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# 2013/16: Should Australia reduce its foreign aid?

## What they said ...

'I think what we are seeing is money being robbed from the world's poor to fund controversial tollways' Michael Sheldrick, the West Australian finalist for young Australian of the Year

'The best thing we can do for our country and ultimately the best thing we can do for people around the world is to strengthen our economy' Tony Abbott, Australia's Prime Minister

#### The issue at a glance

During the September 2013 election campaign the then shadow treasurer, Joe Hockey, announced that were the Coalition elected to govern the normal growth in foreign aid funding would be reduced by \$4.5 billion over the next four years.

The Coalition also removed the timeline for Australia to contribute 0.5 per cent of its Gross National Income to overseas aid - which was part of Australia's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals.

#### Background

(The following information is abbreviated from the Wikipedia entry titled AusAID. The full text can be accessed at <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/AusAID">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/AusAID</a>)

AusAID (the Australian Agency for International Development) is the Australian Government agency responsible for managing Australia's overseas aid program. The objective of the aid program is to assist developing countries to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, in line with Australia's national interest.

AusAID provides advice and support to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, presently the Hon. Julie Bishop MP on development policy, and plans and coordinates poverty reduction activities in partnership with developing countries. While an independent agency under the Financial Management and Accountability Act, it is part of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for the purposes of the Public Service Act which covers human resources and non-financial accountability. AusAID's head office is in Canberra. AusAID also has representatives in 25 Australian diplomatic missions overseas.

#### The operation of Australian foreign aid agencies

Prior to 30 June 2013, the agency reported to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Australia's first Minister for International Development was appointed on 1 July 2013. The current Director General is Peter Baxter. With the new Abbott government in power, the Minister for the DFAT is also the Minister for International Development.

The Australian government has been committed to the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals- agreed targets set by the world's nations to reduce poverty by 2016-and incorporates the principles of aid effectiveness into all its activities. (The Coalition has removed the timeline for Australia to contribute 0.5 per cent of its Gross National Income to overseas aid - which was part of Australia's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals.0 The 2005-06 Annual Report recorded 18 staff in the senior executive service out of a total of 516 public servant staff. Sixty-eight AusAID public servants are serving long-term postings outside Australia. These figures do not include locally employed staff outside Australia.

Total Australian Official Development Assistance in 2005-06 was A\$2,605 million, not all of it administered by AusAID. AusAID administered \$1,587 million of expenses in 2005-06 and also had departmental expenses (i.e. under its direct control) of A\$78 million.

#### Projects

Australia's aid program takes a leading role in the fight against preventable disease in our region. Australia's aid effort has wiped out polio from the Pacific. Australia has also funded measles and polio immunisations for more than 1.5 million children in Papua New Guinea.

AusAID works to improve the quality of basics services. Water supply and sanitation programs are providing fresh water for nearly 500,000 people in Tanzania, South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. AusAID funds projects such as the M? Thu?n Bridge in Vietnam's Mekong Delta region. The bridge now benefits more than three million people living below the poverty line.

Over the past 40 years: average life expectancy in developing countries has increased by 20 years; adult illiteracy has almost halved; maternal mortality has decreased by 50 per cent. the number of people living in poverty has fallen by 200 million since 1980.

Australian aid has contributed to these achievements.

#### Internet information

On October 1, 2013, The Canberra Times published an opinion piece by Robin Davies, the associate director of the

Development Policy Centre in the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University. The piece is titled 'Bending AusAID or breaking it?' The piece argues that the changes that the new government is making will damage Australia's foreign aid efforts.

