### THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Joint Standing Committee on Treaties

# Multilateral Agreement on Investment: Interim Report

14th Report

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ISBN

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# **COMMITTEE MEMBERS**

Mr W L Taylor MP (LP, QLD) (Chairman)\* Mr R B McClelland MP (ALP, NSW) (Deputy Chairman)\* Senator E Abetz (LP, TAS)\* Senator V W Bourne (DEM, NSW)\* Senator H Coonan (LP, NSW)<sup>1</sup> Senator B Cooney (ALP, VIC)<sup>2</sup>\* Senator S M Murphy (ALP, TAS)<sup>3</sup>\* Senator W G O'Chee (NP, QLD)\* Senator the Hon M Reynolds (ALP, QLD)<sup>4</sup>\* Hon D G H Adams MP (ALP, TAS) Mr K J Bartlett MP (LP, NSW)\* Mr L D T Ferguson MP (ALP, NSW)\* Mr G D Hardgrave MP (LP, QLD)\* Ms S B Jeanes MP (LP, SA)<sup>5</sup>\* Hon P J McGauran MP (NP, VIC)<sup>6</sup>\* Mr A C Smith MP (LP, QLD)\*

v

\* Member of MAI Sub Committee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Replaced Senator the Hon C Ellison (LP, WA) from 26 February 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Replaced Senator K Carr (ALP, VIC) from 4 December 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Replaced Senator K Denman (ALP, TAS) from 12 December 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Replaced Senator B J Neal (ALP, NSW) from 5 March 1998.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Replaced Mr C W Tuckey MP (LP, WA) from 24 September 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Replaced the Hon W E Truss MP (NP, QLD) from 23 October 1997.

# COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT

<b>Committee Secretary</b>	Mr Peter Stephens
<b>Research Officers</b>	Mr Bob Morris Mr Jon Bonnar
Executive Assistant	Ms Jodie Williams
Administrative Assistant	Ms Elizabeth Halliday

# **TERMS OF REFERENCE**

- The potential consequences for Australia arising from the matter known as the MAI.
- Advantages and/or disadvantages for Australia arising from the MAI currently being negotiated in secret by the Australian Government at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, with particular reference to:

(a) the ability of countries to impose conditions on foreign investment;

(b) the ability of countries to establish limits on foreign investment;

(c) the implications arising from the 'roll back' and 'standstill' provisions;

(d) the ability of countries to pursue social, environmental, labour, cultural, human rights and indigenous protections and the impacts for each of these sectors resulting from foreign investment regimes under the MAI;

(e) any implications for Australia's national debt and current account deficit of the growth in foreign investment the MAI is expected to bring;

(f) the MAI's dispute handling procedures;

(g) the issue of the constitutionality of the MAI for Australia;

(h) the impact on agricultural and manufacturing sectors;

(i) the impact on State, Territory and local governments; and

(j) the impact on Australian investors seeking to invest overseas.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

The Joint Standing Committee on Treaties recommends that:

Australia not sign the final text of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment unless and until a thorough assessment has been made of the national interest and a decision is made that it is in Australia's interest to do so (paragraph 1.69); and

The Committee continue its public inquiry into the MAI and provide a fuller report to Parliament at a later date (paragraph 1.70).

# **INTERIM REPORT**

#### The Multilateral Agreement on Investment

1.1 The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) is an international treaty on foreign investment which is currently being negotiated by members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The treaty will be open to all OECD members, the European Community, and to non-members willing to meet its obligations.

1.2 The objective of the MAI is to provide a broad multilateral framework for international investment with high standards for the liberalisation of investment regimes and investment protection and with effective dispute settlement procedures.<sup>1</sup>

1.3 Negotiations commenced in May 1995 at the OECD Ministerial Council Meeting. In May 1997 these were extended for a further year. In April 1998 the OECD Ministerial Council announced a pause in negotiations until October 1998 with a view to narrowing the 'very wide differences'<sup>2</sup> which have emerged between the negotiating parties and to allow for a period of further consultation 'with interested parts of their societies'.<sup>3</sup> The next Ministerial Council meeting is scheduled for April/May 1999.

1.4 In Australia the MAI received limited publicity until late 1997. Public attention increased in early 1998 when the agreement attracted: increased media attention focusing on concerns of organisations and individuals about the potential impact of such an agreement; complaints that the MAI was being negotiated 'in secret'; and wide-spread views that there was limited information available from official government sources. There was some reporting also of the controversial public debates about the MAI that had occurred in other countries including Canada, the United States of America, France, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Submissions, p. 1294.

<sup>2</sup> Submissions, p. 1284.

<sup>3</sup> Submissions, p. 1294.

### **Referral to the Committee**

1.5 The Resolution of Appointment of the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties (JSCT) allows it to inquire into and report upon any question relating to a treaty or other international instrument, whether or not negotiated to completion, referred to the committee by either House of the Parliament, or a Minister. This is the first time since the JSCT was formed that a draft or proposed treaty has been referred to the Committee for investigation.

1.6 On 5 March 1998, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Hon Alexander Downer MP, referred the matter in the following terms to the Committee for inquiry and report:

- the potential consequences for Australia arising from the matter known as the MAI.
- 1.7 The Minister called for an interim report by 25 May 1998.

1.8 The Committee formally adopted the inquiry on Tuesday 10 March 1998 and agreed to advertise the terms of reference in the national press and on the internet.

1.9 The inquiry was advertised in the Australia Financial Review on Friday 13 March 1998 and in the following newspapers on Saturday 14 March 1998: The Weekend Australian, Adelaide Advertiser, Brisbane Courier-Mail, Launceston Examiner, Canberra Times, Centralian Advocate, Northern Territory News, Hobart Mercury, Melbourne Age, West Australian and the Sydney Morning Herald. Submissions were called for by 30 April 1998.

1.10 On 9 March 1998, the Senate referred the same matter in the following terms to the Committee for inquiry and report:

• Advantages and/or disadvantages for Australia arising from the MAI currently being negotiated in secret by the Australian Government at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, with particular reference to:

(a) the ability of countries to impose conditions on foreign investment;

(b) the ability of countries to establish limits on foreign investment;

(c) the implications arising from the 'roll back' and 'standstill' provisions;

(d) the ability of countries to pursue social, environmental, labour, cultural, human rights and indigenous protections and the impacts for each of these sectors resulting from foreign investment regimes under the MAI;

(e) any implications for Australia's national debt and current account deficit of the growth in foreign investment the MAI is expected to bring;

- (f) the MAI's dispute handling procedures;
- (g) the issue of the constitutionality of the MAI for Australia;
- (h) the impact on agricultural and manufacturing sectors;
- (i) the impact on State, Territory and local governments; and
- (j) the impact on Australian investors seeking to invest overseas.

1.11 The Senate requested a report by 25 May 1998.

1.12 After the reference was forwarded to the Committee, it was adopted at its next deliberative meeting on Tuesday 24 March 1998.

1.13 Given that the Minister's and Senate's terms of reference are not mutually exclusive, they will be investigated as one inquiry.

#### **Submissions**

1.14 To date there have been some 792 submissions lodged with the inquiry. A list of submissions received appears at Appendix 1. We believe that many other organisations and individuals intend to put submissions before the Committee. We thank all those who have prepared a submission for the inquiry.

