

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
To:
Cc:
Subject: Former PM Abbott - Hungary conference [SEC=UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Tuesday, 30 July 2019 8:02:20 PM

UNCLASSIFIED

Dear s 22(1)(a)(ii)

For information.

Former PM Abbott has accepted an invitation to participate in the 3rd Budapest Demography Summit which takes in Budapest on 5-6 September - <https://bdfelsoacsasad.hu/en>

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Invitations were issued under PM Orban's signature.

The Conference organisers contacted us last week to let us know about Mr Abbott's attendance and subsequently provided s 22(1)(a)(ii) with some further information.

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

At this point, there has been no request for assistance from either Mr Abbott or the Summit organisers, however we'll continue to monitor.

Cheers

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Adviser | Australian Embassy and Permanent Mission to the UN

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From: s 22(1)(a)
To: s 47F(1)
Cc: s 22(1)(a)(ii) [Lucienne Manton](#); s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Subject: Travel by former Prime Minister Abbott to Hungary [SEC=UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Thursday, 1 August 2019 8:56:54 AM

UNCLASSIFIED

Dear s 47F(1)

For your information, our post in Vienna has advised us that former Prime Minister Abbott has accepted an invitation to participate in the 3rd Budapest Demography Summit, which takes place in Budapest on 5-6 September - <https://bdfelsoacsad.hu/en> s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Invitations were issued under Prime Minister Orbán's signature. s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Former Prime Minister Abbott has not as yet requested any assistance from post. We will let you know (as well as Executive Branch) if there are any further developments concerning Mr Abbott's travel to Hungary.

Best wishes

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Director
Northern and Central Europe Section
Europe and Latin America Division
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Canberra
Tel: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Fax:

Title: Hungary: III. Budapest Demography Summit - Family First
MRN: s 47E(d) 23/09/2019 05:33:41 PM CEDT
To: Canberra
Cc: RR : Europe Posts
From: Vienna UN
From File:
EDRMS
Files:
References: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
The cable has the following attachment/s -
Kevin Andrews - Budapest Demography Summit - 5.9.2019.pdf
Tony Abbott - Danube Institute Budapest - 4.9.2019.002.docx
Response: Routine, Information Only

Summary

The third biennial Budapest Demography Summit took place on 5–6 September 2019
s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Organised by the Hungarian Government, Australian speakers included former Prime Minister Tony Abbott, the Hon Kevin Andrews MP s 22(1)(a)(ii)

On 4 September, Mr Abbott delivered a lecture at a Government-linked think tank on Australia's migration policies (script attached).

The *III. Budapest Demography Summit* took place on 5–6 September 2019 under the theme of "Family First". s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Australian speakers included former Prime Minister Tony Abbott, the Hon Kevin Andrews MP s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

On 4 September, Mr Abbott delivered a lecture at the Danube Institute - a Government-linked think tank in Budapest on *Immigration: What Europe can learn from Australia?* (script attached). He was interviewed afterwards by Mark Higginson, former Australian Ambassador in Budapest and Brussels, currently resident in Budapest.

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

5. Kevin Andrews MP presented his book *Maybe "I do" – Modern marriage and the pursuit of happiness* s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

text ends

Sent by: s 22(1)(a)(ii)

**Prepared
by:**

Approved DHOM

by:

Topics: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC/Domestic Political

Demography is Destiny: Families and Future Prosperity

The Hon Kevin Andrews MP

A presentation to the Budapest Demographic Summit III, Budapest, Hungary, September 5, 2019

In the introduction to my book, *Maybe 'I do' – Modern marriage and the pursuit of happiness*, I wrote:

The greatest threat facing the western world is . . . the steady but continuing breakdown of civil society – marriage, family and community.

1

The events of the past decade reinforce my earlier observation.