The full text of this comment can be accessed at <u>http://www.canberratimes.com.au/national/public-service/bending-ausaid-or-breaking-it-20130929-2um04.html</u>

On September 20, 2013, The Conversation published a comment by Geoff Gallop,

Director, Graduate School of Government at University of Sydney, titled 'Why is Australian foreign aid so important?' which attempts to explain why giving foreign aid is to Australia's long-term economic advantage. The full text of this article can be found at <u>http://theconversation.com/why-is-australian-foreign-aid-so-important-18428</u>

On September 18, 2013, the Prime Minister's Office issued a press released titled 'The Coalition will restore strong, stable and accountable government'. One of the announcements made in this release was that AusAID will be 'integrated into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, enabling the aid and diplomatic arms of Australia's international policy agenda to be more closely aligned.' The full text of this announcement can be accessed at <a href="http://www.scribd.com/doc/169037461/13-09-18-The-Coalition-will-restore-strong-stable-and-accountable-government-pdf">http://www.scribd.com/doc/169037461/13-09-18-The-Coalition-will-restore-strong-stable-and-accountable-government-pdf</a>

On September 12, 2013, the ABC opinion site The Drum posted a comment by Joe McKenzie is an editor of the University of Technology Sydney's student magazine, Vertigo.

The comment is titled 'Australia should fund foreign aid. Here's why'. The comment argues against the reduction in foreign aid being proposed by the new Australian government.

The full text can be accessed at <u>http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-12/mckenzie-australia27s-aid-budget/4951302</u>

On September 10, 2013, The Conversation published a comment by Andrew Rosser, the Associate Director of the Indo-Pacific Governance Research Centre at the University of Adelaide. The piece is titled 'What does a Coalition government mean for Australian aid policy?' The comment considers the possible implications of the decisions already taken by the new Australian government.

The full text of this article can be accessed at <u>http://theconversation.com/what-does-a-coalition-government-mean-for-australian-aid-policy-17947</u>

On September 6, 2013, ABC News ran a report titled 'Australian Coalition's foreign aid cuts slammed' The report surveys the range of foreign policy and internal aide experts who have criticised the Coalition's reduction in anticipated levels of foreign aid.

The full text of this item can be found at http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-09-06/an-coalition-aid-cuts-reax/4940604

On August 26, 2013, SBS ran a background piece analysing Australia's foreign aid policy and suggesting both that funding should be increased and that how we manage that aid could be improved if we looked more closely at how India and China deliver foreign aid.

The full text of this item can be found at <u>http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2012/07/06/australias-foreign-aid-money-well-spent</u>

On August 19, 2013, The Interpreter ran an interview with the shadow foreign minister, Julie Bishop. The piece presents Bishop's view on the advantages of the Coalition's foreign aid and foreign policy directions. The full text of this article can be accessed at <a href="http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/08/19/Why-the-Coalition-is-the-best-choice-on-foreign-aid-and-trade-policy-at-this-election.aspx">http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/08/19/Why-the-Coalition-is-the-best-choice-on-foreign-aid-and-trade-policy-at-this-election.aspx</a>

On December 20, 2012, ProBono Australia published an article titled 'Australia Most Generous Country - World Giving Index' which reports on the high level of donations and gift giving that is demonstrated by Australians. The full text of this article can be accessed at <a href="http://www.probonoaustralia.com.au/news/2012/12/australia-most-generous-country-world-giving-index#">http://www.probonoaustralia.com.au/news/2012/12/australia-most-generous-country-world-giving-index#</a>

On May 23, 2011, The Conversation published a comment by Harry Minas, the Director, Centre for International Mental Health, Melbourne School of Population Health, The University of Melbourne. The piece is titled 'Australia's aid funding: does our performance match our promises?' and argues that relative to our prosperity and the commitments we have made Australia gives less foreign aid than might reasonably be expected of it.

The full text of this article can be accessed at <a href="http://theconversation.com/australias-aid-funding-does-our-performance-match-our-promises-1391">http://theconversation.com/australias-aid-funding-does-our-performance-match-our-promises-1391</a>

#### Arguments in favour of Australia reducing its foreign aid

1. Australia is not proposing to decrease its aid; rather it will halt the rate of growth

Supporters in of the change to Australia's level of foreign aid announced by the Coalition argue that it does not represent a reduction from current levels of assistance.