1.15 The Committee has also received some 380 form letters, or pro forma letters with variations, opposing signature and/or ratification of the MAI. Although these will not be treated as submissions and authorised for publication, we note the concerns expressed in them.

### **Public hearing**

1.16 On 6 May 1998 the Committee held its first public hearing in Canberra. Details of witnesses are included at Appendix 2. We expect to hold further public hearings throughout Australia in the next few months.

# **Reporting date**

1.17 It is impossible for the Committee to conduct an appropriate inquiry on an issue of such complexity within the very short time frame requested by the Senate. To attempt to do so would prevent adequate consideration of the issues and would preclude many Australians from making their views known to the Committee on this important matter.

1.18 Already it is clear that there is widespread interest in, misinformation about and concerns arising from the proposed MAI. More submissions are being received as information about the inquiry spreads. The Committee is keen to maximise the opportunity for organisations and individuals to make submissions. We do not wish to create any perceptions in the community that debate is being curtailed or stifled in any way, nor to be seen to be restricting the opportunity for public input into the process of parliamentary scrutiny in treaty-making which was one of the first major policy initiatives of the present Government.

1.19 State and Territory Governments are also in the process of determining their positions in relation to the MAI and we would want to incorporate their thinking into our deliberations. To date, only Victoria has made its views known and South Australia has reserved its position.

1.20 Consequently, this report is intended to be an interim report only in meeting the 25 May remit. A more complete report will be made to the Parliament after we have taken further evidence and had a greater opportunity to consider the wide range of issues raised or likely to be raised.

## Consultation

1.21 It is appropriate and timely in this interim report to remind Commonwealth Departments and Agencies of the rationale for the Government's reforms to the treaty making process. In his statement to the House of 2 May 1996 on this matter, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Hon Alexander Downer MP, stated that these changes will provide proper and effective procedures enabling Parliament to scrutinise intended treaty action. Importantly, he stressed that they will overcome what the Government considers to have been a 'democratic deficit' in the way treaty-making has been carried out in the past.

1.22 Consultation underpins these reforms, and the Committee reiterates the parameters set out by the Minister:

[These measures] will also ensure that every Australian individual and interest group with a concern about treaty issues has the opportunity to make that concern known. Consultation will be the key word, and the Government will not act to ratify a treaty unless it is able to assure itself that the treaty action proposed is supported by national interest considerations.<sup>4</sup>

1.23 This is not the first report in which we have needed to spell out our expectations of consultation. Nor do we expect it to be the last.

1.24 The submission from the Treasury asserts that, since the outset of MAI negotiations in 1995, Australia has undertaken a 'very wide ranging and extensive consultative process'. In support, the submission notes that the Treasury has:

- briefed and consulted all relevant Commonwealth Government departments;
- briefed and consulted all State and Territory governments on the MAI;
- provided information to and sought comments from NGOs and industry and other umbrella organisations;
- briefed parliamentarians and their staff; and
- distributed information on the MAI to the wider public through posting MAI documents and briefings on their Internet sites.<sup>5</sup>

1.25 Our impression at this early stage of the inquiry is that the Treasury's assertions about a 'very wide ranging and extensive consultative process' considerably overstates the reality. At the public hearing on 6 May 1998, we were unable to obtain a complete (and coherent) picture of the nature and extent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> House of Representatives, <u>Parliamentary Debates</u>, 2 May 1996 p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Submissions, p. 1302.

of consultations to date and received insufficient information to justify such a strong claim. The message from many submissions so far received is that consultation has been inadequate.

1.26 The Treasury submission lists the NGOs and consulted bodies which are restricted to selected peak bodies only. These include: the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Australian Bankers Association, the Australian Consumers' Association, the Education Union, the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the Australian Mining Industry Council and the Business Council of Australia. We have asked Treasury to provide an indication of when and how these groups were consulted to add to our understanding of what has occurred.

1.27 There are many other organisations with an interest in this agreement as the breadth of submissions to this inquiry indicates. Indeed, the Australian Conservation Foundation makes the point that:

The current text of the MAI reflects the groups who have had the most input into it. In the Australian context, Treasury officials provided information and briefing to business groups about this agreement years before groups representing other sectors of society or even elected representatives. This is clearly an unacceptable process for such a far reaching agreement, and Treasury should immediately establish a process for a range of community organisations to be briefed and provide advice to negotiators about the impact of the MAI.<sup>6</sup>

1.28 The Committee acknowledges that briefing sessions have been provided for parliamentarians and their staff, but questions whether these were an attempt at genuine consultation with the Parliament by the Treasury in the development of the MAI or whether they were merely information-providing in response to the mounting public and political criticisms of the agreement. We note that, up until 31 March 1998, certain select bodies were in the privileged position of 'being consulted' and were given access to the draft negotiating text and other material at a time when it was denied to the Australian Parliament and the public.

1.29 The placement of information on the internet is a positive step, although internet access remains limited. We note that the draft negotiating text and the list of exceptions were only accessible through the Treasury site after 31 March 1998 when these documents were tabled in Parliament.

<sup>6</sup> Submissions, p. 1766.

#### **Commonwealth - State consultation**

1.30 Although the MAI is likely to have significant ramifications for the States and Territories, Commonwealth consultation with the States and Territories to date has been inadequate. The Premier of Victoria, the Hon Jeff Kennett, described the information provided to the States and Territories as 'limited'.<sup>7</sup>

1.31 It is important that the Treasury corrects this inadequacy in view of the areas of state responsibility potentially affected by the MAI. These include: investment incentives and industry development, privatisation, government business enterprises, labour standards, land use, environment regulation, social services and the arts. Dispute resolution under the MAI may also impact on the liability of the States and Territories.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that other areas may be affected.

1.32 The Treasury stated that the States and Territories were being consulted 'well before February 1998'<sup>9</sup> and that it had 'briefed and consulted' all State and Territory governments on the MAI, with a particular focus on identifying those particular laws and policies that may not conform with the draft MAI obligations.<sup>10</sup> When pressed to provide fuller details of these consultations the Department was less certain of the details. It would appear that certain written material was provided to the States and Territories early in the negotiations and a meeting took place in 1996, the details of which were unavailable at the May 6 public hearing.<sup>11</sup> Further meetings took place between March and April 1998 but the Treasury was unable to provide any detail at the public hearing and indicated that records of these meetings appeared to be in the form of hand written notes.

1.33 It is unsatisfactory that substantive records of consultations with the States and Territories were not kept on such a major issue, particularly if this constituted part of the formal consultative process. Whilst we await further details from the Treasury, we question whether the meetings were briefings rather than detailed consultation.

- 8 Submissions, p. 1911.
- 9 Transcript, 6 May 1998, p. 16.
- 10 Transcript, 6 May 1998, p. 8.
- 11 Transcript, 6 May 1998, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Submissions, p. 1912.

1.34 DFAT indicated that MAI was now on the agenda of the national trade strategy which involves six monthly meetings with officials<sup>12</sup> and that, in October 1997, the Standing Committee on Treaties Meeting (SCOT) was briefed by the Chairman, a First Assistant Secretary from the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet<sup>13</sup> (ie not the lead department).

