



The University of Melbourne  
School of Social and Political Sciences

*Symposium Report*  
*Australia and the European Union:*  
*Towards New Paradigms*

THURSDAY 26 JULY 2018

8.45AM – 5.15PM

WOODWARD CONFERENCE CENTRE,  
LEVEL 10, MELBOURNE LAW BUILDING  
185 PELHAM STREET, CARLTON, MELBOURNE





## PROJECT OVERVIEW

The aim of the project entitled 'Australia's Relationship with the European Union: From Tensions to New Paradigms' has been to assess how relations between Australia and the EU might continue to develop and flourish. It examines the dialogue and negotiation of key agreements and policy cooperation (e.g. multilateral and regional cooperation, security, trade, refugee flows) especially within the Asia-Pacific. It assesses the implications of the Framework Agreement (FA) and the negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA). This project will present new paradigms for advancing the relationship including collaboration on issue-based leadership within multilateral and plurilateral forums. The steps towards a more comprehensive relationship have been significant. The distance that has been traversed from misunderstanding to the current engagement suggests that steady engagement, socialisation, political will and an incrementalist approach can all bear fruit.

## INTRODUCTION

An international Symposium on *Australia and the European Union: Towards New Paradigms* was held in Melbourne on 26 July 2018. Led by Professor Philomena Murray (Jean Monnet Chair *ad personam*) and Dr. Margherita Matera, the Symposium brought together EU and Australian policy-makers, scholars and analysts to discuss the relationship and future cooperation between the EU and Australia. The Symposium came at a pivotal time for EU-Australia relations. The relationship is now at a phase where it is being portrayed as deep, broad and mature on both sides. At the time of signing the Framework Agreement, the then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Julie Bishop, described the relationship between the EU and Australia as one of 'natural partners' that 'share common values and cultural heritage and are committed to free and open markets.' During the 2018 EU-Australia Leadership Forum in Brussels, the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini declared that 'Europe and Australia are closer than ever in terms of direct cooperation, regional and global issues'

and that the EU was committed to 'investing in a new generation of Australian and European leaders and in a renewed friendship.' The Symposium was held in order to assess and develop a comprehensive understanding of how the relationship between Australia and the EU might progress in the context of the comprehensive Framework Agreement; the commencement of negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement; and cooperation across a range of policies and in the region. The Symposium also discussed the implications of Brexit for Australia and for EU-Australia and Australia-UK relations. There was a lively and engaged discussion on all of these topics.

## SESSION 1: ASSESSING THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT: TOWARD A STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT?

The first session discussed the implications of the Framework Agreement, which was signed in 2017, for EU-Australia relations. The speakers emphasised that the Framework Agreement was a crucial step in strengthening the relationship between the EU and Australia. It also signified the formalisation of key areas of common interest. The underlying theme throughout the session was the opportunity to contextualise the current Framework Agreement and the prospects for strategic engagement with reference to past engagements and a history of tense relations.

During this session EU-Australia engagement was described as an orderly and systematic alignment of objectives. At a policy level, the Framework Agreement formalised an already mature engagement between the EU and Australia. Although area-specific agreements had already been in place, the Framework Agreement represents the first legally-binding agreement between the two partners. Australia's commitment to a strategic partnership with the EU was contextualised with reference to the Foreign Policy White Paper (2017) and the Australian government's strategy to work with like-minded partners to protect interests and the rules-based international order. Australia and the EU are

natural partners with shared values, democracy, rule of law, free and open markets and a commitment to a rules-based global trading system. Although the European Parliament had already ratified the Framework Agreement in April 2018, it was expected that the Australian Joint Standing Committee on Treaties Report would pave the way for the ratification of the Framework Agreement on the Australian side. The Framework Agreement will formalise the number of existing bilateral structures and elevate and strengthen the relationship between the two partners.

The Framework Agreement provides added value to the existing structure of engagement between the EU and Australia. Cooperation between the EU and Australia has been strengthened through the Framework Agreement, creating an additional platform for engagement on top of bilateral cooperation up to that point. Although Australia and the EU already stand firm on certain issues, the clarity in Australia's position makes it a reliable partner for the EU in negotiations. The relationship has moved beyond a relationship that was tense even in the 1990s. New areas of engagement have developed including consular dialogue. A key strategy for future engagement is to take stock of the current relationship and to find where improvement is possible. Moreover, it is important to recognise areas where cooperation is not currently feasible.