The reductions anticipated are cutbacks on the promised rate of growth, not reductions to the level of foreign aid

currently being given.

What Australia has done is renege on a promise made by former Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, to increase foreign aid from the current 0.37% of gross domestic product to 0.5%. Australia had also made a commitment- along with other countries that comprise the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's development assistance committee (OECD DAC) - to increase aid spending to 0.7% of GNI.

It is only the growth in aid recurred to meet these increased levels of commitment that have been put on hold.

2. Australia has to put its own economic interests first

The Coalition has claimed that Australia is not sufficiently economically secure to increase its level of foreign aid. The new federal treasurer, Joe Hockey, has stated, 'We can only be a more generous nation to the rest of the world if we have a strong Australian economy. And so we are reducing the growth in foreign aid by \$4.5 billion over the forward estimates to fund essential infrastructure here in Australia.'

Mr Hockey further stated, 'We can't continue to fund a massive increase in foreign aid at the expense of investment in the Australian economy to get the Australian economy to grow at trend and hopefully above trend growth. So we have to cut the growth in foreign aid to fund Australian infrastructure, because the stronger the Australian economy, the more generous we can be in the future.'

The same point has been made by Australia's newly elected prime minister, Tony Abbott. Mr Abbott has stated, 'The best thing we can do for our country and ultimately the best thing we can do for people around the world is to strengthen our economy.'

According to this line of argument, Australia has to put its own economic wellbeing first, because only when our economy is very robust will we be able to afford to give more foreign aid.

While still in opposition, the Coalition indicated the money that would be saved through not increasing foreign aid would be spent on infrastructure projects, including \$1.5 billion on Melbourne's East West Link, \$1.5 billion on Sydney's WestConnex and another \$1 billion on an upgrade to Brisbane's Gateway Motorway.

The finance minister, Andrew Rob, has stated, 'You'll see that we're front-end loading a lot of the infrastructure spend so we get projects up and away.'

3. Integrating AusAID into the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade will make the agency more efficient One of the first announcements made by the newly elected Abbott government was that it will have AusAID subsumed within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The Prime Minister, Tony Abbott, has claimed that this will enable 'the aid and diplomatic arms of Australia's international policy agenda to be more closely aligned.' This is in accord with statements made by Australia's new foreign affairs minister, Julie Bishop, before and after the election, which indicate that Australia's administration of foreign aid will be brought more clearly into line with Australia's regional strategic objectives.

It has been estimated that up to 1,400 employees may be retrenched or be lost to attrition as part of this efficiency bid over the next three years. Mr Abbott has stated, 'We do intend to trim the size of the commonwealth public sector by 12,000 through natural attrition over the next three years.' Mr Abbott has indicated that one of the consequences of improved efficiencies brought about by the merger of AusAID within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade is that some staff currently within AusAID will not have their contracts renewed or will not be replaced when they retire or resign.

The new head of AusAID, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Peter Varghese, has told DFAT and AusAID workers, 'We are at the beginning of what will be a lengthy and complex process, which we will approach logically and strategically, in a considered and transparent way.'

The effect of mergers and job reductions across the public service is meant to be increased efficiency and significant budget savings. Prior to the election the Coalition indicated that one of its principal measures for returning the budget to surplus, over time, would be increased government efficiency.

4. Increases in foreign aid are not the only way to advance Australia's interests in the region

Australia's incoming government argues that there are better ways than foreign aid to advance Australia's interests in our region. According to this line of argument, economic, defence and other strategic initiatives are of primary significance and foreign aid should be deployed within this larger regional policy framework.

Australia's new foreign minister, Julie Bishop, has stated, 'Our focus will be on economic diplomacy, with the various operations within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade better aligned in support of that policy across government. This will mean that DFAT will have a clear focus on promoting the economic interests of the Australian people and Australian businesses in its international engagement.'

