

CHAPTER IV
PROMOTION OF MUTUAL AWARENESS AND COMMON INTERESTS

1. The importance of promoting mutual awareness

4.1 The promotion of accurate mutual perceptions between Australia and ASEAN is vital to the ability of Australia to fulfil a regional role which meets its interests. In the political sphere, Australia's ability to fulfil a role in the region will depend to a considerable extent on the degree to which it is regarded with trust and confidence and its policy aims are clearly understood. Mutual perceptions can also affect Australia's regional economic prospects. In the area of trade in services, which will be of increasing importance, the willingness of ASEAN businessmen and governments to do business with Australia will depend partly on the quality of personal and institutional relationships which can be sustained and on the maintenance of a favourable 'image' of Australia as a country different from, but sympathetic towards and relevant to, ASEAN countries.

4.2 At present, the level of mutual awareness and understanding in Australia of ASEAN is inadequate and the reverse is also likely to be so. As one submission emphasised,

'If Australians are guilty of ignorance of Southeast Asia the same can be said of many Southeast Asians in relation to Australia ... Australian misperceptions of the ASEAN countries are matched by stereo typed images of Australia within ASEAN which means that misunderstandings will often attend the necessary task of widening cooperation between them'.¹

4.3 As another submission pointed out, there is a substantial ongoing basis for problems in Australia-ASEAN relations arising

'from differing and often sharply contrasting views in ASEAN countries and in Australia on such matters as human rights, legal systems, legitimate political processes and the roles of opposition parties and the media ... Mutual ignorance of the cultural and political values and traditions underlying the respective political systems adds to the problem since people in each country are prone to judge the activities of neighbours by inapplicable criteria'.²

4.4 Barriers to mutual awareness are also posed by inadequate flows of news and information through the news media of both Australia and ASEAN members. The significance of this issue was underlined by the visit of ASEAN journalists to Australia in mid-1984 (see Section 5 below). The Committee is aware that while the ASEAN journalists appreciated the level of interest shown by the Australian Government and by Australian journalists in seeking greater understanding between Australia and ASEAN, both sides saw major gaps in communication and awareness to be bridged.³

4.5 Improvements in mutual awareness cannot remove the considerable bases for differences in perspective and differences of values between Australia and ASEAN countries. However, improved levels of awareness would enhance Australia's abilities to maintain effective political, social, and commercial relationships in the ASEAN region. The degree to which this occurs will depend to a considerable extent on the factors discussed in this Chapter.

2. Asian Studies in Australia

(a) Overview

4.6 It has become commonplace in Australia to declare rhetorically that Australia's future is likely to be 'bound up' or 'enmeshed' with the ASEAN region and its future prospects. The Department of Foreign Affairs, for example, opened its

submission by declaring that 'Australia's future is inextricably linked to developments in South East Asia'.⁴ The Committee would agree to a considerable extent with this view, but points out that such views are not reflected in Australia's present level of commitment to Asian studies in general and the promotion of awareness of the ASEAN region in particular.

4.7 The continuing lack of emphasis on Asian studies is particularly notable despite a series of well-documented reports in the past decade that have drawn attention to the need to expand the study of Asia in Australia. In 1970, for example, the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Asian Languages and Cultures in Australia chaired by Professor J.J. Auchmuty recommended that 'Australian undergraduates should have adequate opportunities to study the languages and cultures of Asia,' and made particular mention of the needs of mature age students and teachers in this regard. In 1979, the Report of the Committee on Australia's Relations with the Third World (the 'Harries Report') stressed the need for Australia's policies towards its Southeast Asian neighbours to be 'based on very good information on what is happening in the region,' and called for 'a continuous effort to eliminate outdated and inappropriate attitudes towards the region and Australia's role in it, both in the community at large and in the minds of decision-makers ...'. In August, 1980, a Committee of the Asian Studies Association of Australia under the Chairmanship of Dr Stephen Fitzgerald released a report on a comprehensive inquiry into Asian Studies in Australia. The Fitzgerald Report found that 'the overall picture in both schools and tertiary institutions was one of very slow growth, with the study of Asian cultures and languages involving a very small proportion of the student population.' The Fitzgerald Report called for 'fresh approaches to the enterprise of making Australians more aware of the countries of the Asian region.' In the same year, the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, in its report entitled Australia and ASEAN, concluded that there should be 'increasing

efforts to promote the teaching of Asian languages as they are a means of achieving deeper understanding of Asian traditions and cultures and this will in turn assist with Australia's relations with Asian countries.'⁵

4.8 Despite these reports, the emphasis on Asian studies in Australia continues to be low. The latest inquiry by the Asian Studies Committee of the Asian Studies Association of Australia (ASAA) presented in a report to the 5th Conference of the Association in Adelaide (13-18 May 1984), indicates that while the decline evident since 1975 in participation in Asian studies has levelled off, the number of school and tertiary students studying any aspect of Asia is very low. Furthermore, the findings for Asia as a whole are probably better than for the ASEAN countries in particular 'because the study of Chinese or Japanese languages and Chinese or Japanese history, politics or economics involve a very high proportion of the small number of students.'⁶

b) Asian studies: the 1984 ASAA Report

4.9 The 1984 ASAA report on Asian studies points to a number of factors inhibiting the development of the study of Asian-related subjects in primary and secondary schools. Trends towards school-based curriculum and non-prescriptive syllabuses and a general reduction in the provision of assistance to schools to develop their curriculums have continued. In addition to these internal problems, the economic recession has had an impact on the selection of courses, 'with students (and parents) concerned to select subjects which will be useful for job prospects (either because of the possibilities they offer for high marks in the examinations used to decide entry to tertiary institutions or because of their content)'.⁷ The move towards the teaching of 'community languages' has however provided some increased opportunities for the study of Asian languages. A

further significant factor affecting the study of languages has been the presence of large numbers of overseas students in some language courses with a substantial prior knowledge of the particular language they take as part of their higher school certificate candidature. This has discouraged Australian-born students from taking these subjects for fear that their mark average will be disadvantageously low in the context of Higher School Certificate averages. Moves are underway in New South Wales to develop separate courses for overseas students already fluent in a language they seek to study at Higher School Certificate level.⁸

4.10 At present the range of courses offered on Asia-related subjects at the primary and secondary school level is modest, as are participation rates. In New South Wales, for example, the junior secondary course 'Asian Social Studies' was taken by 8.6% of year 10 students in 1981 and 6.9% in 1983. Efforts are continuing in some states (such as South Australia and Western Australia) to develop Asian history courses which will be attractive to students.⁹

4.11. Asian language study at both the primary and secondary level continues to be very limited. The ASAA study indicates that while there is a small amount of language teaching in primary schools, this lacks stability and continuity, partly because of the difficulty of finding suitable teachers. At the secondary level, the proportion of language candidates studying particular Asian languages seems to have changed little over the last five years; these languages appear to be holding their own relative to other languages, although at a lower level than French or German.¹⁰ The ASAA report also suggests that the tendency for overseas students studying the HSC in Australia to take their language of overseas education as a HSC subject is a complicating factor. 'The important point to note', the report states, 'is that the presence of overseas students in the HSC

candidature gives an inflated picture of the strength of many Asian languages in Australian schools'.¹¹ The development of integrated primary and secondary level language training is a promising area which is just beginning to be explored.

4.12 The ASAA report stresses that there are wide areas of lack of knowledge about the status of Asian language teaching in Australian schools. It is hoped that this problem will be alleviated by the survey of language learning being conducted by the Commonwealth Department of Education and Youth Affairs.¹²

4.13 At the tertiary level, the ASAA reports that the overall picture of the state of Asian studies in Australian universities 'continues to give cause for serious concern in three respects':

'First the gradual increase in undergraduate participation in Asian Studies that characterized the 1970s, an increase which started from a near-zero base level in the late 1960s, has slowed down alarmingly, almost to a stop. The phase of steady growth seems to be over, long before Asian Studies have achieved a level that could be considered appropriate to Australia's needs. The most encouraging observation that can be made is that the numbers are not actually declining in the way the FitzGerald Report had feared on the basis of the 1979 figures. Second, the degree of undergraduate participation in Asia-related courses is still extremely low ... especially in Asian languages - rarely rising much above 2-3% of total student load. Third, there has been positive decline in undergraduate enrolments in some of the major Asian studies centres; moreover some of the smaller departments and courses appear to be particularly vulnerable to the threat of closure in the face of staff-cutting economy measures, because they are commonly deemed to be "peripheral" offerings.'¹³

Undergraduate participation rates continue to be low. After rising throughout the 1970s, participation seems to have settled on a modest plateau, as the figures below suggest.

Table

Student load in Asian studies programs including Asian language programs as a proportion of total undergraduate student load in Arts/Economics/Education 1983. (Note: not including Asia-related studies in discipline-based departments.)