The session discussed the future direction of strategic engagement between the EU and Australia. The current Framework Agreement was a second attempt. The first failed under the Howard government largely because of contention over the human rights clause. In contrast to the early EU-Australia relationship and tensions regarding EU agricultural subsidies, the Framework Agreement is now a key priority of the Australian foreign policy strategy. The Framework Agreement has paved the way for FTA negotiations and contributed to a relationship between the two partners that is comparable to that of other G20 countries. There is now a greater consistency across the Australian government in their commitment to the relationship and growing areas of commonality that had not been evident twenty years ago.

## **SESSION 2: TOWARDS AN FTA: PRIORITIES AND IMPLICATIONS WITHIN A GLOBAL CONTEXT**

The second session discussed the opportunities and challenges of a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the Australia and the EU. The speakers discussed the prospects of a fruitful FTA in the context of the changing global order. Important themes were raised throughout the session, including the implications and challenges of President Trump's isolationist security and trade strategy, the need for the EU and Australia to work together to strengthen a rules-based order, and the opportunities that an FTA could offer for both the EU and Australia.

This session commenced by situating the EU-Australia FTA agreement within broader global issues in trade. The current negotiations were occurring in an extraordinary yet fragile period in the global economy. The unresolved political and economic issues stemming from the Global Financial Crisis, the election of Donald Trump, Brexit and the rise of populist parties have engendered a number of challenge. Regionally, the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) 11 can be regarded a major regional achievement that binds strategic economies in the region. Bilaterally, the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between the EU and Canada (CETA) and the EU-Japan FTA are important for Australia because they constitute a potential template for similar cooperation with the EU. There is potential for the EU-Australia FTA to be fast tracked with a mandate to be adopted by the end of 2019. An EU-Australia FTA would be valuable for Australia to strengthen its existing economic ties. Currently the EU is Australia's largest partner in services and the EU is Australia's largest foreign investor. The past determinants of the relationship, such as agriculture, remain important and there is an ambition on the part of agricultural exporters to seek greater market access as part of the negotiations. Moreover, concerns regarding standards, labelling safety, consumer health and transparency, particularly in the resource sector, remain a feature of the discussions. Although there is significant political and economic instability and

volatility globally, an immense amount of trust has developed between the EU and Australia, with a commitment to build a framework that locks in more dialogue with each other, to allow for a prosperous and stable engagement for when trade differences emerge.

It was proposed that the EU-Australia FTA was essential to counterbalance the trade strategy adopted by President Trump. President Trump's foreign and domestic economic policy was described as isolationist. The subsidies directed to US farmers would create new distortions in the global economy. There were questions as to which strategies could be adopted by trading partners in response to the changing priorities of the US. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) was identified as a possible channel to counter the protectionism of the US. Trading partners are already bringing cases to the WTO and critiquing the President's national security justification. The acceleration of the FTA between the EU and Japan was, in part, a key strategic response to President Trump's policy. The timing of the EU-Australia FTA was a crucial counter-balancing strategy to the US. The EU and Australia need to strengthen their cooperation on the global trade stage. Together both parties need to construct and protect existing rules to govern trade. In particular, services and investment were identified as key areas of engagement.

The session assessed the opportunities of an FTA and Australia's priorities in the negotiations. The elimination of tariffs on industrial products would be beneficial for Australia. In addition, agriculture remained a priority for the government in the negotiations, as it was currently constrained by market structures. Services were identified as an essential component of the Australian economy, including improved access to education services, and professional services, legal, engineering and accounting as well as financial services. This cooperation would be further underpinned by a strengthened investment relationship. Furthermore, the area of automobiles would become a major priority, particularly once the TPP 11 comes into force, as the EU will be the only auto producer without preferential access to the automobile market in Australia. The EU will also be seeking an expansion of access for food products,

spirits and wine. If Australia were not to conclude an FTA, it will lose competitive advantage, as increasingly competitors are concluding bilateral agreements with the EU. The alignment of regulatory standards was also seen as an important area of cooperation that could save business both money and red tape. Some areas could be easier such as cosmetics and mutual recognition agreements. Areas such as e-commerce on the other hand may raise challenges regarding data locations. However, the EU and Australia are aligned in wishing to create a secure environment for online commerce and a more transparent user-friendly environment for small and medium sized enterprises. The EU-Australia FTA could become a benchmark on standards for e-commerce for other agreements. The EU and Australia share a commitment to the rule of law and are in agreement in several areas of trade.

The session also discussed the current geopolitical environment as a historical moment with tectonic shifts in trade and security. It is crucial for the EU to be aware of these opportunities and build on existing and future FTAs. At a time when the liberal order is being challenged by China, Russia and President Trump, it is essential for the EU to strengthen agreements with likeminded partners. The session discussed the larger geopolitical picture and the potential future scenarios for the global economic order. Unilateralism, comparative regionalism and rules based global governance were raised as potential structures. In terms of an EU-Australia FTA, Brexit has acted as an important catalyst for cooperation. Moreover, the FTA with Australia is a means for the EU to demonstrate that the global order is not necessarily bipolar, with the west and US leadership counter balancing China.