Ms Bishop has further stated, 'Australia needs a focussed and effective, practical and principled overarching strategic framework designed to deepen our strategic, defence, trade, investment and diplomatic engagement throughout the region... Greater levels of aid do not necessarily correlate to better outcomes, nor does it inevitably lead to closer and more meaningful relationships.'

Julie Bishop has argued that rather than increasing the level of foreign aid we give, Australia needs to ensure that the recipients of our aid recognise where it comes from so that our standing in these countries is advanced. Ms Bishop argues that Australia needs to become better at self-promotion, rather than increase its level of aid. In a speech given on June 20, 2012, Ms Bishop stated, 'I recently attended the 50th anniversary of Samoa's independence. The official day was marked by celebrations, including a parade in which school children, community groups, and public servants all participated with undisguised enthusiasm and pride.

Dozens of United States Peace Corps members dressed in red, white and blue danced through the parade in a spectacular display, there were US marines, a US navy band no less, all joined in the celebrations. New Zealand was represented by their Governor-General and together with the United States, Japan, and China they were all strongly represented with large flags and banners on display.

Yet, despite being the single largest aid donor to Samoa, Australia's participation was barely noticeable.'

5. Some of Australia's foreign aid is misdirected

It has been claimed that some of those in receipt of Australia's foreign aid do not require it and that anomalies of this sort should be removed before any further increases in aid are made.

In an article published in The Australian on September 21, 2013, Greg Sheridan cited a number of areas to which he believes Australian foreign aid is inappropriately directed.

Mr Sheridan stated, 'For reasons that are completely baffling, the Australian taxpayer is liable for \$150,000 of the cost of a statue in New York commemorating campaigns against slavery in Africa and the Caribbean. Spot the Australian connection?'

Mr Sheridan went on to note, 'Then there are the millions of dollars Australian taxpayers have generously stumped up for the Palestinian Union of Agricultural Works Committees. A number of the board members and office-holders of this group are intimately associated with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the key progenitors of terrorism against Western targets, pioneering especially attacks on passenger aeroplanes...

Then there is the subvention given to Gareth Evans's old think tank, the International Crisis Group. The ICG does some good work, but how exactly is a rich think tank in Brussels the responsibility of the Australian taxpayer through the foreign aid budget?'

Mr Sheridan further observed, 'There are still aid programs delivered from Australia to China, though China has international reserves of more than \$US3 trillion (\$3.15 trillion).'

Finally Mr Sheridan was critical of the manner in which Australian foreign aid was being diverted to the Australian Immigration Department. Mr Sheridan noted, 'The Australian Immigration Department... is the third-largest recipient of Australia's foreign aid budget.'

Mr Sheridan explained that the Rudd government was using part of the foreign aid budget to fund the processing of asylum seekers. He argues that this is illegitimate. 'A technicality meant the government could spend money on asylum-seeker processing within Australia and still label it foreign aid - I suppose because the people being processed were foreigners - so in order to maintain the illusion it was approaching the GNI target, it made the Australian government the third largest recipient of Australian foreign aid.'

#### Arguments against Australia reducing its foreign aid

1. Reducing foreign aid is a denial of Australia's humanitarian tradition

It has been argued that Australia's democratic, humanitarian society depends on a respect for the rights of others. It has further been argue that this respect for human rights cannot be displayed in isolation. If we seek to advance the rights and wellbeing of our own citizens, we should seek to do this on an international level. Foreign aid enables us to do this.

On September 15, 2013, Joe McKenzie, an editor of the University of Technology Sydney's student magazine, Vertigo, stated, '...we live in a democratic society that is centred around protecting the rights of its citizens through all of its institutions. And as a free and democratic society we have an obligation to be concerned with the dignity of other human beings; an obligation that extends beyond "strategy" and "niceness" and that is instead an application of the values that actually bind us together as a polity.

It has been claimed that many Australians will be ashamed at the selfishness and indifference being displayed by their country's government.

