁰¹ Perrin, Rebecca-Lea, and Kevin M. Dunn. 2007, pp 259.

¹⁰² Perrin, Rebecca-Lea, and Kevin M. Dunn. 2007, pp 253.

From an economic perspective, the migration element of Australia's foreign policy towards North Africa is driven by what Bakewell refers to as a triple-win – good for the sending state, good for the receiving state, and good for the migrants involved.¹⁰³

On the whole, trends in North African migration to Australia “are largely determined by major shocks such as (colonial, civil and inter-state) wars and general political-economic change”.¹⁰⁴ This naturally includes the Arab Spring revolutions, whose effects on overall shape of the MENA region have been great. The Arab Spring revolutions saw the greatest migrant wave since World War II.¹⁰⁵ In terms of domestic Australian policy, by supporting the Libyan cause during the Arab Spring, Rudd was able to politically cater to the North African diaspora in Australia (including 650 Libyan international fee-paying students whose uncertain futures in Australia were diplomatically managed by “a number of flexibilities built into migration legislation”).¹⁰⁶

As Foreign Minister, Rudd took pride in the fact that Australia provided loans for 1,500 Libyan students and families in Australia.¹⁰⁷ In an interview with *ABC Newsradio Breakfast* in early March 2011, then-Foreign Minister Rudd said that any potential applications for refugee status from Libyans would be subject to “the normal processes which apply to the consideration of any applications”¹⁰⁸ but that this would take place within the wider context of the international

¹⁰³ Peter Sutherland, United Nations Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for International Migration since January 2006, emphasized six ways in which migrants can contribute positively to their receiving countries – direct investment, remittances, human capital transfers, philanthropic contributions, capital market investment and tourism – while their ability to contribute to the receiving state is based on “levels of resources, skills and communication capabilities”. This also includes NGOs set up by migrant communities. Phillips, Melissa. ‘Migration and Australian Foreign Policy Towards Africa: The Place of Australia’s African Transnational Communities’, in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons, ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Towards Africa’, Melbourne University Publishing, Victoria, 2013, pp 181.

¹⁰⁴ Haas, Hein de. ‘North African migration systems: evolution, transformations and development linkages’, *Journal Migration Institute*, 6 (2007), pp 34.

¹⁰⁵ Kingsley, Patrick. ‘Arab spring prompts biggest migrant wave since second world war’, *The Guardian*, January 4th 2015, accessed March 3rd 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Crook, Andrew. ‘Libyan students to demand asylum’, *Crikey*, March 9th 2011, accessed August 18th 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Norington, Brad. ‘Rudd delegation ready to visit Libya and renew ties’, *The Australian*, September 22nd 2011, accessed August 18th 2014.

¹⁰⁸ Benson, Marius. ‘Interview with Kevin Rudd’, *ABC Newsradio Breakfast*, March 2nd 2011, accessed August 18th 2014.

community's responsibility to take action when faced with crimes against humanity such as those happening in Libya at the time.

An issue flagged by Mickler and Lyons in 2013 was that then-upcoming federal election could trigger changes in Australia's migration policy – that “there are concerns that a change of government in Australia might lead to a roll-back of the ‘new engagement’ with Africa that we have seen under Labor since 2007”.¹⁰⁹ Under the Abbott government, migration levels from the region dropped, with the argument that “the purpose of migration is to build the economy, shape society, support the labour market and reunite family”.¹¹⁰

Australia's humanitarian response to the Arab Spring revolutions in North Africa included commitments from Rudd regarding the legal status of Libyans affected by the Arab Spring conflict. It was a strategy that helped Australia garner votes from the African voting bloc in the election of non-permanent seats on the UN Security Council, while increased migration levels to Australia have been demonstrated to have a positive effect on the earning capacity of Australian-born wage earners. Rudd's vision of Australia as a ‘middle power’ included a vision of Australia as responsible (and responsive) global citizen that adjusted its migratory policies accordingly when faced with large-scale displacement like that which was happening in Libya during the Arab Spring.

6.7 The Abbott government's humanitarian disengagement with North Africa and policy realignment towards the Asia-Pacific

Foreign policy formation under the Abbott government, including humanitarian aid levels to regions that were not the Asia-Pacific, went against recommendations made by the now-defunct AusAID,

¹⁰⁹ Micker, David, and Tanya Lyons. “Evaluating Australia's ‘New Engagement’ with Africa”, in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa’, Melbourne University Press, 2013 (2013a), pp 227.

¹¹⁰ Department of Immigration and Border Protection. ‘Migration Programme statistics’, accessed August 18th 2014 (2014b).

which was one of the first agencies to be closed after the election of the Abbott government in 2013.¹¹¹ Transitioning out of a twenty-year resources boom, the state of Australia's economy (described by economists as good but spruiked by the Abbott government as being in "crisis"¹¹²) was used by the Abbott government to justify decreased levels of ODA as a proportion of Australia's national Gross National Income (currently below the 0.5 per cent of GNI recommended by the UN for industrialised states).

Whilst the most violent elements of the Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa had concluded by the time the Abbott government was elected in late 2013, Australian humanitarian aid still had a role to play in responding to the aftermath. Foreign policy towards North Africa under the Abbott government, however, concluded that Australia's trade relationship with the region was strong enough to serve Australia's national interest even if the humanitarian aid budget was cut.¹¹³ According to Matthew Dornan, "ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East [fell] from \$345 million to \$252 million (-27%), with the greatest decline affecting the Middle East and North Africa, where ODA decline[d] by 79%, to \$9 million".¹¹⁴ In this context, the Abbott government's domestic priorities (including a concerted effort to be known as the "infrastructure Prime Minister")¹¹⁵ boded poorly for developing regions.

The approach of successive Coalition governments to humanitarian aid has been to allocate it along geographical lines, with the understanding that each developing region would be managed by its immediate neighbours. For this reason, the Abbott government has formulated foreign policy and

¹¹¹ Australian Agency for International Development. 2012a, p 11.

¹¹² When interviewed for BusinessDay's mid-year economic survey, twenty-five of Australia's leading economists rejected the idea that Australia's economy was in crisis, with Saul Eslake of Bank of America Merrill Lynch saying that to claim otherwise is "to abuse the English language". Hutchens, Gareth. 'Economists reject Abbott crisis claims', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 12th 2014, accessed August 3rd 2014.

¹¹³ Under the Abbott government, North Africa was amongst the developing regions hardest hit by budget cuts. Dornan, Matthew. 'Winners and losers in the 2014-15 aid budget', Development Policy Centre, May 14th 2014, accessed May 15th 2014.

¹¹⁴ Dornan, Matthew. 2014.

¹¹⁵ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

allocated humanitarian aid in the belief that Australia's aid budget should rightfully be directed towards to the Asia-Pacific, while North Africa should be managed primarily by Europe.

This belief contributed to the Howard government's decision not to campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council (with involved humanitarian aid being directed towards developing regions such as North Africa), while the Abbott government-in-opposition spoke out against Rudd's campaign in the lead up to the 2010 Australian federal election, claiming that "our most important international partners are likely to be the countries with which we share an outlook"¹¹⁶ rather than states in developing regions such as North Africa, which were courted by the Rudd government as part of Australia's campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council. In making this point as part of his election campaign, Abbott was attempting to differentiate his potential government from the Rudd government, who conservative commentators saw as having "a love of multilateral forums and grand gestures, sometimes ones that have nothing to do with Australia".¹¹⁷

The Abbott government's 2014 budget was the first static aid budget for Australia since the Howard government's 2000-01 budget, and saw declines in total aid revenue for Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, combined with boosts for the Asia-Pacific – in particular Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, the Philippines (which had suffered from Typhoon Haiyan in 2013 and where Australia offered emergency and humanitarian supplies and \$70 million in donations)¹¹⁸ and Nauru, which houses asylum-seekers who have attempted to reach Australian shores via boat.¹¹⁹

The Abbott government's prioritisation of the Asia-Pacific over the African continent (including North Africa) can be seen in the foreign policy formation and humanitarian aid allocation that took place around the 2014 Ebola crisis in West Africa, and the devastation caused by Typhoon Haiyan, a

¹¹⁶ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

¹¹⁷ Johns, Gary. 'Prudent aid agenda is a foreign concept to Rudd', *The Australian*, September 30th 2010, accessed February 27th 2014.

¹¹⁸ Department of Defence. 'Australian Defence Force members honoured with Philippines service medals', May 28th 2014, accessed September 15th 2014.

¹¹⁹ Dornan, Matthew. 2014.

category 5 tropical cyclone that hit the Philippines in 2013. The differences in the death tolls for these two crises were perceptible – 2,000 versus 6,340 confirmed.¹²⁰

The extreme difference in Australia's specific aid for both of these crises – \$1 million for West Africa and \$70 million for the Philippines – can be rationalised by Australia's ongoing prioritisation of the Asia-Pacific as a recipient of Australian aid (while financial attention from the Abbott government included general support for the World Health Organisation's responses to disease threats).¹²¹ Australia's current contributions have come to \$9,980.04 per head for each person affected/killed by Typhoon Haiyan, but only \$1333.33 for West Africa. According to a joint release by then-Health Minister Peter Dutton and Foreign Minister Julie Bishop, Australia's infection control measures were being upheld in accordance with the World Health Organisation's recommendations for unaffected states, while the Abbott government contributed of \$7 million to the World Health Organisation, "in addition to the more than \$20 million Australia will contribute to the WHO in 2014 and 2015".¹²²

Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs for the entirety of the Howard government, wrote in March 2005 that

Of paramount importance is the further development of our strong bilateral relationships, in particular with the United States and the countries of our own region. The implementation on 1 January 2005 of the Australia-United States Free Trade Agreement opens an exciting new phase in our relationship, providing opportunities for our exporters and the basis for further expansion of our commercial exchanges. Based on shared values and common history, our alliance with the United States is of strong contemporary relevance. This was demonstrated in clear terms when the ANZUS Treaty was invoked for the first time in response to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. The United States plays a critical role in the security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region. In addition

¹²⁰ The literacy rate in parts of West Africa is among the lowest in the world and that countries affected by Ebola possessed at best fragile health systems and very poor disease surveillance networks and it is small wonder that we have ended up with social chaos and public hysteria. Curson, Peter. 'Ebola road map loses way on cultural issue', *The Drum*, September 15th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014.

¹²¹ Dutton, Peter. 'Australian Assistance to Control the Ebola Outbreak in West Africa', Media Release, August 24th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014.

¹²² Dutton, Peter. 2014.

to strong economic links, the US strategic presence, and its leadership role in dealing with security challenges, provides an indispensable underpinning to regional stability. In reinforcing US engagement, the ANZUS alliance makes a strong contribution to that stability.¹²³

Written two years before the end of Downer's tenure as Foreign Minister, this article illustrates the Howard government's ongoing commitment to a secure and prosperous Asia-Pacific region as Australia's developmental aid priority, as well as an ongoing commitment to bilateral relationships with states with shared values and common history. In an email to then-Foreign Minister Bob Carr, Kim Beazley wrote in his capacity as current Australian Ambassador to the United States that

Criticism of proximity to the US is a continued theme in Australian politics. Thirty per cent of the country is regularly identified in the polls as against it. When the commentariat and foreign policy cognoscenti are considered, the percentage rises. Nothing contemporary compares with the battering I used to get as Defence Minister when I lost a perfectly good suit to a can of red paint and the ANU and was shouted down at most university campuses... As you know, you cannot conduct foreign policy without criticism. Criticism in Australia perforce must focus on our principal alliance.

The answer is that we leverage this relationship, based on our security needs, to advance our own independently arrived at conclusions on what global and regional politics should look like. The government has used all our strengths to pursue successfully a variety of initiatives. These include creation of the G20, advancing the non-proliferation agenda, advancing global change, and reorienting US policy away from an unproductive focus on the Middle East to deeper engagement in the Asia-Pacific for economic, political and security purposes.¹²⁴

The Howard government's commitment to Australia's 'principal alliance' drove Australian foreign policymakers to pull focus towards the Asia-Pacific at a time of unprecedented economic and military growth for China. Under the Rudd government, the decision was made to adapt to this "global rebalancing by investing considerable resources into positioning itself as both a global and

¹²³ Downer, Alexander. 'Securing Australia's interests—Australian foreign policy priorities', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 59:1 (2005), pp 8.

¹²⁴ Carr, Bob. 2014, pp 28.

regional middle power”.¹²⁵ This global rebalancing saw an increase in Australia’s humanitarian aid to North Africa at a time of great regional upheaval, and in a way that had tangible diplomatic benefits for Australia (support from developing regions for Australia’s campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council).

The argument that “the central stratum of global affairs is currently expanding and allowing for a thicker layer of engagement by medium sized states”¹²⁶ was thought to be especially relevant in the post-9/11 context that all Australian governments post-Rudd have operated in, with its heightened emphasis on security concerns.

The budget of the Department of Defence increased by 62 per cent, that of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS) by 437 per cent, that of the Office of National Assessments (ONA) by 471 per cent, and that of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) by 562 per cent. Over the same period, DFAT’s budget stagnated, at first shrinking slowly before staging anaemic growth towards the end of the decade. The numbers point to a broader trend: the slow subordination of foreign affairs to the insistent logic of national security.¹²⁷

The subordination of Australian foreign policy formation to national security concerns affects the development of the humanitarian aid program through the amount available in pure dollar terms, and also in where that aid is sent and what form that aid takes. Australia’s ongoing emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region under the Abbott government, for example, includes recognition that there are radicalised Islamic State cells in nearly all Indonesian provinces and aid would be apportioned accordingly.¹²⁸

According to Tony Abbott as Opposition Leader in 2010

¹²⁵ Bezglasnyy, Anton. ‘Middle Power Theory, Change and Continuity in the Asia-Pacific’, (master’s thesis, The University of British Columbia, April 2013), accessed January 3rd 2014, pp 47.

¹²⁶ Wilkins, Thomas. ‘Middle Power Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific Region’, *The National Bureau of Asian Research*, July 12th 2011, accessed January 3rd 2014.

¹²⁷ Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 2011, pp 264.

¹²⁸ Reuters. ‘Islamic State cells in nearly all Indonesian provinces: military chief’, June 13th 2017, accessed July 4th 2017.

Australia's interests lie wherever there is an economic opportunity to be taken,¹²⁹ a citizen to be protected or a value to be upheld... the task of the Australian government remains what it has always been: to expand our prosperity, to enhance our security, to promote our way of life and to manage the tensions between these objectives.¹³⁰

The Abbott government's management of the tensions between these objectives exemplifies the approach taken by previous Coalition governments, with Howard government Foreign Minister Alexander Downer arguing that "increasingly multilateralism is a synonym for an ineffective and unsound policy involving internationalism of the lowest common denominator".¹³¹

Writing for 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates', Liberal MP Josh Frydenberg argued that successive Coalition governments "have taken a pragmatic rather than a dewey-eyed view of the benefits to flow from signing up to multilateral agreements and institutions"¹³² and that they would always "forcefully respond"¹³³ if the Australian government looked to be unduly influenced by partisan agendas, or if Australia's national interests were endangered. In his capacity as Foreign Minister, Downer was "appalled at the blatantly political and partisan approach... [where findings were] based on an uncritical acceptance of the claims of domestic political lobbies and take little account of the considered reports submitted by government"¹³⁴ and strongly argued against attacks on Australia from numerous human rights organisations (the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women).

¹²⁹ The economic opportunities available for Australia stem from the fact that in today's increasingly globalised international system, Australia (as a self-professed 'middle power' must be in a position to secure its interests in a variety of forums – including the UN.

¹³⁰ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

¹³¹ Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 2011, pp 17.

¹³² Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates', Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2014, pp 26.

¹³³ Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 2014, pp 26.

¹³⁴ Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 2014, pp 26.

The Abbot government has responded to similar criticisms by similar NGOs and humanitarian advocacy groups in a remarkably similar way. When confronted by Amnesty International over reports that Australian officials paid people smugglers to return to Indonesia, Immigration Minister Peter Dutton argued that “[Amnesty] don't like Operation Sovereign Borders, they try and attack the Border Force staff, and the Naval staff, and I think it's a disgrace... and we're not going to be bullied into... watering down”¹³⁵ of Operation Sovereign Borders.

Following on from the Rudd government’s deepened engagement with developing regions, including a humanitarian aid program aimed at addressing the domestic regional vulnerabilities resulting from the Arab Spring uprisings in North Africa, the Abbott government formulated foreign policy aimed at shifting Australia’s aid priorities back towards the immediate Asia-Pacific region, with the official dismantling of AusAID indicative of a government hell-bent on rejecting the past humanitarian aid regime. The Budget Overview that covered Australia’s aid program 2014-15 put the forecast cut at \$601 million, rising over the next three years to \$3.5 billion in 2017-18. Humanitarian aid spending as a percentage of overall budget expenditure is set to drop from 1.21 per cent in 2014-15, to 1.18 per cent in 2015-16, to 1.16 per cent in 2016-17, to a paltry 1.13 per cent in 2017-18.¹³⁶

Prior to this, increases in Australia’s aid budget aimed towards both the MENA region and Africa, with “more than \$159.1 million in development assistance... over the last three years”¹³⁷ (the “last three years” being the Gillard/Rudd government of 2010-2013) was part of a wider strategy aimed at promoting Australia’s reputation as a good global citizen to attract votes from developing regions in the UN Security Council vote. Australia’s aid levels were naturally going to decrease following the vote, no matter the result, with expenditure falling from \$59.6 million in 2012-13 to a proposed \$47.4 million in 2013-14 – expenditure here constituting “total official development assistance

¹³⁵ Dornan, Matthew, and Jane Norman. ‘Amnesty says Australian officials who paid people smugglers to turn boats back committed transnational crimes’, *ABC News*, October 29th 2015, accessed November 3rd 2015.

¹³⁶ ABC Fact Check. ‘Foreign aid cuts make up one fifth of budget savings’, May 22nd 2014, accessed August 10th 2014 (2014b).

¹³⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Middle East and North Africa’, November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014 (2013g).

inclusive of DFAT's bilateral program, flows from DFAT regional and global programs and other government departments".¹³⁸ As North Africa stabilises, and as the campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council came to a successful conclusion, the Australian aid program would naturally have scaled down assistance to the region. However, Foreign Minister Julie Bishop held this up as evidence that ALP estimates couldn't be relied upon as they had previously "changed, deferred and cut its own forward estimates... [the Abbott/Turnbull government] intends to reshape the aid budget, with a new emphasis on accountability, performance benchmarks and reciprocal obligations from recipient countries".¹³⁹

Prior to the 2013 election and subsequent change of federal government, Abbott's foreign policy formation commitment the government to meeting the 0.5 per cent GNI target, but did not specify a date for this commitment.¹⁴⁰ Post-election, the Abbott government said that it would review aid priorities and refocus on the Asia-Pacific region in the pursuit of stability, with "a new emphasis on accountability, performance benchmarks and reciprocal obligations from recipient countries".¹⁴¹ Prior to the election of the Abbott government in 2013, Australia's ODA budget was approximately 0.35 per cent of overall GNI and was predicted to remain at that level.¹⁴² Regarding to the Rudd government's suspension of its commitment to achieve a GNI ratio of 0.5 per cent by 2015-16 (less than the UN's recommended levels of 0.7 per cent), then-Foreign Minister Bob Carr stated that "in a tight fiscal environment, the Government has decided to defer the achievement of providing 0.5 per cent of GNI to official development assistance by one year".¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013g.

¹³⁹ Sheridan, Greg. 'Region shielded from aid cutbacks', *The Australian*, January 18th 2014, accessed August 10th 2014 (2014a).

¹⁴⁰ According to the Lowy Interpreter, Abbott's disengagement with Africa was disappointing considering the potential for Australia to make a substantive difference to the region. Roggeveen, Sam. 'Reader riposte: Abbott's speech', *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, April 27th 2010, accessed March 5th 2014.