1.35 The principles of Commonwealth-State consultation provide that the Commonwealth should, where a treaty is of importance and sensitivity to the States, seek and take into account the views of the States and Territories:

- in formulating Australian negotiating policy, and
- before becoming a party to or indicating acceptance of a treaty.<sup>14</sup>

1.36 The reforms to the treaty making process included the establishment of the Treaties Council, consisting of the Prime Minister, Premiers and Chief Ministers which meets at least once a year to consider treaties and international instruments of particular importance to the States and Territories. The MAI should be a matter of undoubted interest to the Treaties Council in view of its application across the federal system.

1.37 There is also a Standing Committee on Treaties (SCOT) consisting of senior Commonwealth, State and Territory officers which meets at least twice a year. Its role is to identify treaties of importance to the States and Territories; to decide if a matter needs to be considered by the Treaties Council, a ministerial Council, a separate intergovernmental body or if other consultative arrangements ought to be put in place; to ensure appropriate information is provided to the States and Territories and to co-ordinate the process for nominating State and Territory representation on delegations where appropriate.

1.38 Australia's paper on the application of the MAI to all levels of government submitted to the Negotiating Group in February 1997 informed the OECD that the new treaty making process, which articulates a role for the States and Territories, provides scope for Australia to apply the MAI commitments at all levels of government, provided the agreement has

<sup>12</sup> Transcript, 6 May 1998, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Transcript, 6 May 1998, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup> Principles & Procedures for Commonwealth-State Consultation on Treaties para 3.1.

satisfactory scope and balance of commitments which meet Australia's objectives and interests. An important part of this will be the 'acceptability of the MAI to the States and Territories.'<sup>15</sup>

1.39 Our preliminary evidence tells us that the current framework for consultation with the States and Territories on the MAI is inadequate. Although it has been discussed by SCOT on at least one occasion, the Commonwealth needs to make a greater effort to inform, involve and register the emerging concerns of the States and Territories. In the Victorian Government submission, the Premier, the Hon Jeff Kennett, is critical of the Commonwealth for unsatisfactory consultation:

In view of these potential ramifications, I am surprised and concerned about the lack of involvement of the States up to this point in relation to the MAI negotiations.....While the Commonwealth has provided Victorian officials with some briefings since MAI negotiations began in mid-1995, the process should have involved more consultations, along the lines of those which I understand are provided by the Canadian Federal Government to the Canadian Provinces. In view of the importance of this matter, it is now timely and necessary to establish a continuous process of detailed consultation between senior Commonwealth and State officials.<sup>16</sup>

1.40 We agree with the Premier's views. Indeed, the scope of the MAI is such that it would have been appropriate for the States and Territories to be represented on the negotiating team from the outset.

1.41 The fact that Australia's preliminary exceptions do not include State/Territory matters suggests that the States and Territories are not, as yet, sufficiently aware of the implications of the MAI to develop their views on the potential impact of such an agreement. It is also an indication that their concerns have not yet found their way into Australia's negotiating position, some three years after the process commenced at the OECD.

1.42 Questions also remain about the impact of the MAI on local government. If this is the case, as several submissions claim, then local government too ought to be involved closely in the consultative process. We note that the list of organisations consulted to date omits this level of government.

16 Submissions, pp. 1911 - 1912.

<sup>15</sup> Submissions, p. 1314.

#### **Issues raised in submissions**

1.43 The overwhelming number of submissions oppose or express concerns about particular aspects of the MAI. Many are brief and provide no commentary on the agreement itself, but express broad views that the MAI will reduce Australia's sovereignty and allow multinational corporations to plunder Australian assets with no corresponding obligations on them.

1.44 Many are critical of the lack of consultation by the Australian Government and the difficulty in obtaining information about the MAI, in particular, the embargo which had been placed on the draft negotiating text until recently. This has contributed to a level of concern and provided the climate for misinformation to circulate. The Premier of Victoria noted that:

the lack of information from the Commonwealth has, I think, exacerbated public concern about the potential effects of the MAI, a concern which has been manifested in Parliamentary questions and letters from members of the public.<sup>17</sup>

1.45 The following is a summary of issues of key concern surrounding the MAI which have been raised in submissions but on which the Committee has not yet formed a view. These, and others, will be investigated and reported on in more detail in a further report when we have taken more evidence.

1.46 A number of submissions are opposed to increased foreign investment because it is seen to carry more disadvantages than advantages for Australia. It is argued that an increase in foreign investment results in a net loss to taxation revenue, an increase in the balance of payments deficit through dividend repatriation, an increase in unemployment and a general lowering of living standards.

1.47 Many submissions criticise the draft MAI itself for restricting Australia's ability to legislate and pursue our own policies in a number of areas including: the environment, labour standards and employment conditions, culture, media and communications, quarantine, social policy including health care and education, the rights of indigenous Australians and human rights, amongst other matters. There is opposition to the inability to restrict foreign ownership, particularly of privatised entities, and the impact on the integrity of the immigration system if Australia is obliged to grant entry to the employees of investor companies. Articles in the MAI to eliminate performance requirements

<sup>17</sup> Submissions, p. 1911.

are criticised because this will result in the inability of Commonwealth, State and Territory and local governments to pursue industry or regional development initiatives which are desirable. At the same time, countries in our region which are not party to the MAI would not be so restricted and would retain a competitive advantage.

1.48 Although the Government has signalled its list of preliminary exceptions and indicated that this list is expected to grow as the States and Territories make their views known, this provides little comfort to many who have lodged submissions so far. The 'rollback' provisions, coupled with the commitment by parties to the MAI not to impose further restrictions on investment, provide evidence that, whatever exceptions are taken out now, will become meaningless if they are gradually wound back.

1.49 The privileged position accorded investors under the agreement is also criticised in many submissions. They consider that the MAI facilitates a shift of power away from sovereign governments towards multinational corporations by enshrining in international law a series of rights for investors without any corresponding binding responsibilities. This is reinforced by allowing corporations to sue sovereign governments. At the same time, the dispute resolution mechanism is criticised for being exclusive and not allowing affected parties access to it.

1.50 Arguments are made that the MAI will have a detrimental effect on many developing economies which will be unable to withstand the negative implications of such an agreement. There is criticism also that a representative number of developing countries do not have access to the negotiating process in the OECD.

1.51 The withdrawal provisions as they currently stand are opposed on the grounds that they unduly bind governments: withdrawal may occur any time after five years from the date the agreement enters force, but the provisions of the MAI continue to apply for a further 15 years.

1.52 Some submissions support the draft MAI or the need for some type of multilateral investment agreement, though many also raise particular concerns or unresolved questions about the draft MAI. In general terms, in such submissions the MAI is seen as a positive step because it provides certainty and transparency in relation to investment laws. Foreign investment, it is argued, has many advantages for economies. it brings with it an exchange of new technology and management and labour force skill, export markets and increased employment. Foreign investment leads to increased domestic and world economic growth and improved living standards.