John Brown, a specialist who has worked in the field of foreign aid for 30 years has stated, 'Australians who pride themselves on a fair go, generosity and a commitment to global justice and leadership are ashamed by the government's decisions on aid. We have the means to help, so let us pull our weight, partner others who wish to see a better world and play our role as a good global citizen. The electorate may well care much more about people living in poverty than the new government understands.'

2. Australia's foreign aid has made an important difference in the lives of those living in poorer nations Opponents of a reduction in Australia's foreign aid claim that altering aid policy runs the risk of undermining the achievements gained so far.

Australia's Catholic bishops have noted that extreme poverty has been halved since 1990, from 47 per cent of humanity to 24 per cent by 2008, and about 14,000 lives a day have been saved by aid and development in this time. Dr Helen Szoke, Oxfam Australia's Chief Executive, has noted, 'We know...that still 1 in 8 people go to bed hungry every night.

There's still a job to be done and what we were hoping was that with a bipartisan commitment we'd be able to continue the momentum to actually doing that job and that will now be slowed down.'

Dr Szoke has further noted, 'In any one year there will be over 2 million children who will be vaccinated, there will be 2 million people who will have access to safe water, there will be over 1 million children enrolled in schools. If you think about if that slowed that down then you can kind of see the knock on effect of that change.'

3. Australia's wealth does not justify a reduction in foreign aid

Australia is a very wealthy nation, one far wealthier than the majority of other nations in our region and far wealthier than those countries to which we give aid.

On September 15, 2013, Joe McKenzie, an editor of the University of Technology Sydney's student magazine, Vertigo, stated, 'Foreign aid is...about justifying the preposterous wealth (both economic and otherwise) of the society that we live in.

Australians enjoy an incredibly high standard of living, with a relative abundance of wealth particularly when compared to our geographic neighbours. The idea that we cannot afford to spend a fraction of this wealth improving the lives of the poor is utter nonsense.'

John Ferguson, executive officer of the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, has claimed that the Coalition policy is unworthy of a civilised nation.

Mr Ferguson has stated, 'Twenty per cent of the world's poorest live in our region. It's clear that Australia is the rich man and Lazarus is at our gates.' This is a reference to Jesus' story of the rich man and the sore-covered beggar Lazarus in the Gospel of Luke.

Mr Ferguson continued, 'A reduction in aid funding could be seen as the rich man pursuing Lazarus to take back the crumbs that have fallen from the banqueting table,'

It has been claimed that Australia has been giving much less than it can afford in foreign aid for many years. The Australian aid budget has declined as a proportion of gross national income from the early 1970s and reached a nadir in 2000-01. Critics argue that the commitment to reach 0.5% of gross national income by 2015 is not much more than getting back to the position the country was in 40 years ago.

4. Australia will be giving less foreign aid than other comparable countries

The level of foreign aid proposed by the Coalition is far lower than that given by the majority of other developed nations.

John Ferguson, executive officer of the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council, has claimed 'Under the Coalition policy Australia would spend only 32> of every \$100 of gross domestic income on foreign aid, less than half the international standard for developed countries of 0.7 per cent.'

Australian aid spending is currently at 0.37 per cent of national income or 37 cents in every \$100 - a level of spending on foreign aid which is already much lower than comparable countries.

Dr Helen Szoke, Oxfam Australia's Chief Executive, has noted that the cut exacerbates the Labor government's delayed introduction of a commitment to spend 50 cents in every \$100 of revenue on aid.

Aid organisations say the Coalition's foreign aid cuts would make Australia's commitment to reducing world poverty under the Millennium Development Goals non-existent.

Tim Costello, World Vision Australia's chief executive, has stated, 'I'm pretty devastated by this because the truth is we are one of the few G20 nations here still growing and our first act, as assuming the presidency [of the United Nations Security Council], is to cut aid.'

At 0.33% of gross national income, Australia is ranked 16th in 2009 among 23 OECD nations. Below Australia are New Zealand, Portugal, United States, Greece, Japan, Italy and South Korea. However, it has been noted that Portugal and Greece are relying on international support to stave off national bankruptcy, and the United States is dealing with massive financial problems.