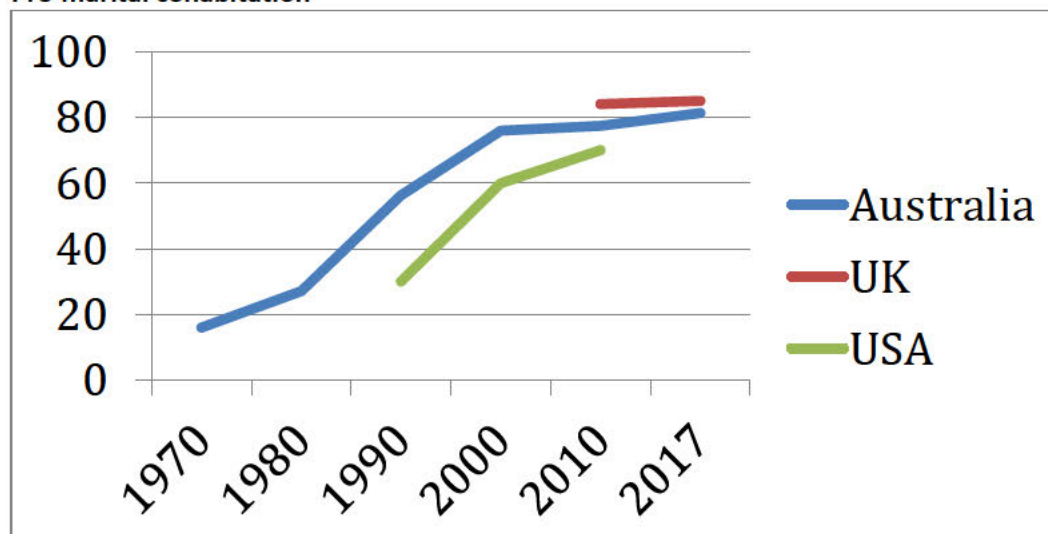
Before I explain, let me state an important qualification: while there is much in common in the economic, social and cultural life of our two countries, there are also differences. I do not pretend that our experiences in Australia are universally applicable. Rather, I offer a global overview, by which you may be able to make a comparison, even if not precisely applicable.

Before suggesting solutions, it is important to understand what is happening. There are significant demographic trends shaping families, communities and nations today. These trends have been underway for four to five decades. In the following presentation I will describe three family facts and three population myths before addressing three population challenges facing nations such as Hungary and Australia. While the trends are more acute in Europe, population changes are a global phenomenon. In the following charts, a selection of national data is used to illustrate the global trends.

Three family facts

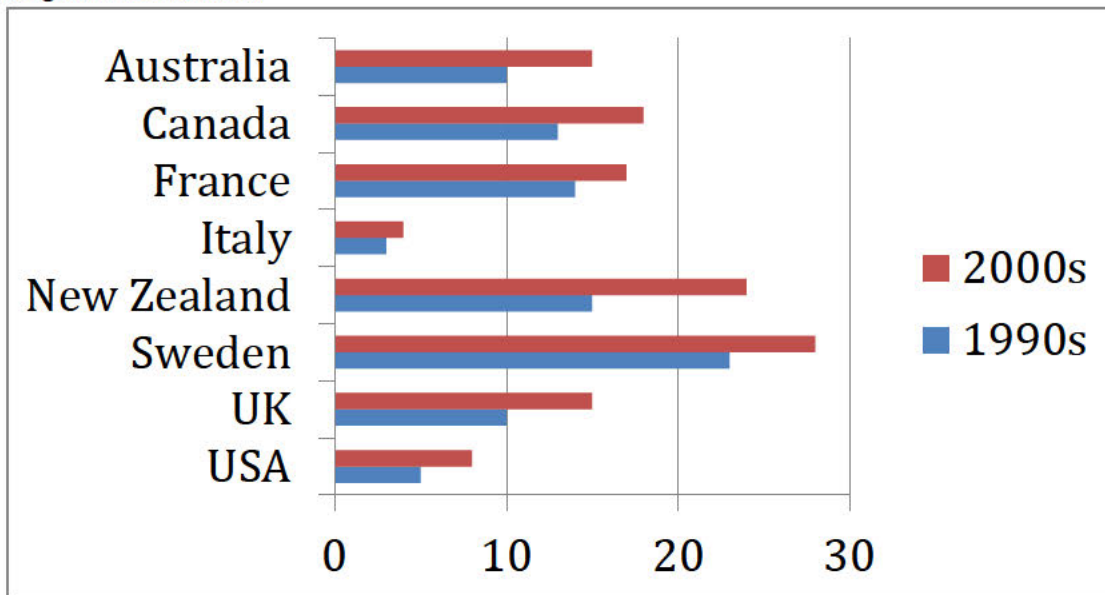
Fact 1: Cohabitation has increased. . .