1.53 There is some support in submissions for transferring negotiations for an international investment treaty from the OECD to the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

### The Treasury's evidence

1.54 The Treasury submission is a disappointing document especially from the department responsible for the MAI, because it does not assist us significantly in evaluating the agreement. Running to only eleven pages, it provides a quick summary of issues rather than addressing the MAI in more detail. It fails to provide, for example, systematic discussion of the implications to Australia of particular aspects of the draft text, though it asserts many advantages. Nor is there an explanation of the official negotiating position, no matter how qualified The rationale behind providing such a flimsy it may be at the moment. submission appears to be that the agreement is still in draft form.<sup>18</sup> However, this overlooks two points: first, the Treasury ought to be in a position to provide the Australian people and the Parliament with a full analysis of what they have been negotiating at considerable public expense on our behalf for the past three years; and, second, this inquiry has been referred to the Committee both by the Senate and a Government Minister and deserves to be treated with due regard. By way of contrast, for example, the submission from the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry included a critique of many of the key issues in the MAI.

1.55 Similarly disappointing was the inability of the senior Treasury official responsible for negotiating the MAI on Australia's behalf, Mr Tony Hinton, the First Assistant Secretary, International Investment Division, to attend the May 6 public hearing. While it is accepted that his pre-appointment briefings as Ambassador-designate to the OECD required his close personal attention, his absence did not assist the other Treasury officials in presenting an appropriate case for the MAI.

#### **Other Commonwealth departments**

1.56 The refusal of two other Commonwealth portfolios to provide a submission is also disappointing. On 20 April 1998 the Minister for Finance declined to lodge a submission on the grounds that the MAI was the Treasury's responsibility. We wrote back to the Minister on 12 May 1998 requesting a

<sup>18</sup> Transcript, 6 May 1998, p. 33.

submission dealing with matters relevant to his portfolio: a reservation on privatisation, which falls within the finance portfolio has been foreshadowed by the government.

1.57 Of greater concern, however, is the refusal of the Industry, Science and Tourism portfolio to lodge a submission. In a letter to the Committee dated 13 May 1998, the Minister for Industry, Science and Tourism advised that he saw 'no need' for his department to prepare a formal submission for the Committee but was 'happy for Departmental officers to appear before the Committee if required'.

1.58 The Committee views this as an inadequate response particularly as administrative arrangements list investment promotion as part of the portfolio. In addition the following matters of direct relevance to the MAI fall within his portfolio: manufacturing and commerce including industries development, science and technology, including industrial research and development; marketing, including export promotion of manufacture and services; tourism, including the tourist industry; construction industry; duties of customs and excise; bounties on the production of goods; offsets to the extent not dealt with by the Department of Defence; patents, designs and trade marks and consumer affairs.

# Australia's approach to the negotiations

1.59 Australia has participated in the negotiations from the outset on the basis that an appropriately worded MAI could provide benefits to Australia. According to the Treasury, Australia will not agree to the MAI unless it is satisfied that the benefits for Australia and the balance of commitments in the agreement are such as to make it in the national interest to agree.<sup>19</sup>

1.60 To this end, Australia has foreshadowed a draft list of exceptions (reservations) which are likely to increase as the treaty evolves. State and Territory concerns may also lead to more reservations. Australia's list of draft exceptions were tabled in Parliament on 31 March 1998 and cover: foreign investment policy (including media and real estate), acquisitions under the *Foreign Acquisitions and Takeovers Act* 1995, the role of the Foreign Investment Review Board, banking, civil aviation, fishing, pharmaceuticals, shipping, telecommunications, foreign aid contracts, government procurement, monopolies/state enterprises/concessions, performance requirements,

<sup>19</sup> Submissions, p. 1295.

privatisations, government grants and subsidies, social services, entry of key personnel into Australia, audio-visual, indigenous persons, professional and industry standards.

### Status of the draft MAI

1.61 It is important to recognise that the MAI is a draft agreement which is constantly changing. Should the negotiating parties reconcile their differences and resolve their divergent views, future versions and any final agreement may vary considerably from the latest text of 24 April 1998.

1.62 The DFAT submission identified the major difficulties in the MAI negotiations as follows:

- differences between the USA and other OECD Members over the Helms/Burton Act on sanctions against Cuba and its effect on the MAI and on the Iran/Libya Sanctions Act;
- how country-specific exceptions should be handled;
- the treatment of regional economic integration organisations;
- how to handle the questions of labour and environment standards;
- dispute settlement provisions, including whether there should be an appeal mechanism;
- how to handle cultural exceptions; and
- questions surrounding the operation of provisions relating to most favoured nation treatment and national treatment.<sup>20</sup>

1.63 The outlook for the MAI is uncertain, but expectations are for negotiations to resume with the aim of resolving any difficulties between the parties.<sup>21</sup> The changing draft of the MAI poses particular difficulties for the Committee in this inquiry. This does not, however, preclude an examination of the broader principles, advantages and disadvantages of such an agreement.

21 ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Submissions, pp. 1284 - 1285.

#### In the national interest?

1.64 Finally, we note the assurance given to the Senate on 31 March 1998 by the Assistant Treasurer, Senator the Hon Rod Kemp that:

The Government will not sign the agreement unless it is satisfied that it is in Australia's national interest to do so. $^{22}$ 

1.65 In summary, there are both misconceptions and misleading material circulating about the nature and effect of the MAI, some of which is reflected in submissions received to date. Our inquiry is intent on disentangling fact from fiction, to ascertain where the national interest lies. To this end, we plan public hearings in all capital cities.

1.66 At this early stage of the inquiry, however, we remain to be convinced that the MAI is in Australia's national interest to the point of any formal signature. Only time and further consultation at all international and domestic levels will dictate whether that is possible.

1.67 The Committee intends to demonstrate the wisdom of the Government's treaty-making reforms that call for public input on important issues. The MAI will be no exception to this commendable policy initiative.

1.68 Article 18 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties done at Vienna, 23 May 1969, states that:

A State is obliged to refrain from acts which would defeat the object and purpose of a treaty when:

(a) it has signed the treaty or has exchanged instruments constituting the treaty subject to ratification, acceptance or approval, until it shall have made its intentions clear not to become a party to the treaty; ...

<sup>22</sup> Senate, Parliamentary Debates, 31 March 1998, p. 1114.

**1.69** The Joint Standing Committee on Treaties recommends that:

Australia not sign the final text of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment unless and until a thorough assessment has been made of the national interest and a decision is made that it is in Australia's interest to do so.

**1.70** The Joint Standing Committee on Treaties recommends that:

The Committee continue its public inquiry into the MAI and provide a fuller report to Parliament at a later date.