Centre

Brisbane	6.9%
Melbourne	2.1%
Perth	1.9%
Sydney	1.6%
Adelaide	1.3%

[Source: ASAA 1984 Report, p.12]

4.14 The ASAA report concludes that there is no evidence of increasing demand for Asian studies in undergraduate university courses. In the college sector or tertiary education, the Asian studies position is also marginal. Asian studies has not been advancing in the critical area of teacher education; in New South Wales, in fact, there has been a considerable decline in course content in this area. The ASAA concluded that, 'Penetration of Asian studies into the professional courses offered at colleges has not gone much beyond Education and some very limited initiatives in Business Studies.'¹⁴

4.15 The Committee noted with approval the ASAA submission that the results of its most recent inquiries and surveys into the state of Asian studies underlined the need for a national policy to redress the situation, beginning with the establishment of an Asian Studies Council (see section (d) below). It stated:

'A central task of the Australian government if it wishes to promote long-term, mature Australia-ASEAN relations must be an educational program in Australia about the ASEAN countries. This cannot be simply an "optional extra" - something rather nice to do providing we keep our eyes fixed on the primacy of trade or strategic considerations - but must be a basic pre-condition for good long-term political and trading relations.'¹⁵

c) Asian studies and the business sector

4.16 One important aspect of the lack of emphasis in Australia on Asian studies is that it can inhibit Australian business in its attempts to benefit from increased interaction with the ASEAN region. The importance of encouraging an increasing awareness of Asia in general and of the ASEAN region in particular among the business community was stressed by several witnesses.¹⁶ One witness, (Dr Lim) involved in teaching undergraduates, commented that,

'The thousands of Australian students I have taught in the last 12 years have acquired very little knowledge of Asia during their high school years. The little they have been taught seems, in many cases, to have been worse than nothing ... It is not surprising that we cannot compete, for example, with Singapore in the Asian software markets while we continue to produce computer and electrical engineering students who know nothing about consumer tastes in the region.'¹⁷

The ASEAN-Australia Business Council emphasised that,

'If Australia is to take advantage of the opportunities in the region and to be a real part of the region, increasingly we must think and understand "Asian" ...'

'Australian investment and trade wholly depends on people. As Australians we must ensure that we educate our future businessmen to be totally conversant with and at ease in, the Asian environment.'¹⁸

4.17 As the Council suggested in its submission, the development of a more aware and informed business sector will depend to a great degree on Australia's overall degree of emphasis on Asian studies in education.¹⁹ However, there is also considerable scope for providing specialist courses for business people involved with Asia and the ASEAN region, and for increasing the Asian studies component in tertiary business courses.

4.18 The AABC has promoted several programs to expand regional awareness among Australian business.²⁰

- . The ASEAN/Australia International Business Management Program has been developed to '... enhance understanding of the differences in business practices, cultures, social customs, etc. in Australia and the ASEAN countries.'²¹ Two courses have been held (at the Australian Administrative Staff College) which have been attended by a wide cross section of Australian and ASEAN business people; the courses have been funded under the Australia-ASEAN Economic Cooperation Program (AAECP).
- . The ASEAN Special Visits Scheme (ASVS) also funded under AAECP provides opportunities for ASEAN businessmen, technicians and scientists to visit appropriate Australian organisations.
- . The Australian Executive Service Overseas Program, administered by the Confederation of Australian Industry in association with ADAB, promotes business contacts with ASEAN by enabling Australian executives to serve on a volunteer basis to provide skills and expertise to neighbouring countries, including ASEAN members.

4.19 While the AABC supports strongly programs to enhance business awareness of the ASEAN region, the Committee was informed that the Council has found it difficult to attract business interest. Difficulty was experienced in getting private sector members to attend the International Business Management Program seminars.²² A representative of the Australia-Indonesian Business Cooperation Committee pointed to the irony of companies who were unwilling to fund training for their executives, but risked much more costly failures by sending ill-prepared representatives into the ASEAN region.²³

4.20 The Committee notes with approval that steps are being taken by the ASEAN-Australian Business Council and its associates to promote business awareness of the ASEAN region, and that some tertiary colleges are beginning to increase emphasis on business-oriented Asian studies courses. The 1984 ASAA report noted that several colleges have taken this step, including the New South Wales Institute of Technology, Swinburne Institute of Technology, the Philip Institute (Preston Campus) and the South Australian Institute of Technology.²⁴ A highly relevant example of an ASEAN-oriented course has been provided by the David Syme Business School. In its 1983/84 Summer Semester, it organised for 30 students in its Bachelor of Business Program - studying marketing, finance and management - to visit Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. They visited over 70 companies and spoke with managers, trade commissioners and government officials; their reports on the visit were assessed as part of their degree program.²⁵

4.21 The Committee notes with approval that one of the Guidelines from the Minister for Education and Youth Affairs to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission for the 1985-1987 Triennium is that attention should be given to:

'The importance of equipping Australian industry with the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to exploit effectively the potential opportunities presented in the Asian and Pacific regions...'²⁶

The Committee urges the Commission to give priority to this guideline.

d) **Australia's commitment to Asian studies: the Asian Studies Council proposal**

4.22 The importance of a more concerted and coordinated commitment to the promotion of Asian studies was emphasised in a number of submissions. The ASEAN-Australia Business Council commented that if business awareness of ASEAN is to increase '... such education must start at an early age and should therefore be part of our primary and secondary education'.²⁷ The Asian Studies Association of Australia put the case forcefully:

'A central task of the Australian government if it wishes to promote long-term, mature Australia-ASEAN relations must be an educational program in Australia about the ASEAN countries.'²⁸

4.23 The ASAA, in its submission, argued that the creation of an Asian Studies Council would be the 'single most important way in which broader public knowledge and awareness of Asia can be promoted. This is essential in long-term relations between Australia and Asia in general and ASEAN in particular.'²⁹ In supporting its case, the ASAA pointed out that the solution to the problem of inadequate emphasis on Asian studies does not lie just in the allocation of more funds and additional staff. The development of Asian studies courses in Australian schools and universities, it pointed out, has occurred almost entirely as a result of local initiatives throughout the last 20-30 years, with very little government funding 'and virtually no coordination or rationalisation of effort at any level'.³⁰ The effort has also been concentrated disproportionately within the universities; far too little has been done in our schools and teacher-training institutions. The ASAA believes that while additional funds are likely to be necessary,

'... any such request (for funds) needs to be coupled with a plan to bring an entirely new approach to bear on the whole question of what our rationale and objectives should be in advancing the study of Asia in depth and in breadth at various levels of Australia's educational system.'³¹

4.24 The ASAA places particular emphasis on the need for planning and coordination in Asian studies and its submission highlighted the lack of this in Australia at present. In the area of teacher training for example,

'It is no one's responsibility in any State or Australia to ensure that at least some prospective teachers take Asia-related courses (not necessarily languages) so that they will be equipped to teach effectively subjects with an Asian content in our schools. That is entirely a matter of chance. Because of this there has been very little improvement in the overwhelmingly Eurocentric orientation of most of our secondary school teaching. Very few Australian students are learning about Asia in our schools from teachers adequately trained about Asian countries.'³²

Increasing expenditure on the various uncoordinated educational sectors focussing on Asian studies would be an inadequate response. ASAA has recommended an Asian Studies Council because,

'.... over the course of time such a Council would accumulate a good deal of expertise about the place of Asian studies in the curricula of our schools, colleges and universities, as also about the linkages between different types of courses at the various levels. Hence it would be well placed to provide the sort of coordination and formulation of broad national policy priorities which at the moment are provided by nobody.'³³

4.25 It is envisaged that the Council should contain representatives of relevant community interests (including business), the bureaucracy and the educational sectors. Its annual cost has been estimated by the ASAA at approximately \$A500 000 exclusive of staff and accommodation. The Council could fulfil a number of valuable specific functions. In particular, an Asian Studies Council could

- provide direction to tertiary and other institutions about the skills and expertise required by employers, Government and others;
- provide co-ordinating advice on the desirable spread of teaching facilities across academic and other institutions in order to minimise their competition for scarce student numbers; and
- liaise with employers, Government and others in order to ensure a two-way flow of information about the needs of decision-makers and the resources available to meet these needs.³⁴

4.26 The Asian Studies Council proposal is intended to cover Asia as a whole rather than any one region (such as ASEAN) but it is appropriate that the promotion or Australian awareness of ASEAN should develop in the context of development of Australia's interests in Southeast and East Asia overall. The Committee endorses the concept of an Asian Studies Council, with resources adequate to co-ordinate nationally initiatives in Asian studies and recommends that a working party as proposed by ASAA in 1981, be established at the earliest opportunity, to consider and report on the feasibility of establishing the Council under Commonwealth auspices.

3. Information exchanges

4.27 Another important aspect of promotion of mutual awareness between Australia and ASEAN is interchanges of information and educational expertise. Useful projects are underway in both areas, but limited funding has imposed severe restrictions.

4.28 The National Library has had formal cultural relations with the ASEAN member countries for over 35 years, during which it has both developed substantial collections of books and materials relating to ASEAN countries and provided library materials, advice and assistance to their developing library and information systems. Formal agreements for the exchange of official and learned publications operate between the Library and over 100 institutions in ASEAN countries. Australian libraries, particularly the National Library, have come to be seen by libraries in the ASEAN countries as a prime source for a variety of articles and library and information services and for advice on the development of such services. In 1980, the National Library developed its Regional Cooperation Program, which aims to assist the emerging national libraries of the region. All ASEAN member countries are included in the Program. An important aspect of the Program is the supply of Australian commercial and official publications to the ASEAN countries.³⁵

4.29 In developing its own collection, the Library has placed emphasis on the ASEAN region, with a special emphasis on Indonesia. The National Library submission stated that 'While the Library's collections of materials from the ASEAN countries are excellent, its Indonesian collection is outstanding'.³⁶ In this context, the Committee notes with concern the effects of recent staff cutbacks on the maintenance of acquisitions of contemporary Indonesian materials. The Library established an Indonesian Acquisition Office in 1971 to acquire Indonesian publications for itself and other interested libraries. Until 1981 the Office was staffed by a National Library officer. In 1981, following the Review of Commonwealth Functions, the position was down-graded to that for a locally-engaged officer and the Committee was informed, both by the Library and by the Bibliographic Information on Southeast Asia (BISA) project, that this had an adverse effect on the acquisition of materials.³⁷ The Committee notes with approval that the Library is seeking to have the position up-graded again to that for a National Library officer.