The discussion concluded with comments that the EU-Japan FTA and CETA were precursors to the current EU-Australia negotiations. Investment was an important element of the trade discourse. There was some questioning of the role of the WTO and its capacity to respond to the actions of China, Russia and the US, particularly the 'weaponizing of trade'.

## **SESSION 3: AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EU AND THE UK IN THE CONTEXT OF BREXIT**

The third session discussed the implications of Brexit for Australia-UK relations and EU-Australia relations. The themes addressed in this session were the importance of trade and investment as a key area of interest between the UK and Australia, the current state of Brexit negotiations, the priorities of the UK government, and the critical situation regarding the border of Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland. Again, the need for cooperation among like-minded partners to support the rules-based order was emphasised during this session.

This session examined Australia's priorities for relations with the UK and the EU in the post-Brexit context. Australia's choices can be regarded as centred on two strategies: the need to avoid nostalgia and adopt a pragmatic approach; and the need to avoid zero-sum dynamics in Australia's engagement with the UK and the EU. The concern that Brexit could undermine the EU-Australia relationship has not come to fruition and in reality, Brexit has added momentum to that relationship. In its relationship with the UK, Australia may find it challenging to convince the UK that it is a competitive partner. However, Australia is on the UK radar and although Australia is not the largest partner, the UK may prioritise bilateral agreements that are easier to conclude, and Australia falls under this category. Moreover, the strengthened partnership between the EU and Australia may prompt the UK to fast track an agreement with Australia. With Australia's focus on the Asia-Pacific/Indo-Pacific region, the UK may also need to persuade Australia that negotiating an agreement is worthwhile and a key priority. Substantively, the EU-Australia and the UK-Australia relationships are both focused on three areas of commonality: support for a rules-based order, cooperation in the Asia-Pacific; and a like-minded approach to values and interests. The political, security and economic realities have changed since the rules-based order commenced. There is now a need to critically reflect upon the rules-based order. This is necessary to

develop a nuanced and updated approach that is not grounded in an unquestioning nostalgia.

There was discussion of the state of UK-EU Brexit negotiations. It was noted that the UK was not leaving Europe and that EU nation states would remain a top priority for UK engagement, especially because of shared economic interests. There is potential for a UK-EU FTA for goods and agrigoods and the establishment of a rule book for goods that would enable frictionless movement, particularly across the border of Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland. The UK government remains committed to deliver on its commitment in relation to the Good Friday Agreement. The UK government has proposed that it continue to participate in EU agencies that deal with regulations, as British manufacturers and producers will want to comply with EU regulations to receive market access. The UK already has a considerable level of compliance as a result of its participation in the Single Market. In discussions regarding the future relationship between the UK and Australia, it was noted that the UK-Australia Security dialogue and the EU-Australia Leadership Forum have constituted important points of engagement for business and civil society leaders, and the development of economic and cultural ties. Although Australia has focused more on the Indo-Pacific and the role of China, and the UK has focused on Russia, together they could support, maintain and adapt the rules-based order. Part of this discussion has focused on the economy and an FTA. The UK has already launched consultations in this regard with the US, New Zealand and the TPP 11. An FTA with Australia would enable the UK to gain access to the Asia market with scope in trading goods, services and technologies. A UK-Australia relationship would go further than what is expected of the TPP 11. It was suggested that governments on both sides should continue to build on civil society, business networks, and university collaboration, to further strengthen a positive engagement.

The session discussed Ireland's position in the Brexit negotiations and its priorities for an EU-Australia FTA. Ireland has been closely engaged with EU negotiations led by Michel Barnier and its approach has been guided by key principles. The first has been to minimise the impact of Brexit on

its trade and the economy. Second, Ireland has been strongly focused on protecting the Good Friday Agreement and the peace process and to avoid a hard border. The Irish government wishes to maintain a common travel area between Britain and Ireland. The priority is to play a crucial role in the future relationship. It is vital to the economy and it is in Ireland's interest that the Single Market be protected. Ireland is supportive of a new relationship between the UK and the EU and it welcomes the UK government's 2018 White Paper. It was noted that a particular concern of the Irish government has been the draft protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland, and the maintenance of the backstop as agreed to in the Withdrawal Agreement. It was suggested that the Australian government could turn its attention to Ireland as a potential gateway to the EU. Although Australia has traditionally primarily looked to the UK for access to the EU, with Brexit, Ireland could fill this gap.