W L Taylor MP Chairman

# **APPENDIX 1**

# LIST OF SUBMISSIONS

1 Queensland and Australia First 27 Campaign 2 Mr Myles Kehoe 3 A W Hartwig 4 Mr Graham Lyons 5 Mr T A Morris 6 W L Grant 7 Laurie Kennedy 8 Mr Matt Parker 9 Mr Christopher Bradford 10 S H Allen 11 G O Gorman 12 Mrs Peggy Fredericks 13 Australian Spirit 13a Australian Spirit 14 Communications Law Centre, University of New South Wales 15 Ms Jenny Edwards Mr Philip White 16 17 Mr Richard Ounsworth 18 Mr Patrick David 19 Ms Helen Smith 20 Mr Ian Bovington 21 Mr Norman Mullins 22 Mr Charles Watkins Mr Max Nankervis 23 24 Mr William Briggs 50 25 Mr James Johnson 51 Dr Peta Bowden 26

	Superannuants Association of NSW, Bathurst Branch
28	Mr Bartle Kempster
29	Mrs Julie Beare
30	Mr Joe Mullins
31	Mrs P J Porter
32	Mr David and Mrs Nell Kitto
33	Ms Penny Hanley
34	Ms Eileen Peters
35	Mr Greg Willson
36	B Archibald
37	Mrs J Bourke
38	Toni Payne
39	K Knaus
40	University of Technology, Sydney, Land Economics Program
41	Mr Leon Francis
42	Mr John Brady
43	Ms Jenny Walsh
44	Mr David & Mrs Hazel Shields etal
45	R B Hackett
45a	R B Hackett
46	Mr Robert Downey
47	Mr Robin Bailey
48	A G Howe
49	Mr Derek Palmer

Combined Pensioners and

- 50 Industry Commission
- 51 Mrs Wendy & Mr Stuart Barfield
- 52 Mr John Mulholland

53	Mr A F Moore
54	Mr Jan Morski
55	K W Matheson
56	Mr Jim Cassidy
57	Mrs Eileen Kelly
58	J E & J J Bragg
59	Ms Bridget Farrer
60	Ms Josephine Wright
61	Dion Giles
62	Technical Administrative Professional Staff
63	Mrs A Cattana
64	Ms Janne Marsh
65	Mr Jack Attwood
66	Ms Hilda Fairley
67	Ms Dorothy Trezise
68	Mr Duane Stanfield
69	Mr Angus Douglas
70	Mr Alan Barton
71	Mrs Edna Lippold
72	Mr Tim Abrams
73	Mrs S J Kuchel
74	S Edwards
75	Mrs Nolah Waller
76	Mr Geoffrey Ives
77	Mrs Margaret Mack
78	K J Dunne
79	Hedley Scholz
80	A D Clancy
81	Mr Hal Pritchard
82	Mr Terry Halcin
83	Dr Dallas Clarnette
8/	Mr Arnold Sandell

84 Mr Arnold Sandell

- 85 Mr Guy Westmore
- 86 Ms Anne Warton
- 87 Friends of the Earth, Southern Tablelands
- 88 Mrs Karen Terry
- 89 Mr Philip Day
- 90 Mr K O'Gorman
- 91 Mr John McAuley
- 92 Frances Heathfield
- 93 Mr W S L Bracegirdle
- 94 B H Connor AM
- 95 Lower Clarence Teachers Association
- 96 D E Rochow
- 97 Mr Arnold Ward
- 97a Mr Arnold Ward
- 98 Robin Gaskell
- 99 R W Ellis
- 100 Mrs Pat Mcrahan
- 101 Mrs E D Leet
- 102 Mr Ian McLeod
- 103 Dr Eve Addis
- 104 Mr Tom Hagan
- 105 Mr Geoff Pickering
- 106 E Gillespie
- 107 Mrs Gwen Beale
- 108 W G Bethage
- 109 Mr Howard Hodgens
- 110 Mrs S H Jackson
- 111 Francis Toni
- 112 Mr John Wilson
- 113 Mrs Linda Swindells
- 114 Miss Pamela van Oploo

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- 115 United Nations Association of Australia Inc.
- 116 J M McCosker
- 117 Ms Audrey Blackwell
- 118 Mr Ross Campbell
- 119 Ms Kerry Brady
- 120 Mrs S Musgrave
- 121 C Vock
- 122 Mr Dennis White
- 123 Mr Michael Moore
- 124 Mr Gerhard Weissmann
- 125 Mr Noel & Mrs Alma Underwood
- 126 The Australian Workers' Union
- 127 Mr Ron Cini
- 128 Ms Mary Kenny
- 129 Sisters of Mercy Australia, Bathurst Congregation
- 130 National Council of Women of Tasmania
- 131 The Australian National University, Urban Research Program
- 132 Dominican Sisters of Eastern Australia
- 133 Ms Josephine Joore
- 134 Mrs Evie Dunlop
- 135 Miss Margherita Griffin
- 136 Mrs Ruth Wynter
- 137 Ms Annette Power
- 138 Mrs M J Holmes
- 139 Otto Mueller
- 140 Mr Anthony Fitzpatrick
- 141 Mr Noel Kapernick
- 142 Mr Shane Elson
- 143 Ms Alison Bruer

- 144 Voice of the North Coast
- 144a Voice of the North Coast
- 145 Mr Allan Howard
- 146 Mr Mark Shepherd
- 147 Mr Leo McManus
- 148 Mr Harry Lachter
- 149 R Osmak
- 150 Mr Frank O'Leary
- 151 Ms Elizabeth Griffin
- 152 Mrs S Howard
- 153 The Australian Family Party
- 154 Mr Neil McDonald
- 155 U Jonats
- 156 Patrick, Margaret and James Wall
- 157 L D H Chippindall
- 158 Mr Eric Walker
- 159 Ms Joan Laing
- 160 Mr Michael Quain
- 161 Mrs C Leach
- 162 Mr Fred Ward
- 163 J E Clements
- 164 Mr David Molony
- 165 Mr David Addison
- 166 Mr John Tiplady
- 167 Australia First, Fisher/Caloundra Branch
- 168 Mr John Gibbons
- 169 R A Provan
- 170 Mr Gerald Schumann
- 171 D J Helson
- 172 Mr Ron Barnett
- 173 Mr W D Hamill
- 174 M K Hamill

17	75 J Sorbello	204	Mr Colin Apelt
17	76 Ms Pam Andrews	205	Mr Harry Clark
17	J D & B Poole	206	Mr Julian Beasley
17	78 Mr Robert Stewart	207	Mrs Coral O'Hara
17		208	Atherton Tablelands Chamber of Commerce Inc.
18	30 National Civic Counci Australian Family As Hunter Newcastle Br	ssociation, 209	5 5
18		210	
18		h Adelaide	y i i i
18		212	Kris Hanna MP
18		213	Ms Jennifer Ellis
18	0 0	214	Mr Leo Rogers
		215	Mr F Heenan
18		216	Mr Alf Lelia
18	2	217	M M Wallace
18		218	D F Brandon
18	39 The Wildlife Preservat of Queensland, Calou Inc.	- //u	
19		220	
-		221	
19	6		
19		223	
19		224	8
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19	1		
19	96 A Better Compassiona Movement Inc.		5
19		228	
19		229	Australian Labor Party, Wingham & Port Macquarie Branches
19	99 C E Cox	230	Mr Ron Fischer
20	00 Healthy Cities Illawar	ra Inc 231	Mr A Dykeman
20	)1 Dr Laurence Knight	232	Mr John Massam
20	02 Mr Peter Kamsma	233	Mr John Gates
20	3 Mrs June Ayres	234	E C & Joe Bryant
	2		-

235	W H & A M Bredhauer
236	Mr John Iggulden
237	Mr Greggory Tapp
238	The Rural Committee of the National Civic Council
239	Albury-Wodonga Environment Centre
240	Mr Harold Paterson
241	W A Edwards
242	Mr Gordon Green
243	G A Taylor
244	Mrs Adele Shnier
245	D F Patterson
246	Humane Society International Inc
247	Mr Barrie Ward
248	Mr Gareth Kimberly
249	Name Unknown
250	Mr Richard Thode
251	L Rowney
251a	L Rowney
252	Mr Russell & Mrs Janet Williams
253	Mr Mervyn Wickolai
254	J B Douglas
255	Mrs Greta Thomas
256	Ms Deborah Barber
257	Mr Les Clair
258	Ms Heather Beaton
259	P & G Searcy
260	Mr Adrian & Ms Lorraine Miloro
261	E P Aldridge
262	Mrs Carole Hart
263	Mr Alan Ellis