¹⁴¹ Sheridan, Greg. 2014a.

¹⁴² Tomar, Ravi. 'Official Development Assistance: a commitment delayed', *Parliament of Australia, Federal Parliamentary Library, Budget Review 2012-13*, May 11th 2012, accessed 15th September 2014.

¹⁴³ Tomar, Ravi. 2012.

Shortly after being elected, Abbott announced cuts of more than \$4.5 billion over the forward estimates. According to the Development Policy Centre analysis we can see that

Adjusting for inflation, aid in 2015-16 will be \$5.6 billion (in 2011-12 prices) which is back at its 2012-13 level. As a percentage of GNI, aid will decline from .35% of GNI in 2012-13 to .32% of GNI in 2016-17, its lowest level since 2000-01. This makes it hard to take seriously any statement that the Coalition is still committed to 0.5%. The Coalition plan will basically keep aid flat in real terms. The cuts also imply \$656 million being taken from the aid budget in the current year.¹⁴⁴

The Abbott government's justification of a decreased percentage of aid expenditure and refusal to commit to a date for increasing the aid funding to 0.5 per cent of GNI by reference to "the current state of the federal budget after six years of Labor debt and deficit"¹⁴⁵ was hardly surprising. Decreases under the Abbott government in Australia's aid budget toward developing regions like North Africa reflect a personal belief that Australia should refocus on "the areas where we can make the most impact and into the activities that most effectively reduce poverty".¹⁴⁶

Following on from increased levels of aid under the Rudd government's re-engagement with North Africa and other developing regions, the Abbott/Turnbull government's disengagement with the region and decreases in Australia's aid budget were rationalised as still generous considering a government deficit of \$47b and a government debt predicted to rise to over \$660b (with the decrease in governmental aid expenditure and refocus on the Asia-Pacific region as the result of the "volatility"¹⁴⁷ of Australian foreign policy formation under the Rudd/Gillard governments.

These aid decreases do not indicate a complete disengagement with North Africa, but rather a realignment of the relationship based on Australia's interest in trade – "as a middle power with

¹⁴⁴ Betteridge, Ashlee, and Stephen Howes. 'A parliamentary committee on aid? Issues and options', Development Policy Centre, November 11th 2013, accessed January 9th 2014.

¹⁴⁵ Liberal Party of Australia. 'The Coalition's Policy for Foreign Affairs', September 2013, accessed 15th September 2014, pp 6.

¹⁴⁶ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

¹⁴⁷ Sheridan, Greg. 2014a.

global interests, situated on the rim of the Indian Ocean, Australia has a strong interest in the security, stability and prosperity of the Indian Ocean region, including Africa”.¹⁴⁸ Speaking in January 2014, Foreign Minister Julie Bishop said that Australia’s aid budget must remain “on a sustainable footing”¹⁴⁹ in light of the much-hyped economic crisis, and that any aid allocated in future Coalition budgets would be “focusing on alleviating poverty, we are focusing on economic growth and empowering women and girls, better educational outcomes and better health outcomes in our region. We also want to ensure that we can leverage private sector involvement”.¹⁵⁰

The Arab Spring stimulated global investment aimed at North Africa, however Australia’s aid budget is influence by the fact that “the sharp increase in donor investment in the region after the Arab Spring uprisings has made it clear that the absorptive capacity of partners has been stretched, particularly with the human and physical resources needed to deliver projects on time”.¹⁵¹ The Abbott/Turnbull government’s plans to refocus on the Asia-Pacific will negatively impact on the delivery of outcomes for North Africa, affecting as it does both the overall level of aid directed towards the region, and the relationship Australia fosters with the Arab states of North Africa.¹⁵²

Abbott promised in the lead-up to the 2010 federal election that “the Coalition would match the Government’s commitments on overseas aid”¹⁵³ but that Africa was still likely to lose out. Abbott’s claims that Australia’s aid would be ‘refocused’ towards the areas in which Australia could do the best job, and towards the geographical regions that Australia could have the biggest impact on, demonstrates that the Abbott government was defining Australia’s aid effectiveness along regional lines. Abbott interpretation of Australia’s national interest interpreted any prominent focus on

¹⁴⁸ Australian Agency for International Development. ‘Africa and Middle East 2012-2013 Budget’, May 8th 2012, accessed October 11th 2012 (2012b), pp 8.

¹⁴⁹ ABC News. ‘Federal Government confirms \$100m cut to foreign aid budget, focus on recipients in Asia-Pacific’, January 19th 2014, accessed August 10th 2014 (2014b).

¹⁵⁰ ABC News. 2014b.

¹⁵¹ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 5.

¹⁵² Interestingly, although conservative commentators claimed that since “Australia was not a colonial power in Africa... it has no strategic interests in Africa”. The Commissioned Study found otherwise, however the fact that Australia has no colonial baggage helps foster a multifaceted relationship with no emotional baggage. Johns, Gary. 2010.

¹⁵³ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

developing regions like North Africa as prompted by “a nebulous sense of temporarily enhanced international status”¹⁵⁴ rather than foreign policy formation that served Australia’s best interests.

6.8 Conclusion

Australian aid during the successful campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council was not ‘branded’ in the traditional sense. Briefs prepared for the October 2012 Senate Estimates hearings, accessed under DFAT’s FOI procedures, stated that

The Australian government has not allocated aid according to partner countries’ United Nations Security Council voting intentions... [and] there has been no change in focus: in 2012-12, almost 90 per cent of Australian bilateral and regional aid provided will be delivered to the Asia-Pacific region where around 900 million people still live in extreme poverty.¹⁵⁵

According to these documents, humanitarian aid to Africa during the United Nations campaign was not to promote Australia’s ‘brand’ in the then-upcoming vote, but because it “serves Australia’s national interest by promoting Africa’s prosperity and stability”.¹⁵⁶ Of the briefs prepared for the October 2012 Senate Estimates hearings and accessed under DFAT’s FOI procedures, one document refers to Libya specifically. In response to the hypothetical question ‘If asked: has Australia provided aid to Libya to buy UNSC votes?’ DFAT wrote that

Australia provided humanitarian assistance to Libya in 2010-11 and 2011-12 to help save lives during the crisis sparked by a violent crackdown on peaceful pro-democracy protests and to promote stability in a region key to the health of the global economy. Australia no longer provides aid to Libya

¹⁵⁴ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

¹⁵⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Briefs prepared for the October 2012 Senate Estimates hearings – United Nations Security Council Bid’, FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 20/1, Official Date of Access February 12th 2013, accessed August 19th 2014 (2013d), pp 1.

¹⁵⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013d, pp 2.

as the humanitarian crisis has diminished and Libya is not in a position to fund its own development.¹⁵⁷

Even prior to the Arab Spring, then-Foreign Minister Alexander Downer wrote that “while there are elements of the international system that are constant and positive—such as the strength of the United States and its status as the pre-eminent global power, and the peaceful economic and political rise of China—other elements have changed... We need an effective international system, including a reformed United Nations, which can help deliver timely outcomes in the face of these contemporary threats”.¹⁵⁸

During the Arab Spring, Australia’s re-engagement with North Africa under the Rudd government was consistent with the global re-engagement taking place with the region for humanitarian purposes (with especial focus on the violence of the uprisings in Libya).¹⁵⁹ This global reengagement saw states like Brazil, China, India, Japan, Korea, and Saudi Arabia (amongst others) engage with North Africa, a region which they previously little to do with.

Despite a substantial increase in the resources Australia dedicated to aid and development (generally via multilateral institutions) during this time, the Rudd government was less successful in increasing the aid aspect of Australia’s ‘middle power diplomacy’.¹⁶⁰ One reading of this comes from Andrew Carr’s review of ‘Middle Power Dreaming’ where he wrote that “Rudd wanted activism and change for the better certainly, but struggled to limit his ambitions to either the few really big issues or select from the niche opportunities where Australia could have the most influence. So, he tried to do everything, but ended up giving proper attention to nothing”.¹⁶¹ As discussed previously in this

¹⁵⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013d, pp 2.

¹⁵⁸ Downer, Alexander. 2005, pp 8.

¹⁵⁹ UN Department of Political Affairs received \$0.5m from Australia to support “the UN’s lead in post-conflict planning and stabilization assistance for Libya”. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013f.

¹⁶⁰ Carr, Andrew. ‘Book Review: Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs, 2006-2010’, *Australian Army Journal*, IX:1 (2012), pp 141.

¹⁶¹ Carr, Andrew. 2012, pp 141.

chapter, the increase in Australia's aid budget after the election of Rudd in 2007 (of \$47.5 million) still only represented 4.6 per cent of total Australian aid.¹⁶²

These strong bilateral and regional ties enjoy bipartisan political support in Australia so long as North Africa continues to have something to offer Australia – namely, trade. DFAT's multilateral assessment program helps describe and drive Australian assistance, which is “channelled through established, credible partners”.¹⁶³ Within the humanitarian aid sphere Australia works as both a donor state and as a collaborator with NGOs, with interviewees for a Commissioned Study in 2011 observing that

Australia has a positive reputation in Africa without any colonial baggage. Commentators from inside and outside of the Australian Government see re-engagement as the start of a process that will take years to build, but that has the potential to make a significant difference to development outcomes. It is hoped that re-engagement will form a commitment of more than 10 years to strengthen Australia's relationship with the countries of Africa. For effective aid to be delivered, long-term planning, funding and implementation support – over 15 to 20 years – are needed.¹⁶⁴

Although conservative commentators claimed that since “Australia was not a colonial power in Africa... it has no strategic interests in Africa”.¹⁶⁵ Australia is working from a position of strength regarding past relations with North Africa – though not much of a relationship existed beyond one-dimensional trade, there were no negative colonial associations to contend with.

It is hard to assess the influence of Australia's aid to Africa at the best of times¹⁶⁶ – it is doubly hard to assess the influence of Australia's aid program towards North Africa during times of revolution

¹⁶² Negin, Joel, and Glenn Denning. 2011, pp 9.

¹⁶³ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 11.

¹⁶⁴ Negin, Joel, and Glenn Denning. 2011, pp 13.

¹⁶⁵ Interestingly, although conservative commentators claimed that since “Australia was not a colonial power in Africa... it has no strategic interests in Africa”. The Commissioned Study found otherwise, however the fact that Australia has no colonial baggage helps foster a multifaceted relationship with no emotional baggage. Johns, Gary. 2010.

¹⁶⁶ Though writing specifically on the effectiveness of the Australia Awards in Africa, Samuel Makinda and Marianna Turner note that any framework for assessing of the efficiency of Australian developmental aid

due to ongoing efforts to resolve political instability (the fall of governments in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya with accompanying systematic reform, Morocco introducing some degree of systematic reform, and Algeria lifting 19-year-long state of emergency). Rudd's vision of Australia as a practitioner of creative middle power diplomacy alleged that Australia – via a combination of diplomacy, humanitarian aid, and military support – could make a difference in a region as volatile as North Africa, and that this activism would serve Australia well in its campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

During the Arab Spring, Australia's significant humanitarian contribution to North Africa (relative to its size and geographical location) helped develop its reputation, despite the fact that Australia is, overall, a relatively small bilateral donor to the region as a whole.¹⁶⁷ In the future, according to DFAT, "Australia will continue to monitor the humanitarian situation in the region and support international humanitarian efforts as required."¹⁶⁸ Formulating an effective response to the crises posed by the Arab Spring revolutions was one of the two main goals of Australia's aid program to the MENA region – it was a fortuitous coincidence that it overlapped with an increase in Australia's aid distribution to developing regions as part of the successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council.

towards Africa will come partially from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and partially from a range of independent reports – including the Paris Declaration and the Hollway Review. Makinda, Samuel, and Marianne Turner. 'Contextualising Aid Effectiveness: Australia's Scholarship Program in Africa', *Australasian Review of African Studies*, 34:1 (2013), pp 51.

¹⁶⁷ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2014i, pp 3.

¹⁶⁸ Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2013h.

Conclusion

This thesis has asked how successive Australian governments have viewed bilateral relations with the Arab states of North Africa – how Australian foreign policymakers have answered the question “what does North Africa have to offer Australia?” – and how the answer to this has driven foreign policy formation in the period 2007-2015. Building on this, this thesis has analysed the effect of the Arab Spring revolutions on Australia’s relationship with the Arab states of North Africa, within the context of Australia’s increasingly activist approach to foreign policy formulation under the Rudd/Gillard government; its subsequent successful bid for a seat on the United Nations Security Council 2013-2015; and within successive government’s emphasis on economic functionalism and trade concerns.

This thesis has asserted that Australia’s goals for North Africa during this politically turbulent period included not just democratic reform for the North African states, but also a safe and stable economic environment for Australia’s future economic interests, and that the Arab Spring provided the perfect opportunity for Kevin Rudd’s active re-engagement with the region at a time of global financial crisis and regional economic turmoil to the benefit of both Australia and the Arab states of North Africa. Rudd justified his intervention and assistance to North Africa as essential to Australia’s national interests, saying that “we have decided to actively support the political transformation process and humanitarian crisis in Libya... and in Egypt and Tunisia that is why we are providing active economic, urban employment and agricultural systems in order to assist smoothing the political transition process”.¹

Rudd had emphasised that in order for the Arab states of North Africa to reach their full potential, they needed long-term support from Australia, especially in times of crisis, as “it's when setbacks are happening that it's most important to hold our nerve. Democracy is a core value. We hold it to be a

¹ Rudd, Kevin. ‘Australia’s Foreign Policy Priorities and Our Candidature for the UN Security Council’, (speech given to the National Press Club, Canberra, June 1st 2011), accessed August 20th 2012 (2011b).

universal value. We must support it, unreservedly, even when it is inconvenient or the path to stable democratised societies seems unclear”.² Rudd’s diplomatic support for an international intervention in Libya reinforced his vision of Australia as a ‘creative middle power’ and built on the strength of Australia’s trade relationships with the Arab states of North Africa.

Rudd’s belief in Australia as an activist middle power resulted in a distinctive foreign policy approach to North Africa, as well as acknowledgement of “the inappropriateness of slavishly following the doctrine of economic functionalism”³ propagated by the Howard government. Trade remains a priority in Australia’s relationship with North Africa, subsumed as it is under the broader category of Australia’s national interest, and trade will continue to be a priority for Australian governments from both sides of the domestic political spectrum. In a 2010 speech at the University of Western Australia, Rudd argued that Australia’s ongoing commitment to international non-governmental organisations such as the United Nations, combined with his personal brand of activist foreign policy formation, resulted in “the best possible scenario for North Africa”.⁴

Australia’s national interest – predominantly its economic interests – will continue to drive foreign policy formation towards geographically disparate regions like North Africa even during temporary re-engagement like that seen during Australia’s successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Australia’s re-engagement with North Africa, driven by Rudd’s activist vision, was not a paradigmatic shift in foreign policy formation – it was a reorientation precipitated by a specific series of events that nevertheless saw a continuation of Australia’s economic policies and continued to be driven by Australia’s domestic political concerns. This approach was a consequence of Rudd’s belief that Africa is a more “complex modern reality”⁵ than realised by

² Rudd, Kevin. ‘Keep the faith with the Arab Spring’, *The Australian*, May 20th 2011, accessed October 23rd 2014 (2011c).

³ Benjamin MacQueen in Fethi Mansouri (ed.), *Australia and the Middle East: A Frontline Relationship*, London: Tauris and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006, pp 167.

⁴ Rudd, Kevin. ‘Australia’s foreign policy looking west’ (speech given at the University of Western Australia, Perth, November 12th 2010), accessed February 24th 2015 (2010b).

⁵ Rudd, Kevin. 2010b.

previous Australian governments, which presents more opportunities than threats, and that these opportunities require an increasingly activist foreign policy. The Rudd/Gillard government was well placed to reap the benefits of the Arab Spring, with a clear recognition of Africa's "potential and its recent progress without ignoring its considerable security and development challenges".⁶

As argued in the introduction to this thesis, Australia's historical relationship with the Arab states of North Africa has been one of economic functionalism. The economic concerns that make up Australia's national interest – including trade, mining, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and developmental aid – were a primary inducement for Australia's engagement with the Arab States of North Africa during the time of huge social and political upheaval experienced during the Arab Spring. The strength of these trade relationships also ensured that the Rudd government was able to exert diplomatic pressure in multilateral forums for interventionist purposes (Australia spearheading the international response to the crisis in Libya) without irreparably damaging Australia's bilateral relations with the states of the region.

Australia's successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council was acknowledgment of what then-Foreign Minister Bob Carr referred to as "Australia's activist foreign policy and status as a good global citizen"⁷ – which was, to a degree, partly a consequence of Rudd's personal belief in Australia's ability to enact effective change on a global scale. Under the Abbott government, Australia's approach to a post-Arab Spring North Africa has been restrained, with a continued emphasis on the economic and trade components of the relationship.

Chapter one detailed the structural framework that dictates how Australian foreign policy is formed, as well as the three tenets that inform Australian foreign policymakers – ongoing support for our 'great and powerful friend' the US; ongoing ties with the Asia-Pacific region (including China); and ongoing support for and active engagement with the United Nations. The classified information

⁶ Rudd, Kevin. 2010b.

⁷ ABC News. 'Australia wins seat on UN Security Council', October 19th 2012, accessed May 7th 2015.

accessed under the FOI Act and introduced in this chapter gives a clear overview of DFAT's priorities when formulating foreign policy, and demonstrates that there was no real divide between the private briefings given in confidence to government ministers, and the public decisions made by Australian foreign policymakers. This analysis provides context for the practical considerations discussed in later chapters four-six, and supplies an additional layer of authenticity when writing about Australian foreign policy formation during the Arab Spring. Foreign policy formation regarding the Arab states of North Africa took place within the broader context of Australia's ongoing diplomatic investment in peaceful political reform.

Chapter two discussed Australia's obligations under international law – primarily the responsibility to protect – and how this affects foreign policy formation. This chapter illustrated that although this international responsibility has transcended domestic political lines in Australia, there are differences in how both major political parties interpret these obligations – these include the necessity of United Nations approval for international interventions, the need to uphold previously-established relationships with 'great and powerful friends' like the United States, and Australia's perceived ability to make a difference as a middle power – and that these differences have determines the foreign policy formation of successive Australian governments.

Chapter three illustrated how the Abbott government, like Australian governments before it, has used international conflicts to their advantage when formulating domestic political strategy, and how Australia's historical reliance on 'great and powerful friends' has come together with its emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region to ensure that relations with the Arab states of North Africa remain a low priority for successive Australian governments. This chapter demonstrated that many of the Abbott government's reactions to international events were driven by Foreign Minister Julie Bishop's desire to ensure that the Abbott government distinguished itself from the perceived instability of the former Rudd/Gillard governments – a perceived instability which naturally included Rudd's activist foreign policy decisions towards Libya during the Arab Spring. Abbott's mantra of

“more Jakarta, less Geneva”⁸ was a keystone of his successful domestic campaign leading up to the 2013 Australian federal election, and was in response to an ALP government that had successfully pushed for Australia to be more diplomatically active on the global stage (and had thus left itself open to accusations of overreaching).

Chapter three further integrated a case study regarding the Abbott government’s unwillingness to engender the Australian-Egyptian relationship over the Egyptian judicial systems treatment of Australian-born Al Jazeera journalist Peter Greste, and includes as comparisons the responses of the Rudd government to the imprisonment of other Australian citizens (Alexandra Bean and Melinda Taylor) under similar circumstances within North Africa.

