

BASES OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL POWER

- Natural resource abundance (mineral & agricultural)
- Favourable natural environment & climate
- Australian population (human capital) and favourable demography
- Australian continental landmass size & location
- Australian history and its history in the world

AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL CAPABILITIES & ASSETS FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

GOVERNMENT & INSTITUTIONAL

- Liberal democratic governance & values
- Political stability & social cohesion
- Diplomatic and consular service & assets (DFAT, Austrade, Defence, Home Affairs, others)
- Development institutions & expertise (DFAT, ACIAR, NGOs, contractors, think tanks and universities)
- ADF and Defence people, capabilities & assets
- Intelligence agencies & assets (ASIS, ASIO, ASD, DIO, Home Affairs, AUSTRAC etc.)
- Economic, trade & investment agencies (Treasury, Austrade, EFA)
- Sovereign wealth funds
- Official reserves (gold, foreign currency)
- Domestic healthcare system
- Social security systems
- Fuel reserve
- Financial regulators (ASIC, APRA etc.)
- Legal advisory & policy agencies (AGD, AGS)
- Law enforcement, border control & prosecuting agencies & assets (AFP, ABF, Home Affairs, CDPP, state & territory police)
- Maritime, fisheries & transport agencies (AMSA, AFMA, CASA, ASA, ATSB)
- Standards setting bodies (Standards Australia, various industry or technical bodies)
- Scientific institutions (CSIRO, ANSTO)
- Immigration system and settlement system
- Independent public institutions (courts, Human Rights Commission, Reserve Bank)
- Domestic public policy infrastructure (other Commonwealth departments & agencies, state & territory governments)

ECONOMIC

- Knowledge industries
- Extractive industries
- Agricultural industries
- National budget & public spending
- Large and sophisticated consumer markets
- International economic interaction (inward and outward trade, investment, migration)
- Science and technology
- Australian Dollar
- Merchant fleet & Australian-based airlines
- Energy infrastructure
- Travel hubs (ports, airports)
- Sophisticated banking and finance institutions
- Defence industry
- Highly sophisticated education system & research ecosystem (pre-school through tertiary)
- Capacity for innovation (social, technological, commercial)

CIVIL SOCIETY & CULTURAL

- First Nations people, communities & cultures
- Cultural diversity (including diaspora communities)
- Religious organisations
- Trade unions
- Civil society organisations, charities & NGOs
- Australian media and press
- Think tanks, researchers, educational institutions
- Sport, arts, culture
- Perceptions, history and memory of Australia's role in the world and particular regions (e.g., historic connection to the Pacific)

TOOLS OF AUSTRALIAN STATECRAFT

DIPLOMATIC TOOLS

- Diplomatic engagement with other states**
 - Bilateral, plurilateral, multilateral
 - Across foreign policy, defence, intelligence, security, development, etc
 - Making representations, influencing, sharing perspectives, negotiating, coercing
- Economic diplomacy and trade & investment promotion**
- Hosting and attending international meetings & ministerial visits**
- Individual and institutional relationships (political capital)**
 - Elite networks
 - Civil society
 - Diaspora relationships
- Mediation and conflict resolution as a third party**
- Consular services**
 - Provision to Australian citizens
 - Provision to other states' citizens (including hostage diplomacy)
- Defence cooperation programs**
- Placement of Australian (or Australian-supported) personnel in international institutions**
 - Secondment, nomination, campaigning
- Engagement and relationships between technical agencies or independent institutions & their international counterparts (e.g., AEC, Federal Court, Human Rights Commission, ACIAR)**
- Structured exchanges with other states (e.g., parliamentary or youth exchanges, partnerships between universities or think tanks, 1.5 and 2 track dialogues)**