264 Dr Kate Clinch-Jones

265	Mr Scott Andrews
266	Mrs Rachel Miller
267	Mr John Larkin
268	The Fellowship of the Round Table
269	Mr Hugh Paterson
270	Mr Mark Hansen
271	Mr Anthony and Ms Grace Moore
272	Mr John Massam
273	Ms Janet Tomlinson
274	Hornsby Shire Council, Office of the Mayor
275	Mr Bruce Hannaford
276	Mr Mike Clarke
277	Mr Mervyn Cork
278	Mrs Pamela Rigby
279	B Wheadon
280	Boulton Cleary & Kern, Solicitors & Notary
281	Mr George Veicherts
282	Mrs Margaret Mackay
283	F C Burges
284	Mr Jonathan Young
285	Mr F G Landers
286	M E Sawers
287	Mr Don McNaught
288	Ingham Information Group
289	Mr Scott Balson
290	Mr Charles Connelly
291	Mr Bernard Rusterholtz
292	Ms Margaret Dingle
293	Warren Sheehan Insurance

- Agencies
- 294 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

- 295 Mr E B Eiby296 Mrs Margaret & Mr Gerald Hoal
- 297 Ms Johanna Pope
- 298 Mr Terry Fleming
- 299 Mr Philip Graham
- 300 Mount Saint Benedict Centre
- 301 Sr C E McFall
- 302 Uniting Church of Australia
- 303 Mr Mal Pettett
- 304 Mr Colvin Smith
- 305 Stop MAI Coalition
- 306 Australian National University, Research School of Social Sciences
- 307 Mr Peter Glover
- 308 Mrs Betty O'Keefe
- 309 Albury / Wodonga Australians for Reconciliation
- 310 National Enterprise Federation Inc
- 311 Ms Shirley Prato
- 312 Mr Simon Goodrich
- 313 Ms Pamela Harris
- 314 Mr Michael Mazur
- 315 The Australian Young Christian Workers Movement
- 316 Mr David Solly
- 317 Mr Ross & Ms Lorraine Pearce
- 318 A F Robert
- 319 W & N Gardner
- 320 Mr Ray Brown
- 321 D P & A M Manthorpe
- 322 R M Clifford
- 323 Association of Mine Related Councils
- 323a Association of Mine Related Councils 324 Mr Graham Ringer 325 Mr Peter Howard 326 Ms Janet Wilson Mr Colin Glover 327 328 Arwen Birch 329 Dr Donald Grant 330 Mr Kenneth Duperouzel 331 W T & L D McCarthy 332 Centre for Justice and Spirituality 333 C A Hilder 334 Advance Australia Party 335 Mr Robert Cawley 336 AUSTAND 337 Mrs J E Milligan 338 Mr John Prato 339 Mr Marc Allas 340 D V Galligan, QC 341 Birthe Warburg 342 C E & M E Winton 343 Mr Michael Clough 344 Mr John Reynolds 344a Mr John Reynolds 345 Mr Adrian Barnett 346 Dr Margaret Snare 347 Mr Rick Brewster 348 Mrs A P Doolan 349 Mrs B J Little
- 350 Miss Dawn Tonks
- 351 Mrs Sheila Alger
- 352 Ms Joan Benlow
- 353 J R, E M & R J Carlson

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354 Ms Meaghan Denholr
------------------------

- 355 Ms Joyce Coupe
- 356 Mr Rodney Crerar
- 357 B T Godwin
- 358 Mr John Buckle
- 359 R A W Cameron
- 360 Ms Rosemary Drabsch
- 361 M Giles
- 362 K O'Shaughnessy
- 363 G Blanch
- 364 Mr Ron Keim
- 365 Mr Neil Blick
- 366 Social Justice Catalyst Committee, Sisters of the Good Samaritan
- 367 Ms Anna Parrar
- 368 Ms Isabel Higgins
- 369 Mr R Marshall
- 370 Leichhardt Municipal Council
- 371 Noongar Land Council
- 372 Mr Adam Johnston
- 373 Public Interest Advocacy Centre
- 374 Mr Michael Gogler
- 375 Mr Brian Matthews
- 376 Ms Gabrielle Harkin
- 377 Catholic Social Justice Council
- 378 Mr Robert Stringer
- 379 Ms Heather Prendergast
- 380 Mr Geoff Rhind
- 381 Dr Andrew Kelly
- 382 Mr Michael Burnet
- 383 Mr Sebastian Giglio
- 384 Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union

- 385 Mr Daniel MacKinlay
- 386 Ms Anne Rayner
- 387 Mr/Mrs Rooney
- 388 Mr Celia Smith
- 389 Ms Helena Walsh
- 390 Mr Dennis Murray
- 391 Ms Joslyn Tait
- 392 Mr John Morrissey
- 393 D B Smith
- 394 National Civic Council
- 395 Mr Arnold James
- 396 Gillian Middenway
- 397 P A Harris
- 398 J A E Allen
- 399 Australian Labor Party, Morriset Branch
- 400 J A Underwood
- 401 E H Crimes
- 402 A Joy
- 403 Ms Olivia Ball
- 404 Federal-State Relations Committee Victorian Parliament
- 405 Argus Australia Pty Ltd
- 406 Ms Jan Sims
- 407 Mrs D E Fuller
- 408 Catholic Finance and Property Office, Diocesan Finance Council, Adelaide
- 409 Mr Peter Huck
- 410 Mrs Elizabeth Back
- 411 Mrs Diana Yellowby
- 412 Mr Clive Oldroyd
- 413 Mr Rene Hardt
- 414 Mr Frank Happ

415	Mr Arnold Sandell
416	Mrs Betty Pares
417	Mr Brian Blanchard et al
418	Dr David Moore et al
419	Mrs Johanna Byma
420	Mrs Betty Burrowes
421	Litebook Computers Pty Ltd
422	Silke Collisson
423	Ms Betty Milne-Ward
424	Ms Elspeth Hull et al
425	Mr Robert Horman
426	Ms Helen & Mr Cowan Keys
427	Mr Martin Oliver
428	Mrs Euleen Phillips
429	Mr Robert Lawler
430	Mr Irwin Ramsay
431	Mr David Shanahan
432	Giffin & Shaw Accountants
433	Crew Members M V Cementco
434	M & G Hoal
435	Presentation Sisters Wagga Wagga
436	Mrs Clare Condon
437	Mr Ivan Cox
438	Ms Julie Walker
439	Mr Geoff Abel
440	Mr Donald Humphries
441	International Society for Human Rights - Australia
442	Geelong Community Forum
442a	Geelong Community Forum
443	The Francisan Missionaries of Mary