These first three chapters thus presented a broad context for the discussion of the more practical considerations that were discussed in chapters four-six. As demonstrated in the first half of this thesis (the chapters one-three), it is clear that although engagement with the proximate Asia-Pacific region is a foreign policy priority for Australia (as opposed to somewhere like North Africa, which is geographically distant and culturally dissimilar), the Abbott/Turnbull government is learning that it cannot fail to engage with events beyond its immediate geographical sphere. “More Jakarta, less Geneva”⁹ may prove difficult to exemplify in a globalised world where Australia’s interests are engaged in a range of different regions, including the multilateral sphere that Geneva represents.

Chapter four analysed Australia’s trade relationship with the Arab states of North Africa, including the mining and petroleum industries, and argues that economic interests will continued to dominate Australian foreign policy towards the region (with no real prospects for change in the future, especially with the Abbott/Turnbull government’s emphasis on good economic governance and it’s prioritisation of financial concerns over other kinds). Austrade’s regional strategy for North Africa was to facilitate inter-governmental trade, and to increase the ease with which Australia’s private

⁸ *The Economist*. ‘Australia and Indonesia: No Surprises’, November 23rd 2013, accessed August 28th 2014 (2013a).

⁹ *The Economist*. 2013.

sector could access North African markets. This element was reinforced by the Abbott government, who professed in 2014 that the Arab Spring's long-term effects were a reason for optimism, with a successful political reform automatically resulting in "more diverse and open economies".¹⁰

Significantly, chapter four argued that, with full consideration of the risks and opportunities inherent in the relationship between Australia and the Arab states of North Africa, trade is the only area in which Australia appears to be attempting a genuine reengagement with the region lasting beyond the Arab Spring. Although both private and public Australian trade with North Africa comes in a variety of forms – oil and gas, agriculture, renewable energy and construction – it is Australia's pull in North Africa's resource sector that is crucial, and enjoys bipartisan domestic political support. Australia's trade relationships with the economies of North Africa are far greater than its political influence would suggest.

Chapter five analysed two particular areas of trade – Australia's live export of livestock to Egypt, and the potential trade opportunities with North Africa inherent as a result of food security and climate change concerns. Evidence in this chapter confirmed that little that would disrupt Australia's trade relationship with the North African region – although there were suspensions of the trade with Egypt due to concerns from animal welfare groups, none of these suspensions were permanent due to the strong political influence of Australia's agricultural sector. Chapter five demonstrated that much of Australia's security and wealth comes from its agricultural sector and that, while Australia's agricultural sector continues to contribute to the security of a huge part of the Australian population via either direct employment or generalised national economic prosperity – and while Australia's 'national interest' continues to be one of the three tenets that inform Australian foreign policy decisions – trade will be the foundation of Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa (despite concerns raised by animal rights activists, and despite alternatives to the live trade industry being proposed by relevant organisations). This ongoing emphasis on trade can be seen in

¹⁰ Fierravanti-Wells, Concetta. 'Australian Arab Business Women's Forum opening address', (speech given at Sydney, March 7th 2014), accessed August 18th 2014.

the large numbers of livestock being traded with Egypt, and the fact that North Africa is the most food import-dependent region in the world (thus where Australia is well-placed to provide assistance).

Chapter six considered the relationship between Australia's humanitarian aid program (specifically towards North Africa) and its successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Particular reference was made to the Arab Spring revolutions and the actions of the Rudd government, as well as the actions of the current Abbott/Turnbull government in slashing the humanitarian aid budget and the effect this has had on Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa. In addition to this, chapter six argued that African migration to Australia is taking place within a wider diaspora, and that the domestic reactions to migration levels in Australia have been politicized by successive Australian governments.

The second half of this thesis (in chapters four-six) thus contributed to the overall argument of this thesis by detailing the practical considerations taken into account when formulating Australian foreign policy. They have demonstrated that much of Australia's humanitarian and developmental aid is based on Australia's international humanitarian 'branding' – its reputation as a good global citizen – and that successive Australian governments have successfully posited that practicality necessitates that any humanitarian aid be directed towards the immediate Asia-Pacific region, rather than geographically distant regions like North Africa. These three chapters have thus demonstrated that Australia's relationship with Egypt in particular is unlikely to be dented by diplomatic concerns such as the Egyptian judiciary's treatment of Australian citizens.

This thesis has demonstrated that Australia's re-engagement with the Arab states of North Africa during the activist Rudd government, at the time of the Arab Spring revolutions, was an exception to the 'cultural disinterest' that had otherwise characterised Australia's previous relationships with the region – but that even this re-engagement was built on the trade relationships that already existed, and was in line with the three tenets that ultimately make up Australia's foreign policy formation.

In 2015 Australia came to the end of its time as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, becoming once more just one of the 193 member states. Gary Quinlan, Australia's ambassador to the UN for the entire two-year term, spoke poetically during his final speech to the Security Council, saying that

It was the most revered UN secretary-general, Dag Hammarskjöld, who famously said that the United Nations was not created to take humanity to heaven, but to save it from hell... in the past two years of Australia's term on the council, heaven was never within reach, but there were many days when it seemed we were already deep in hell.¹¹

As demonstrated by evidence presented in this thesis, Australia's performance as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council has gone some way towards contradicting the claim that the United Nations is an ineffective and outdated means by which Australia can effect change on the international stage. It is no surprise that Australia's effectiveness in this temporary but important role on the global stage was recognised by diplomatic allies. Mark Lyall, Britain's ambassador to the UN, argued that Australia had been more effective than any other temporary member that he'd seen in the five years that he'd served on the UN.

I think Australia stood up for what it believed in. It stood up for its values and its interests... I mean we would expect all countries to do that of course, but in fact that's not the case. Some countries are very cautious because they're in the Security Council and they're worried about the impact, the repercussions that may come upon them from some of the bigger member states, some of the permanent members. I think Australia has been bold, I wouldn't say risky, but I think they've certainly been brave for standing up for what they believe and being prepared to say it straight.¹²

¹¹ Quinlan's use of the word "hell" here reflects both the bureaucratic nature of the United Nations, as well as the issues that the organization has faced in recent years – the Syrian civil war and ensuing refugee crisis, the rise of Islamic State forces in the MENA region, and the downing of flight MH17 over Ukraine. Millar, Lisa. 'UN Security Council: Australia's time at the top table comes to an end after two-year term', ABC News, January 1st 2015, accessed May 15th 2015.

¹² Millar, Lisa. 2015.

This thesis has demonstrated that when Australia took its seat on the UN Security Council during 2013 and 2014, 'bold but not risky' was an accurate summation of its activities and leadership in this role.¹³ As one of the three tenets that drive Australian foreign policy formation, successive Australian governments will continue to provide ongoing support for and actively engagement with the United Nations. It is likely that successive Australian governments will continue to incorporate the United Nations to a greater or lesser extent when formulating foreign policy.

Australia's diplomatic performance over its last two years as a member of the UN Security Council has been strong enough to convince the international community of its ability as a 'middle power' to effect real and sustainable change on a global level. Gowan argued that the international community was unsure whether Australia would have the necessary ambition or competence – reflected in the surprise with which Australia's successful campaign was greeted by many – but that "the team in New York have come through with flying colours overall and I think that is going to matter, because I think in future Australia's ability to be a global player is going to be connected to its capacity to deal with really tough international negotiations like those over Syria and Ukraine".¹⁴

Australia's reputation as an effective and considerate member of the UN is dependent on the ability of the organisation to effect substantive and long-lasting change. The challenges faced by the global community – particularly the rise of Islamic State forces in the MENA region – are challenges that Australia is rising to face. The approach taken by future Australian policymakers regarding this issue will affect Australia's relationships with the Arab states of North Africa.¹⁵

¹³ Australia was willing to respond decisively in times of crisis (such as the Ukraine plane disaster), but unwilling to risk its international standing or economic interests. Furthermore, the Abbott/Turnbull government is willing to stand outside the bounds of international norms if their domestic political principles require it – for instance, their record on combating climate change and their relatively small intake of Syrian refugees (with UNHCR country director Andrew Harper warning that "Australia cannot consider itself to be isolated, because this will be a massive movement of refugees across the world"). McNeill, Sophie. 'Migrant crisis: Australia should immediately increase humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees in Middle East, UN says', *ABC News*, September 8th 2015, accessed September 21st 2015.

¹⁴ Millar, Lisa. 2015.

¹⁵ When addressing the UN Security Council, Australian ambassador Gary Quinlan noted that there were tasks that were yet to be completed, as the conflicts encountered by the international community were both

Australia's successful campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council has driven this thesis' scrutiny of Australia's relationship with North Africa as the Rudd government, like the Howard government before it, accepted that Australia's economic interests will continue to be the driving force when formulating foreign policy towards developing regions. The Rudd government's interest in taking on a leadership role in the world's primary multilateral institution recognised that "the UNSC... is directly relevant to a number of core Australian national security interests".¹⁶

This is especially true for politically unstable regions like North Africa, with their burgeoning democratic governments, because

If political stability collapses in the Arab world the implications for Australia abound, including: a greater potential operating space for militant Islamism; the increased strategic influence of Iran; the significant outflow of peoples of the region seeking refuge elsewhere; not to mention the price of oil and its impact on non inflationary global economic recovery.¹⁷

These security interests have long-term consequences for Australia, with support not just being drawn from "the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, but AusAID, Defence, and bodies such as the Australian Civil-Military Centre (that's focused on doctrine development for complex emergencies), business and selected non-government groups".¹⁸

The Arab Spring presented the Rudd government with the perfect opportunity to deepen Australia's engagement with the Arab states of North Africa including (but not limited to) enhanced political and diplomatic engagement, as well as peace and security challenges, with economic concerns underlying the entire exchange.¹⁹ Australia's relationship with North Africa under the Howard

numerous and complex, but that "faced with this catalogue of crisis and conflict, the council has sought to respond. We have not always succeeded, but the council has endeavoured to use the tools it has in innovative ways – sometimes to decisive effect". Millar, Lisa. 2015.

¹⁶ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

¹⁷ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

¹⁸ Bergin, Anthony. 'UN Security Council – down to work', *Australian Strategic Policy Institute Blog*, October 25th 2012, accessed October 29th 2015.

¹⁹ Rudd, Kevin. 2010b.

government, though one-dimensional, was strong enough to provide a solid foundation for the Rudd government to build on during the Arab Spring at a time of political upheaval and extreme financial crisis – though trade and security will always drive the formulation of foreign policy, we may see in the future a recognition of the “complex modern reality”²⁰ that is North Africa in the twenty-first century.

Australia’s activist approach to foreign policy under the Rudd government was not a unique experience in Australia’s history, and reflected Rudd’s personal belief that the opportunities inherent in North Africa require Australia to take an innovative approach to global events. This was especially significant regarding North Africa, where the ‘national interest’ remains a top priority for Australian foreign policymakers despite the Arab Spring revolutions acting as a catalyst for a new relationship based on enhanced political and diplomatic engagement, as well as peace and security challenges, with economic concerns underlying the entire exchange.²¹

Future Australian governments will encourage, seek and pursue trade relationships with the Arab states of North Africa, while foreign policy formation will seek to promote a stable environment for Australian governments and companies to do business in. In particular, Australia’s agricultural and mining sectors will continue to dominate the relationship, with all of the risks and benefits this entails, while the live export trade with Egypt will continue (albeit dogged by ongoing protests from various animal welfare groups). Furthermore, there were no significant increases to the current migration intake from this region that can reflect Rudd’s enthusiasm for this region, apart from some support for Libyans in Australia at the height of the crisis in that country.²²

In 2010, Abbott stated that

²⁰ Rudd, Kevin. 2010b.

²¹ Rudd, Kevin. 2010b.

²² Okumu, F. Wafula and Samuel M Makinda, ‘Engaging with Contemporary Africa: Key Contexts for External Actors’ in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons, ‘New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Towards Africa’, Melbourne University Publishing, Victoria, 2013, pp 25.

In the long term, Australia's freedom and prosperity rides on ethical principles which it is our national imperative to sustain and advance. At a national, no less than at an individual level, the world's welfare is best promoted by the widest possible acceptance of the principle that we should act towards others as we'd have them act towards us.²³

In responding to external events, Australia's foreign policymakers should conduct a thorough review of Australia's national interest, and what challenges it faces (whether they be economic, social or security-related). However, when addressing these challenges, Abbott noted that any review of Australia's national interest should be supported by a 'values dimension' that allows Australia to formulate policy that is both coherent and effective, as "judgements about where those interests lie must stem from perceptions of the wider world and Australia's place in it. With whom and over what can we make common cause; who are Australia's real friends and how can we have more of them; what are the real threats to our security and prosperity and how can they be minimised?".²⁴ The 'values dimension' that guides Australian foreign policy formation under the Abbott government has been compared and contrasted to the 'values dimension' that drove the Rudd government to "speak up for the interests of middle powers and small powers".²⁵

Evidence presented in this thesis suggested that there is very little beyond the trade connections that constitute Australia's relationship with the Arab states of North Africa, outside of Rudd's prompt enthusiasm for the Libyan rebels during the Arab Spring as part of his activist approach to foreign policy formation. As Rudd highlighted in May 2011, "we need to recognise that the transition to democracy is a long-term commitment. A dictatorship can be overthrown in a matter of days or weeks, but building a functioning democracy is a generational challenge. It needs our patience and

²³ Abbott, Tony. 'Distinguished Speaker Series: National Security Fundamentals' (speech given at The Lowy Institute for International Policy, April 20th 2010), accessed March 3rd 2014.

²⁴ Abbott, Tony. 2010.

²⁵ *News Limited*. 'Australia wins seat on UN Security Council', October 19th 2012, accessed September 2nd 2014.

enduring commitment”.²⁶ As the political upheaval is slowly resolved in the region and the global economy improves, Australia’s trade prospects “remain positive”.²⁷

Australian aid to North Africa during the Arab Spring was both swift and decisive, although the broader context suggested that sub-Saharan Africa remained a priority within the African continent, and that Australia’s immediate region – the Asia-Pacific – continues to receive the majority of Australia’s financial aid. Australia’s diplomatic core will continue to formulate measured responses to the imprisonment of Australian citizens in foreign states, even in the face of vicious public backlash.

As well as traditional security concerns stemming from the rise of Islamic State forces in Syria and Iraq, non-traditional security concerns (food, climate and the like) will also affect the formation of Australia’s foreign policy. The turmoil of the Arab Spring has required some unique diplomatic negotiations between Australia and Libya to secure the release of Taylor and Bean, as well as Greste in Egypt, but it has not required any further additional diplomatic representations through the establishment of additional bricks and mortar embassies. The official relationship between Australia and North Africa, while couched in diplomatic talk that supports the initiatives of the Arab Spring protestors and their calls for more democracy, does not go much more beyond trade. The rapid and momentous political transformations occurring in the Arab states of North Africa had implications for Australia’s trade relations with the region, including “implications for the prices we pay for products such as oil... implications for where our tourists go... implications for where our students come from.”²⁸

Particular aspects of Australian foreign policy formation have not changed, and will not change, despite any potential electoral changes in our government. For instance the “alliance with the

²⁶ Rudd, Kevin. 2011c.

²⁷ Emerson, Craig. ‘Australia's trade performance improved in February 2012, but remained in deficit’, Media Release, April 4th 2012, accessed May 25th 2014.

²⁸ Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. ‘Inquiry into Australia’s Relationship with the Countries of Africa’, June 23rd 2011, accessed 3rd July 2014, pp 16.

United States remains core for us — the bedrock of Australia’s national security interests. The United States provides the cornerstone of security in our region, and our relations with the United States are underpinned by the ANZUS treaty which is 60 years old this year”.²⁹ The fact that the United States remains such a large influence on Australian foreign policymakers from both major political parties has not presented a problem when Australia is responding to the Arab Spring revolutions as, according to Bob Carr, “the Obama administration has been very alive to most of the concerns in foreign policy priorities we’ve got”.³⁰ The Obama administration’s pro-democracy approach was activist in nature too – in this way, Australia benefited from a strong relationship with a global leader whose priorities and approach so strongly influenced its own.³¹

Australia’s relationships with its largest trading partners (in order, China, Japan and the United States)³² should not be adversely impacted by its activist approach to North Africa, as none of them pose mutually exclusive interests. It does suggest, however, that the Rudd government was not so different to the Howard government when it comes to the US’ potential influence on Australia’s foreign policy formation towards the MENA region. The perspective from the foreign Affairs minister’s office is significant on these issues.

The events of the past four years in North Africa have shown that democracy needs time to take root, especially in countries where civil society and state institutions historically have been weak. Economic reform and a robust private sector are essential to promoting growth and prosperity. Significant challenges remain including the need to boost regional security cooperation, addressing sectarian tensions, and ensuring genuine inclusion in the political process. Australia continues to engage the countries of North Africa on these issues through bilateral dialogue and in the multilateral sphere.³³

²⁹ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

³⁰ *News Limited*. 2012.

³¹ Rudd, Kevin. 2011b.

³² Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. ‘Composition of Trade 2011’, accessed 13th December 2012 (2011b), pp 31.

³³ Innes-Brown, Mark. Acting First Assistant Secretary for DFAT’s Middle East and Africa Division, writing on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop - written letter to the author, 13th June 2014.

For future Australian governments, foreign policy formation regarding the Arab states of North Africa will continue to have a deep and abiding economic basis. Australia's agricultural sector, combined with Africa's untapped mineral wealth, will be enough to ensure that trade links will continue to be established and supported wherever possible, while the Abbott government has been keen to focus Australia's humanitarian and developmental aid on the Asia-Pacific region.

North Africa will continue to be a "complex modern reality"³⁴ following on from the wave of pro-independence pro-democracy protests that allowed Rudd to demonstrate his vision of Australia as an activist member-state of the United Nations. The trade links that formed the basis for Australia's previous engagements with the region provided a solid foundation for Australia's successful campaign for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, with votes coming from developing regions such as North Africa. This campaign necessitated the much-touted re-engagement with the Arab states of North Africa, but it would not have provided enough of an impetus without the opportunities presented by the Arab Spring. The Rudd government, like Australian governments before and since, asked itself what benefits could be found in Australia's relationship with the region and came to the conclusion that these benefits were predominantly trade-based, while the Arab Spring gave Australia the opportunity to flex its wings as a creative middle power under an activist Prime Minister.

³⁴ Rudd, Kevin. 2010b.

Bibliography

- Abbas, Mohammed. 'Times names Bouazizi person of 2011', *Reuters*, December 28th 2011, accessed January 29th 2014, <<http://uk.reuters.com/article/2011/12/28/uk-times-bouazizi-idUKTRE7BROCE20111228>>.
- Abbott, Tony. 'Distinguished Speaker Series: National Security Fundamentals' (speech given at The Lowy Institute for International Policy, April 20th 2010), accessed March 3rd 2014, <<http://www.loyyinstitute.org/publications/distinguished-speaker-series-national-security-fundamentals-hon-tony-abbott-mhr>>.
- ABC News*. 'Australia wins seat on UN Security Council', October 19th 2012, accessed May 7th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-19/an-australia-wins-seat-on-un-security-council/4321958>>.
- ABC News*. 'Australian Government announces \$20 million assistance for Syrian refugees', April 28th 2014, accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-04-22/australian-government-announces-20-million-assistance-for-syria/5402630>> (2014a).
- ABC News*. 'Bali Nine vigil: Hundreds gather in Sydney to support death row inmates Myuran Sukumaran and Andrew Chan', January 30th 2015, accessed June 5th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-01-29/vigil-for-bali-nine-death-row-inmates-sukumaran-chan-kicks-off/6056136>> (2015a).
- ABC News*. 'Federal Government confirms \$100m cut to foreign aid budget, focus on recipients in Asia-Pacific', January 19th 2014, accessed August 10th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-01-18/federal-government-announces-details-of-foreign-aid-cuts/5206594>> (2014b).
- ABC News*. 'Libya migrant boat sinking: Up to 700 feared dead as migrant ship capsizes in waters south of Italy', April 20th 2015, accessed June 3rd 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-19/up-to-700-feared-dead-after-migrant-boat-sinks-off-libya/6404438>> (2015b).
- ABC News*. 'Peter Greste trial: Tony Abbott appeals to Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to release Australian Al Jazeera journalist', June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-06-22/bishop-pushes-for-greste-release-on-eve-of-trial-verdict/5541744>> (2014c).