At the top of this leagues table, and all well above the UN target of 0.7% of gross national income, are Sweden, Norway, Luxembourg and Denmark.

Critics have noted how very little of the Australia's taxation receipts actually go to foreign aid. Yahoo TV Sunrise program has noted, 'In 2009-10 Australia...provide[d] \$3.8 billion worth of official development assistance.

That's the same as each of us putting in around \$3.30 to pay for our aid program each week - about the cost of a cup of coffee. This is around 1% of Federal Government expenditure and equivalent to 0.34% of our Gross National Income (GNI).'

5. Reducing foreign aid is against Australia's international interests

It has been claimed that by promoting stability within our region and by consolidating good relations with our neighbours, foreign aid is in Australia's best interests.

Australia's former foreign minister, Senator Bob Carr, has claimed that much of the money spent on overseas programs indirectly benefits Australia.

Senator Carr has stated, 'It's in our interests, Australia's security is served by an effectively delivered foreign aid program and it's a false proposition to say we only provide infrastructure for Australian cities by hacking into foreign aid.'

It has been claimed that increasing world prosperity is really important for the security and economic growth of all developed nations, including Australia. The case of foreign aid to Africa has been cited as an example. In recent years Australia's level of foreign aid to Africa has increased. It has been claimed that even aid such as this, given outside our region, is in Australia's national interests.

In an opinion piece published in The Conversation on September 20, 2013, Geoff Gallop,

Director, Graduate School of Government at University of Sydney, has argued, 'An Africa that can develop sustainably not only releases people from poverty but creates opportunities for trade and commerce. For example, even the

smallest surpluses from agriculture create the potential for commerce.'

Tim Costello, World Vision Australia's chief executive, has stated, 'The actual levers, as we see here at the G20, are global and aid is so fundamental to dealing with health and education if you're going to have trade and an open growing global system that I think is really unwise.'

It has been claimed that reducing the level of increase of Australia's foreign aid contributions will damage Australia's international reputation.

John Brown, a specialist who has worked in the field of foreign aid for 30 years has stated, 'While the government claims the decision is in "the national interest", it is easy to argue that in fact, our interests will be undermined. The reckless disregard for Australia's reputation is extraordinary, given the decision coincides with Australia holding the chair as president of the UN Security Council.'

## **Further implications**

This appears to be a period in Australia's social development when a significant proposition of the electorate is becoming more inward-looking and self-protective, at least in terms of the foreign aid and asylum seekers policies. Public opinion surveys have indicated support among a majority of Australians for policies which aim to discourage asylum seekers who attempt to reach this country by boat. Further, the Coalition's pre-election statement of its intention not to increase foreign aid funding does not appear to have negatively impacted on its vote. However, it should be noted that this announcement was made after the media blackout imposed on all political parties by the Australian Electoral Commission, thus avoiding any political debate and limiting media coverage.

Some of the expressions of public opinion sent to the ABC on the issue of foreign aid give the impression that for many people the perceived interests of Australians comes before assisting those in poverty overseas. A range of these comments have been quotes below.

'Why should we give foreign aid when our hospital system is in a shambles and we have homeless?' 'Charity begins at home, when you've got a surplus you can help others, but till then you help your own people first!' 'I'm not against foreign aid but until we can honestly say all of our aged and ill are not struggling let's keep the money here.' This popular attitude seems unlikely to change given that from an international perspective Australia is better placed economically than many other nations that give a higher proportion of their gross domestic income to foreign aid. It would appear that relative wealth prompts indifference to the welfare of other nations, rather than compassion for them.

However, this is not the total picture. In response to both local and international disasters, many Australians are very generous when asked to assistance financially.

The World Giving Index 2012, compiled by the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), an international charity which promotes charitable giving via companies and individuals, found Australia topped the 2012 table, and also headed a new five year index which looks at giving between 2007 and the most recent year of fieldwork, 2011.