444 B J Allen et al

- 445 Mr Ron Sheen
- 446 Australian Coalition for Economic Justice
- 447 Mr Ian Robert
- 448 Albury-Wodonga Council of Social Service
- 449 Mr Bob Hill
- 450 Mrs Barbara Kimber
- 451 Ms Jessie Berryman
- 452 G Osborne
- 453 Mr Dan Mathews
- 454 Ms Victoria Bartolo
- 455 Mrs Norma McNamara
- 456 Ms L H Burrows et al
- 457 Ms Sonia Bartolo
- 458 Ms Sandra Hill
- 459 J Raymond
- 460 Mrs M Janz
- 461 Clare Colman and Family
- 462 Mr Charles Bartolo
- 463 R W Davey
- 464 Mr James Glanville
- 465 Edna & Jack Flynn
- 466 Mrs C B Seabrook
- 467 Mr Peter Trainor
- 468 Ms Pauline Hanrahan
- 469 Mr Kevin Broome
- 470 Ms Maree Pyke
- 471 Ms Patricia Byrne
- 472 Ms Annelie Daly
- 473 Mr G Patch
- 474 E J Harvey
- 475 Lake Macquarie Greens

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- 476 Mr John Blake
- 477 Mrs Glenys Bundy
- 478 Singleton Shire Council
- 479 Name Unknown
- 480 Mrs Susan & Mr Peter Hallam
- 481 National Association of Practising Psychiatrists
- 482 Deirdre Freeman
- 483 Mrs B Abel
- 484 Rentwatchers
- 485 Mr Leigh Howlett
- 486 Mr John Budge
- 487 Jessamine & Charles Elliot
- 488 Mr Michael Wright
- 489 Ms Jenny Baker
- 490 Mr John de Fredrick
- 491 Mr Norman Byrne
- 492 Mr Michael Christie
- 493 Ms Rhonda Ogilvie
- 494 Professor David Shearman
- 495 Mr Robert Lawler
- 496 Mrs Theresa Toomey
- 497 Latu Loudoun-shand
- 498 Busselton Peace and Environment Group Inc
- 499 Mrs Leslie Feather
- 500 Mr Jim Downing
- 501 Mr Edward Paterson
- 502 Citizens Against MAI
- 503 TASDEC Inc. Global Learning Centre
- 504 Mr Robert Armstrong
- 505 Newcastle Stop MAI Committee

- 506 Queensland University of Technology, Justice Studies, Faculty of Law
- 507 Benbow & Pike
- 508 Ms Kathryn Smith
- 509 Fundamental Rights Enterprise Ecology Association Inc
- 510 Mrs Audrey Scaroni
- 511 Australian Society of Authors
- 512 Caritas Australia, Tasmanian Office
- 513 Christians Respecting Earth & the Environment
- 514 Ms Lake et al
- 515 V Mullin
- 516 Byron Environment Centre Inc
- 517 National Book Council Inc
- 518 Ms Anita Radford
- 519 Mr David Graham Haining
- 520 D Radford
- 521 Mr T M Hogan
- 522 Ms Judith Ludwig
- 523 Mr Alfred Gerlach
- 524 Mr Daniel MacKinlay
- 525 Australian Stop MAI Coalition
- 526 Councillor Kerrie Christian
- 527 Mr Damien Sweeney
- 528 Mr Bruce Ingle
- 529 Mrs Nancy Brown
- 530 Mr Ben Smith
- 531 Carolyn Bates & Bernard Neville
- 532 Mrs K M Street
- 533 Mr Michael McDermott
- 533a Mr Michael McDermott

- 534 Surfcoast Shire Council
- 535 Sr Janet Mead
- 536 Pat Ryan
- 537 Ms Jan Shears
- 538 Ms Melissa Cloake
- 539 Progressive Labour Party
- 540 National Tertiary Education Industry Union
- 541 Ms R J Aroney
- 542 Mr Denis Voight
- 543 Ms Catherine Hutton
- 544 Mr David Molony
- 545 Mr Oddur Oddsson
- 546 Retired Union Members' Association of SA Inc
- 547 Kate Eve & Dean Lombard
- 548 Australian Reform Party
- 549 P J Keogh
- 550 Students' Association of the University of Technology, Sydney
- 551 Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population, Canberra
- 552 Save Australia
- 553 J D & M A Morris
- 554 Network of Women in Further Education
- 555 H R Howard
- 556 Joe & Carmel Pittari
- 557 Mrs Alison Amos
- 558 Ms Wendy Pope & Mr Chris Duffy
- 559 Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- 560 Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

- 561 Department of the Treasury
- 562 Ms Jan Sims
- 563 Mr Peter Haydon
- 564 Mr Roger Jones
- 565 Mr David Grace
- 566 Mr Christopher Brooks
- 567 Mr Richard Andrews
- 568 Ms Elizabeth Pell
- 569 Mr Max Keating
- 570 Ms Sylvia Jeffress
- 571 Mrs J Carson
- 572 T Frost
- 573 Mr Lance Jeffress
- 574 Ms E J Mateljan
- 575 S K Rodgers
- 576 Council for the National Interest, Western Australian Committee
- 577 Jim & Avis Slattery
- 578 Dr Shirley Prager
- 579 Mr John Ryan
- 580 Good Shepherd Social Justice Network
- 581 Dr Patricia Weaver
- 582 Mr Justin Tutty
- 583 Miss M E Tonks
- 584 Ms Ellen Hill
- 585 Ross & Julie Schuurmans
- 586 Mr John Slade
- 587 Campaign for International Cooperation and Disarmament
- 588 Victorian Local Governance Association
- 589 Action for World Development, NSW Inc

590	Coalition Against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment
591	Environmental Defender's Office
592	Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population Inc
593	Union of Farmers Inc
594	Mr John Grant
595	Mr Laurence Hagerty
596	Soroptimist International of the South West Pacific
597	Southern Cross University, Lismore
598	Mr Paul Hamilton
599	Ms Jocely Robertson
600	Mr Mervyn Vogt
601	Mr Bradley Curry
602	Mr Stephen Taupin
603	Mr Richard Smolarek et al
604	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
605	Ms Anne Byrne
606	Ms Filomena Nichols
607	J P A Goodwin
608	T W Ford
609	United Nations Association of Australia, WA
610	Ms Helen Lawrie
611	Queenslanders for Constitutional Monarchy Association Inc
612	Cooloola Ratepayers and Residents Association
613	Ms Anthea Packer
614	Mr Peter Jones

- 615 Epping District Peace & Environment Group
- 616 Australian Stock Exchange

- 617 Mr Louis Cook
- 618 Northern Illawarra Social Justice Network
- 619 D & M Connolly
- 620 Ms Michelle Lindblom
- 621 Mr Ian Cohen MLC, The Greens, NSW
- 622 Australian Reform Party
- 623 Ms Eileen Turner
- 624 Mr Michael Porter
- 625 Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS)
- 626 Ms Patricia Morrow
- 627 Ms Anne Densley
- 628 Mr K J Koster
- 629 J J Jeffers
- 630 Kirsteen Thomson et al
- 631 R Mills
- 632 Mr Peter Burgess-Orton
- 633 Ms Patricia Knight
- 634 Mr Daniel Connell
- 635 Australian Labor Party
- 636 Communist Party of Australia
- 637 E Dunphy
- 638 D F & D E Tudehope
- 639 Paulian Association
- 640 Busselton Peace and Environment Group
- 641 Mr Daniel James
- 642 Smith and Bartos
- 643 Conroy & Associates Valuers
- 644 AUSTCARE
- 645 Allen Allen & Hemsley
- 646 Australian Doctors' Fund Limited