- ABC Fact Check*. 'Fact check: Who has a say in sending Australian troops to war?', September 8th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-08/julie-bishop-correct-on-australia-history-at-war/5710696>> (2014a).
- ABC Fact Check*. 'Foreign aid cuts make up one fifth of budget savings', May 22nd 2014, accessed August 10th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-05-20/tim-costell-correct-on-budget-foreign-aid-cuts/5452698>> (2014b).
- ABC Radio*. 'Federal government welcomes Libya's efforts to stamp out terrorism', July 13th 2002, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/am/stories/s606134.htm>>.
- ABC Rural*. 'Australia's live export trade', May 30th 2013, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-05-30/about-live-export-trade/4719636>>.
- ABC Rural*. 'New Zealand live sheep ban due to continued risk', September 11th 2012, accessed July 6th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/rural/news/content/201211/s3629051.htm>>.
- Adams, Richard. 'Migration, Remittances and Development: The Critical Nexus in the Middle East and North Africa', United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in the Arab Region, April 18th 2006, accessed 14th May 2014, <http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Ittmig_Arab/P01_Adams.pdf>.
- Adbusters. '#OCCUPYWALLSTREET: A Shift in Revolutionary Tactics', July 13th 2011, accessed 2nd February 2015, <<https://www.adbusters.org/blogs/adbusters-blog/occupywallstreet.html>>.
- Adshead, Gary. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *6PR Perth*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624f.aspx?ministerid=4>.
- African Development Bank Group. 'Urbanization in Africa', December 13th 2012, accessed January 27th 2015, <<http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-across-africa/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/>>.
- Ahram Online. 'Release of ICC team in Libya Some Way Off: Australian FM', June 24th 2012, accessed November 5th 2013, <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentPrint/2/0/45981/World/0/Release-of-ICC-team-in-Libya-some-way-off-Australi.aspx>>.
- Alkire, Sabina, Mihika Chatterjee, Adriana Conconi, Suman Seth and Ana Vaz. 'Poverty in Rural and Urban Areas: Direct comparisons using the global MPI 2014', *Oxford Poverty and Human*

Development Initiative, June 2014, accessed 15th September 2014,
<<http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Poverty-in-Rural-and-Urban-Areas-Direct-Comparisons-using-the-Global-MPI-2014.pdf?0a8fd7>>.

Altman, Dennis, Joseph A Camilleri, Robyn Eckersley and Gerhard Hoffstaedter (eds). 'Why Human Security Matters: Rethinking Australian Foreign Policy', Allen & Unwin, MSW, 2012.

Al Jazeera. 'Algeria prepares for parliamentary elections', May 9th 2012, accessed February 19th 2015,
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012/05/201259152952927406.html>>.

Al Jazeera. 'Australia raises 'terror attack' threat level', September 12th 2014, accessed September 12th 2014, <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2014/09/australia-raises-terror-attack-threat-level-201491252515105867.html>> (2014a).

Al Jazeera. 'Egypt shuts down Al Jazeera bureau', January 30th 2011, accessed November 6th 2014,
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201113085252994161.html>>.

Al Jazeera. 'MSF rejects Ebola cash and asks for medics', October 2nd 2014, accessed May 8th 2015,
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2014/10/msf-rejects-ebola-cash-asks-medics-201410210414437521.html>> (2014b).

Al Jazeera. 'Peter Greste decries court ruling', June 26th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014,
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/06/peter-greste-decries-court-ruling-2014625202834194433.html>> (2014c).

Al Jazeera. 'Peter Greste fears he could be found guilty in Egypt', May 30th 2015, accessed June 10th 2015, <<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/05/al-jazeera-greste-fears-egypt-guilty-verdict-150529082455186.html>>.

Al Jazeera: Inside Story. 'Is Algeria immune to the 'Arab Spring'?', May 14th 2012, accessed February 19th 2015,
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2012/05/201251465357500445.html>>

Anderson, Kym. 'Australia's Competitiveness in Contributing to Asia's Food Bowl and Food Security', submission to the Agricultural Competitiveness White Paper, April 2014, accessed October 4th 2014,
<<http://agwhitepaper.agriculture.gov.au/IP%20Submissions%20for%20publication/2014-03%20March/IP167%20Kym%20Anderson.pdf>>.

Anderson, Lisa. 'Demystifying the Arab Spring': Parsing the Differences Between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya', *Foreign Affairs*, 90(3), May/June 2011.

Anderson, Stephanie. 'Timeframe for UN Security Council bid 'unambitious', Plibersek says', *ABC News*, September 30th 2015, accessed September 30th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-30/australia-seeks-seat-on-un-security-council/6815060>>.

Animals Australia. 'About Us', accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://www.animalsaustralia.org/about/>>.

Animals Australia. 'Live export myths – busted', June 24th 2013, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.banliveexport.com/facts/live-export-myths.php>>.

Armytage, Samantha. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *Channel 7 Sunrise*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624b.aspx?ministerid=4>.

Arup, Tom. 'Abbott shuts down Climate Commission', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, September 19th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/Federal-politics/political-news/abbott-shuts-down-climate-commission-20130919-2u185.html>>.

The Australian. 'Abbott critical of PMs UN trip', September 24th 2012, accessed September 30th 2015, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/latest-news/govt-defends-millions-spent-for-un-seat/story-fn3dxiwe-1226480060258>> (2012a).

The Australian. 'Egypt court sets January 1 to hear Australian journalist Peter Greste's appeal', October 22nd 2014, accessed January 28th 2015, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/media/egypt-court-sets-january-1-to-hear-australian-journalist-peter-grestes-appeal/story-e6frg996-1227098292916?nk=b9c58b326b2563792702e2eff2a587c5>> (2014a).

The Australian. 'Latest Polls', August 26th 2014, accessed September 9th 2014, <http://polling.newspoll.com.au/image_uploads/140807%20Federal%20Voting%20Intention%20&%20Leaders%20Ratings.pdf> (2014b).

The Australian. 'Outcry over Egypt's Greste sentence', June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/outcry-over-egypts-greste-sentence/story-e6frg6so-1226964521079>> (2014c).

The Australian. 'Thousands of people protested Lynas rare earths plant in Malaysia', February 27th 2012, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/mining-energy/thousands-of-people-protested-lynas-rare-earths-plant-iin-malaysia/story-e6frg9df-1226282229085>> (2012b).

The Australian. 'Tony Abbott pleads Peter Greste's case directly with Egypt's president', June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/media/tony-abbott-pleads-peter-grestes-case-directly-with-egypts-president/story-e6frg996-1226963400419>> (2014d).

The Australian. 'Tony Abbott reaches out to Australia's 'best friend in Asia', Japan', October 10th 2013, accessed October 28th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/foreign-affairs/tony-abbott-reaches-out-to-australias-best-friend-in-asia-japan/story-fn59nm2j-1226736508726>>.

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Annual Report 2007-2008', 2008, accessed September 15th 2014, <http://aid.dfat.gov.au/anrep/rep08/pdf/anrep07_08.pdf>.

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia at global forum on aid effectiveness', October 21st 2013, accessed February 21st 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/HotTopics/Pages/Display.aspx?QID=334>> (2013a).

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australia's International Development Assistance: Statistical Summary 2011-2012', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Documents/statistical-summary-2013-14.pdf>> (2013b).

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Australian aid at work in Africa', January 2010, accessed March 5th 2014, <http://aid.dfat.gov.au/Publications/Pages/6099_3291_1152_9257_356.aspx> (2010a).

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Helping the World's Poor through Effective Aid: Australia's Comprehensive Aid Policy Framework to 2015-16', May 2012, accessed March 21st 2014 (2012a).

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Africa and Middle East 2012-2013 Budget', May 8th 2012, accessed October 11th 2012 (2012b).

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Looking West: Australia's strategic approach to aid in Africa 2011-2015', December 2010, accessed February 15th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/Publications/Documents/101224%20-%20Australias%20approach%20to%20aid%20in%20Africa%20-%20Dec%202010.pdf>> (2010b).

Australian Agency for International Development. 'Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee: Senate Supplementary Budget Estimates October 2011', October 20th 2011, accessed March 21st 2017, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Senate_Estimates/fadctcte/estimates/sup1112/dfat/ausaidqonsindex>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. '2011 Census reveals one in four Australians is born overseas', Media Release, June 21st 2012, accessed July 13th 2014, <<http://abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/CO-59?opendocument&navpos=620>> (2012a).

Australian Bureau of Statistics. 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population', Year Book Australia 2002, January 25th 2002, accessed July 13th 2014, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/bfc28642d31c215cca256b350010b3f4!OpenDocument>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. 'Characteristics of Recent Migrants', 2011, accessed August 17th 2014, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/6250.0>>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. 'International Relations: Where We Give Aid', May 26th 2012, accessed March 3rd 2014, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Where%20we%20give%20aid~218>> (2012b).

Australian Business Consulting and Solutions. 'Tunisia Report', April 22nd 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www.australianbusiness.com.au/international-trade/news/tunisia-report->>.

The Australian Centre for Independent Journalism. 'The African-Australian Mining and Development Nexus', June 3rd 2013, accessed May 5th 2014, <<http://www.reportageonline.com/2013/06/the-african-australian-mining-and-development-nexus/>>.

Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research. 'Where We Work: The Middle East and North Africa', accessed March 3rd 2014, <<http://aciarc.gov.au/region/middle-east-and-north-africa>>.

Australian Education International. 'Update for Libyan Nationals studying in Australia', September 5th 2012, accessed November 4th 2012, <<https://internationaleducation.gov.au/International-network/Australia/policyupdates/Pages/Article-LibyanNationalsUpdate.aspx>>.

The Australian Financial Review. 'Appalled' politicians rally to Peter Grete', June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <http://www.afr.com/p/national/appalled_politicians_rally_to_peter_F7alxR1CmW3CaQW3iY95hN>.

The Australian Financial Review. 'Rudd was a Good, Activist Foreign Minister', February 22nd 2012, accessed August 20th 2012, <http://www.afr.com/p/national/rudd_was_good_activist_foreign_minister_R7wZ4VHwKOHzdK34cINTDK>.

Australian Trade Commission. 'Egypt: Doing Business, Tariffs and Non-Tariff Barriers', April 10th 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www.austrade.gov.au/Export/Export-Markets/Countries/Egypt/Doing-Business/Tariffs-and-regulations#.U46fLigTQ7U>> (2012a).

Australian Trade Commission. 'Export Markets – Country Index', accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www.austrade.gov.au/Australian/Export/Export-markets/Countries/Index>> (2014a).

Australian Trade Commission. 'Export Markets – Libya', March 22nd 2012, accessed October 23rd 2014, <<http://www.austrade.gov.au/Export/Export-Markets/Countries/Libya/Austrade-assistance/Austrade-offices#.VEhaEPSnp0w>> (2012b).

Australian Trade Commission. 'Libya: Doing Business, Business culture', May 22nd 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www.austrade.gov.au/Export/Export-Markets/Countries/Libya/Doing-Business#.U46hWCgTQ7U>> (2012c).

Australian Trade Commission. 'MENA Region Priorities', accessed April 29th 2014, <<http://www.austrade.gov.au/Local-Sites/MENA/MENA>> (2014b).

Australian Trade Commission. 'Morocco: Doing Business, Tariffs and Non-Tariff Barriers', July 2nd 2012, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www.austrade.gov.au/Export/Export->

Markets/Countries/Morocco/Doing-Business/Tariffs-and-regulations#.U46kZSgTQ7U>
(2012d).

Axworthy, Lloyd, and Allan Rock. 'World leaders must call R2P what it is', International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, March 2nd 2011, accessed September 11th 2014, <<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/190-crisis-in-libya/3251-ottawa-citizen-world-leaders-must-call-RtoP-what-it-is>>.

Bajec, Alessandra. 'How strong is ISIS in Libya?', *Muslim Village*, April 17th 2015, accessed May 8th 2015, <<http://muslimvillage.com/2015/04/17/76953/strong-isis-libya/>>.

Baldino, Daniel, Andrew Carr and Anthony J Langlois (eds). 'Australian Foreign Policy: Controversies and Debates', Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2014.

Baldwin-Edwards, Martin. "Between a rock and a hard place': North Africa as a region of emigration, immigration and transit migration', *Review of African Political Economy*, 33:108 (2006).

Bank Information Centre. 'The World Bank Group and Tunisia: A Country Study', March 2013, accessed 3rd June 2014, <<http://www.bicusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/The-World-Bank-Group-and-Tunisia-FINAL-May-10-2013.pdf>>.

Ban Live Export. 'Memorandum of Understanding with Egypt', November 1st 2006, accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://www.banliveexport.com/facts/egypt-mou.php>>.

Barany, Zoltan. 'Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Role of the Military', *Journal of Democracy*, 22:4 (2011).

Barbour, Lucy, and Olivia Garnett. 'RSPCA furious as Federal Government cuts red tape for live exports', *ABC Rural*, September 11th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-11/nrn-live-export-red-tape-cut-rspca/5736928>>.

Bar'el, Zvi. 'Social media only played a supporting role in the Arab Spring', *Haaretz*, December 20th 2012, accessed June 14th 2013, <<http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/social-media-only-played-a-supporting-role-in-the-arab-spring.premium-1.486132>>.

Barnes, Terry. 'Abbott's unexpected reinvention in the wake of MH17', *The Drum*, July 24th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-24/barnes-abbotts-unexpected-reinvention-in-the-wake-of-mh17/5619640>> (2014a).

- Barnes, Terry. 'Faced with a crisis, Tony Abbott becomes a statesman', *Conservative Home*, July 25th 2014, accessed August 24th 2014, <<http://www.conservativehome.com/international/2014/07/terry-barnes-faced-with-a-crisis-tony-abbott-becomes-a-statesman.html>> (2014b).
- BBC News*. 'Howard rejects emissions targets', August 16th 2006, accessed September 2nd 2014, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4797339.stm>>.
- BBC News*. 'Rudd takes Australia inside Kyoto', December 3rd 2007, accessed September 2nd 2014, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/7124236.stm>>.
- Beef Central. 'Australia and Egypt agree to recommence livex trade under ESCAS', March 20th 2014, accessed September 17th 2014, <<http://www.beefcentral.com/live-export/australia-and-egypt-agree-to-recommence-livex-trade-under-escas/>> (2014a).
- Beef Central. 'Greens' attempt to derail Egypt cattle trade fails', June 19th 2014, accessed July 8th 2014, <<http://www.beefcentral.com/live-export/greens-attempt-to-derail-egypt-cattle-trade-fails/>> (2014b).
- Beeson, Mark. 'Issues in Australian Foreign Policy: July to December 2013', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 60:2 (2014).
- Beeson, Mark. 'Rudd's foreign policy legacy', *The Conversation*, November 15th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/rudds-foreign-policy-legacy-20375>>.
- Bellamy, Alex. 'The responsibility to protect and Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 64:4 (2010).
- Benson, Marius. 'Interview with Kevin Rudd', *ABC Newsradio Breakfast*, March 2nd 2011, accessed August 18th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2011/kr_tr_110302_abc_breakfast.aspx?ministerid=2>.
- Bergin, Anthony. 'UN Security Council – down to work', *Australian Strategic Policy Institute Blog*, October 25th 2012, accessed October 29th 2015, <<http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/un-security-council-down-to-work/>>.

- Betteridge, Ashlee, and Stephen Howes. 'A parliamentary committee on aid? Issues and options', *Development Policy Centre*, November 11th 2013, accessed January 9th 2014, <<http://devpolicy.org/a-parliamentary-committee-on-aid-issues-and-options-20131111/>>.
- Bettles, Colin. 'One year in: live exports', *Stock and Land*, September 6th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.stockandland.com.au/news/agriculture/sheep/general-news/one-year-in-live-exports/2710652.aspx>>.
- Bezglasznyy, Anton. 'Middle Power Theory, Change and Continuity in the Asia-Pacific', (master's thesis, The University of British Columbia, April 2013), accessed January 3rd 2014, <https://circle.ubc.ca/bitstream/handle/2429/44192/ubc_2013_spring_bezglasznyy_anton.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Bishop, Julie. 'Press conference on Peter Greste', June 23rd 2014, accessed October 15th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140623a.aspx?ministerid=4>.
- Bollard, Albert. David McKenzie and Melanie Morten, 'The Remitting Patterns of African Migrants in the OECD', *Journal of African Economies*, 19:5 (July 2010).
- Bonacci, Mara. 'Australian mining activist released from Malaysian prison', *Green Left Weekly*, June 28th 2014, accessed August 17th 2014, <<https://www.greenleft.org.au/node/56750>>.
- Borooah, Vani, and John Mangan. 'Living here, born there: The economic life of Australia's immigrants', *European Journal of Political Economy*, 23 (2007).
- Boreham, Kevin. 'Australia's military involvement in Iraq is legal – for now', *The Conversation*, September 2nd 2014, accessed September 11th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/australias-military-involvement-in-iraq-is-legal-for-now-31108>> (2014a).
- Boreham, Kevin. 'Can international law help to free Peter Greste?', *The Conversation*, June 25th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/can-international-law-help-to-free-peter-greste-28441>> (2014b).
- Borrello, Eliza. 'Tim Flannery relaunches scrapped Climate Commission as community-funded body', *ABC News*, September 24th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-24/tim-flannery-to-relaunch-climate-commission/4976608>>.

- Bouchard, Caroline, John Peterson and Nathalie Tocci (eds). 'Multilateralism in the 21st Century: Europe's Quest for Effectiveness', Routledge, United Kingdom, 2013.
- Bourke, Latika. 'The irony behind Julie Bishop's success at the United Nations Security Council', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, November 20th 2014, accessed June 23rd 2015, <<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/the-irony-behind-julie-bishops-success-at-the-united-nations-security-council-20141120-11qcmp.html>>.
- Bowe, William. 'BludgerTrack: 52.1-47.9 to Labor', *Crikey*, July 31st 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://blogs.crikey.com.au/pollbludger/2014/07/31/bludgertrack-52-1-47-9-to-labor/>> (2014a).
- Bowe, William. 'Poll Bludger: MH17 lifts Abbott's numbers, but votes another story', *Crikey*, August 1st 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.crikey.com.au/2014/08/01/poll-bludger-mh17-lifts-abbotts-numbers-but-votes-another-story/>> (2014b).
- Brockie, Jenny. 'Interview with Faraj (pseudonym)', *SBS: Insight*, April 10th 2011, accessed December 8th 2014, <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/sites/sbs.com.au.news/files/transcripts/363483_insight_revolution_transcript.html>.
- Bulabo, Anthony. 'Why America's Iraq strategy will work, and why Australia should take part', *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, September 15th 2014, accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://www.loyyinterpreter.org/post/2014/09/15/Americas-Iraq-strategy-will-work-Australia-should-take-part.aspx>>.
- Carabine, Alison. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *ABC Radio National*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624.aspx?ministerid=4>.
- Carr, Andrew. 'Book Review: Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs, 2006-2010', *Australian Army Journal*, IX:1 (2012).
- Carr, Bob. 'Australia secures a seat on the United Nations Security Council', Media Release, October 19th 2012, accessed October 31st 2012, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/releases/2012/bc_mr_121019.html>.
- Carr, Bob. 'Diary of a Foreign Minister', NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2014.