4.30 A further valuable asset in the area of information flows between ASEAN and Australia is BISA based at the University of Sydney. Designed to encompass all material in Australian libraries from or about Southeast Asia, the database currently contains over 20 000 items. To date, the prime emphasis has been placed on Indonesia with second priority being given to Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei, but a start has been made on including Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam.³⁸

4.31 The construction of the database has been carried out over five years 'with uncertain and at times precarious funding'.³⁹ The University of Sydney has given assistance (including some funding, accommodation and computer resources), and ADAB has assisted with some funding oriented towards BISA's function in training personnel from the region. BISA has the potential to become a basic research resource on Southeast Asia. It has attracted interest from the region and from the United States. But at present, it does not have sufficient consistent funding to place 'on line' the bulk of Australian library holdings on Southeast Asia. Were it able to do this, BISA 'could be developed to its full potential to enable Australians to keep abreast of and understand the political and economic developments in the countries in the ASEAN region ...'⁴⁰ It might also be possible to develop the BISA database into a joint Australia-ASEAN project.

4.32 The Committee considers that the BISA project constitutes the nucleus of a valuable database of relevance to government, business, education and the community generally. It supports BISA's request for sufficient on-going Commonwealth funding to enable it to consolidate its database and provide comprehensive coverage of Australia's library holdings on the Southeast Asian region.

4. Human rights issues

4.33 Human rights issues are likely to continue to be a significant element in Australian relations with ASEAN countries. Human rights have become an important part of the international agenda and each ASEAN country has been subject to varying degrees of international criticism of its human rights performance. In a number of instances, human rights have become a major foreign policy problem for the governments concerned. The Department of Foreign Affairs commented on the significance of human rights issues in the relationship:

'Australians have taken an increasingly active interest in the international human rights debate, and human rights issues are now significant items on our bilateral agenda with several members of ASEAN. Australia has raised human rights issues with specific ASEAN governments as a reflection of its concerns to see internationally recognised human rights standards protected and promoted in all countries.'⁴¹

4.34 As the Department observed, human rights issues have not been accorded priority by ASEAN as a regional association and Australian consultations with ASEAN as an entity do not include consideration of human rights. The Department added:

'This is in contrast with Europe, Africa and Latin America where regional bodies have developed significant regional human rights machinery. This reflects the cultural and historical experience of ASEAN members, most of whom, upon independence, focussed on the need to curb subversion and to build national identity, and who now emphasise economic growth.'⁴²

While ASEAN as a governmental grouping has not itself placed emphasis on human rights issues in member countries, the Committee notes the moves made in 1983 by non-governmental organisations in the region to establish the Regional Council on Human Rights in Asia.⁴³

4.35 In its submission to the Committee, Amnesty International noted with concern that all ASEAN countries, retained or used the death penalty and most had powers of detention without trial of political opponents.⁴⁴ Additional attention was given to human rights issues in Indonesia and the Philippines. In Indonesia Amnesty's concerns focussed on the continued detention of prisoners held in connection with the 'coup' of September 1965, and extra-judicial executions of alleged criminals. Special attention was directed to the situation in East Timor.⁴⁵ The 1981 Amnesty International mission to the Philippines concluded that: despite the lifting of Martial Law, the President and armed forces retained and exercised powers to arrest and detain persons suspected of offences of a political nature; that members of the security and paramilitary forces had acted outside the framework of the law in alleged violations of human rights; and that procedures for investigating, prosecuting and punishing suspects were 'seriously deficient'.⁴⁶

4.36 Restrictions throughout the ASEAN region on the right to form and operate trade unions and on the right to strike were noted in the ACTU's submission. Particular concern was expressed about trade union rights in Indonesia and the Philippines.⁴⁷

4.37 There was broad concurrence among witnesses heard by the Committee that Australian interest in human rights questions should be a part of its foreign policy concerns in relation to the ASEAN region. One witness (Dr Girling) commented in relation to the issue that,

'There is no need to be apologetic about it. Australian support does much to encourage courageous liberals and religious people in those countries of Southeast Asia where regimes are oppressive ... Leaders of some regimes may well be annoyed by foreign interference in cases of abuse of human rights. But whatever their exasperation I believe that they grudgingly respect a country that stands up for its principles.'⁴⁸

4.38 On the question of how Australia might best pursue policies aiming at the protection of human rights in the ASEAN region, two major viewpoints were advanced to the Committee. Amnesty International argued that consideration of human rights issues should be an essential component of any foreign policy deliberations. It suggested that:

'Australia can play an important role in promoting and protecting human rights in Asia. The Australian Government, in addition to seeking to make a place for human rights matters to be raised in its dealings with ASEAN nations, should initiate discussion within the region on the promotion and protection of human rights.'⁴⁹

4.39 Amnesty (and the ACTU) submitted that human rights factors should be considered when a government is contemplating granting economic aid. Amnesty did not argue that the granting of aid should be conditional on the human rights record of the receiving country, but it recommended that the Australian government pass on concerns about human rights issues to aid-receiving countries 'as a matter of course', that non-governmental organisations be notified of the dates of reviews of the annual aid budget, and that any budgetary review of foreign aid should continually take into account the need to ensure that aid is not used in human rights violations.⁵⁰

4.40 In the area of military aid, Amnesty argued that legislation should be established so that human rights are taken into account when a supplier country is considering a transfer of military, security or police aid.⁵¹

4.41 Other witnesses, while accepting that human rights issues are likely to be an ongoing part of Australia's perceived interests in the ASEAN region, argued for a flexible and restrained approach. Dr Girling commented that, 'There are cases where "quiet diplomacy" is more effective than outright

criticism ...' although sometimes candid measures would be in order.⁵² Dr Angel saw the differences between the political cultures of Australia and the ASEAN members as a continuing potential source of friction. Tensions that may arise in this area could be contained by sensitive and perceptive diplomacy, but he suggested that:

'... any suggestion that aid should be curtailed because of Australian disapproval of domestic policies in an ASEAN country should not be lightly accepted in a mood of righteous moral indignation. Careful consideration of the implications and precedents would need to be given before such a potentially serious decision were made.'⁵³

4.42 The Committee recognises the widespread interest in Australia in human rights issues and the continuing role which these issues may play in Australian relations with the ASEAN region. In the light of the substantial differences in historical background and in political cultures between Australia and its ASEAN neighbours, it is likely that Australian expressions of concern about human rights issues will involve conflicts with values advanced by ASEAN governments. The level of influence which Australia can exert on human rights issues will depend partly on the overall quality of Australia's multilateral and bilateral relationships in the region. If Australia has established a well-conceived set of political and economic policies towards its ASEAN neighbours, it can argue with credibility that human rights concerns are an ongoing part of Australia's interest in the region. The Committee notes the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mr Hayden) in his speech of 9 December 1983 that there is

'... no reason why the ordinary relations between states in trade and diplomacy need be disrupted by drawing attention to the existence of human rights violations. Both diplomacy and commerce should be resilient enough to accommodate a concern for human rights.'⁵⁴

4.43 Australia will need to continue to approach human rights issues in ASEAN countries with sensitivity. Attempting to draw direct associations between the extension of aid (military or civil) and human rights performances of regional governments would not, except in unusual circumstances, be appropriate. Any such actions would need to be weighed against the importance of maintaining channels of communication with regional governments on these issues.

5. Media relations

4.44 Effective communication through the media is of obvious importance for the promotion of mutual awareness and understanding between Australia and the ASEAN region. The Committee's inquiries in this area of relations focussed on the role of Radio Australia, although the print media is also clearly of major importance in conveying information and influencing perceptions. Australian media relations with ASEAN countries have encountered some tensions, notably with Indonesia. The potential for some difficulty in this area is likely to continue given the somewhat differing roles of the media in Australia and most ASEAN members.

4.45 The ASEAN region is an area assigned high priority by Radio Australia. It broadcasts extensively to the region in English. It also broadcasts in Indonesian and, to a lesser extent, in Chinese and Thai. Broadcasts are not directed to the Philippines in a Filipino language at present; the Controller of Radio Australia, in testimony said that the organisation saw the establishment of a service in Tagalog as an important long-term priority. Its listening audience in Indonesia is estimated at about 15 million.⁵⁵ In its submission, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation saw Radio Australia as having an important role in relations with the region:

'Radio Australia, the Overseas Service of the Australian Broadcasting [Corporation], plays a major part in promoting good relations between Australia and ASEAN nations. In its broadcasts throughout the region, it has consistently depicted Australia as a country with significant Asian interests which are compatible with the interests of Asian countries. In doing so it has done much to overcome the misunderstandings which flow from our differences of culture. By making its audiences of many millions in ASEAN nations more aware of Australia's presence and interests in the region, and through programs about Australian trade, investment, science and technology, Radio Australia is providing many opportunities for Australia to sustain and develop its role in South East Asia.⁵⁶