## SESSION 4: REGIONAL ENGAGEMENT

This session dealt with the analysis of regional cooperation between the EU, Australia, ASEAN and other multilateral institutions in the Asia Pacific. Participants focused on questions regarding security engagement; refugee issues; the declining role of the US; and the possibility for a co-regional approach between the EU, Australia and ASEAN. Participants also discussed the role of the EU in the region beyond trade, and strategies that were needed to build trust among actors in the region, including with Australia.

The session examined the changing geopolitical situation in the Asian region. Several changes have taken place. First, great power rivalry is an unusual development in the Asian region that has been traditionally organised around US primacy. Second, there is now greater contestation in the region, for example, regarding the islands in the South China Sea. Third, there has been an increase in multilateralism in trade and security cooperation and that economic globalisation has played a key role in this regard. Dealing with new security challenges has also emerged as a key concern among Southeast Asian states and the decline in US

dominance has meant that Asian countries need to band together to balance China. The growth of multilateralism in the Asian region has been beneficial for Australia. It was argued that this has allowed Australia to become more involved without seeming 'too preachy.' Moreover, from the Australian perspective multilateralism has become an important instrument for constraining great powers in region. It has been used by Australia to protect the status quo, namely the continued hegemony of the US and a rules-based order, instead of Chinese dominance. The EU can play a constructive role in the region in multilateral institutions. The EU brings scale to multilateralism, providing payoffs and incentives that Australia and ASEAN cannot provide on their own. The subtext of values in the rules-based global order is problematic, and scholars and policy makers need to focus more on common interests.

The session examined the opportunities that the EU-Australia relationship could provide in enhancing the EU's influence in the region. It assessed the drivers in the EU-Australia relationship, before moving on to discussing the obstacles to engagement between Australia, the EU and ASEAN. The EU is seeking to increase its influence in Asia and has become an important interlocuter to Asian multilateralism. The EU, ASEAN and Australia share common concerns in the region, and the development of a co-regional relationship in the region may be beneficial for all partners. The EU seeks to have an active presence in the region, but the focus has been mainly trade, aid and non-traditional security (such as health and the environment). ASEAN has tended to underplay the role of the EU in the region. The main obstacle to EU-ASEAN engagement has been the difficulty in establishing trust. There are important differences regarding regionalism that need to be overcome, and an improved narrative is needed on both sides. The EU, ASEAN and Australia cannot resolve the great power rivalries of the region. Although the EU and Australia favour multilateral forums, ASEAN has not been a joiner of external networks. Several strategies that the EU, Australia and ASEAN could pursue to enhance their engagement in the region were advanced. This includes enhancing trade links; promoting soft power and middle power; working with and complementing US leadership in the

region; enhancing regional consensus on leadership, membership and mandate; and developing a democracy-support compact. The EU, ASEAN and Australia needed to know when to act, and the EU, for example, may need to be selective in joining multilateral institutions such as the East Asia Summit. An important approach to cooperation would be to develop a system of joint reliance when dealing collectively with global volatilities. To do so, a new narrative may be needed, one that could be created through a transactionalist approach to cooperation.

Discussion also focused on the opportunities and challenges to developing a regional approach to refugees in the Asian region. The region is characterised by a large number of refugees from Afghanistan and Myanmar. Yet, there has been a refugee policy vacuum, with many countries in the region not having formal refugee protection structures. It was proposed that the responses of ASEAN and the Bali Process to the Rohingya crisis have not been effective. This has led to a lot of 'soul searching' on refugee policy in Southeast Asia, as existing forums and institutions have been put under review. There is now a focus on resolving root causes of refugee migration, which were not discussed before the crisis. It was argued that ASEAN's principle of non-interference has made discussion of refugee policy difficult. As a result, there has been a proliferation of bilateral and trilateral discussions outside of the ASEAN framework. However there has been an increase in the humanitarian search and rescue mandate of ASEAN. The role of self-reliance has influenced ASEAN's approach, as US influence has decreased, and Australia no longer fully supports the Bali Process. Many Asian states support the UN Global Compact on Migration, despite some previously denying the importance of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. This is surprising as Australia has expressed it will not be adopting the Global Compact. There was emphasis on displacement as a failure of governance that is avoidable. The solution is to either use organisations like ASEAN or side-step it altogether and provide protection through a different organisation or institutional structure.