- CathNews Perspectives. 'Australia's refugee non-solution', June 23rd 2014, accessed July 17th 2014, <<http://cathnews.com/cathnews/178-draft-17/18160-australia-s-non-solution>>.
- Chang, Charis. 'Tony Abbott's handling of Malaysia Airlines MH17 incident sees a spike in his approval rating', *News Limited*, July 22nd 2014, accessed August 23rd 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/tony-abbotts-handling-of-malaysia-airlines-mh17-incident-sees-a-spike-in-his-approval-rating/story-fncynjr2-1226997715788>>.
- Climas, Hannah. 'Australia, North Africa and the Arab Spring', in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy towards Africa', Melbourne University Press, Victoria, 2013.
- Collins, Jock. 'The changing face of Australian immigration', *The Conversation*, June 8th 2013, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/the-changing-face-of-australian-immigration-14984>>.
- Colvin, Mark. 'What will be the next step for Peter Grete?', *ABC News*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 25th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-06-24/what-will-be-the-next-step-for-peter-greste/5547476>>.
- Condren, Patrick. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *News Talk 4BC*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624e.aspx?ministerid=4>.
- Conifer, Dan. 'Coalition ahead of Labor first time in one-and-a-half years after leadership spill, poll shows', *ABC News*, September 18th 2015, accessed September 18th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-18/government-ahead-of-labor-first-time-in-15-years-poll/6785750>>.
- Cooper, David. 'Challenging Contemporary Notions of Middle Power Influence: Implications of the Proliferation Security Initiative for "Middle Power Theory"', *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7:3 (2011).
- Cooper, Hayden. 'Egypt jails 23 pro-democracy protesters for 'illegal protest'', *ABC News*, October 27th 2014, accessed November 6th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-10-27/egypt-jails-23-activists/5842812>> (2014a).
- Cooper, Hayden. 'Peter Grete trial: Parents concede little more Government can do as case adjourned again', *ABC News*, June 23rd 2014, accessed June 24th 2014,

<<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-05-23/greste-lawyer-misses-hearing/5472282>>
(2014b).

Coorey, Phillip. 'Gillard in open conflict with Rudd', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 11th 2011, accessed November 27th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/national/gillard-in-open-conflict-with-rudd-20110310-1bpt2.html>>.

Cotler, Irwin, and Jared Genser. 'Libya and the Responsibility to Protect', *The New York Times*, February 28th 2011, accessed September 11th 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/01/opinion/01iht-edcotler01.html?_r=0>.

Cotton, James, and John Ravenhill, eds. 'Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs 2006-2010', Oxford University Press, Victoria, 2011.

Craig, Katrina. 'Beefing up the Standard: The Ramifications of Australia's Regulation of Live Export and Suggestions for Reform', *Macquarie Law Journal*, 11:51 (2013).

Crean, Simon. 'Strengthening the Australia-Africa Partnership' Media Release, February 5th 2010, accessed February 15th 2015, <http://www.trademinister.gov.au/releases/2010/sc_100205a.html>.

Crook, Andrew. 'Libyan students to demand asylum', *Crikey*, March 9th 2011, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://www.crikey.com.au/2011/03/09/libyan-students-to-demand-asylum-from-gaddafi-regime/>>.

Crowe, David. 'Plibersek plays the partisan', *The Australian*, July 25th 2014, accessed August 24th 2014, <cached.newslookup.com/cached.php?ref_id=111&siteid=2104&id=7349451&t=1406300365>.

Curson, Peter. 'Ebola road map loses way on cultural issue', *The Drum*, September 15th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-15/curson-understand-the-culture-before-tackling-ebola/5740064>>.

Curtis, Kimbal. 'Recent Changes in the Australian Sheep Industry (The Disappearing Flock)', Department of Agriculture and Food (Western Australia), August 21st 2009, accessed August 17th 2015, <http://www.sheepcrc.org.au/files/pages/information/publications/australias-declining-sheep-flock/Recent_changes_in_the_Australian_sheep_industry.pdf>.

The Daily Telegraph. 'Tony Abbott reveals his Liberal beliefs and how his public and private lives shaped him', December 1st 2009, accessed October 28th 2014, <<http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/tony-abbott-reveals-his-liberal-beliefs-and-how-his-public-and-private-lives-shaped-him/story-e6freuy9-1225805760246?nk=8c563a4ee98bcad95edf1b4b0ca20345>>.

Dalrymple, Rawdon. 'Looking for theory in Australian foreign policy', *Australian Review of Public Affairs*, April 28th 2003, accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://www.australianreview.net/digest/2003/04/dalrymple.html>>.

Daoudi, Ali. 'Food security in the MENA region: the imperative rehabilitation of agriculture', International Development Research Centre, accessed April 18th 2017, <<https://www.idrc.ca/en/article/food-security-mena-region-imperative-rehabilitation-agriculture>>.

Davey, Alistair. 'Economic impact of phasing out the live sheep export trade' (report prepared for the World Society for the Protection of Animals, Sapere Research Group, March 2013), accessed June 26th 2014, <http://www.srgexpert.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Economic_impact_of_phasing_out_the_live_sheep_export_trade.pdf>.

Davies, Rebecca. 'African diasporas, development and the politics of context', *Third World Quarterly*, 33:1 (2012).

Dearin, Cynthia. 'Australian companies should do business in the Middle East, here's why', *SmartCompany*, November 5th 2013, accessed May 1st 2014, <<http://www.smartcompany.com.au/growth/export/34439-australian-companies-should-do-business-in-the-middle-east-here-s-why.html>>.

Deloitte. 'Doing business in Africa: Managing your African investments', ND, accessed May 5th 2014, <http://www.deloitte.com/view/en_AU/au/services/specialist_services/africaaustraliaservic esgroup/index.htm>.

Deloitte. 'Opportunities abound: Australia's footprint in Africa', *Deloitte African Mining Indaba Special Edition*, February 2013, accessed May 5th 2014, <http://www.deloitte.com/assets/Dcom-Australia/Local%20Assets/Documents/news-research/Stock%20Exchange%20Indices/Western_Australia/Deloitte_INDABA_Index_2013E.pdf>.

Department of Agriculture. '2014-02 Resumption of trade in livestock to Egypt', March 20th 2014, accessed 17th May 2017, <<http://www.agriculture.gov.au/export/controlled-goods/live-animals/advisory-notice/2014/2014-02>> (2014a).

Department of Agriculture. 'Cost Recovery Impact Statement: Live Animal Exports 2014-15', June 3rd 2014, accessed September 23rd 2014, <http://www.daff.gov.au/data/assets/pdf_file/0005/2395157/cris-lae.pdf> (2014b).

Department of Agriculture. 'Live Animal Export Fee Review', May 27th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.daff.gov.au/bsg/biosecurity-fee-review-2014/live-animal-export-fee-review>> (2014c).

Department of Agriculture. 'Live Animal Export Trade', February 25th 2015, accessed June 2nd 2015, <<http://www.daff.gov.au/animal-plant-health/welfare/export-trade>>.

Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry. 'Independent Review of Australia's Livestock Export Trade', August 31st 2011, accessed July 4th 2014, <http://www.daff.gov.au/Style%20Library/Images/DAFF/___data/assets/pdf_file/0010/2378197/independent-review-australias-livestock-export-trade.pdf>.

Department of Defence. 'Advancing the National Interest', White Paper, February 12th 2003, accessed October 20th 2013, <http://geneva.mission.gov.au/files/gene/2003_whitepaper.pdf>.

Department of Defence. 'Australia in the Asian Century', White Paper, May 3rd 2013, accessed October 28th 2013, <http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/2013/docs/WP_2013_web.pdf>.

Department of Defence. 'Australian Defence Force members honoured with Philippines service medals', May 28th 2014, accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://www.minister.defence.gov.au/2014/05/28/parliamentary-secretary-to-the-minister-for-defence-australian-defence-force-members-honoured-with-philippines-service-medals/>>.

Department of Defence. 'Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030', White Paper, May 2nd 2009, accessed February 10th 2014, <http://www.defence.gov.au/CDG/Documents/defence_white_paper_2009.pdf>.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Briefings provided to Ministers and/or senior officials, from January 2011 to December 2012, on the Arab Spring', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 14/20458, Official Date of Access September 25th 2014, accessed October 21st 2014, <<https://dfat.gov.au/foi/downloads/dfat-foi-1409-F852.pdf>> (2014a).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Africa Region Brief', accessed July 23rd 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/geo/africa-middle-east/pages/africa-region-brief.aspx>> (2014b).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'African Renewal: Business Opportunities in South Africa, Botswana, Uganda, Mozambique and Kenya', October 17th 2003, accessed April 25th 2014, <https://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/african_renewal/>.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Analysis of Australia's Education Exports', March 2011, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/publications/stats-pubs/analysis-of-australias-education-exports.pdf>> (2011a).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Annual Report 2011-2012', October 26th 2012, accessed 25th March 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/corporate/annual-reports/annual-report-2011-2012/index.html>> (2012a).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia and Africa: Partners into the Future', July 5th 2012, accessed March 25th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/Publications/Pages/africa-partners.aspx>> (2012b).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia Awards', November 1st 2013, accessed March 8th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/australia-awards/Pages/default.aspx>>. (2013a).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia and foreign investment: Which countries invest in Australia?', July 2017, accessed July 13th 2017, <<http://dfat.gov.au/trade/topics/investment/Pages/which-countries-invest-in-australia.aspx>>.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia's International Development Assistance Program 2011- 2012 Budget', May 2013, accessed March 21st 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/portfolio-budget-statements/Pages/australias-international-development-assistance-program-budget-2011-12.aspx>> (2013b).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia's International Development Assistance Program 2012-2013 Budget', May 2012, accessed October 11th 2012, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/portfolio-budget-statements/Pages/australias-international-development-assistance-program-budget-2012-13.aspx>>.

us/corporate/portfolio-budget-statements/Pages/australias-international-development-assistance-program-budget-2011-12.aspx>. (2012c).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia's International Development Assistance Program 2013–14 Budget', May 14th 2013, accessed March 21st 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/portfolio-budget-statements/Pages/australias-international-development-assistance-program-budget-2013-14.aspx>> (2013c).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Australia's Trade with Africa and the Middle East', November 2010, accessed 10th May 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/australia-s-trade-with-africa-and-the-middle-east.aspx>>.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Briefs prepared for the October 2012 Senate Estimates hearings – United Nations Security Council Bid', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 20/1, Official Date of Access February 12th 2013, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/freedom-of-information/Documents/120213-doc1-un-security-council-bid.pdf>> (2013d).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Briefs prepared for the October 2012 Senate Estimates hearings – United Nations Security Council Bid Media Brief', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 20/2, Official Date of Access February 12th 2013, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/freedom-of-information/Documents/120213-doc2-un-security-council-bid-media-brief.pdf>> (2013e).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Composition of Trade 2011', accessed 13th December 2012, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/composition-of-trade.aspx>> (2011b).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Country and Region Fact Sheets: Algeria', accessed 20th April 2014, <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/algr.pdf>> (2014c).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Country and Region Fact Sheets: Egypt', accessed 20th April 2014, <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/egyp.pdf>> (2014d).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Country and Region Fact Sheets: Libya', accessed 20th April 2014, <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/lbya.pdf>> (2014e).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Country and Region Fact Sheets: Morocco', accessed 20th April 2014, <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/moro.pdf>> (2014f).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Country and Region Fact Sheets: Tunisia', accessed 20th April 2014, <<http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fs/tuni.pdf>> (2014g).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Direction of Trade Time Series 2000-01: One Hundred Years of Trade', Market Information and Analysis Unit, February 2002, accessed May 1st 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/news/media-releases/Pages/australia-s-100-years-of-trade.aspx>> (2002a).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Helping people affected by the conflict in Libya', October 21st 2013, accessed March 5th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/HotTopics/pages/Display.aspx?QID=122>> (2013f).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Foreign Affairs', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/freedom-of-information/Documents/dfat-foi-10-21016-a.pdf>> (2011c).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Incoming Government Brief prepared for the Minister for Trade', FOI Disclosure Log, FOI Reference Number 10/21016, Official Date of Access August 5th 2011, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/corporate/freedom-of-information/Documents/dfat-foi-10-21016-b.pdf>> (2011d).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Inquiry into Australia's Relationship with the Countries of Africa' (submission no. 46), submitted to the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade), June 23rd 2011, accessed 3rd July 2014 (2011e).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Letter of decision from Jennifer Streat', Correspondence with the Author, September 25th 2014 (2014h).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Middle East and North Africa', November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/countries/ame/Pages/home.aspx>> (2013g).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'The Middle East and North Africa Aid Program Performance Report 2012-2013', February 4th 2014, accessed March 25th 2014, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/middle-east-and-north-africa-aid-program-performance-report-2012-13.aspx>> (2014i).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Middle East and North Africa: Economic Development Overview', November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/countries/ame/Pages/economic-growth.aspx>> (2013h).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Middle East and North Africa: Governance Overview', November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/countries/ame/Pages/effective-gov.aspx>> (2013i).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Middle East and North Africa: Humanitarian Overview', November 1st 2013, accessed March 25th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/countries/ame/Pages/humanitarian-disaster-response.aspx>> (2013j).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Performance of Australian Aid 2013-2014', February 2015, accessed June 15th 2015, <<http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/performance-of-australian-aid-2013-14.aspx>> (2015a).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Progress against Millennium Development Goals: Middle East and North Africa', November 1st 2013, accessed March 7th 2014, <<http://aid.dfat.gov.au/countries/ame/Pages/mena-mdg-progress.aspx>> (2013k).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Smartraveller: Libya', February 24th 2015, accessed April 30th 2015, <<http://www.smartraveller.gov.au/zw-cgi/view/Advice/Libya>> (2015b).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Trade At A Glance: 2013', December 2013, accessed May 1st 2014, <<https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/trade-investment/trade-at-a-glance/trade-at-a-glance-2013/Documents/trade-at-a-glance-2013.pdf>> (2013l).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 'Vaile Opens Door for Australian Business in Libya', July 15th 2012, accessed May 15th 2015, <http://trademinister.gov.au/releases/2002/mvt075_02.html> (2002b).

Department of Immigration and Border Protection. 'Fact Sheet 20 – Migration Programme planning levels', accessed August 18th 2014, <<https://www.border.gov.au/about/corporate/information/fact-sheets/20planning>> (2014a).

Department of Immigration and Border Protection. 'Migration Programme statistics', accessed August 18th 2014, <<https://www.immi.gov.au/media/statistics/statistical-info/visa-grants/migrant.htm>> (2014b).

Dewaal, Alex. 'The African Union and the Libya Conflict of 2011', *World Peace Foundation*, December 19th 2012, accessed April 3rd 2017, <<https://sites.tufts.edu/reinventingpeace/2012/12/19/the-african-union-and-the-libya-conflict-of-2011/>>.

Doherty, Ben. 'Australia up for human rights council seat despite UN official's criticism of asylum secrecy', *The Guardian*, September 26th 2015, accessed September 30th 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/law/2015/sep/26/australia-up-for-human-rights-council-seat-despite-senior-un-officials-criticism>> (2015a).

Doherty, Ben. 'This could be the largest refugee resettlement intake in Australia's postwar history – here's what it means', *The Guardian*, September 9th 2015, accessed September 9th 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/09/this-could-be-the-largest-refugee-intake-in-australias-history-heres-what-it-means?CMP=soc_567>. (2015b).

Dornan, Matthew. 'Winners and losers in the 2014-15 aid budget', *Development Policy Centre*, May 14th 2014, accessed May 15th 2014, <<http://devpolicy.org/winners-and-losers-in-the-2014-15-aid-budget-20140514-1/>>.

Dorann, Matthew, and Jane Norman. 'Amnesty says Australian officials who paid people smugglers to turn boats back committed transnational crimes', *ABC News*, October 29th 2015, accessed November 3rd 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-10-29/paying-people-smugglers-to-turn-around-is-transnational-crime/6894610>>.

Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor and Aaron Martin. 'Australian Public Policy: Attention, Content and Style', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 72:2 (2013).

Dowding, Keith, Andrew Hindmoor, Richard Iles, and Peter John. 'Policy Agendas in Australian Politics: The Governor-General's Speeches, 1945-2008', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 45:4 (2010).

Downer, Alexander. 'Securing Australia's interests—Australian foreign policy priorities', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 59:1 (2005).

The Drum. Philip Eliason, 'Why Libya is of such importance', March 31st 2011, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-03-31/whylibyaisofsuchimportance/45812>>.

- Drum, Frank, and Caroline Gunning-Trant. 'Live Animal Exports: A Profile of the Australian Industry', Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics, February 2008, accessed 7th July 2014, <<http://trove.nla.gov.au/work/34127127?selectedversion=NBD43147066>>.
- Durac, Vincent, and Francesco Cavatorta. "Strengthening Authoritarian rule through Democracy Promotion? Examining the Paradox of the US and EU Security Strategies: The Case of in Ali's Tunisia", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 36:1 (2009).
- Durban, Matthew. 'African Outlook – Australian Trade and Investment' (speech given at the Africa Day Seminar, Australian National University, May 22nd 2012), accessed May 5th 2014, <<http://www.aabcnsw.net.au/docs/ANU%20Africa%20Day%20Seminar%20May%202012.pdf>>.
- Dutton, Peter. 'Australian Assistance to Control the Ebola Outbreak in West Africa', Media Release, August 24th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.health.gov.au/internet/ministers/publishing.nsf/Content/health-mediarele-yr2014-dutton068.htm>>.
- Eadie, Laura, and Christopher Stone. 'Farming Smarter, Not Harder: Securing our agricultural economy', *Centre for Policy Development*, October 30th 2012, accessed November 20th 2014, <<http://cpd.org.au/2012/10/farming-smarter-not-harder-2/>>.
- Eastley, Tony, and Lisa Millar. 'Australia wins seat on UN Security Council', *ABC News*, October 19th 2012, accessed March 3rd 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-19/australia-wins-seat-on-un-security-council/4321946>>.
- The Economist*. 'Australia and Indonesia: No Surprises', November 23rd 2013, accessed August 28th 2014, <<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21590600-more-jakarta-means-more-trouble-tony-abbott-no-surprises>> (2013a).
- The Economist*. 'The Origins of the Financial Crisis: Crash Course', September 17th 2013, accessed June 1st 2017, <<https://www.economist.com/news/schoolsbrief/21584534-effects-financial-crisis-are-still-being-felt-five-years-article>> (2013b).
- The Economist Intelligence Unit*. 'Food security in focus: Middle East & North Africa 2014', 2014, accessed 15th July 2015, <http://foodsecurityindex.eiu.com/Home/DownloadResource?fileName=EIU%20GFSI%202014_Middle%20East%20and%20North%20Africa%20regional%20report.pdf>.

Emerson, Craig. 'Australia's trade performance improved in February 2012, but remained in deficit', Media Release, April 4th 2012, accessed May 25th 2014, <http://trademinister.gov.au/releases/Pages/2012/ce_mr_120404.aspx?ministerid=2>.

Emerson, Craig. 'Libyan Students Helped to Keep Studying in Australia', Media Release, September 1st 2011, accessed October 1st 2012, <http://trademinister.gov.au/releases/2011/ce_mr_110901.html>.

Evans, Gareth. 'A Responsibility to Protect Iraqis?', *Project Syndicate*, June 24th 2014, accessed September 11th 2014, <<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/gareth-evans-asks-whether-the-latest-middle-east-catastrophe-warrants-humanitarian-intervention>> (2014a).

Evans, Gareth. 'On Japan and China: Taking a Stand, Not Taking Sides', *The World Post*, August 14th 2014, accessed September 1st 2014, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/gareth-evans/japan-china-foreign-policy-impact_b_5676941.html> (2014b).