4.46 The Dix report into the ABC in 1980 examined the role of Radio Australia and concluded that it was desirable that it should be seen to be independent, but that this independence should not mean that the body can operate with indifference to Australia's international objectives and purposes. The Dix report concluded that Radio Australia's policies should properly be subject to a wide range of influences, one of which would be government policies.⁵⁷ The relationship between Radio Australia and the Department of Foreign Affairs operates under guidelines agreed between the ABC and the Department in 1975, which state that Radio Australia 'can play a valuable role in presenting an objective Australian voice in the regions of immediate concern to us. It should be able to present itself as a believable, independent broadcaster and not an instrument of Australian government policy.'⁵⁸ The Department is to bring to Radio Australia's attention any news reports considered damaging to Australia's foreign policy interests and Radio Australia would have the responsibility of taking the Department's representations into account, while retaining the right of final editorial decision. In testimony, the Controller of Radio Australia (Mr Barnett) stated that the relationship between the Department of Foreign Affairs and Radio Australia worked effectively.⁵⁹

4.47 Several factors have inhibited Radio Australia's operations in recent years. The destruction of its transmitters near Darwin, by Cyclone Tracy in 1974, weakened substantially its broadcasting power to the Southeast Asian region. The Darwin facilities were due to return to operation in September 1984 (almost a decade after their destruction). Radio Australia's broadcasting capacities will also be enhanced by the introduction of a new transmitter at Carnarvon, and expanded facilities at Shepparton.⁶⁰

4.48 Radio Australia has also been affected by problems in relations with Indonesia. In 1980, Radio Australia's representative (Mr Joe Coman) was refused a visa and the ABC staff correspondent in Indonesia, (Mr Warwick Beutler), was expelled. Radio Australia has not since been able to regain representation in Indonesia. The Controller of Radio Australia told the Committee that he could not see, in the foreseeable future, the prospect of a Radio Australia or ABC correspondent working out of Jakarta. In other ASEAN countries, while occasional issues of contention may have arisen, Radio Australia has not had problems to a similar degree; ABC/Radio Australia correspondents have been able to operate without their continued presence being brought into question.⁶¹

4.49 The Committee considered that it did not have sufficient evidence to determine how successfully Radio Australia performs the function of promoting awareness of Australia in the ASEAN region. The Committee is therefore unable to confirm that Radio Australia is performing this function as successfully as the organisation itself claims. In addition to the function of promoting awareness of Australia in the region, which in itself is a normal and accepted role for a national broadcaster, Radio Australia also broadcasts English language courses which it maintains are particularly popular in Indonesia. Apart from Radio Australia's own evidence on the effectiveness of the English language courses, the Committee did

not have available to it evidence from other sources on which to make an assessment. Radio Australia also broadcasts in Asian languages news and commentaries on developments in the countries of ASEAN. It is this aspect of Radio Australia's activities which has caused some embarrassment to Australia in its foreign relations particularly with Indonesia.⁶² The Committee considers that the implications of this activity of Radio Australia have not been specifically addressed in recent years.

4.50 The Committee is also concerned about the extent to which ASEAN governments and listeners may associate Radio Australia with the Australian Government, and assume that views or news analyses broadcast to the region reflect government attitudes or policies. The Dix inquiry was also concerned that Radio Australia should be seen by its audience as independent.⁶³ The difficulty in presentation from the Australian viewpoint is that Radio Australia is an arm of a statutory authority, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, and fully funded by the Australian Government.

4.51 The Committee recommends that in view of the important implications of Radio Australia's activities for Australia's foreign relations in the ASEAN region, the Parliament should conduct a review of Radio Australia's functions, relations with the Australian Government and activities in Southeast Asia.

4.52 In relation to the Australian privately owned electronic and print media, the Committee is aware both of the importance of extensive reporting of developments in the ASEAN region for Australian awareness, and of the potential sensitivities which may arise because of differing value-orientations between Australia and ASEAN governments and media. A recent expression of ASEAN sensitivities was provided by the reservations expressed by Prime Minister Mahathir about the excessive frankness of the Australian news media, during his

visit to Australia in August 1984.⁶⁴ It would be unrealistic to expect that all potential problems in media relations can be avoided. Further communication between Australian and ASEAN media personnel, however, can serve valuable functions.

4.53 In this context, the Committee notes with approval the initiative of the Australian Government and ADAB in sponsoring the joint seminar for ASEAN and Australian journalists in June 1984. On the basis of the Committee's discussions with those visiting journalists, there is room for considerable improvement in the level of awareness of Australian policies by professionals working in the ASEAN media, especially the print media. The seminar was a valuable step towards improving awareness of Australia in the ASEAN region and this type of communication should be continued and extended. The Committee also considers that awareness of Australia in the region would be improved if ASEAN print media representation in Australia were not so limited as at present.

6. Consultation, coordination and planning in Australia-ASEAN relations

4.54 Australia-ASEAN relations involve a wide variety of areas of cooperation. Bilateral relations are pursued concurrently with the multilateral association and a number of Australian government departments and agencies are involved, as well as numerous other areas of Australian society, notably the business sector. Clearly, the management of Australia's relations with ASEAN and its member countries is a complex and difficult task. The desirability of effective coordination of policy in government has been made clear by some past problems, notably the ICAP dispute.

4.55 The Standing Inter-Departmental Committee on ASEAN was established among Departments in Canberra in 1977, during the time of ASEAN's first joint trade campaign against Australia. The

importance of continuing and enhanced coordination in Government was stressed to the Committee. Professor Miller noted that close coordination among Departments, especially Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade and Resources was necessary and that

'In public statements, ASEAN members do not distinguish between the responsibilities of this or that department within the Government of Australia, but treat each Australian policy as part of a unified governmental approach ...'⁶⁵

The Committee therefore considers it important that the formulation and announcement of policy affecting the ASEAN region be well-coordinated among Government agencies, mutually consistent, and not open to misunderstanding by ASEAN countries.

4.56 In addition to the obvious need for continual coordination, a number of witnesses saw a need for enhanced attempts at longer range research and planning in the relationship. In discussing Australia-ASEAN economic relationships, Dr Hill and Mr Healey emphasised the lack of emphasis in Australian universities on sustained research on the ASEAN economies and on Australia's relations with them.⁶⁶ Dr Hill, Research Co-ordinator of the ASEAN-Australia Joint Research Project, stated that 'the publications of the Project [during 1984 and 1985] will hopefully remedy this situation to some extent, but there is a strong case for instituting a small, policy-oriented research scheme on a more permanent basis after 1984' when the Project is due to wind up.⁶⁷ The Committee notes Dr Hill's comments and considers that the investigation which it recommends (in paragraph 4.60) into the feasibility of an Australia-ASEAN Council, should include the feasibility of a longer-term ASEAN/Australia economic research project.

4.57 Professor Miller also stressed the need for longer-term planning. He stated that it would be highly desirable if a coordinating body investigated,

'... (a) how ASEAN countries, individually and collectively, perceive their interests and priorities in Australia, in economic, military and social terms; (b) our military and intelligence relationships with ASEAN countries, and how these relate to our force structure; and (c) how our educational, military, immigration, trade and aid policies towards ASEAN countries fit together'⁶⁸

4.58 As regards enhanced, international, coordination between Australia and ASEAN, one avenue could be the development for the ASEAN region of a body similar to the Australia-China Council and the Australia-Japan Foundation. A number of witnesses saw such a body as having a potentially valuable role in promoting Australia-ASEAN relationships.⁶⁹ The ASAA, in its submission, argued that:

'The Australia-China Council and the Australia-Japan Foundation have contributed greatly to Australia's relations with China and Japan respectively. There is a greater awareness in Australia of these two East Asian countries now than there was a decade ago and some of the credit for this belongs to these bodies. By fostering cultural, scientific and educational exchanges they have done much not only to enrich our awareness of China and Japan but also in a more limited way to deepen knowledge of Australia in China and Japan. The annual cost is relatively small and in the long-term is money very well spent.'⁷⁰

4.59 The ASAA noted that there was room for debate on whether an overall Australia-ASEAN Council or a series of bilateral councils could promote coordination and awareness most effectively, but it should be possible to achieve the desired ends under the umbrella of an ASEAN Council. Like the Australia-China Council, its governing body should have wide representation from government, business, trade unions, the arts and education. It would have a very different function from the proposed Asian Studies Council. The ASAA argued that:

'An Australia-ASEAN Council would be extremely important in promoting knowledge of Australia in the ASEAN nations. The Australian Cultural Centre and the Australian Language Centre in Jakarta and the new project of the Australian Universities International Development Program to support the development of an Australian Studies program at the University of Indonesia are all important developments. There are many other programs and initiatives being undertaken by government and universities in individual ASEAN countries. An Australia-ASEAN Council would by no means supplant existing efforts but would provide an overview, an overall stimulus and a coordinating function to what are currently piecemeal efforts. The establishment of an Australia-ASEAN Council would in the long-term contribute greatly to Australians' understanding of the peoples and countries of Southeast Asia and to more people in the ASEAN countries understanding Australia a little better.'71

4.60 The Committee considers it most important that greater efforts be made to promote communication, coordination and public awareness in relations between Australia and the ASEAN region. The Committee feels that the consideration of appropriate institutional arrangements would benefit from further detailed study. The Committee therefore recommends that the Australian Government establish a working party, to include business and research specialists, to investigate and report on the feasibility of creating a broad-based, independent Council with functions of supporting, coordinating and reviewing Australian programs seeking to advance Australia-ASEAN relations. The Committee also recommends that such investigation take account of its observations in paragraph 4.56 concerning a possible longer-term project for ASEAN/Australia economic research which might be established under the auspices of any such Council.