The session also discussed the development of institutional capacity in the Asia Pacific region to tackle security challenges. There were critiques of the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) as a suitable security forum, because of its failure to remain neutral with regard to great power rivalry in the region. It also has a reputation in underperforming and underachieving and has failed to realise its potential to be a preventive diplomacy actor. It was further contended that the forum has become unwieldy and has an interpretation of consensus, which seems to be based on unanimity. The ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+) on the other hand has outstripped the ARF in security cooperation. The ADMM+ was described as a form of practical regionalism. It has an apparent readiness to bypass or shelve dilemmas that have hampered the ARF. It has more flexibility in multilateral cooperation mechanisms. However, more work needs to be done to develop greater capacity. There is a reputation cost for a lack of action and the prospect for participation fatigue. Moreover, it has used Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief for deterrence purposes, sending unintended signals. Ultimately, it was argued that regional aspiration for ambitious regionalism had to be balanced by national priorities.

The discussion concluded by focusing on the need for new and innovative solutions in the region. Questions were raised regarding the meaning of multilateralism in the context of declining US power in the region. It was questioned whether the Australia, the EU and ASEAN has similar definitions of resilience. There was some critique of the reactive approach of ASEAN and member states to the refugee crisis and questioned whether there should be greater regional action to anticipate crises. It was noted that the EU and Australia are not part of the same regional bodies. The idea of ASEAN minus X moving beyond its economic focus to include security cooperation was raised.

## CONCLUSION

This Symposium provided an important forum for discussions regarding a series of opportunities and challenges in EU-Australia engagement, focusing in particular on the Framework Agreement; the Free Trade Agreement, Brexit and regional cooperation.

The Symposium brought the participants up to date on current achievements in the relationship, as well as identifying potential challenges for the future. The next Symposium will take place in Brussels on 11 June 2019, with the theme of *Future Australia-EU relations: synergy and shared concerns*. The summary of those discussions will be incorporated in the final dissemination report for this research project.

## APPENDIX

### SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

Time	
8.45am – 9.00am	<b>Registration</b>
9.00am – 9.15am	<p><b>Welcome and Introduction</b></p> <p>Professor Philomena Murray, Jean Monnet Chair <i>ad personam</i> and Dr Margherita Matera, School of Social and Political Sciences, The University Melbourne</p>
9.15am – 10.15am	<p><b>Session 1: Assessing the Framework Agreement: Toward a Strategic Engagement?</b></p> <p><i>Chair:</i> Ms Amber Carvan, Media and Communication Expert, EU-Australia Leadership Forum</p> <p><i>Discussant:</i> Dr Edward Yencken, School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne</p> <p>Ms Lucienne Manton, Assistant Secretary, EU Political and Strategy Branch, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade</p> <p>Dr Fabio Spadi, Counsellor, Head of Political, Press and Information Section, EU Delegation to Australia</p>
10.15am – 10.45am	<b>Morning Tea</b>
10.45am – 12.30pm	<p><b>Session 2: Towards an FTA: priorities and implications within a global context</b></p> <p><i>Chair:</i> Dr David Treisman, Lecturer, Monash University</p> <p><i>Discussant:</i> Dr Giovanni Di Lieto, Lecturer, Monash University</p> <p>Mr Jason Collins, CEO, European Australia Business Council</p> <p>Professor Peter Draper, Director, Institute for International Trade, University of Adelaide</p> <p>Mr Andrew Jory, Assistant Secretary, Goods and Market Access Branch, Office of Trade Negotiations, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade</p> <p>Dr Hartmut Mayer, Director, European Studies Centre, University of Oxford</p>
12.30pm – 1.15pm	<b>Lunch</b>

<p><b>1.15pm – 2.30pm</b></p>	<p><b>Session 3: Australia’s relationship with EU and the UK in the context of Brexit</b></p> <p><i>Chair:</i> Professor Philomena Murray, Jean Monnet Chair <i>ad personam</i>, School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne</p> <p>Dr Laura Allison-Reumann, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</p> <p>Mr Chris Holtby, Consul-General, Head of the UK Office for South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria</p> <p>H.E. Breandán Ó Caollaí, Ambassador of Ireland to Australia</p>
<p><b>2.30pm – 2.45pm</b></p>	<p><b>Afternoon Tea</b></p>
<p><b>2.45pm – 4.30pm</b></p>	<p><b>Session 4: Regional Engagement</b></p> <p><i>Chair:</i> Dr Margherita Matera, School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne</p> <p><i>Discussant:</i> Dr Laura Allison-Reumann, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</p> <p>Professor Nick Bisley, Head, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, La Trobe University: <i>Order Building in Contested Asia: Australia and Regional Multilateralism.</i></p> <p>Professor Philomena Murray, Jean Monnet Chair <i>ad personam</i>, School of Social and Political Sciences, The University of Melbourne: <i>Drivers and Obstacles to Cooperation in the Region: The EU, Australia and ASEAN.</i></p> <p>Dr Amy Nethery, Deakin University: <i>The opportunities and challenges of a regional approach to refugees: lessons from Asia.</i></p> <p>Professor See Seng Tan, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore: <i>Is the Asia-Pacific Finally Getting Security Right? From the ASEAN Regional Forum to the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus.</i></p>
<p><b>4.30pm - 5.15pm</b></p>	<p><b>Reception</b></p>