Evans, Gareth. 'The U.S. vs the World? How American Power Seems to the Rest of Us', (speech given to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, November 19th 2002), accessed 6th April 2013, <<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/speeches/2002/the-us-vs-the-world.aspx>>.

Evans, Gareth. 'Why the UN matters to Australia', (speech given to the Melbourne Junior Chamber of Commerce Employers' Luncheon, November 24th 1995), accessed June 17th 2015, <<http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/1995/geunmat.html>>.

Farrell, Paul. 'Plibersek: Julie Bishop jeopardising Australia's relations with China', *The Guardian*, July 10th 2014, accessed August 23rd 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/10/plibersek-julie-bishop-jeopardising-australias-relations-with-china>>.

Ferguson, Sarah, and Michael Doyle. 'A Bloody Business', *Four Corners*, May 30th 2011, accessed September 20th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2011/s3228880.htm>>.

Fierravanti-Wells, Concetta. 'Australian Arab Business Women's Forum opening address', (speech given at Sydney, March 7th 2014), accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://concettafierravantiwells.dss.gov.au/speeches/31>>.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. 'Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security', Rome, November 2009, accessed February 13th 2015,

<http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/Summit/Docs/Final_Declaration/WSFS09_Declaration.pdf>.

Franchise Council of Australia. 'What is Franchising?', accessed August 14th 2015, <<http://www.franchise.org.au/what-is-franchising-.html>>.

Fraser, Andrew. 'Coal comfort: faster to start mine in Indonesia than here', *The Australian*, June 30th 2014, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/coal-comfort-faster-to-start-mine-in-indonesia-than-here/story-fn59niix-1227006473407>>.

Freedom of Information Act 1982 (Cth).

Garnaut, James. 'China: Julie Bishop comments that sparked Beijing's rebuke 'never' made', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 16th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/world/china-julie-bishop-comments-that-sparked-beijings-rebuke-never-made-20140716-ztgwt.html>>.

Gereis, Camil. 'Franchise Opportunities in a Trillion Dollar Market', *Australian Business Consulting and Solutions*, accessed May 6th 2015, <<http://www.australianbusiness.com.au/international-trade/export-markets/middle-east/franchise-opportunities-in-a-trillion-dollar-marke.aspx>>.

Gilbert, Kieran. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *Sky News AM Agenda*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624d.aspx?w=tb1CaGpkPX%2FISOK%2Bg9ZKEg%3D%3D>.

Global Humanitarian Assistance. 'Defining humanitarian assistance', accessed March 17th 2014, <<http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/data-guides/defining-humanitarian-aid>>.

Global Research. 'Aid Money Must Not Support Australian Mining Interests in Africa', October 24th 2012, accessed March 5th 2014, <<http://www.globalresearch.ca/aid-money-must-not-support-australian-mining-interests-in-africa/5309531?print=1>>.

Go Back To Where You Came From Fact Sheets. 'Are asylum seekers who arrive by boat illegal immigrants?', accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/goback/about/factsheets/4/are-asylum-seekers-who-arrive-by-boat-illegal-immigrants>>.

- Gordon, Josh. 'Australia eyes Libya's billions', *The Age*, December 25th 2003, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/12/24/1072239720711.html>>.
- Gordon, Michael. 'Tony Abbott must regain voters' trust, Bill Shorten needs strength', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 21st 2014, accessed August 26th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/Federal-politics/political-opinion/tony-abbott-must-regain-voters-trust-bill-shorten-needs-strength-20140720-3c9dp.html>>.
- Gourevitch, Philip. 'The Arab Winter', *The New Yorker*, December 28th 2011, accessed January 29th 2014, <<http://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/the-arab-winter>>.
- Greene, Andrew. 'Terror laws 'a budget distraction'', *The New Daily*, August 28th 2014, accessed September 9th 2014, <<http://thenewdaily.com.au/news/2014/08/28/govt-scaring-public-terrorism/>>.
- Gribbin, Caitlyn. 'Live animal exports to Egypt resume', *ABC News*, March 20th 2014, accessed June 25th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2014/s3968162.htm>>.
- Griffiths, Emma. 'Terrorism threat: Australian alert level raised to high; terrorist attack likely but not imminent', *ABC News*, September 12th 2014, accessed September 12th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-12/australia-increases-terrorism-threat-level/5739466>>.
- Griffiths, Emma, and Hayden Cooper. 'Peter Greste trial: Tony Abbott expresses concern over trial after journalist detained in Egypt calls for PM's help', *ABC News*, March 6th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-03-06/peter-greste-urges-pm-tony-abbott-to-help-him/5301884>>.
- The Guardian*. 'Chris Stevens, US ambassador to Libya, killed in Benghazi attack', September 12th 2012, accessed February 3rd 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/12/chris-stevens-us-ambassador-libya-killed>>.
- The Guardian*. 'Peter Greste: Australian government document could lead to acquittal', June 4th 2015, accessed June 10th 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2015/jun/04/peter-greste-australian-government-document-could-lead-to-acquittal>>.
- Gylfason, Thorvaldur, Inmaculada Martínez-Zarzoso and Per Magnus Wijkman. 'How Free Trade Can Help Convert the 'Arab Spring' into Permanent Peace and Democracy', CESifo Working

- Paper: Trade Policy, No. 3882, July 2012, accessed May 1st 2014, <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2111959>.
- Gyngell, Allan. 'Ambition: The Emerging Foreign Policy of the Rudd Government', *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, December 2008, accessed June 25th 2014, <http://www.lowyinstitute.org/files/pubfiles/Gyngell%2C_Ambition_web.pdf>.
- Gyngell, Allan. 'Emerging challenges for Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68:4 (2014).
- Gyngell, Allan, and Michael Wesley. 'Making Australian Foreign Policy: Second Edition', Cambridge University Press, Victoria, 2007.
- Haas, Hein de. 'North African migration systems: evolution, transformations and development linkages', *Journal Migration Institute*, 6 (2007).
- Halal Australia. 'Consumers: How do I know if a product is Halal?', accessed July 7th 2014, <<http://www.halal-australia.com.au/consumers/>>.
- Hall, Eleanor. 'Military analyst raises questions over 'Abbott Doctrine'', *The World Today*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/content/2014/s4080846.htm>>.
- Hawker, Geoffrey. 'Australian Interests and Responsibilities in the African Resources Boom' in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013.
- Heffernan, Madeline. 'Media heavyweights condemn Egypt's jailing of Australian journalist Peter Greste', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/national/media-heavyweights-condemn-egypts-jailing-of-australian-journalist-peter-greste-20140624-zskjv.html>>.
- Henderson, Anna, and Chris Uhlmann. 'Syrian migrant crisis: Christians to get priority as Abbott faces pressure to take in more refugees', *ABC News*, September 8th 2015, accessed September 9th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-08/christians-to-get-priority-in-syrian-refugee-intake/6757110>>.
- Heydemann, Steven, and Reinoud Leenders. 'Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian Resilience: Regime responses to the 'Arab Awakening'', *Globalizations*, 8:5, (2011).

- Holland, Jack. 'Foreign policy and political possibility', *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(49), 2013.
- Howard, Jeff. 'Article 19: freedom of expression anchored in international law', *Free Speech Debate*, February 10th 2012, accessed November 4th 2014, <<http://freespeechdebate.com/en/discuss/article-19-freedom-of-expression-anchored-in-international-law/>>.
- Hugo, Graeme. 'Migration between Africa and Australia: a demographic perspective' (background paper for African Australians: A review of human rights and social inclusion issues, commissioned by the Australian Human Rights Commission, December 2009), accessed May 17th 2014, <<https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/african-australians-project-migration-between-africa-and-australia-demographic>>.
- Hurst, Daniel. 'Australia to seek seat on UN security council in 2029-30, Julie Bishop says', *The Guardian*, September 30th 2015, accessed September 30th 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/30/australia-to-seek-seat-on-un-security-council-in-2029-30-julie-bishop-says?CMP=soc_567> (2015a).
- Hurst, Daniel. 'Rosie Batty calls for funds as poll finds family violence feared above terrorism', *The Guardian*, July 6th 2015, accessed July 7th 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jul/06/rosie-batty-calls-for-funds-as-poll-finds-family-violence-feared-above-terrorism?CMP=soc_567> (2015b).
- Hurst, Daniel. 'Tony Abbott says extreme force needed to counter Isis 'death cult'', *The Guardian*, September 2nd 2014, accessed September 9th 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/02/tony-abbott-says-extreme-force-needed-to-counter-isis-death-cult>>.
- Hutchens, Gareth. 'Economists reject Abbott crisis claims', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 12th 2014, accessed August 3rd 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/business/the-economy/economists-reject-abbott-crisis-claims-20140711-3bsh9.html>>.
- Index Mundi. 'Australia – Travel Services', accessed October 10th 2012, <<http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/australia/travel-services>>.

Innes-Brown, Mark. Acting First Assistant Secretary for DFAT's Middle East and Africa Division, writing on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop - written letter to the author, 13th June 2014.

International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. 'Responsibility to Protect in the Middle East', accessed September 4th 2014, <<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/middle-east>>.

International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect. 'The Crisis in Libya', accessed March 10th 2017, <<http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/crisis-in-libya#violence>>.

International Food Policy Research Institute. '2020 Global Food Outlook: Trends, Alternatives, and Choices', Washington D.C., August 2011, accessed July 24th 2014, <<http://www.nzdl.org/gsd/mod?e=d-00000-00---off-0fnl2.2--00-0----0-10-0---0---0direct-10--4-----0-1l--11-en-50---20-about---00-0-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-10-OutfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1.1&d=HASH011a367bb7d712b6c176f035.fc>>.

International Food Policy Research Institute. 'Food Security and Economic Development in the Middle East and North Africa: Current State and Future Perspectives', IFPRI Discussion Paper 00985, May 2010, accessed July 23rd 2014, <<http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp00985.pdf>>.

Jabour, Bridie. 'Peter Greste jailed: parents in shock as Australia appeals for his release', *The Guardian*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/jun/24/australia-appeal-egyptian-envoy-peter-greste>>.

Jabour, Bridie, and Martin Pengelly. 'Australia spied on Indonesia talks with US law firm in 2013', *The Guardian*, February 16th 2014, accessed September 5th 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/16/australia-spied-indonesia-talks-us-firm>>.

Jakubowicz, Andrew. 'Australia's migration policies: African dimensions' (background paper for *African Australians: A review of human rights and social inclusion issues*, commissioned by the Australian Human Rights Commission, May 2010), accessed 17th May 2014, <<https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/african-australians-project-australia-s-migration-policies-african-dimensionsaustralia>>.

- Jensen, Erik. 'Kevin Rudd's unrelenting campaign to regain power', *The Monthly*, May 2013, accessed July 21st 2015, <<https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2013/may/1367364737/erik-jensen/kevin-rudd-s-unrelenting-campaign-regain-power>>.
- Johns, Gary. 'Prudent aid agenda is a foreign concept to Rudd', *The Australian*, September 30th 2010, accessed February 27th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/prudent-aid-agenda-is-a-foreign-concept-to-rudd/story-e6frg6zo-1225931987773>>.
- Johnson, Chris. 'Live export row dogs Gillard', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, May 5th 2013, accessed June 27th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/live-export-row-dogs-gillard-20130504-2izz1.html>>.
- Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Inquiry into Australia's Relationship with the Countries of Africa', June 23rd 2011, accessed 3rd July 2014, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_Representatives_committees?url=jfadt/africa%2009/report.htm>.
- Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Expanding Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa', Chapter 3, May 22nd 2006, accessed 5th February 2017, <http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint/Completed_Inquiries/jfadt/northafrica/chapter3>.
- Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. 'Expanding Australia's Trade and Investment Relations with North Africa', Government Response, May 31st 2007, accessed August 19th 2014, <http://www.aph.gov.au/parliamentary_business/committees/house_of_representatives_committees?url=jfadt/northafrica/govtresponse.pdf>.
- Jones, Gemma. 'Freed Aid Worker Alexandra Bean on Way Home from Libya', *The Australian*, October 1st 2012, accessed November 5th 2013, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/aussie-in-libya-free-to-fly-home/story-e6frg6n6-1226483006023>>.
- Jones, Huw. 'The continuing ethnic-origins dimension of Australian immigration policy', *Applied Geography*, 15:3 (1995).

- Kampmark, Binoy. 'Replacing Rudd: what to look for in a new Australian foreign minister', *The Conversation*, February 29th 2012, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/replacing-rudd-what-to-look-for-in-a-new-australian-foreign-minister-5621>>.
- Keating, Paul. 'John Curtin's world and ours', (speech given at the Curtin Prime Ministerial Library Anniversary Lecture, July 5th 2002), accessed September 12th 2014, <<http://john.curtin.edu.au/events/speeches/keating.html>>.
- Kelly, Gerard, and Gianni La Cava. 'Value-Added Trade and the Australian Economy', *Reserve Bank of Australia*, Bulletin, March Quarter (2013).
- Kelly, Joe. 'Kevin Rudd states Australia's case for place on UN Security Council', *The Australian*, June 1st 2011, accessed February 25th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/policy/kevin-rudd-states-australias-case-for-place-on-un-security-council/story-fn59nm2j-1226067316902>>.
- Kennedy, Les. 'Gaddafi sons' Sydney romps', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 27th 2011, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/national/gaddafi-sons-sydney-romps-20110226-1b97b.html>>.
- Kenny, Mark. 'MH17 crash: Russia furious at 'unacceptable' Tony Abbott comments', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 19th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/Federal-politics/political-news/mh17-crash-russia-furious-at-unacceptable-tony-abbott-comments-20140719-zuq68.html>>.
- Khatib, Hisham. 'Oil and natural gas prospects: Middle East and North Africa', *Energy Policy*, 64:C (2014).
- Kifle, Temesgen. 'The effect of immigration on the earnings of native-born workers: Evidence from Australia', *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 38 (2009).
- Kingsley, Patrick. 'Arab Spring prompts biggest migrant wave since second world war', *The Guardian*, January 4th 2015, accessed March 3rd 2017, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2015/jan/03/arab-spring-migrant-wave-instability-war>>.
- Knight, Ben. 'Australian-drafted UN policing resolution 'groundbreaking' for international missions', *ABC News*, November 21st 2014, accessed June 15th 2015,

<<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-11-21/australian-drafted-un-policing-resolution-27groundbreaking27-/5908336>>.

Koser, Khalid. 'Migration, Displacement and the Arab Spring: Lessons to Learn', Brookings, March 22nd 2012, accessed 13th June 2017, <<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/migration-displacement-and-the-arab-spring-lessons-to-learn/>>.

Lacher, Wolfram, and Dennis Kumetat. 'The security of energy infrastructure and supply in North Africa: Hydrocarbons and renewable energies in comparative perspective', *Energy Policy*, 39 (2011).

Lagi, Marco, Karla Z. Bertrand and Yaneer Bar-Yam. 'The Food Crises and Political Instability in North Africa and the Middle East', New England Complex Systems Institute, July 19th 2011, accessed February 13th 2015, <http://necsi.edu/research/social/food_crises.pdf>.

Lam, Sen. 'Anti-Lynas protest in Malaysia as mining licence renewal looms', *ABC Radio*, June 23rd 2014, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/radio/program/asia-pacific/antilynas-protest-in-malaysia-as-mining-licence-renewal-looms/1331426>>

Lane, Andrew, and Riccardo Reggio. 'Mining in Africa: How Inclusive Solutions Can Mitigate Risk', *Monitor Deloitte*, 2013, accessed May 5th 2014, <<http://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/us/Documents/strategy/us-consulting-mining-in-africa.pdf>>.

Langridge, Peter, Dana Cordell and Michael D'Occhio. 'Agriculture in Australia: growing more than our farming future', *The Conversation*, July 15th 2014, accessed November 20th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/agriculture-in-australia-growing-more-than-our-farming-future-22843>>.

Lawrence, Geoffrey, Carol Richards and Kristen Lyons. 'Food security in Australia in an era of neoliberalism, productivism and climate change', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 29 (2013).

Leahy-Madsen, Elizabeth, Beatrice Daumerie and Karen Hardee. 'The Effects of Age Structure on Development: Policy and Issue Brief', *Population Action International*, April 2nd 2010, accessed February 19th 2015, <http://populationaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/SOTC_PIB.pdf>.

- Le-Behary, Hend. 'Ministry of Agriculture: No official Australian statement regarding halting livestock trade', *Daily News Egypt*, May 7th 2013, accessed September 17th 2014, <<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/05/07/ministry-of-agriculture-no-official-australian-statement-regarding-halting-livestock-trade/>>.
- Lee, John. 'Why Rudd has overstayed his welcome in Asia', *The Spectator*, January 20th 2010, accessed September 6th 2014, <<http://www.spectator.co.uk/australia/5719538/why-rudd-has-outstayed-his-welcome-in-asia/>>.
- Leigh, Andrew. 'Iraq, Ashby and the Abbott Government's first year - Sky AM Agenda, 8 September', Andrew Leigh MP website, September 8th 2014, accessed September 11th 2014, <http://www.andrewleigh.com/iraq_ashby_and_the_abbott_government_s_first_year_sky_am_agenda_8_september>.
- Lewis, Jeff, and Belinda Lewis. 'The Australian assault on Indonesia's riches', *The Conversation*, August 16th 2012, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/the-australian-assault-on-indonesias-riches-8775>>.
- Liberal Party of Australia. 'The Coalition's Policy for Foreign Affairs', September 2013, accessed 15th September 2014, <<http://lpaweb-static.s3.amazonaws.com/Coalition%202013%20Election%20Policy%20%E2%80%93%20Foreign%20Affairs%20-%20final.pdf>>.
- Libyan Herald*. 'Qaddafi ICC Defence Lawyer held in Zintan with "Dangerous" Documents', June 9th 2012, accessed August 20th 2013, <<http://www.libyaherald.com/2012/06/09/qaddafi-icc-defence-lawyer-held-in-zintan-over-dangerous-documents/#axzz3b7u4FsjQ>>.
- Liddy, Matthew. '10 charts that reveal Australians' views on world affairs', *ABC News*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 11th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-04/10-charts-australia-foreign-affairs/5719578>>.
- Liu, Ted. 'China's economic engagement in the Middle East and North Africa', *FRIDE*, Policy Brief 173 (2014).
- Live Export Shame. 'Live animal export Australia's shame', accessed July 7th 2014, <<http://www.liveexportshame.com/articles/the-shame.php>> (2014a).

- Live Export Shame. 'What the government regulations really mean', accessed July 7th 2014, <<http://www.liveexportshame.com/articles/escas-what-the-govt-regulations-really-mean.php>>. (2014b).
- Lloyd, Peter. 'Freed Australian Al Jazeera journalist Peter Greste still in danger of Egyptian terror conviction', *ABC News*, May 22nd 2015, accessed June 10th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-05-22/peter-greste-still-in-danger-of-egypt-terror-conviction/6491212>>.
- Lochner, Stefan, and Caroline Dieckhöner. 'Civil unrest in North Africa – Risks for natural gas supply?', *Energy Policy*, 45 (2012).
- Locke, Sarina. 'How does Australia's live export welfare system compare?', *ABC Rural*, April 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-04-24/escas-projects/5409732>>. (2014a).
- Locke, Sarina. 'Sensitive negotiations over live export ban compo', *ABC Rural*, May 23rd 2014, accessed June 23rd 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-05-22/class-action-live-cattle/5470432>>. (2014b).
- Lumsden, Andrew, and Lizzie Knight. 'Investing in Africa via Australia: Why it makes sense', *Corrs Chambers Westgarth*, October 11th 2012, accessed February 26th 2015, <<http://www.corrs.com.au/thinking/insights/investing-in-africa-via-australia-why-it-makes-sense/>>.
- Lyons, Tanya. 'Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa' in James Cotton and John Ravenhil (eds) 'Middle Power Dreaming: Australia in World Affairs Series 2006-2010', Oxford University Press, December 2011.
- MacQueen, Benjamin. 'Australia and North Africa: The Missing Link?' in 'Australia and the Middle East: A Frontline Relationship', Fethi Mansouri (ed), Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2006.
- Magnay, Jacquelin. 'Peter Greste's long road to freedom', *The Australian*, February 3rd 2015, accessed February 23rd 2015, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/features/peter-grestes-long-road-to-freedom/story-e6frg6z6-1227205525586>>.
- Maher, Sid. 'Tony Abbott claims victory and says Australia is 'open for business'', *The Australian*, September 8th 2013, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/election-2013/abbott-claims-victory->

and-says-australia-is-open-for-business/story-fn9qr68y-1226714414009?nk=885229c2701ec9f2d41ab1d7ab365007>.