Pre-marital cohabitation



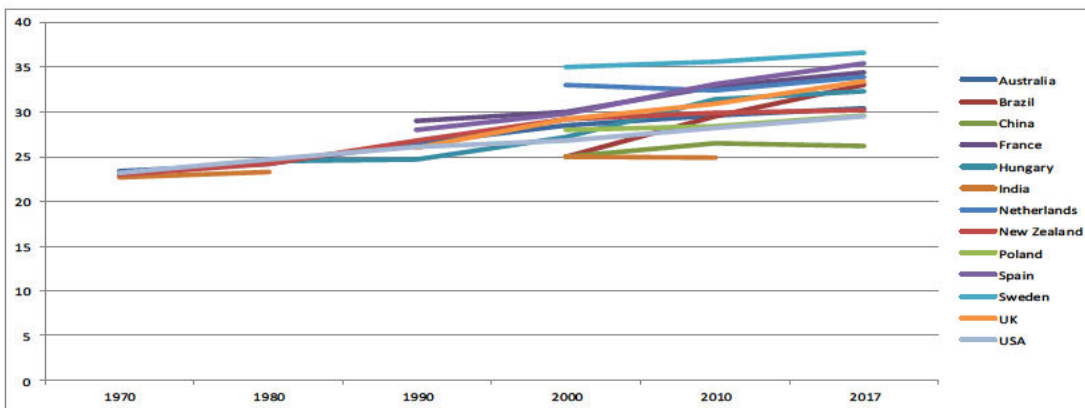
Pre-marital cohabitation rates – Australia, UK and USA, 1970-2017

Long-term cohabitation

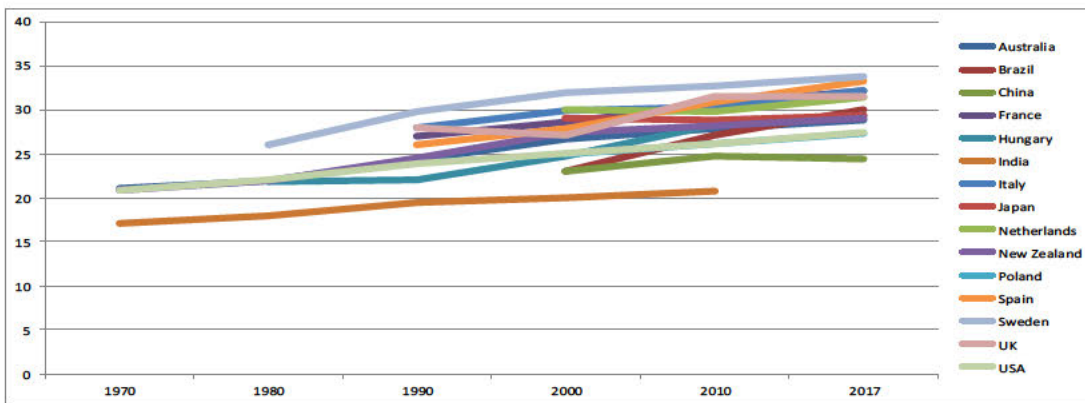


Cohabitors as a proportion of couples, 1990s – 2000s, various countries.

... Marriage occurs at a later age ...