## BIOGRAPHIES OF SPEAKERS, CHAIRS AND DISCUSSANTS

### LAURA ALLISON-REUMANN

Laura Allison-Reumann is Research Associate at the Public Policy and Global Affairs Programme at Nanyang Technological University, and an Associate Fellow at the EU Centre, Singapore. She was previously a Visiting Fellow at the University of Indonesia. She holds a PhD from the University of Melbourne. Her research covers comparative regionalism, comparative federalism, and EU-ASEAN relations. She is the author of *The EU, ASEAN and Interregionalism: Regionalism Support and Norm Diffusion between the EU and ASEAN* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

### NICK BISLEY

Nick Bisley is the head of Humanities and Social Sciences and Professor of International Relations at La Trobe University. Between 2013 and 2018 Nick was the Editor-in-Chief of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and has been a Senior Research Associate of the International Institute of Strategic Studies and a Visiting Fellow at the East-West Center in Washington DC. Nick is the author of many works on international relations, including *Issues in 21st Century World Politics, 3rd Edition* (2017), *Great Powers in the Changing International Order* (2012), and *Building Asia's Security* (2009). He regularly contributes to and is quoted in national and international media, including *The Guardian*, *The Economist*, and *Time Magazine*.

### AMBER CARVAN

Amber Carvan is a strategic communications specialist with two decades of experience, both in Australia and internationally, across the international development, environment and public health sectors. She is currently engaged as Key Expert, Media and Communications for the EU-Australia Leadership Forum (EUALF) - an innovative project funded by the European Union and supported by the Australian Government that aims to broaden and deepen the existing ties between the EU and Australia.

Amber has a strong track record in leading media, communication and visibility activities for EU-funded projects. Prior to joining the EUALF, she worked across 15 countries on the EU-funded Pacific Hazardous Waste Management Project (PacWaste) and managed project design for the cross-cutting components of the EDF-11 funded EU-Pacific Regional Waste Management Project (PacWaste Plus). Amber was a Pacific regional Focal Point for the 2015 European Year for Development and Chief Rapporteur for the 13th Noumea Convention, 8th Waigani Convention and the 26th and 27th SPREP Meetings of Officials.

### JASON COLLINS

Jason Collins was appointed Chief Executive Officer of the European Australian Business Council in October 2007. As CEO, Jason carries overall responsibility for the delivery of the Council's core programmes, membership and relations with Australian and European government agencies, chambers of commerce and industry, and other non-government organisations. From 2010 to 2013 he was the inaugural Chairman of the European Business Organisations Worldwide, an association of European business organisations and chambers of commerce spanning five continents.

His previous experience includes working as an advisor and Chief of Staff in the NSW Parliament (1995-1998). From 2000-2002 Jason was Executive Director of the NSW Millennium Forum. In 2002 Jason co-founded Matrix Corporate Marketing, an advisory firm which assists companies on international business strategy, regulatory issues and stakeholder management. He is a board member of the Australia Youth Trust, a former Chairman of the Australasian Sponsorship Marketing Association, Board Member of the Australia Asia Young Leaders Program and Fellow of the University of Melbourne's Myer AsiaLink Leaders Program.

## **GIOVANNI DI LIETO**

Dr Giovanni Di Lieto teaches international trade law in the International Business program at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, and engages in expert analysis on the geopolitics of trade and investment for media, industry and government outlets. His professional career developed as a commercial law practitioner in Italy, and then as a global value chain specialist across the US, Europe and China.

## **PETER DRAPER**

Peter is Executive Director of the Institute for International Trade in the Faculty of the Professions, University of Adelaide, Australia. He is a member and co-chair of the World Economic Forum's Global Future Council on the Global Trade and FDI system; member of the Board of Trustees of the International Chamber of Commerce's Research Foundation; non-resident senior fellow of the Brussels-based European Centre for International Political Economy; and Associated Researcher at the German Development Institute (DIE). He is also a Director of Tutwa Consulting Group. He is a recipient of an honorary Doctorate degree from the Friederich Schiller University in Jena, Germany. Previously, he worked in South Africa's national Department of Trade and Industry in bilateral economic relations (East Asia and Mercosur), and as head of the economic analysis and research unit in the dti's International Trade and Economic Development Division. Prior to that he was an academic teaching economic history and political economy, and headed the Department of Economics and Economic History at the then University of Durban-Westville (now University of KwaZulu-Natal).