7. Australian assistance to ASEAN education, especially
ASEAN students in Australia

(a) Benefits of Education in Australia

4.61 The education and training in Australia of post-secondary students from ASEAN countries is a major political, economic and cultural issue for both Australia and ASEAN. For Australia it involves a complex balancing of foreign policy and domestic considerations. Foreign Affairs regarded the overseas student program as 'the single most identifiable means of establishing durable personal contact and enhancing understanding of Australia by leaders in ASEAN countries', contributing also to 'closer economic relationships with ... the region'.⁷² The political and economic value of friendships and contacts with students, many of whom become decision-makers in the region, extends to a better ASEAN awareness of the economic and trading role which Australia can play in the region as well as a better understanding of the ASEAN region for Australians who interact with ASEAN students. In recognition of these 'two way benefits ... of improved understanding of the respective societies and business practices', it is ASEAN-Australia Business Council policy to support provision of additional educational opportunities for ASEAN students in Australia.⁷³

4.62 Australian education is appreciated by ASEAN governments as assisting their efforts to develop skilled manpower essential to national development, an important objective for Australia's overall aid program. Economic development in the region has proceeded faster than the development of local education facilities needed to support it. For example, some 50 000 Malaysian students study overseas, especially in business, administrative, scientific, technology and engineering courses. Australian education appears to be well regarded in terms of its standards, relevance, low cost and

geographic proximity. ASEAN countries benefit financially from Australia's foreign student program. The combined annual savings for ASEAN countries, including building and other capital savings, could easily exceed \$50 million, given that ASEAN students comprise about 70% of all foreign students in Australia and given the estimate in the 1984/85 Australian overseas aid budget of \$102.5 million⁷⁴ for the cost of educating foreign students. The Committee is pleased to note that this sum represents the first formal recognition of what until this financial year has been a 'subsidy' hidden in Australia's general education budget.

(b) ASEAN Education Needs

4.63 The following table of foreign students in Australian education highlights the high proportion of ASEAN, especially Malaysian, students.

Origin of Students Enrolled in Australian Secondary and Tertiary Institutions 30 June 1983			
Malaysia incl. Brunei	9210	Other Asia	2845
Indonesia	1060	Oceania	1183
Singapore	807	Europe	281
Thailand	216	Africa	165
<u>Philippines</u>	<u>53</u>	N. America	157
ASEAN	11 346	Middle East	62
		S. America	<u>28</u>
			4721
		TOTAL	<u>16 067</u>

Source: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

4.64 The number of foreign students in Australian formal secondary and tertiary courses nearly doubled between 1979 and 1983, and represented over 70% of all foreign private students. Malaysian students constitute, in turn, about 80% of all ASEAN students. The concerns expressed to the Committee and also by the Malaysian Prime Minister during his Australian visit in August 1984, about the need for liberal access for Malaysian students to Australian education, underline how importantly Malaysia regards this issue. This issue has become more sensitive since Britain, where about a quarter of Malaysia's overseas students traditionally studied, raised foreign student fees to cost recovery levels in 1980.⁷⁵ In the Goldring Committee's view, 'there is no doubt that the 1979 decision by the UK Government to introduce full cost fees for overseas students and, to some extent, the substantial increases ... in Canada, have been contributing factors to the increased demand ... for places in Australia ...'⁷⁶

4.65 An academic from the ASEAN region told the Committee:

'This is an area of deep concern for Malaysians. The demand for places in higher education is greater than the supply in Australia because of the re-channelling of students from the United Kingdom and the United States. If this is shut off by too high fees or too restricted quotas, this would intensify the tensions within [Malaysia's] plural society ... with a reduction in quota, there has been some resentment against Australian student policy among the Chinese.'⁷⁷

The Committee understands that Malaysians who are ethnically Chinese do not gain the degree of access to limited Malaysian education facilities as do ethnic Malays; and that this is part of the Malaysian Government's general policy to increase political, economic and social opportunities for Malay people. Through its acceptance of ethnically Chinese students, Australia

provides a facility without which communal tensions could become exacerbated. The Immigration Department referred to Malaysian sensitivities in its evidence, stating that the Malaysian Government 'had never liked the visa fee [Overseas Student Charge] and they do not like any increase in it'.⁷⁸ The Department also stated that:

'Australia recognises the importance Malaysia attaches to increasing the number of Malaysian Government sponsored students and tries to accommodate requests for increased numbers, although this may mean that fewer places will be available, particularly in public schools, for private students'.⁷⁹

4.66 The number of Indonesian students, traditionally modest, has increased steadily since 1980 (to over 9% of ASEAN students in 1983), a trend expected to continue as development needs and the use of English as a second language both expand. According to Foreign Affairs, 'it is important for fundamental foreign affairs objectives that Australia be able to meet a significant proportion of Indonesia's training requirements'.⁸⁰ Singapore provides the third highest proportion of ASEAN students (about 7% in 1983) and - like Malaysia - is attracted to Australia partly for reasons of proximity, technical standards and also English language tuition and Commonwealth ties. Thai and Filipino students remain small in number. For the Asian region overall, the judgment of the Jackson Committee is that 'demand for education services ... is likely to be quite large in the next 20 or so years'.⁸¹

(c) Foreign Affairs Implications for Australia

4.67 This Committee considers that Australia will need to show increasing sensitivity to the important issue of ASEAN student access. Because the issue appears to be of increasing significance to at least three ASEAN countries, it has the potential to be elevated from bilateral to regional concern.

Australia is regarded by ASEAN countries as an affluent Western country traditionally willing to bear most of their Australian education costs. The Committee notes that increasing demand from Malaysia combined with an increase in demand from Australian students led to a reduction in Malaysia's quota for new students in 1984 from 2300 (1983) to 1640, which was said to have 'caused an uproar'.⁸²

4.68 The Committee notes that restrictions on educational interchange among Commonwealth countries became an issue at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in 1981. To quote from the final communique:

'Heads of Government reaffirmed that student mobility and educational interchange ... were important to the national development efforts of Commonwealth countries ... [they noted] that there was wide spread and serious concern that the recent very substantial increases in overseas student fees in some countries were creating impediments to the movement of students.'⁸³

This comment reflected in part criticism of the introduction by Britain in 1980 of full fees for foreign students, a policy said to have led to a 30% decline in foreign student numbers within two years.⁸⁴

4.69 The Malaysian reaction to the British introduction of full fees was particularly strong:

'Between 1979 and 1981 [when Malaysian students totalled about 12 000 in British higher and further education] new entrants from Malaysia dropped by 3000 ... the fall off in the two years from the introduction of the full-cost fees in 1980 was particularly drastic for ... Singapore [down by] 52% and Malaysia 46% ... Malaysia has decided as a matter of policy to seek training elsewhere wherever possible ... The number of Malaysian students going to the United States has leapt ... since the new British fee structure was announced ... The government of Dr Mahathir has been so

annoyed by Britain's student fee policy, as well as by other British moves felt to be provocative, that [it directed] all public orders to be placed for goods and services from Britain had first to be cleared by the Prime Minister's office. [This was said to have contributed to a loss of British export orders.]⁸⁵

4.70 The Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility (CSCSM), which was established after the 1981 CHOGM, reported to Commonwealth Governments that the developed Commonwealth countries should provide for 'reasonable numbers of overseas students and levels of fees which are not prohibitive'. The CSCSM stated that full cost fees 'are inappropriate and injurious to Commonwealth interest'. If high differential fees are charged to overseas students, the CSCSM recommended that the host country should provide a general complementary system of awards. The Committee understands that foreign student numbers in Britain recovered significantly in 1983/84 and that this was due in part to considerable efforts by British institutions in raising scholarship funds and to the later introduction of an improved British Government scholarship scheme.⁸⁶

4.71 Australia is one of a decreasing number of Western developed countries not to require full or substantial cost recovery from overseas students or their home countries. Despite a 15% increase in Overseas Student Charges for 1984/85 varying between \$2500 per annum for general undergraduate courses to \$3350 for postgraduate courses, these charges represent little over one third of education costs.⁸⁷ The United States and Britain - the countries in which most ASEAN overseas students have traditionally studied - have full fees, with British undergraduate charges varying between £3150 and £7650 per annum.⁸⁸ In Canada, over half the provinces have substantial cost recovery.

(d) Domestic Implications for Australia

4.72 The increasing ASEAN demand for Australian training is causing critical reassessment in Australia of its present foreign student program. The cost of the program, and the extent to which Australian students may be displaced by competition for places from overseas students, were among the major issues canvassed in the 'Goldring' Committee report, tabled in the Parliament earlier this year. The Committee notes that foreign student quotas - 'guaranteed student allocation' (GSA) - have been applied by the Australian Government since 1980 because of 'the limited number of places which can be made available without disadvantaging Australian residents'.⁸⁹ Quotas, like fee increases, have been criticised by foreign governments.

4.73 The Committee notes the submission from the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee, which listed some major factors in any Australian review of foreign student policy:

- continuing high demand for foreign student access to Australia;
- a significant upturn in Australian student demand in 1983, leading to some displacement of qualified Australians from some courses (e.g. computing);
- increased numbers of foreign students in secondary schools (often older and more mature) seeking to matriculate into tertiary courses, with little apparent governmental control over the numbers enrolling in private schools;
- concentrations of foreign students in larger urban universities (for reasons of personal student preference and for overseas recognition of degrees);⁹⁰

The Committee notes the undesirability of foreign student concentrations in terms of undue pressure on places in certain courses, promotion or insularity among foreign students and displays of racial intolerance by minority groups.