ECONOMIC & FINANCIAL TOOLS

- Trade, investment & economic agreements**
 - Bilateral, plurilateral, multilateral agreements
- Market access: allowing or denying access to Australian markets for foreign trade & investment (including labour market access)**
- International engagement and coordination on monetary policy by RBA with other central banks**
- Strategic financial inducements**
- Climate finance**
- Outward investment (FDI & portfolio)**
- Development finance**
 - Direct bilateral finance
 - Contributing to multilateral development institutions
- Sanctions**
 - Targeted at individuals, organisations or states
- Tracking, regulating or freezing international financial transactions**
- Export finance**
- Domestic market protections**
 - Subsidies, tariffs, quotas, bans
- Strategic financial inducements Tourism (inbound and outbound)**
 - Encouraging or discouraging Australians travelling to certain destinations
 - Promoting Australia as a destination
- Funding for international organisations**
 - Increasing or decreasing funding
- Government procurement**
 - Direct funding (or withdrawing it) for suppliers
 - Indirect market-shaping & signalling effect
- Loans and grants to individuals, organisations or states (that are not counted as development finance)**

CONVENING, INSTITUTION-BUILDING & RULE-MAKING TOOLS

- International and multilateral institutions & organisations**
 - Creating, joining or supporting an international institution
 - Degrading or withdrawing from an international institution
- Creating or using bilateral and plurilateral architecture**
 - Diplomatic, defence/ security, trade/economic, development, technical
 - Alliances, treaties, free trade agreements
 - Strategic partnerships, leader/ministerial/officials
- dialogues, regular meetings of strategic groupings
- Track 1.5/2 dialogues and processes
- International law, rules & norms**
 - Creating, supporting or enforcing rules
 - Degrading or abolishing rules
- Litigation (initiating or defending) in international legal tribunals or courts
- Prosecuting individuals in Australia under universal jurisdiction
- Legislation and regulation under external affairs (s 51(xxix) of the Constitution)**

INFORMATIONAL & DISCURSIVE TOOLS

- Intelligence**
 - Collecting & using intelligence
 - Sharing intelligence with partners or publicly
- Disinformation**
 - Offensive information operations
 - Defensive and preventative measures
- Free press and media**
 - International projection of Australian media
 - Australians contributing to local media in other countries
- Support for free press internationally
- Mobilisation of counternarratives
- Support for local journalism, civic space, and public accountability in other countries
- Role modelling: influencing others through force of example and demonstrated integrity**
- International education and research**
 - Scholarships (and other financial incentives) for inbound & outbound study
- International student fees & regulation
- Promoting Australian education internationally
- Support for and regulation of international research collaboration
- Strategic communication and messaging**
 - Speeches & announcements
- Media appearances
- Social media
- Cultural diplomacy and promotion**
 - Conventional public diplomacy
 - Amplifying and supporting Australian culture (especially First Nations), society and values
 - Grants and foundations for cultural exchange
- Advocacy by Australian civil society organisations (independent of government)**

TOOLS OF FORCE

- Direct application of physical force against adversaries**
 - ADF operations
 - Offensive or defensive actions
- Defence exports**
- Armed deterrence activity and operations**
 - Military exercises & international cooperation / coordination
 - Force posture decisions
 - Capability & procurement decisions
- Cyber operations (offensive, defensive, deterrence)**
- Peacekeeping activities**
 - Australian-led operations
 - Promoting UN operations
- International law enforcement activity & operations (including international cooperation - e.g., INTERPOL, AUSTRAC on illicit finance)**
- Espionage and covert action (subterfuge, deception, sabotage, disruption, deterrence)**

DOMESTIC POLICY TOOLS

- Immigration & social cohesion**
 - Size, composition and origin of migrant intake
 - Size and origin of humanitarian intake
 - Operation of visa system
 - Provision of migrant and settlement services
- Climate change & energy policy**
- Domestic economic policy with international effects**
 - Federal budget (fiscal policy)
 - Cash rate (monetary policy)
 - Industrial & manufacturing policy
 - Industrial relations policy
 - Science & innovation policy
- Supply chain assurance
- Anti-dumping policy
- Policy decisions and actions of Australian state and territory governments**
- Border control (movement of people, quarantine, security screening)**
- Education & research**
 - Language learning
 - Teaching of Australian history and culture
 - Government research priorities and funding

TOOLS OF DIRECT APPLICATION OR ACTION

- Positioning or Australian assets and people overseas (diplomatic missions, development personnel and organisations, ADF personnel)**
- Direct provision of humanitarian assistance and/or disaster relief**
- Building physical infrastructure**
- Development project & programs, including the provision of technical assistance and capacity-building to other nations**
- Directly providing technical assistance or capacity-building to other nations**