## **CHRIS HOLTBY**

Chris Holtby arrived in Melbourne as UK Consul-General in September 2016. Immediately before that, he was UK Ambassador to Estonia for 4 years – and preceding that the Deputy Head of Security Policy Department in the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, responsible for UK policy on NATO, European Security, military and civil-military operations and co-operation, as well as maritime security. As part of this role, from 2009 to 2011 he was chairman of Working Group 1 of the international Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia, leading work on operational co-ordination and regional capability development.

From 2002 to 2007, he was seconded to the European Union in Brussels as a policy adviser to Javier Solana, the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy. Chris has worked in both the FCO and MOD on Balkans issues and worked at NATO in the 1990s.

## **ANDREW JORY**

Andrew Jory is the Assistant Secretary, Goods and Market Access Branch, Office of Trade Negotiations, at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Mr Jory was Australia's Chief Negotiator in the Pacific Alliance Free Trade Agreement and the Peru-Australia Free Trade Agreement. Mr Jory is Australia's Deputy Chief Negotiator for the EU-Australia Free Trade Agreement. Mr Jory ran Australia's goods team in Australia's Mission to the World Trade Organization (WTO), Geneva, Switzerland, where he played a key role in the WTO Decision, which eliminated export subsidies in agriculture. Mr Jory was also Australia's lead goods market access negotiator in the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement and closed market access deals with the US, Mexico and Canada.

## **LUCIENNE MANTON**

Lucienne Manton is currently Assistant Secretary EU Political and Strategy Branch. Recent appointments include Assistant Secretary United States Branch and a 12 month secondment to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet as Assistant Secretary in the International Division responsible for Europe, North Asia, Pacific, and trade policy and negotiations.

Ms. Manton has undertaken a number of roles in DFAT including as Director People Smuggling Taskforce, Counsellor at the Australian High Commission in London, Director Climate Change and Environment, and Director Iraq Taskforce.

### **MARGHERITA MATERA**

Dr Margherita Matera is a researcher and Honorary Fellow in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. Her research and publications focus on the EU's security and defence cooperation, the EU as a foreign policy, security and crisis management actor, NATO and the transatlantic relationship, EU-Australia relations, and comparative regionalism. In 2015, she was the recipient of the Summer Research Scholar Program Grant from the European Union Center of Excellence and European Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh. She teaches on EU integration, comparative European politics and international relations. She is a co-editor of a special issue of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* on EU-Australia Relations, published in 2018 with Professor Philomena Murray and was awarded, with Professor Murray, a two-year Jean Monnet Project to further explore EU-Australia relations.

### **HARTMUT MAYER**

Dr Hartmut Mayer joined the European Studies Centre (St Antony's College, University of Oxford) as Director on 1 September 2017. Concurrently with the ESC Directorship, Hartmut also serves as the Acting Director of the EUROPAEUM, a consortium of leading European Universities. He remains a Fellow and Tutor in Politics (International Relations) at St Peter's College, University of Oxford, where he has been teaching since 1998. In addition, he holds an Adjunct Professorship in European and Eurasian Studies at Johns Hopkins University, SAIS Bologna. He is also a Region Head Europe at Oxford Analytica, a global consultancy, in a free-lance capacity.

He studied history, politics, drama and international relations in Germany, the United States, the UK and Italy; and holds degrees from the Free University of Berlin (BA equivalent), the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University (MALD), Cambridge University (MPhil from Gonville and Caius College) and Oxford University (DPhil from St Antony's College and an MA by Resolution). His main academic interests are general international relations, diplomatic history, German and EU politics, international relations theory, EU-Asia (in particular Japan), European responses to Rising Powers and Comparative Regionalism. Prior to his academic career, Hartmut worked as a free-lance journalist in Germany for more than ten years, among others with North German Radio, SAT1, the German Press Agency in New York and as a politics writer with *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* and *DIE ZEIT*.

### **PHILOMENA MURRAY**

Philomena Murray is Professor in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. She holds Australia's only Personal Jean Monnet Chair awarded by the European Union.

She has directed several international research projects on EU-Asia relations, as the recipient of EU grants. She currently co-directs an EU-funded research project on EU-Australia relations with Dr Margherita Matera. She founded the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia. She received a national Carrick (Australian Learning and Teaching Council) Citation for Outstanding Contribution to Student Learning for pioneering the first EU curriculum in Australia and leadership in national and international curriculum development. She is an assessor for the Australian Research Council and European research bodies. A former diplomat, she has run training courses on the EU for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canberra.