4.74 The evidence received by this Committee on fee levels, student numbers and other foreign student issues largely reflected the differing approaches adopted in the Jackson and Goldring Committee reports. While both reports recognise the value to Australia (and ASEAN) of Australia's student program, each made inconsistent recommendations on the key issues of cost recovery and student numbers. The Committee notes that the Government is presently seeking to reconcile these two approaches.

(e) The Jackson and Goldring Reports

4.75 The Committee interprets the basic approach of the Jackson report as encouraging the growth and international competitiveness of Australian education facilities, which should be promoted and 'sold' without substantial subsidy from the Australian budget. Foreign students would be limited not by the present quota system but by academic merit, available places, which it assumed would expand as full fees were paid directly to the enrolling institutions, and by full fees which however would be gradually introduced over a decade together with an expanding scholarship system. In practice, the Committee notes there would be a numerical limit in relation to prospective students unable to obtain a scholarship and unwilling (or unable) to pay the higher fees. The Committee also notes that the larger were the scholarship funds the more they would reduce the extent to which Australia's costs would be recovered through full fees. It is apparent, from the Jackson Committee's suggestion that about 10 000 scholarships might be available by the mid-1990's - at an estimated cost of about \$150 million⁹¹ - that its approach

should not be viewed necessarily or only in terms of true 'cost recovery' for Australia. This comment is relevant in assessing some of the Goldring Committee's criticisms of what it described as the 'full-cost recovery' approach. Overall, the Jackson Committee approach appears to anticipate a substantial increase in foreign students, while seeking to avoid any substantial dislocation of the education of Australian students or of the education budget. It would, however, increase the aid budget or at least the education component of that budget.

4.76 The Goldring Committee recently reviewed private overseas student policy in the light of concern at the possible displacement of Australians from educational institutions, the cost to the Australian taxpayer and the degree to which the program was meeting its objectives. Its recommendations were made on the basis required by its terms of reference, that encouragement of overseas students should not result in reduced opportunities for Australian residents or increased public sector outlays. A generalised comparison between the 'Jackson' and 'Goldring' recommendations on overseas student policy is included in the table following paragraph 4.79.

4.77 The Goldring report - like the Jackson report - recommends the abolition of the present country quotas, and that student selection be by educational institutions and based on academic merit alone. However, its concern about the currently limited capacity of the general education system, which it saw as barely adequate for the increased Australian student demand, led it to differ from the Jackson Committee's expansionist orientation. It recommended only modest increases in foreign student numbers over the 1985-1990 period. It also recommended a more even student distribution in mainstream courses, a recommendation with which this Committee concurs, but sought to limit numbers: each institution would be encouraged by budgetary

incentives to enrol between 5% and 10% of their total full-time undergraduates as foreign students, with 25% as the limit in any one course.

4.78 The Goldring Committee also recommended no substantive changes to the present level of Overseas Student Charges, to be maintained at about 30-40% of educational costs:

'[foreign] students should make some contribution to their education in Australia, on the basis that Australian resident(s) ... contribute to their educational costs. The existing Overseas Students Charge, though unpopular, provides the best available means for collecting this contribution. Because of the considerable benefits flowing from the overseas student program, and the [limited] means of overseas students to pay, there should [continue to be] a substantial subsidy. The Charge should, to the extent possible, represent 30-40% of educational costs ... [but this factor] should not be the only one determining the level of the charge'.⁹²

4.79 Where students can demonstrate financial hardship, a limited scholarship fund to be provided institutions by the Government from Overseas Students Charge revenue may be administered by the particular institution.⁹³ However, it considered that any general scholarship scheme, necessary to provide full distributional equity, was not feasible because means testing would be quite impractical.⁹⁴ It also doubted that an expanded ADAB-administered, government-to-government scholarship scheme would be effective in producing equity, because 'academic ability and need are not always the criteria adopted by foreign governments [in nominating students].⁹⁵

SUMMARY COMPARISON BETWEEN
'JACKSON' AND 'GOLDRING' RECOMMENDATIONS

Jackson

1. Student Numbers

Lift country quotas; numbers to be limited only by ability to win merit scholarships or eligibility for scholarships for disadvantaged groups or ability to pay full fees, and by available places in institutions.

2. Student Charges

'Full economic fee' for students not on scholarships.

3. Scholarships

Comprehensive system of scholarships (not means tested), most based on merit and including some development criteria, and some for disadvantaged groups.

4. Funding

Extra places for overseas students to be funded from full fees paid directly to institutions

Scholarship funds to come from aid budget (perhaps up to \$150 million by mid-1990's).

Goldring

1. Student Numbers

Lift country quotas and allow modest increase in numbers, within present education system capacity and without displacing Australian students; capacity would be encouraged by a more even distribution of overseas students among Australian institutions (5-10% of each institution's total student numbers).

2. Student Charges

Maintain Overseas Student Charges (OSC) at between 30% and 40% of education costs.

3. Scholarships

Limited scholarship fund for students in financial hardship, but with-

no comprehensive scheme because means testing impractical.

4. Funding

As present, with OSC paid into general government revenue, and subsidy.

Subsidy, for education costs not met by OSC, to be recognised in, and debited against, the aid budget.

4.80 The following excerpts from the Goldring Report indicate why it differed from the more expansionist and commercial approach of the Jackson Committee:

- . 'Several arguments in favour of a market-based approach to education for overseas students... after very careful consideration ... were rejected insofar as mainstream (i.e. formal) education is concerned. Education, while in some senses a commodity which can be bought and sold, is far more than that.
- . The Committee could not see that any system of fees based on recovery of full costs ... could be completely self-financing ...
- . Educational planning for 'mainstream' educational activities, particularly courses of study leading to formal awards, must primarily be based on planning for the needs of Australian residents.
- . Further, a system based on full-cost recovery would discourage overseas students from coming to Australia ... would disadvantage students of limited economic means, and could, if fees were paid direct to institutions [as recommended by the 'Jackson' Report], endanger academic standards and the quality of education offered to Australian residents.
- . Suggestions that the disadvantages attaching to ... the recovery of full educational costs could be overcome ... by ... a system of scholarships were also considered and rejected. ... Sufficient scholarships to provide for even a substantial proportion of the private overseas students already in Australia would require additional public sector outlays, diversion of existing aid funds, or the setting of fees for overseas students at such a high level that they would be a disincentive for students to study in Australia.'⁹⁶

4.81 Despite what appears to be a formidable catalogue of inconsistencies between the Jackson and Goldring approaches, this Committee considers it productive to clarify the few essential differences; those relevant to what it sees as the

over-riding issue, namely, the requirement of providing ASEAN students access on reasonable terms to Australia's education services, without at the same time prejudicing Australians' own access.

4.82 The Committee considers that the Goldring assessment that a system based on full costs could not be completely self-financing, while possibly correct, need not be applied to the Jackson approach: that approach did not argue for full cost recovery, rather that a significant proportion of foreign students should pay a 'full economic fee'. Instead, under the Jackson approach, a large number of scholarships - possibly up to 10 000 within ten years - would be progressively developed and funded from the aid program budget as fee levels were progressively raised for paying students. As Goldring speculated, such a scheme might need to involve public funding greater than at present.

4.83 Depending on the extent to which an Australian education 'industry' could attract significantly more overseas students paying significantly higher fees, differences between the two approaches in terms of net cost to Australia might not be significant. However, there would be differences in equity distribution: under 'Goldring' a similar proportion of foreign students as at present would continue to pay at relatively low and internationally competitive fee levels; whereas 'Jackson' would require possibly a majority of students to pay substantially higher fees which might or might not prove to be internationally competitive. (Considerable prior research, and later, evaluative experience would be needed). The Jackson approach has the potential to produce a broader distribution of education benefits to overseas students, among whom capacity to pay would vary considerably. Further, because fees would be paid to the enrolling institutions to fund additional places, Australian students should not be disadvantaged, assuming

courses did attract enough higher fee students. The ambitious scholarship program would still need to rely on significant aid funds.

4.84 To a large extent the economic and the international viability of the Jackson approach would appear to depend on increases in Australian Government aid funding, and on the ability to attract a significant proportion of foreign students at significantly higher fee levels. This Committee notes that the quality and relevance of Australian courses may need to improve, to continue to attract students at cost levels approaching levels charged in other educating countries. This Committee is hopeful that international competition will stimulate further development and improvement of Australian education, both for Australian and foreign students.

4.85 One of the financial questions unanswered by the Jackson Committee lies in its assumption that full cost fees would still attract a large number of overseas students. The British full fee experience,⁹⁷ with its significant initial reduction in student demand - at least, it seems, from the Southeast Asian region - deserves close analysis. So too does the adverse Malaysian political reaction, already detailed in this chapter, which is particularly worrying for Australia since its foreign affairs interests, unlike Britain's, lie primarily in the ASEAN region of developing countries. Positive lessons that may be learned, however, from the British experience, are the need to offer a compensatory scholarship system and to phase in full fees gradually and after full consultation with affected countries (which Britain did not). If a full fee approach could be planned, costed and presented so as to satisfy these important commercial and foreign relations problems, it could produce the important benefits of increased student numbers while still satisfying Australian demand, and better courses for both Australian and foreign students.

4.86 The Committee points out that any increase in the level of Australian funding needed to finance the 'Jackson' scholarship scheme, to the level needed to make up for any shortfall in foreign students numbers resulting from full fees, need not require increased contributions from Australians: such an increase could be borne either by a relatively larger aid budget or by giving education greater relative priority within an aid budget unchanged overall.