Maiden, Samantha. 'Australia opens door to get 4400 Iraqi and Syrian refugees out of hell', *The Daily Telegraph*, August 17th 2014, accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/australia-opens-door-to-get-4400-iraqi-and-syrian-refugees-out-of-hell/story-fni0cx12-1227026788140?nk=6faed7f5970170831d833dccc777c847>>.

Makinda, Samuel. 'Between Jakarta and Geneva: why Abbott needs to view Africa as a great opportunity', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 69:1 (2014).

Makinda, Samuel, and Marianne Turner. 'Contextualising Aid Effectiveness: Australia's Scholarship Program in Africa', *Australasian Review of African Studies*, 34:1 (2013).

Malaysia Airlines. Media Statement & Information on Flight MH17', July 19th 2014, accessed October 8th 2014, <<http://www.malaysiaairlines.com/my/en/site/mh17.html>>.

Mara, Darren. 'Greste vows to clear name as Egypt trial continues', *SBS News*, May 28th 2015, accessed June 10th 2015, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2015/05/28/greste-vows-clear-name-egypt-trial-continues>>.

Marr, David. 'Illegals' – Australia's latest smear on refugees', *The Guardian*, October 22nd 2012, accessed July 9th 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/oct/22/iillegals-refugees-immigration-australia>>.

Mason, Paul. 'Why It's Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions', Verso Books, United Kingdom, 2012.

Masetti, Oliver, Kevin Körner, Magdalena Forster and Jacob Friedman. 'Two years of Arab Spring: Where are we now? What next?', Deutsche Bank Research, January 25th 2013, accessed April 23rd 2013, <https://www.dbresearch.com/PROD/DBR_INTERNET_EN-PROD/PROD000000000300328.PDF;jsessionid=98F8E4C7ADBB4F45B8F38BA8C050A28D.srv-net-dbr-com>.

Massola, James. 'Poll shows huge support for stripping sole nationals of Australian citizenship', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 6th 2015, accessed July 23rd 2015, <<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/poll-shows-huge-support-for-stripping-sole-nationals-of-australian-citizenship-20150706-gi6416.html>>.

- McAllister, Ian. 'Foreign Policy ANUpoll' Australian National University, ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences, 16, 2014.
- McAloon, Catherine. 'Welfare group upset by changes to reporting of investigations into live export breaches', *ABC Rural*, February 24th 2015, accessed July 1st 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-02-24/welfare-group-upset-change-to-live-export-investigation-report/6249030>>.
- McDonald, Matt. 'Foreign and Defence Policy on Australia's Political Agenda, 1962-2012', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 72:2 (2013) (2013a).
- McDonald, Matt. 'Foreign policy internationalism and political possibility', *International Politics*, 50 (2013) (2013b).
- McDougall, Derek. 'Australian Foreign Policy: Entering The 21st Century', 1st ed., Pearson Education Australia, NSW, 2009.
- McGuirk, Rod. 'Australia Doubles Donation To Fight Ebola, Won't Send Personnel', *The Huffington Post*, October 2nd 2014, accessed October 7th 2014, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/10/02/australia-ebola-donation_n_5920284.html>.
- McMullan, Bob. 'Travel to Africa', International Development Assistance Charity Press Release, November 1st 2009, accessed January 15th 2015, <<http://community.newsarticles.net.au/Charity/Travel-To-Africa.htm>>.
- McNamee, Terence, Anthony Bergin and Lisa Sharland. 'It's time to reassess our relationship with Africa', *The Drum*, May 25th 2015, accessed July 24th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-05-25/mcnamee-bergin-our-african-relationship/6494820>>.
- McNeill, Sophie. 'Migrant crisis: Australia should immediately increase humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees in Middle East, UN says', *ABC News*, September 8th 2015, accessed September 21st 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-08/un-calls-on-australia-to-increase-assistance-to-syrian-refugees/6756996>>.
- Meat and Livestock Australia. 'Australian livestock export industry statistical review 2013', February 2013, accessed 1st July 2014, <<http://www.mla.com.au/Prices-and-markets/Market-news/MLA-Statistical-Review-2013-now-available>>.

- Meat and Livestock Australia. 'Australian livestock export industry statistical review FY2014-15', October 2015, accessed March 15th 2017, <<http://www.livecorp.com.au/LC/files/14/145db74f-5137-49b3-88c3-0c5b5d8c63d9.pdf>>.
- Meat and Livestock Australia. 'Cattle projections 2014 - live exports', accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.mla.com.au/Prices-and-markets/Trends-and-analysis/Beef/Forecasts/MLA-cattle-industry-projections-2014/21-Live-exports>> (2014a).
- Meat and Livestock Australia. 'Live exports', accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.mla.com.au/Prices-and-markets/Trends-and-analysis/Sheepmeat-and-lamb/Live-exports>> (2014b).
- Medhora, Shalailah. 'Julie Bishop seeks second term on UN security council for Australia', *The Guardian*, March 26th 2015, accessed May 15th 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/26/julie-bishop-seeks-second-term-on-un-security-council-for-australia?CMP=soc_567>.
- Meers, Daniel. 'Prime Minister Tony Abbott raises Australia's terror alert to 'High'', *The Daily Telegraph*, September 12th 2014, accessed September 12th 2014, <<http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/prime-minister-tony-abbott-raises-australias-terror-alert-to-high/story-fni0cx12-1227056606866?nk=9ef689932010025f4d3da8c3064c0cb4>>.
- Mercer, Phil. 'Australia's Military Aid to Ukraine Raises Questions at Home', *Voice of America*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.voanews.com/content/australia-to-give-military-assistance-to-ukraine/2438204.html>> (2014a).
- Mercer, Phil. 'Tony Abbott's foreign policy foray', *BBC News*, September 4th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-29057702>> (2014b).
- Mickler, David. 'Australia and Insecurity in Africa: New Interests and Influence' in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013.
- Micker, David, and Tanya Lyons. "Evaluating Australia's 'New Engagement' with Africa", in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013 (2013a).

Mickler, David, and Tanya Lyons, "Locating Australian Engagement with Africa", in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013 (2013b).

Miles, Hugh. 'Egypt crisis: Al-Jazeera journalists arrested in Cairo', *BBC News*, December 30th 2013, accessed February 10th 2015, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-25546389>>.

Millar, Lisa. 'UN Security Council: Australia's time at the top table comes to an end after two-year term', *ABC News*, January 1st 2015, accessed May 15th 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-01-01/australias-time-on-un-security-council-comes-to-an-end/5994380>>.

Miller, Nick. 'NATO summit: A medal for Julie Bishop and promises of more help for Ukraine', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, September 5th 2014, accessed September 6th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/world/nato-summit-a-medal-for-julie-bishop-and-promises-of-more-help-for-ukraine-20140905-10cq4o.html>>.

Milman, Oliver. 'Australia to adopt tougher sanctions against Russia over Ukraine', *The Guardian*, September 1st 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/01/australia-to-adopt-tougher-sanctions-against-russia-over-ukraine>>.

Mitrany, David. 'A Working Peace System', Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1943.

Multicultural Australia. 'White Australia Policy', November 26th 2004, accessed July 8th 2014, <<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/hotwords/unpack/White.Australia.Policy>>.

National Security Network. 'The Case for Renewed U.S. Engagement in Africa', June 26th 2013, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://nsnetwork.org/the-case-for-renewed-u-s-engagement-in-africa/>>.

Negin, Joel, and Glenn Denning. 'Study of Australia's Approach to Aid in Africa: Commissioned Study as part of the Independent Review of Aid Effectiveness', February 21st 2011, accessed March 9th 2014, <<http://www.aidreview.gov.au/publications/study-africa.pdf>>.

News Limited. 'Abbott urged to do more on Syria', September 8th 2015, accessed September 9th 2015, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/breaking-news/aust-looks-at-taking-more-syrian-refugees/story-e6frfku9-1227515582357>>.

News Limited. 'Australia's carbon tax has been axed as repeal bills clear the Senate', July 17th 2014, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/australias-carbon-tax-has-been-axed-as-repeal-bills-clear-the-senate/story-fncynjr2-1226991948152>> (2014a).

News Limited. 'Australia wins seat on UN Security Council', October 19th 2012, accessed September 2nd 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/australia-wins-seat-on-united-nations-security-council/story-fncynjr2-1226498925124>>.

News Limited. 'Cruelty sparks live export suspension from Australia to Egypt as footage emerges', May 4th 2013, accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/cruelty-sparks-live-export-suspension-from-australia-to-egypt-as-footage-emerges/story-fncynjr2-1226635129604>> (2013a).

News Limited. 'Date set for WA Senate election re-run', February 28th 2014, accessed August 28th 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/breaking-news/palmers-senate-candidates-to-be-revealed/story-e6frfku9-1226840550981>> (2014b).

News Limited. 'Hockey paints bleak budget picture', December 18th 2013, accessed June 1st 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/breaking-news/hockey-blames-labor-for-deficit/story-e6frfku9-1226784560971>> (2013b).

News Limited. 'Peter Greste marks 300 days behind bars and appeal date set', October 24th 2014, accessed October 24th 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/world/middle-east/peter-greste-marks-300-days-behind-bars-and-appeal-date-set/story-fnh81ifq-1227100544975>> (2014c).

News Limited. 'Tony Abbott says new migrants must be on 'Team Australia' as he steps up war on home-grown jihadists', August 18th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/national/tony-abbott-says-new-migrants-must-be-on-team-australia-as-he-steps-up-war-on-homegrown-jihadists/story-fncynjr2-1227027870342>> (2014d).

News Limited. 'Wrong sex, wrong class, wrong job: Why Australians should care about jailed journalist Peter Greste', June 25th 2014, accessed October 24th 2014, <<http://www.news.com.au/world/wrong-sex-wrong-class-wrong-job-why-australians-should-care-about-jailed-journalist-peter-greste/story-fndir2ev-1226965702547>> (2014e).

- Nicholson, Brendan. 'Libya advances to Pacific region', *The Australian*, January 1st 2014, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/in-depth/cabinet-papers/libya-advances-to-pacific-region/story-fnkuhyre-1226792627458>>.
- Nikitina, Yulia. 'The "Color Revolutions" and "Arab Spring" in Russian Official Discourse', *Connections: The Quarterly Journal*, XIV:1 (2014).
- Norington, Brad. 'Rudd delegation ready to visit Libya and renew ties', *The Australian*, September 22nd 2011, accessed August 18th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/foreign-affairs/rudd-delegation-ready-to-visit-libya-and-renew-ties/story-fn59nm2j-1226143021784>>.
- Norman, Jane. 'Tony Abbott urges Europe to adopt stronger border protection policies following migrant boat sinkings', *ABC News*, April 21st 2015, accessed June 3rd 2015, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-21/asylum-seekers-abbott-urges-europe-stronger-border-policies/6408552>>.
- Nye, Joseph. 'Twenty First Century Will Not be a 'Post American' World,' *International Studies Quarterly*, 56:1 (2012).
- O'Brien, Kerry. 'Rudd on the green offensive', *The 7:30 Report*, October 30th 2007, accessed September 2nd 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2007/s2076131.htm>>.
- O'Keeffe, Annmaree. 'Foreign aid advice for the new minister', *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, February 29th 2012, accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://www.loyyinterpreter.org/post/2012/02/29/Foreign-aid-advice-for-the-new-minister.aspx?COLLCC=1429383777&>>.
- O'Keefe, Michael. 'Making Sense of Australian Foreign Policy: 'Strategic Culture' as an Effective Teaching Tool?', *Ethos*, 18:10 (2010).
- Okumu, F. Wafula and Samuel M Makinda, 'Engaging with Contemporary Africa: Key Contexts for External Actors' in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons, 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Towards Africa', Melbourne University Publishing, Victoria, 2013.
- O'Malley, Nick. 'John Kerry and US need Egypt for regional stability despite Peter Greste's conviction', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 25th 2015, <<http://www.smh.com.au/world/john-kerry-and-us-need-egypt-for-regional-stability-despite-peter-grestes-conviction-20140624-zsk32.html>>.

- O'Regan, Sylvia. 'Morrison calls Labor senator a 'muppet' over Iraq comments', *SBS News*, August 28th 2014, accessed September 9th 2014, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2014/08/28/morrison-calls-labor-senator-muppet-over-iraq-comments>>.
- Owens, Jared, and David Crowe. 'Peter Greste verdict a 'slap in the face' parents Lois and Juris say', *The Australian*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/peter-greste-verdict-a-slap-in-the-face-parents-lois-and-juris-say/story-e6frg6nf-1226964603186>>.
- Özden, Çağlar, and Maurice Schiff. 'International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain', Palgrave Macmillan, Washington DC, 2006.
- Packham, Ben, and Sid Maher. 'Tony Abbott claims victory and says Australia is 'open for business'', *The Australian*, September 8th 2013, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/election-2013/abbott-claims-victory-and-says-australia-is-open-for-business/story-fn9qr68y-1226714414009>>.
- Parliament of Australia. 'Changes to Australia's overseas aid program under the Abbott and Turnbull governments 2013–2016: key policies and responses', September 22nd 2016, accessed 17th February 2017, <http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/AustralianAidProgram#_ftnref4>.
- Parke, Melissa. 'Speech to Australia-Africa Business Council', (speech delivered on behalf of Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd at the Australia-Africa Business Council, Queensland, February 24th 2011) accessed May 5th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/Pages/2011/kr_sp_110224b.aspx?ministerid=2>.
- Parnell, Sean. 'Benefits of UN seat planned well ahead', *The Australian*, October 24th 2012, accessed May 15th 2015, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/foi/benefits-of-un-seat-planned-well-ahead/story-fn8r0e18-1226501870758>>.
- Paterson, Chris. 'Reform or Re-colonisation? The Overhaul of African Television', *Review of African Political Economy*, 78 (1998).
- Peacock, Matt. 'Cattle cruelty footage suspends trade, sparks live export debate', 7:30, May 6th 2013, accessed June 27th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2013/s3753039.htm>>.

- Peacock, Matt. 'Rogue trader claims put live export industry at risk', 7:30, April 14th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2014/s3985413.htm>>.
- Perrin, Rebecca-Lea, and Kevin M. Dunn. 'Tracking the Settlement of North African Immigrants: speculations on the social and cultural impacts of a newly arrived immigrant group', *Australian Geographer*, 38:2 (2007).
- Phillips, Melissa. 'Migration and Australian Foreign Policy Towards Africa: The Place of Australia's African Transnational Communities' in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013.
- Phillips, Yasmine. 'Deputy leader of the opposition and federal member for Curtin Julie Bishop on Spill the Beans', *Perth Now*, August 31st 2013, accessed October 8th 2014, <<http://www.perthnow.com.au/news/western-australia/julie-bishop-spills-the-beans/story-fnhocxo3-1226708116909?nk=f4086fcf6295d5854eead08a4956fc2c>>.
- Pijovic, Nikola. 'Australian investment and trade with Africa: The opportunities and challenges of a one dimensional relationship' in David Mickler and Tanya Lyons (eds) 'New Engagement: Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy Toward Africa', Melbourne University Press, 2013.
- Pollard, Ruth. 'Australia Extends a Helping Hand to Libya', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 10th 2011, accessed May 7th 2015, <http://newsstore.fairfax.com.au/apps/viewDocument.ac;jsessionid=824691E7DF4563EA62FB1E3013101C7A?sy=afr&pb=all_ffx&dt=selectRange&dr=1month&so=relevance&sf=text&sf=headline&rc=10&rm=200&sp=brs&cls=18863&clsPage=1&docID=SMH111210A74IRNB2S8U>.
- Pollard, Ruth. 'Peter Greste case: international anger for Egypt's sentencing of Al Jazeera journalists', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/world/peter-greste-case-international-anger-for-egypts-sentencing-of-aljazeera-journalists-20140624-zsjj6.html>>.
- Reuters. 'Islamic State cells in nearly all Indonesian provinces: military chief', June 13th 2017, accessed July 4th 2017, <<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-islamicstate-idUSKBN1940M2>>.

- Rhiannon, Lee. 'Greens' bill to ban live exports', *The Australian Greens*, September 21st 2012, accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://lee-rhiannon.greensmps.org.au/banliveexportbill>>.
- Robb, Andrew. '2014-15 Foreign Affairs and Trade Portfolio Budget', Media Release, May 13th 2014, accessed June 3rd 2014, <http://trademinister.gov.au/releases/Pages/2014/ar_mr_140513.aspx?ministerid=3>.
- Robb, Andrew. 'Australia Unlimited' (speech given at Dubai UAE, April 13th 2013), accessed 29th April 2014, <http://trademinister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/ar_tr_140413.aspx>.
- Robertson, Jeffrey. 'Lessons in Political Change in North Africa', Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security Section, Parliamentary Library, Research Paper No. 15, 2010-2011, June 14th 2011, accessed January 21st 2014, <http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1011/11rp15>.
- Roggeveen, Sam. 'Reader riposte: Abbott's speech', *The Lowy Institute for International Policy*, April 27th 2010, accessed March 5th 2014, <<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/04/27/Reader-riposte-Abbotts-speech.aspx?COLLCC=2723567665&>>.
- Roskam, John. 'Rudd's Confusing Foreign Policy', *Institute of Public Affairs*, September 26th 2007, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://ipa.org.au/news/1445/rudd's-confusing-foreign-policy/category/6>>.
- Roy Morgan Research. '78% of Australians support UN Intervention in Libya but majority (55.5%) don't want Australian Involvement', March 25th 2011, accessed September 4th 2014, <<http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/finding-4651-201302180342>>.
- Rudd, Kevin. 'Australia and China in the World', (speech given as part of the George E Morrison Lecture, The Australian National University, Canberra, April 23rd 2010), accessed September 10th 2014, <<http://news.anu.edu.au/2010/04/24/prime-minister-kevin-rudd-delivers-the-70th-george-e-morrison-lecture-australia-and-china-in-the-world-23-april-2010/>> (2010a).
- Rudd, Kevin. 'Australia Serving Peace and Freedom in North Africa', Media Release, December 8th 2011, accessed August 25th 2012, <http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/releases/Pages/2011/kr_mr_111208a.aspx?ministerid=2> (2011a).