The survey, compiled by CAF using polling information from Gallup on the charitable behaviour of more than 155,000 people in 146 countries, found more Australians had, on average, donated money, volunteered time or helped a stranger in the past month than any other country, ahead of Ireland, Canada, New Zealand and the United States. Overall 76% of Australians had given money to a good cause in the past month, up on last year, while 67% had helped a stranger. More than a third (37%) of Australians had volunteered time.

According to CAF Australia Chief Executive Officer, Lisa Grinham, 'The start to 2011 was tragic for many Australians, with the floods in Queensland and Victoria. This was followed by the devastating earthquake in Christchurch, New Zealand and tsunami in Japan. Australians are very generous when it comes to helping each other and our close neighbours in times of disaster, so it's not surprising that we have topped the 2012 World Giving Index.' Overall the index found that Australia was the most generous country on earth, followed in second place by Ireland. Canada was the third most charitable nation, New Zealand the fourth, and the United States the fifth. The five next most generous countries were the Netherlands, Indonesia, the UK, Paraguay and Denmark respectively. What this suggests is that Australia's political leaders have failed to tap the generosity that Australians, as individuals, are prepared to display. Perhaps Australians do not trust their governments to give on their behalf; or perhaps governments underestimate what Australian tax payers might be prepared to give if asked. Many political commentators have suggested that both political parties have begun appealing almost exclusively to self-interest among the electorate. This may well be selling the electorate short; however, until another position is adopted by governments we will not know.

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AUST, March 30, 2013, page 18, comment by Chris Kenny, `We need to be more hard-headed when it comes to foreign aid'.

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/we-need-to-be-a-bit-more-hard-headed-when-it-comes-foreign-aid/storye6frg6zo-1226608451125

AUST, April 6, 2013, page 20, comment by Tim Costello, `It is amazing what aid programs have achieved'. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/its-amazing-what-aid-programs-have-achieved/story-e6frg6zo-1226613089736 AGE, May 18, 2013, page 6, news item by Heath Aston, `Foreign aid for climate cut as live exports get funding'.

H/SUN, May 28, page 24, comment by Bill Gates, `Promoting good health is the best investment'. <u>http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/opinion/promoting-good-health-is-the-best-investment/story-fni0ffsx-1226651683091</u>

AUST, June 3, 2013, page 10, comment by Bjorn Lomborg, `We can get a bigger bang for our aid buck helping the poor'.

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/columnists/we-can-get-a-bigger-bang-for-our-aid-buck-helping-the-poor/story-fni1hfs5-1226655456562

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AUST, September 4, 2013, page 2, news item (ref to Tim Costello comments) by Patricia Karvelas, `"It's not aid or trade, it's both".

http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/its-not-aid-or-trade-its-both/story-fn59niix-1226710084268

AGE, September 12, 2013, page 20, editorial, `Who needs aid money most?'. (Online version: scroll downto the second editorial)

http://www.smh.com.au/comment/the-age-editorial/we-must-find-a-way-to-simplify-the-senate-20130911-2tku8.html

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AGE, September 7, 2013, page 6, news item by Michael Bachelard, `(Indonesian) Aid cut may boost hardliners: expert'.

http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/federal-election-2013/aid-cut-may-boost-hardliners-expert-20130906-2tauj.html

AUST, September 21, 2013, page 22, comment by Greg Sheridan, `Rational approach to aid long overdue'. <u>http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/columnists/rational-approach-to-aid-long-overdue/story-e6frg76f-1226723703460</u>

AUST, September 21, 2013, page 11, comment by Rowan Callick, `Joining the ranks of new world order on aid'. <u>http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/joining-the-ranks-of-new-world-order-on-aid/story-e6frg6ux-1226723915301</u>

AGE, September 20, 2023, page 17, comment by Daniel Flitton, `Sorry kids, to be honest, we're not a charity'. <u>http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/sorry-kids-to-be-honest-were-not-a-charity-</u>20130919-2u2eg.html

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