(f) Factors for Consideration in Reviewing Overseas Student Policy

4.87 Numerous witnesses,⁹⁸ emphasised Australia's comparative advantage in higher education services in the region, and recommended expanding Australia's tertiary education and technical training facilities and promoting them to the ASEAN region. Dr Edwards recommended that Australian institutions should, at the same time, tailor courses more to ASEAN needs, seeking to attract more students able and willing to pay full fees:

[the objective] would be to get them [foreign students] into Australia, into the fields that they really want to be in, [for example] ...medicine ... engineering ... business studies ... [to] expand those faculties to meet that demand ... [to] incorporate ... a reasonable element in the courses ... related to the problems those students will face in their countries. ... we ought to work towards making a distinctive contribution, one that would not be offered in America, England or Europe ...'⁹⁹

The Committee notes that such courses could serve a second purpose of promoting in Australian students a better awareness of overseas conditions and interests.

4.88 While few, if any, witnesses doubted that Australia should expand its educational services to cater for greater numbers of ASEAN students, there was a marked difference over

the level of fees that should be charged; a difference that tended to reflect differing perspectives of the rationale for expanded services - on the one hand, promoting a growth industry for Australia and, on the other hand, furthering Australian development aid to the region. A few witnesses,¹⁰⁰ including two Malaysian academics, considered the present order of charges not inappropriate (as did the Goldring Committee). Most witnesses recommended either that the fees be substantially raised - for students (and Governments) able to pay¹⁰¹ - or that present charges be reduced or even abolished.¹⁰²

4.89 The Committee received opinions from ASEAN academics about the sorts of Australian policy options that might be well regarded in the region. One Malaysian witness said that

'we would like to see more students coming to Australia than going to the United Kingdom and the United States. ... Australia could be the centre of academic excellence in this part of the world ...it can be a service which can be sold profitably, and it need not be at the expense of Australian students ... but this means that you have to expand your education and infrastructure to accommodate as many students as it possibly can'.¹⁰³

He concluded, however, by stating that any commercial fee which was not competitive with US or UK levels would lead ASEAN students away from Australia and 'would defeat your foreign policy ends'.¹⁰⁴

4.90 The extent to which overseas student charges could be raised without deterring students or causing substantial deterioration of relations with ASEAN countries, or both, is a difficult but central question to address. When asked whether it would be realistic to raise fees, whether there would be a strong market among ASEAN students at full fee levels, the Immigration Department recognised that Australian education

would then have to compete with education services in other countries such as Britain and the US which charge full fees. It commented that 'despite the increasing affluence of the region, the cost of educating a student in Australia is a cause of concern to source country governments'.¹⁰⁵ The Committee has already noted that foreign student numbers in Britain declined after 1980, until broad British scholarship schemes were introduced in 1983. The Committee considers, on the evidence before it, that for both commercial and diplomatic reasons, a detailed survey of demand in the region would be desirable - in addition to consultations with ASEAN countries - before any Government consideration of raising fees for private students to levels approaching those in alternative educating countries such as Britain, the US or Canada.

4.91 The Committee notes the Goldring Committee's 'serious doubts about the capacity of large numbers of overseas students to pay full-cost' and that 'despite popular misconceptions, the majority of current and potential overseas students are not "wealthy" by Australian standards'. This Committee also notes that the consultancy survey of overseas students on which the above assessment was based (see Appendix G of Goldring Report) commented that 'If education is regarded as an investment, as many of the Chinese [the great bulk, ethnically, of foreign students in Australia] see it, it will be bought at market prices when there are limited and shrinking opportunities to secure it'.¹⁰⁶ The most commonly mentioned financial limit in the survey was about double the existing Overseas Student Charge levels.

4.92 Clearly, there will be limits - even if not readily quantifiable - beyond which any movement towards full fees could be counter-productive from both student demand and foreign relations perspectives. It is important that policy development in the education sector should be constantly considered in the context of Australia's overall political and economic interests in the ASEAN region. It is understandable and logical that

Australian policies towards overseas students should be compared with those pursued by the US, Britain and Canada. It should be expected that foreign policy considerations will play a relatively greater part in Australian policy considerations on this issue than need be the case for other Western countries not located in proximity to the ASEAN region. Full fees could, for example, be appropriate to students in professional courses, with expectations of higher-level earnings and prepared to pay more for specially relevant courses or subjects, though such fees would still need to be competitive with any comparable courses in other English-speaking countries.

4.93 To conclude, this Committee considers that the Australian Government's overseas student policy review should include the broadest possible assessment of the relative values of ASEAN goodwill and favourable personal contacts with an understanding of Australia, on the one hand, and the net financial benefits (or costs) of further developing Australia's overseas education sector. Before seeking to develop Australia's regional advantages in higher and technical education further, Australian authorities and institutions must first consult ASEAN needs and reactions, and survey the ASEAN 'market' for appropriate course types and fee levels.

(g) Conclusions: the Committee's Own Approach to Overseas Student Policy

4.94 On balance, the Committee considers that the present overseas student system, with its combination of quotas and subsidies, is not satisfactory to either Australia or those foreign countries whose students demand exceeds the supply of Australian places. In principle, the Committee recommends to the Australian Government that it give careful consideration to a new overseas student policy to include the following features:

(i) gradual and predictable increases in overseas student charges to reach a level of operating costs as determined by the Government;

- such fees to be retained by the enrolling institutions to assist their funding of the additional places (and avoidance of any displacement of qualified Australian students) and as an incentive to attract higher overseas enrolments with improved courses.

(ii) the parallel development of a comprehensive system of scholarships, to be funded out of the aid budget:

- an Australian government-to-government scheme similar to that presently operating
- a scheme of 'free places' based on merit (not means-tested) but excluding living allowances, such scheme to be administered by institutions from Commonwealth (aid) funds. The Committee envisages that this category would comprise most of the scholarships
- a supplementary system of free places, including living allowances, for financially disadvantaged categories of students, to be administered by the Government's aid authorities and intended to promote general development objectives in the students' countries. Such developmental scholarships would not be means-tested; indeed, developmental criteria would be employed and would need to take account of specially disadvantaged or under-represented categories such as Pacific Islanders and women from certain countries.

(iii) the planning, implementation, and review of such a policy must be undertaken in the closest possible consultation with all source countries especially the ASEAN countries, so that their concerns will be taken into account fully.

(h) Other Forms of Education Assistance

4.95 The Committee considers there may be promise in the proposal by the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee for negotiation with individual source countries of training agreements, like 'trade packages':

'with certain countries, particularly [in] the Middle East this is perfectly viable and highly desirable. We see no reason why the Australian taxpayer should fund the training of [such students] ... We would have much greater hesitation about developing trade packages with the developing countries like Indonesia.'¹⁰⁷

A similar idea was proposed by the Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Kuala Lumpur:

'... there is an excellent means for Australia to increase Malaysia's technical manpower by means of an agreement in which a substantial number of Malaysians can be trained in Australia. Here, technical training can cover medicine, dentistry, engineering, agricultural sciences, economics and accountancy.'¹⁰⁸

At least two likely benefits make the inter-governmental education package idea worthy of consideration. The first is that it would facilitate and improve Australian planning to direct foreign students away from pressured institutions or courses (such as scientific and computing courses in Sydney and Melbourne) and into under-utilised faculties. Second, it would

increase the Government's opportunity to encourage study by particular types of students considered to be under-represented in home country-sponsored schemes or in full fee courses. At the same time, the Committee notes an additional option that Australian institutions - individually or collectively - should be free to negotiate foreign student training packages directly with institutions in the region, as foreshadowed in the Goldring Report.

4.96 A further category of students might benefit more from essentially short specialised training or from access to technical or postgraduate scientific facilities. This is an area worthy of increased emphasis, according to a senior ASEAN academic working in Australia¹⁰⁹ who argued that short-term courses (say, one year or shorter) would be less disruptive to ASEAN students, with less risk of their remaining in Australia as a 'brain-drain' on their own countries.¹¹⁰ The Committee notes that if a higher proportion of foreign students took shorter training courses, more foreign students could benefit from Australian education, without increasing pressure on Australian education facilities. It also notes that the Malaysian Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir referred in his National Press Club address in Canberra in August to his Government's consideration of possibly sending students abroad only in their final year, at least if foreign universities could assist in strengthening Malaysian institutions to cater for more junior students. Australian assistance to ASEAN institutions is addressed in the following section (i).

4.97 While the Committee received insufficient evidence to enable it to evaluate fully the proposals for student 'trade packages' and the Malaysian idea that Australia might consider taking a higher proportion of senior year students in total overseas student numbers, it considers that both ideas warrant further attention in the Government's review of overseas student policy.

4.98 A commercial approach might be applied to special commercial or technical courses, outside the education 'mainstream', organised by private or public institutions and directed especially at foreign students. In the latter respect, this Committee notes the Goldring Committee recommendation that the prohibition on institutions charging tuition fees be lifted in relation to foreign students undertaking external courses.¹¹¹ This Committee also notes the Goldring recommendations that:

'Any proposal for a privately funded tertiary institution should receive serious consideration [as should] development studies centres ... providing research and study opportunities of particular interest to overseas students - Northern Australia in particular would appear to be a suitable area ...'¹¹²

External studies, using the latest satellite technology for 'distance education' were also commended by the Goldring Report. The Darwin Community College was mentioned as an institution interested both in that development¹¹³ and in package deals with foreign institutions. This Committee notes with approval the Goldring recommendation that 'export incentives should be available to promoters of educational services in the non-formal (including commercial), English language and external study areas'¹¹⁴

4.99 One of the greatest of Australia's comparative trade advantages is the English language itself: Australia should plan to become the regional centre for English language teaching, as recommended to the Committee by the Department of Education and Youth Affairs.¹¹⁵

(i) Assistance to Education in ASEAN Countries

4.100 The Australian Universities International Development Program, administered by the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC), is directed to strengthening universities in neighbouring countries, primarily in the ASEAN region, by assisting their staff improve their capacities in teaching, research and administration. The AVCC stated that

'... Consultancy visits, research collaboration, assistance in course planning and curriculum evaluation, staff recruitment and selection, assistance in university organisation and planning, postgraduate fellowships, training courses, and assistance in the selection and procurement of equipment and library materials have all been used in integrated efforts to improve the quality, efficiency and developmental potential of regional universities.'¹¹⁶

The primary academic emphasis of the Program is on agriculture, food production and population studies.