- Rudd, Kevin. 'Australia's foreign policy looking west' (speech given at the University of Western Australia, Perth, November 12th 2010), accessed February 24th 2015, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/Pages/2010/kr_sp_101112.aspx?ministerid=2> (2010b).
- Rudd, Kevin. 'Australia's Foreign Policy Priorities and Our Candidature for the UN Security Council', (speech given to the National Press Club, Canberra, June 1st 2011), accessed August 20th 2012, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/Pages/2011/kr_sp_110601.aspx?ministerid=2> (2011b).
- Rudd, Kevin. 'Keep the faith with the Arab Spring', *The Australian*, May 20th 2011, accessed October 23rd 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/opinion/keep-the-faith-with-the-arab-spring/story-e6frgd0x-1226059172816?nk=31e272cfd75ff230902285d55adab554>> (2011c).
- Rudd, Kevin. 'Joint press conference with Minister Rudd and Egyptian Foreign Minister Aboul Gheit', Cairo, December 11th 2010, accessed August 19th 2014, <http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2010/kr_tr_101211_joint_press_conference.aspx?ministerid=2> (2010c).
- Rudd, Kevin. 'Speech to mark the opening of Australia's Embassy in Addis Ababa', (speech given at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January 26th 2011), accessed September 6th 2012, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/Pages/2011/kr_sp_110126.aspx?ministerid=2> (2011d).
- SAFE. 'New Zealand dairy cows to be exported to China', January 2013, accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://safe.org.nz/Campaigns/Ban-Live-Sheep-Exports/>>.
- Sayed, Diana. 'What about Egypt? The forgotten revolution', *The Drum*, November 6th 2014, accessed November 6th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-11-06/sayed-egypt-the-forgotten-revolution/5870550>>.
- SBS News. 'Abbott says EU must 'stop the boats' as migrant crisis worsens', April 21st 2015, accessed June 3rd 2015, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2015/04/20/europes-migrant-crisis-worsens-eu-sets-out-measures>> (2015a).

- SBS News. 'African communities launch Australian Ebola campaign', September 13th 2014, accessed September 16th 2014, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2014/09/13/african-communities-launch-australian-ebola-campaign>>. (2014a).
- SBS News. 'Greste challenges Egyptian prosecutor to produce evidence', August 31st 2015, accessed September 10th 2015, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2015/08/29/greste-challenges-egyptian-prosecutor-produce-evidence>> (2015b).
- SBS News. 'Opposition calls for bigger Ebola response', October 1st 2014, accessed October 7th 2014, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2014/10/01/opposition-calls-bigger-ebola-response>> (2014b).
- SBS News. 'US vows to work with Australia on Greste', June 25th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2014/06/25/us-vows-work-australia-greste>> (2014c).
- SG Heilbron Economic & Policy Consulting. 'The Future of the Queensland Beef Industry and the Impact of Live Cattle Exports' (report prepared for Teys Bros, Swift Australia and Nippon Meat Packers Australia, 2010), accessed July 3rd 2014, <<https://www.rspca.org.au/sites/default/files/website/Campaigns/Live-export/Live-export-facts/Heilbron%202010%20-%20QLD%20beef%20industry%20%26%20impact%20of%20live%20cattle%20exports.pdf>>.
- Sheridan, Greg. 'Dictator's useful idiots happy to take his money', *The Australian*, February 24th 2011, accessed October 4th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/dictators-useful-idiots-happy-to-take-his-money/story-e6frg6zo-1226010964238>>.
- Sheridan, Greg. 'Region shielded from aid cutbacks', *The Australian*, January 18th 2014, accessed August 10th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/foreign-affairs/region-shielded-from-aid-cutbacks/story-fn59nm2j-1226804599126?nk=6faed7f5970170831d833dccc777c847>> (2014a).
- Sheridan, Greg. 'Tony Abbott shows leadership in grasping nettle of Islamic State terrorism', *The Australian*, August 30th 2014, accessed September 11th 2014, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/columnists/tony-abbott-shows-leadership-in-grasping-nettle-of-islamic-state-terrorism/story-e6frg76f-1227041854814>> (2014b).
- Sherwood, Harriet, and Helena Smith. 'Europe faces 'colossal humanitarian catastrophe' of refugees dying at sea', *The Guardian*, June 3rd 2014, accessed August 17th 2014,

<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/02/europe-refugee-crisis-un-africa-processing-centres>>.

Siegel, Matt. 'For Australian PM Abbott, crises lead to strident foreign policy', *Thomas Reuters UK Edition*, September 5th 2014, accessed September 8th 2014, <<http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/09/05/uk-australia-crisis-policy-idUKKBN0H00LW20140905>>.

Siewert, Rachel. 'Live Animal Export (Slaughter) Prohibition Bill 2011', *The Australian Greens*, June 14th 2011, accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://rachel-siewert.greensmps.org.au/content/speeches/live-animal-export-slaughter-prohibition-bill-2011>>.

Sky News. 'Bishop welcomes Peter Greste's release', February 2nd 2015, accessed February 10th 2015, <<http://www.skynews.com.au/news/top-stories/2015/02/02/bishop-welcomes-greste-s-release.html>>.

Sky News. 'Warning against sanctions on Egypt', June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.skynews.com.au/news/politics/national/2014/06/24/warning-against-sanctions-on-egypt.html>>.

Smiles, Sarah. 'UN bid to mend fences with Canberra', *The Age*, 17th March 2008, accessed 28th March 2015, <<http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/un-bid-to-mend-fences-with-canberra/2008/03/16/1205602195534.html>>.

Smith, Stephen. 'Doorstop Press Conference', (speech at the Africa Down Under Conference, Sheraton Hotel, Perth, September 3rd 2009), accessed October 3rd 2012, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/2009/090903_ds.html>.

Smith, Stephen. 'Presentation to the Executive Council of the African Union', (speech given at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 29th January 2012), accessed 20th March 2014, <http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2009/090129_african_union.html>.

South Sudanese Referendum Commission. 'Southern Sudan Referendum Final Results Report', February 7th 2011, accessed July 20th 2014, <http://southernsudan2011.com/sites/default/files/Final_Results_Report_20110206_1512.pdf>.

- Sparkes, David, and Lisa Herbert. 'From saleyard to port: the logistics of live export', *ABC Rural*, September 14th 2014, accessed September 26th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-09/behind-the-scenes-live-export-preparation/5721584>>.
- Stefanovic, Karl. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *Channel 9 Today Show*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624c.aspx?ministerid=4>.
- Stratfor: Global Intelligence. 'Complexities of Future Energy Investment in Libya', July 5th 2012, accessed February 15th 2015, <<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:nL1T2Bk1xLkJ:https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/complexities-future-energy-investment-libya+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=au>>.
- Stuart, Nicholas. 'Tony Abbott's gaffes show dangerous fissures opening in foreign policy', *The Canberra Times*, July 18th 2014, accessed August 26th 2014, <<http://www.canberratimes.com.au/comment/tony-abbotts-gaffes-show-dangerous-fissures-opening-in-foreign-policy-20140718-zuck4.html>>.
- Suarez, Ray. 'Morocco Avoids Arab Spring Violence, but Progress Is Mixed on Reforms', *The Rundown*, December 19th 2011, accessed November 10th 2012, <<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/morocco-avoids-arab-spring-violence-but-progress-is-mixed/>>.
- Sudan Tribune. 'AU expresses "deep concern" at Libya violence amid criticism on timid response', March 10th 2011, accessed April 4th 2017, <<http://www.sudantribune.com/AU-expresses-deep-concern-at-Libya,38249>> (2011a).
- Sudan Tribune. 'AU's opposition to military intervention in Libya ignored by UNSC, Obama', March 18th 2011, accessed April 4th 2017, <<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article38332>> (2011b).
- Sullivan, Siobhan. 'Live animal exports and Australian politics – more than a case of conscience', *The Conversation*, August 23rd 2011, accessed July 5th 2014, <<http://theconversation.com/live-animal-exports-and-australian-politics-more-than-a-case-of-conscience-2964>>.

- Tapp, Virginia. 'Russia bans kangaroo meat due to unacceptable levels of E.coli', *ABC Rural*, August 19th 2014, accessed October 8th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-08-18/kangaroo-meat-ban/5677656>>.
- Taylor, Adam. 'Why did a Chinese newspaper call Australia a nation of 'rascals and outlaws?', *The Washington Post*, July 14th 2014, accessed August 23rd 2014, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2014/07/14/why-did-a-chinese-newspaper-calls-australia-a-nation-of-rascals-and-outlaws/>>.
- Taylor, Lenore. 'G20: Australia makes token concession on climate change after US lobbying', *The Guardian*, November 2nd 2014, accessed May 8th 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/02/g20-australia-makes-token-concession-on-climate-change-after-us-lobbying>>.
- Taylor, Lenore. 'Poll shows Australians back rise in refugee intake, but criticise Abbott's handling of crisis', *The Guardian*, September 9th 2015, accessed September 9th 2015, <<http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/09/poll-shows-australians-back-rise-in-refugee-intake-but-criticise-abbotts-handling-of-crisis>>.
- Taylor, Rob. 'Australia, Indonesia Sign a Code of Conduct Over Intelligence', *The Wall Street Journal*, August 27th 2014, accessed September 1st 2014, <<http://online.wsj.com/articles/australia-indonesia-sign-a-code-of-conduct-over-intelligence-1409125163>> (2014a).
- Taylor, Rob. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *The Wall Street Journal*, July 7th 2014, accessed August 19th 2014, <<http://online.wsj.com/articles/q-a-with-australian-foreign-minister-julie-bishop-1404724549>> (2014b).
- Tamani, Salim. 'Why Algeria remains stable: past lessons and new challenges', *Aspenia*, April 19th 2016, accessed February 5th 2017.
- The Sydney Morning Herald*. 'Abbott 'embarrassing us' on the world stage: Labor', June 7th 2014, accessed October 7th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/abbott-embarrassing-us-on-the-world-stage-labor-20140607-39q15.html>> (2014a).
- The Sydney Morning Herald*. 'Abbott wants to be an 'infrastructure PM'', August 12th 2013, accessed July 4th 2014, <<http://news.smh.com.au/breaking-news-national/abbott-wants-to-be-an-infrastructure-pm-20130812-2rr02.html>>.

The Sydney Morning Herald. 'Julie Bishop says Australian response to Ebola dependent on safe evacuation plan', October 1st 2014, accessed March 3rd 2015, <<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/julie-bishop-says-australian-response-to-ebola-dependent-on-safe-evacuation-plan-20141001-10or6d.html>> (2014b).

Tomar, Ravi. 'Official Development Assistance: a commitment delayed', Parliament of Australia, Federal Parliamentary Library, Budget Review 2012-13,, May 11th 2012, accessed 15th September 2014, <http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/BudgetReview201213/ODA>.

Transparency International. 'Corruption Perceptions Index 2013', accessed June 1st 2014, <<http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/>>.

Tunisia Live. 'Tunisian and Australia sign agreements to boost economic and political relations', July 9th 2011, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www.tunisia-live.net/2011/07/09/tunisian-and-australia-sign-agreements-to-boost-economic-and-political-relations/>>.

Uhlmann, Chris. 'Interview with Julie Bishop', *ABC AM Program*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <http://foreignminister.gov.au/transcripts/Pages/2014/jb_tr_140624a.aspx?ministerid=4>.

United Nations. 'The Responsibility to Protect', Office of the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, accessed October 6th 2014, <<http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/responsibility.shtml>>.

United Nations. 'Charter of the United Nations Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression', accessed April 6th 2017, <<http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-vii/index.html>> (2017a).

United Nations. 'Charter of the United Nations Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements', accessed April 6th 2017, <<http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-viii/>> (2017b).

United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. 'Group of Friends', accessed September 4th 2014, <<http://www.unaoc.org/who-we-are/group-of-friends/>>.

United Nations Association of Australia. 'Australia and the UNSC: Peacekeeping', accessed September 15th 2014, <<http://australia-uns.org.au/australia-and-the-uns/peacekeeping/>>.

United Nations Association of Australia. 'Security Council Campaign: Australia's Bid', 2012, accessed February 5th 2015, <<http://www.unaa.org.au/security-council-campaign.html>> (2012a).

United Nations Association of Australia. 'Australia: Candidate for the United Nations Security Council 2013-14', June 2012, accessed February 21st 2014, <http://australia-unsc.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/unsc_candidature_brochure.pdf> (2012b).

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 'The private sector to the rescue of regional integration in North Africa', March 24th 2014, accessed May 5th 2014, <<http://www.uneca.org/stories/private-sector-rescue-regional-integration-north-africa>>.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. '2014 UNHCR country operations profile - Middle East and North Africa (MENA)', accessed February 3rd 2014, <<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a02db416.html>> (2014a).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 'All in the same boat: The challenges of mixed migration', accessed 18th August 2014, <<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a1d406060.html>> (2014b).

United Nations News Centre. 'Ban calls on Security Council to consider immediate steps to stop killings in Libya', February 25th 2011, accessed October 6th 2014, <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37628#.VDI8xfSnp0w>>.

United Nations News Centre. 'Security Council adopts first-ever resolution on 'invaluable role' of UN police operations', November 20th 2014, accessed June 17th 2015, <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=49399#.VYDJvPk0VcY>>.

United States Department of Agriculture. 'International Food Security Assessment, 2012-22', Economic Research Service, July 2012, accessed March 4th 2015, <<http://www.ers.usda.gov/media/849266/gfa23.pdf>>.

The University of Southern California. 'Organising your social sciences research paper: Types of research designs', updated July 3rd 2017, accessed July 4th 2017, <<http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/researchdesigns>>.

The University of Sydney Chinese Studies Centre. 'Demystifying Chinese Investment in Australia', March 2014, accessed June 1st 2014, <<http://www.demystifyingchina.com.au/reports/demystifying-chinese-investment-2014.pdf>>.

Vaile, Mark. 'Building Stronger Links with Libya', Media Release, July 5th 2002, accessed April 29th 2014, <http://trademinister.gov.au/releases/2002/mvt067_02.html> (2002a).

Vaile, Mark. 'Council for Australian-Arab Relations', Media Release, December 30th 2002, accessed April 29th 2014, <http://trademinister.gov.au/releases/2002/joint_arabCouncil.html> (2002b).

Vidot, Anna. 'Australia to resume live exports to Egypt', *ABC Rural*, March 20th 2014, accessed June 26th 2014, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-03-20/egypt-livex-restart/5333364>>.

Voltaire Network. 'Decision of the PSC of African Union on Libya', March 10th 2011, accessed April 4th 2017, <<http://www.voltairenet.org/article168888.html>>.

Wagstaff, James. 'Foreign investment in agriculture is good, Agcap Pty Ltd boss John McKillop says', *The Weekly Times*, May 15th 2014, accessed June 2nd 2014, <<http://www.weeklytimesnow.com.au/news/national/foreign-investment-in-agriculture-is-good-agcap-pty-ltd-boss-john-mckillop-says/story-fnkfnspy-1226917665098>>.

Wellard Rural Trading. 'Rural Trading Overview', accessed July 4th 2014, <<http://www.wellard.com.au/home/rural-trading/overview.html>> (2014a).

Wellard Rural Trading. 'Live Export Important Role', accessed June 27th 2014, <<http://www.wellard.com.au/home/rural-trading/live-export-important-role.html>> (2014b).

Wells, Roslyn. 'Comment: We need to talk about live export, Australia', *SBS News*, November 15th 2013, accessed September 23rd 2014, <<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2013/11/14/comment-we-need-talk-about-live-export-australia>>.

White, Hugh. 'Tony Abbott's 'swings and roundabouts' foreign policy', *The Age*, August 19th 2014, accessed August 29th 2014, <<http://www.theage.com.au/comment/tony-abbotts-swings-and-roundabouts-foreign-policy-20140818-1059nf.html>>.

Wilesmith, Greg. 'Peter Greste case: Lawyer says it was 'silly' for Al Jazeera to launch \$150m lawsuit against Egypt after journalists detained', *7News*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 25th 2014, <<https://au.news.yahoo.com/a/24310739/peter-greste-case-lawyer-says-it-was-silly-for-Al-Jazeera-to-launch-150m-lawsuit-against-egypt-after-journalists-detained/>>.

Wilkins, Thomas. 'Middle Power Diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific Region', *The National Bureau of Asian Research*, July 12th 2011, accessed January 3rd 2014, <<http://www.nbr.org/research/activity.aspx?id=186>>.

Wilson, Lauren. 'Bob Carr "offended" on behalf of DFAT officials by Libya aid worker's complaints', *The Australian*, October 7th 2012, accessed November 5th 2013, <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/foreign-affairs/bob-carr-offended-on-behalf-of-dfat-officials-by-libya-aid-workers-complaints/story-fn59nm2j-1226490015546>>.

Woodward, Richard. Mehdi Safavi and Piotr Kozarzewski. 'Background Report on Private Sector Development in Latin America, the Post-Communist Countries of Europe and Asia, the Middle East and North Africa', *Social Science Research Network, CASE Network Studies and Analyses No. 434*, January 2012, <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2006329>.

The World Bank. 'Algeria – Country partnership strategy for the period of FY20011-20014: Chairman's summing up', February 10th 2011, accessed June 2nd 2014, <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2011/02/13771830/algeria-country-partnership-strategy-period-fy20011-20014-chairmans-summing-up>>.

The World Bank. 'Algeria Overview', March 12th 2014, accessed June 2nd 2014, <<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/algeria/overview>> (2014a).

The World Bank. 'Arab Republic of Egypt: Workforce Development', Saber Country Report March 2014, accessed June 2nd 2014, <http://wbgfiles.worldbank.org/documents/hdn/ed/saber/supporting_doc/CountryReports/WFD/SABER_WfD_Egypt_CR_Final_2014.pdf> (2014b).

The World Bank. 'Country at a Glance; Chad', accessed September 4th 2014, <<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/chad>> (2014c).

The World Bank. 'Country Partnership Strategy for the Kingdom of Morocco for the Period FY 2014-2107', April 1st 2014, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/04/19368831/morocco-country-partnership-strategy-period-fy2014-2017>> (2014d).

The World Bank. 'Country Partnership Strategy for The Republic of Tunisia for the Period FY10-13', November 23rd 2009, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://www->

wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/11/26/000334955_20091126012141/Rendered/PDF/502230CAS0P106101Official0Use0Only1.pdf>.

The World Bank. 'Economy Rankings', accessed February 10th 2015, <<http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings>>.

The World Bank. 'Egypt Overview', March 17th 2014, accessed July 2nd 2014, <<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/egypt/overview>> (2014e).

The World Bank. 'Interim Strategy Note for the Arab Republic of Egypt', Report No. 66443-EG, May 31st 2013, accessed July 2nd 2014, <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2012/05/16341961/egypt-arab-republic-interim-strategy-note>>.

The World Bank. 'Libya Overview', March 20th 2014, accessed July 2nd 2014, <<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/libya/overview>> (2014f).

The World Bank. 'Morocco: Country partnership strategy: chair summary', April 29th 2014, accessed June 3rd 2014, <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2014/04/19456530/morocco-country-partnership-strategy-chair-summary>> (2014g).

World Society for the Protection of Animals. 'Australian live sheep exports: economic analysis of Australian live sheep and sheep meat trade' (report prepared for the World Society for the Protection of Animals, 2009), accessed July 6th 2014, <<http://liveexport.worldanimalprotection.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/WSPA-ACIL-Tasman-Report-Summary.pdf>>.

Wright, Brian, and Carlo Cafiero. 'Grain reserves and food security in the Middle East and North Africa', *Food Security*, 3:1 (2011).

Wroe, David. 'Peter Greste case: Julie Bishop will press Egyptian government, but stopped short of condoning sanctions', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/peter-greste-case-julie-bishop-will-press-egyptian-government-but-stopped-short-of-condoning-sanctions-20140624-3aphn.html>>.

Wroe, David, and James Massola. 'Tony Abbott admits Federal police face 'difficulty' on mission to MH17 crash site', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, July 25th 2014, accessed August 25th 2014,

<<http://www.smh.com.au/Federal-politics/political-news/tony-abbott-admits-Federal-police-face-difficulty-on-mission-to-mh17-crash-site-20140724-3cig7.html>>.

Yahoo7 News. 'Abbott 'bewildered' by Greste decision', June 24th 2014, accessed June 24th 2014, <<https://au.news.yahoo.com/qld/a/24303418/bishop-calling-egypt-minister-over-peter-greste/>>.