647	W & P Fleming
648	Ms Monica Barry
649	Mr Harry John
650	Mrs Therese Clair
651	P A McNamara
652	Mr Leonard Warren
653	Mr Kevin & Evelyn Healy
654	L J Cawley
655	N W Clark
656	Mr Michael Comerford
657	S H Turvey
658	Ms Peta Secombe
659	Miss P Joyce
660	Ms Julie Lawrie
661	Mr Ian Dean
662	Mr John & Mrs Helen Casanova
663	Ms Annika Faber
664	Mr Michael Pyke
665	Mr Charles Nightingale
666	A R Thompson
667	L Daly
668	Ms Margaret Findlay
669	Mr Charles Bignold
670	E Murray
671	Mrs Catherine Coleman et al
672	Ms Gina Manno
673	Ms Mary Mahoney
674	Mr Edward Nieman
675	Mr R Stevenson
676	Ms Antonia Symonds
677	Ms Gail Brunger
678	Mr Geoffrey Warren
679	Mr Ross Lemon

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679 Mr Ross Lemon

- 680 Mr Thomas Bettison 681 Ms M Anne Sanders M R Schutz 682 683 Mrs Hope Koster 684 Mr Ivan Tilbury 685 Mr Damian McClarty 686 Mr Doug Vanstone Mrs V Pierce 687 688 Name Unknown 689 Mr Dennis Faulkner 690 Mrs J F Leslie 691 Mrs Dawn Thompson 692 Ms Cecilia Lee 693 Mrs Marie Barwick 694 Ms Geraldine Croagh 695 Mrs L Sobey 696 Ms Astrid Herlihy 697 Mr Alan R Birthley 698 R Rochelli 699 Mr Brian Magree 700 Ms Jenny Ward 701 Mr Arnold Kalnins 702 Ms Wendy Eggleton 703 R J Macdonald 704 S Hayles 705 Mrs Patricia Johnson 706 Mr & Mrs Louise & Peter Hobbs 707 Greg & Robyn Smith 708 Mr Neville Ford 709 B Mewburn 710 Mr Glenn Humphreys
  - 711 Progressive Labour Party, Geelong Branch

- 712 Women's Electoral Lobby, NSW Inc 713 Australian Society of Authors 714 Australian Business Limited 715 Mr Robert Mears 716 Australian Council of Trade Unions 717 Women's Electoral Lobby, WA 718 Community Aid Abroad 719 Australian Civil Liberties Union 720 National Union of Students 721 Medical Association for Prevention of War (Australia) 722 T D Thompson 723 Mr Len Humphris 724 Knights of the Southern Cross (NSW) Inc 725 Mr Adrian Hicks 726 Michael & Ingrid Hansen 727 Ms Colleen Kearney 728 Stop MAI, NSW
- 729 Australian Conservation Foundation
- 730 Mr Michael Coleman
- 731 Toowoomba and Region Environment Council Inc
- 732 Economic Reform Australia (NSW Division)
- 733 Mr Duncan Dey
- 734 Mrs Lesley Kelloway
- 735 Ms Jenny Kent
- 736 Mr Ted Murphy
- 737 Ms Terrie Templeton
- 738 Premier's Council for Women, Advisory Council to Premier of NSW

- 739 Ms Madonna Greathead
- 740 Australian Owned Companies (AusBuy)
- 741 Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee
- 742 University of Queensland Student Union
- 743 Australian Education Union
- 744 Mrs W Cameron
- 745 Mr Thomas King
- 746 Ms Lilly Bowes
- 747 Liberal Party of Australia (Gosford Branch)
- 748 Mrs M M Horne
- 749 Commonwealth Department of Health and Family Services
- 750 Mr Frank Vavasour
- 751 Mr Walter MacMillan
- 752 Ms Fay Lawrence
- 753 Mr John Hunting
- 754 World Vision Australia
- 755 Mr Allen Asher et al
- 756 Gosford City Council
- 757 Australian Local Government Association
- 758 Australian Children's Television Foundation
- 759 Mr John & Elizabeth Williams
- 760 G A Hwett
- 761 Mr Rodney Peers
- 762 Mr Ron van de Wiel
- 763 Premier of Victoria
- 764 Victorian Trades Hall Council
- 765 Mr Jim Gladwin
- 766 Amnesty International Australia

767	The Hon Richard Jones MLC, NSW
768	Mrs B M Harding
769	Wollongong City of Diversity
770	Mr David Burnett
771	Mr Robert Balzola
772	W Thompson
773	Ms Christine Carolan
774	Mrs Denise Kiek
775	Philip and Patricia Jones
776	Business Council of Australia
777	Melbourne University Student Union Inc.
778	SJE Consulting
779	Mr Norman Wiese
780	Film & Television Production Industry Group, Communications Law Centre, University of NSW
781	Mr Tim Callaghan & Ms Anne Bourne
782	Sr Anne Drouer
783	Mr Stan Tutt
784	Ms Margaret Gillespie-Jones
785	Fr Reg Howard
786	CFMEU Mining and Energy Division
787	Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
788	Mr Ian Wallis
789	MTIA
790	J O'Neill

- 791 Moreland City Council
- 792 Environment Australia

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### **APPENDIX 2**

# WITNESSES AT PUBLIC HEARINGS

#### Wednesday, 6 May 1998, Canberra

#### **Department of the Treasury**

Ms J Murphy, Assistant Secretary, Foreign Investment Review Branch, International and Investment Division Mr R Nixon, Director, Primary Industries Section, Foreign Investment Review Branch, International and Investment Division Mr A Biggs, Director, Secondary Industries Section, Foreign Investment Review Branch, International and Investment Division Mr C Thorburn, Assistant Director, Primary Industries Section, Foreign Investment Review Branch, International and Investment Division

#### **Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade**

Dr W Goode, Director, New Trade Issues Unit Mr M Potts, Assistant Secretary, Trade Policies and Industries Branch Mr J Hart, Executive Director, Treaties Secretariat

#### AusAid

Dr P McCawley, Deputy Director General, Quality Group

#### Austrade

Ms H Munro, Senior Adviser, Government and Policy Branch

#### Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Mr M Paterson, Chief Executive Mr B Davis, Director, Trade and Policy Research

#### **Stop MAI Coalition**

Mr R Sanders, National Coordinator

#### Individuals

Ms P Ranald, Senior Research Fellow, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales

# **APPENDIX 3**

# LIST OF EXHIBITS

- 1. Disciplining Governments? What the Multilateral Agreement on Investment would mean for Australia, by Patricia Ranald, UNSW Public Sector Research Centre and Evatt Foundation, 1998.
- 2. Copy of Article *Magna Carta for Global Corporations*, by Ted Wheelwright to be published in *ARENA*, 1998.
- 3. Copy of Article *Maigalomania!* by Corporate Europe Observatory, February 1998.
- 4. Open for Business? Australian Interests and the OECD's Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) by Wolfgang Kasper, No 1, Issue Analysis, The Centre for Independent Studies, 27 April 1998.