4.101 The Committee considers that, in the longer term, Australia's aid and education policies should take into account the extent to which ASEAN countries should be encouraged to develop their own educational institutions towards substantial self-sufficiency. The Jackson Committee's judgment that 'demand for education services ... is likely to be quite large in the next 20 or so years'¹¹⁷ is relevant in this respect. The Committee notes the comment by the AVCC that ASEAN's longer term educational interests are better served by Australian assistance in supporting the development of ASEAN educational institutions.¹¹⁸ In this context, the Committee also notes that Australia's aid budget allocation to the AUIDP increased from \$5.3 million in 1983/84 to \$7.2 million in 1984/85.

ENDNOTES (Chapter IV)

1. Evidence, (Dr Buszynski, submission), pp.S62-63.
2. Evidence, (Dr Angel, submission) P.S266.
3. See for example, Anussorn Travisin, 'Australia a part of S.E. Asia?', Bangkok World, 23 June 1984, and Zainah Anwar, 'Aussies at the Crossroads', New Straits Times, 25 June 1984.
4. Evidence, p.S358.
5. Evidence, (Dr Wicks, submission), pp.S2-3.
6. Evidence (Asian Studies Association of Australia, submission) p.S1130. On the situation of Asian studies see also Evidence, Department of Education and Youth Affairs (sumission), pp.S984-985.
7. 'Report of the Asian Studies Committee to the 5th Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Adelaide May 13-18 1984' p.26.
8. ASAA Report, pp.26-28.
9. ASAA Report, pp.28-29.
10. ASAA Report, pp.29-33.
11. ASAA Report, p.31.
12. ASAA Report, p.31; Evidence, Department of Education and Youth Affairs (11 May 1984) pp.570-571.
13. ASAA Report, p.9.
14. ASAA Report, p.15.
15. Evidence, p.S1130.
16. Evidence, (ASEAN-Australia Business Council, submission), p.S755-756; ASEAN-Australia Business Council-ASEAN Section, p.S886.
17. Evidence, (18 May 1984), pp.419-420.
18. Evidence, p.S756.
19. Evidence, p.S756.
20. Evidence, pp.S755, 784-786.
21. Evidence, p.S785.
22. Evidence, (Mr Millin, 7 May 1984) p.489.
23. Evidence (Mr Stark, 7 May 1984), p.488.
24. ASAA Report, p.17.
25. Evidence, (Dr Tucker, 12 April 1984) p.161.
26. 'Guidelines to the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission for the 1985-87 Triennium', Minister for Education and Youth Affairs The Hon. Susan Ryan, Canberra, 5 July 1984, p.12.
27. Evidence, p.S756.
28. Evidence, p.S1130.
29. Evidence, p.S1131.
30. Evidence, p.S1133.
31. Evidence, p.S1133.
32. Evidence, p.S1135.
33. Evidence, p.S1133.
34. Evidence, p.S1133-1135; Letter from Secretary of the Department of Education and Youth Affairs to Chairman of Sub-committee on ASEAN (14 August 1984), comprising Exhibit 10.
35. Evidence, p.S1139.
36. Evidence, p.S1141.

37. Evidence, p.S1141; Dr Leigh (BISA) and Professor Ingleson (18 April 1984) pp.355-357.
38. Evidence, p.S310.
39. Evidence, p.S310.
40. Evidence, p.S311.
41. Evidence, p.S387.
42. Evidence, p.S387.
43. Far Eastern Economic Review, .22 December 1983.
44. Evidence, pp.S203-245.
45. Evidence, pp.S206-215.
46. Evidence, pp.S231, 231-239.
47. Evidence, (ACTU submission, 10 August 1984) pp.747-750.
48. Evidence, pp.S173-174.
49. Evidence, p.S197.
50. Evidence, (Amnesty International submission) pp.S199-200; ACTU submission, (10 August 1984) p.749.
51. Evidence, pp.S200-201.
52. Evidence, p.S174.
53. Evidence, p.S267.
54. Evidence, (Amnesty International submission) p.S197.
55. Evidence, (Australian Broadcasting Corporation submission) pp.S335-337; Mr Barnett, Radio Australia, 12 April 1984, p.113.
56. Evidence, p.S322.
57. Evidence, pp.S329-330.
58. Evidence, p.S341.
59. Evidence, p.S341; Mr Barnett, (12 April) pp.126-127.
60. Evidence, Mr Barnett, (12 April 1984) pp.124-126; S338-339.
61. Evidence, (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, submission) pp.S333-334; Mr Barnett, Radio Australia, (12 April 1984) pp.108, 113-115.
62. Evidence, (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, submission) pp.S333-334; Dr Angel (submission) p.S266, and (18 April 1984), pp.407-408.
63. Evidence, (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, submission), p.S328.
64. Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamed address to National Press Club, 10 August 1984.
65. Evidence, p.S26.
66. Evidence, (Dr Hill, Australian National University, submission), p.S743; Dr Healey (13 April) pp.264-267.
67. Evidence, p.S743.
68. Evidence, p.S26.
69. Evidence, (Department of Foreign Affairs, (6 April 1984), pp.43-44; (Centre for Asian Studies, University of Adelaide, submission) p.S343; (ASEAN-Australia Business Council submission) p.S759. The AABC did not explicitly advocate an Australia-ASEAN Council, but emphasised the need for greater private sector - government cooperation and coordination.
70. Evidence, p.S1132.
71. Evidence, p.S1132.
72. Evidence, p.S380.
73. Evidence, p.S801 (AABC).
74. 1984-85 Budget Paper No. 9, p.10.

75. See further P. Williams, 'Look West? Asian Attitudes to Study Abroad and Britain's Response' in Vol.14 Asian Affairs, February 1983, p.15; and Commonwealth Secretariat Towards a Commonwealth Higher Education Programme: Strategies for Action, June 1983.
76. Goldring Report, p.41.
77. Evidence, in camera.
78. Evidence, 21 May 1984, p.671.
79. Evidence, p.S1092.
80. Evidence, p.S477.
81. Jackson Report, p.93.
82. Evidence, 21 May 1984, p.669 (Immigration Department).
83. Quoted in Evidence, p.S962 (AVCC).
84. Goldring Report, p.243.
85. P. Williams in Asian Studies, Vol.14, pp.17-18; see also Towards a Commonwealth Higher Education Programme, loc.cit. p.6.
86. Times Higher Education Supplements, 9 December and 25 November 1983; the British Government announced in 1983 that Stg.46 million would be allocated over three years to increase support for overseas students.
87. Evidence, p.S1091 (Immigration Department).
88. Goldring Report, p.243.
89. Evidence, 21 May 1984, p.668 (Immigration).
90. Prime Minister Mahathir commented during his August 1984 visit to Australia that Malaysia was considering extending the Australian universities whose degrees it recognised.
91. Jackson Report, p.95.
92. Goldring Report, Summary volume, p.6.
93. Op.cit. p.10.
94. Goldring Report, p.103.
95. Ibid.
96. Goldring Report, Summary volume, p.5.
97. See references cited in Endnotes 85 and 86.
98. For example, Dr Edwards (see paragraph 4.87) and Professor Ariff, Evidence, in camera, 14 June 1984; see also Goldring Report, p.87.
99. Evidence, 11 May 1984, p.526.
100. For example, (Evidence, in camera, 14 June 1984); Dr Tucker (Evidence, 12 April 1984, pp.153-4).
101. For example, Dr Edwards (Evidence, 11 May 1984, pp.526-7; Professor Arndt (Evidence, 1 May 1984, pp.460-1).
102. For example, Dr Chandler (Evidence, 12 April 1984, pp.186-7).
103. Evidence, in camera, 14 June 1984 (Professor Ariff).
104. Ibid.
105. Evidence, p.S1091; also 21 May 1984, p.672.
106. Goldring Report, p.89.
107. Goldring Report, p.276.
108. On distinctions between operating and recurrent costs, capital costs, and marginal costs, see Goldring Report pp.78-80 and Towards a Commonwealth Higher Education Programme, loc. cit., p.22.
109. Evidence, 21 May 1984, p.711.

110. Evidence, p.S306.
111. Evidence, in camera, 14 June 1984.
112. Immigration Department statistics show that the number of overseas students permitted to remain in Australia as permanent residents decreased from 780 in 1978/79 to 477 in 1982/83: see Exhibit 11.
113. Goldring Report, p.162.
114. Goldring Report, pp.165-6.
115. Goldring Report, p.162.
116. Goldring Report, p.171.
117. Evidence, pp.S982-4, see also Goldring Report, Summary volume p.7.
118. Evidence, p.S955
119. Jackson Report, p.93.
120. Evidence, pp.S925-7.