She is a Visiting Research Fellow at Trinity College Dublin. She is Visiting Professor at the College of Europe, Bruges. She is Associate Research Fellow at United Nations University – Comparative Regional Integration Studies, Bruges. Her research interests are in comparative regional integration; EU-Asia relations; EU-Australia relations and EU governance and legitimacy.

### **AMY NETHERY**

Dr Amy Nethery is Senior Lecturer in Politics and Policy at Deakin University. She researches the development and impact of asylum policies in Australia and Asia, with a focus transnational cooperation on border control. She has a particular interest in immigration detention: its history, evolution, legal status, and human impact. Her article 'Australia-Indonesia Cooperation on Asylum Policy' (*Australian Journal of International Affairs*) was

awarded the 2015 Boyer Prize for the article most likely to have lasting impact on policymaking. On Australian asylum policy, her PhD thesis entitled *Immigration Detention in Australia* won the Isi Leibler Prize in 2011. She is author of 12 journal articles, 6 book chapters, and an edited volume entitled *Immigration Detention: the Migration of a Policy and its Human Impact* (2015). Dr Nethery teaches the unit *Asylum Challenges in Australia and Asia*, and supervises research students on this topic.

### **BREANDÁN Ó CAOLLAÍ**

Breandán Ó Caollai is *Ambassador of Ireland to Australia*. He holds a BA (French and Irish) and Higher Diploma in Education, University College Dublin; a Graduate Diploma in Adult Education, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; an MA in Public Administration, Institute of Public Administration and an MA in Irish Language, Dublin Institute of Technology. His diplomatic Service has been the Embassy of Ireland, London 1991-1994; Permanent Representation of Ireland to the EU, Brussels, 1996; Embassy of Ireland, Rome 1998-2002; Consulate General of Ireland New York, 2006-2010; Consulate General of Ireland, Boston, 2013-2015. He has been Ambassador of Ireland to Australia and to New Zealand since 2016 and Ambassador to the Solomon Islands and Ambassador to Fiji since 2018.

### **FABIO SPADI**

Fabio Spadi is Counsellor and Deputy Head of Mission, EU Delegation to Australia. From 2013 to August 2017 he was based in the European External Action Service, at the Desk for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Division ASIAPAC.5 "Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Pacific. From 2006 to 2013 he was based at the General Secretariat of the Council of the EU/European External Action Service. Analyst for the Western Balkans/CIS region (South Caucasus) in the Analysis Division of the EU Intelligence Analysis Centre (EU INTCEM). From 2002 TO 2006 he was based in the Enterprise and Industry Directorate-General, European Commission, dealing with the overall coordination of the Multiannual Programme for Enterprise (MAP) and of the Enterprise Policy Group. He holds a Ph.D. in International Law from Scuola Superiore S. Anna, Pisa, Italy; a Master of Law (LL.M.) from the University of Cambridge, UK and a Laurea (MA) in Political Science from the University of Pisa, Italy. He has published on public international law, in particular international economic law, the law of the sea, and territorial disputes.

### **SEE SENG TAN**

See Seng Tan is Professor of International Relations at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University (NTU), and Deputy Director and Head of Research of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies. He is the author/editor of 11 books and has published over 70 academic papers and chapters. His books include *Multilateral Asian Security Architecture: Non-ASEAN Stakeholders* (Routledge, 2015) and *The Making of the Asia Pacific: Knowledge Brokers and the Politics of Representation* (Amsterdam UP, 2013). A former 2-term university senator, he is an elected member of the NTU Advisory Board.

### **DAVID TREISMAN**

Dr David Treisman is a lecturer in Economics at Monash Business School. David has amassed more than 15 years of experience advising foreign and domestic buy-side and sell-side clients in the mining and resources and banking and financial services sectors and in public-private partnerships in Australia and across emerging market economies in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. David has acted as a technical advisor to legislatures and government agencies at the state and federal levels, is a regular commentator in the press and is Special Counsel to Chandlers International Lawyers.

### **EDWARD YENCKEN**

Edward Yencken was awarded his PhD in the School of Social and Political Sciences at The University of Melbourne, Australia in 2018. He received a BA (Hons) from The University of Melbourne in 2010. During his PhD research, Edward spent time as Visiting Scholar at Universität Trier, Germany from. Edward has also been a

Visiting Fellow at Freie Universität Berlin, Germany as part of the Nachwuchsforschergruppe Research Project “Asian Perceptions of the EU: External views on the EU as a Civilian Power”. His PhD thesis explored the evolution of relations between Australia and the EU since their establishment. It analysed EU-Australian relations within the broader framework of Australian foreign policy and its focus on the US alliance and Asia-Pacific region. Aside from the focus of his thesis, Edward’s other research interests include EU politics, Western European politics, Australian politics, EU-Asia relations and Asia-Pacific regionalism.

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