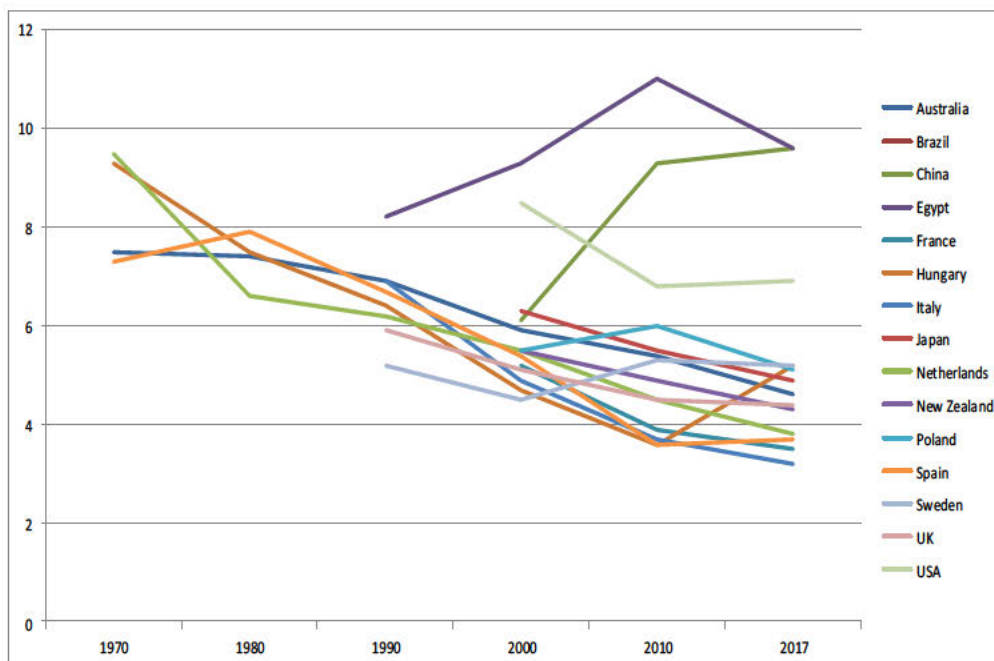


Age at first marriage – males, various countries, 1970-2017



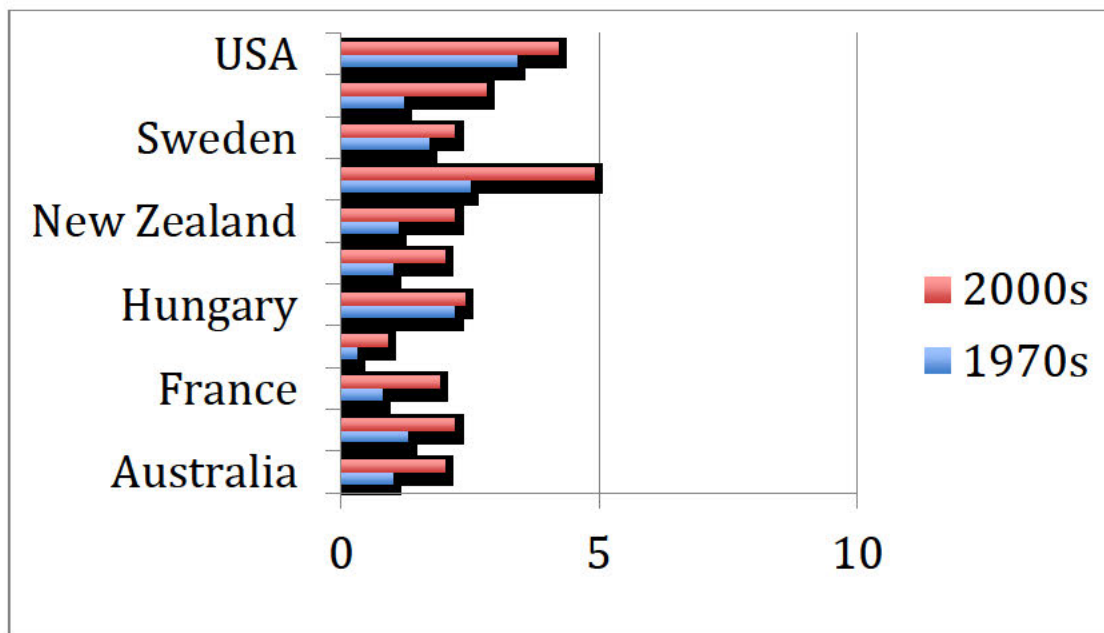
Age at first marriage – females, various countries, 1970-2017

... and is less popular.



Marriage per 1,000 population, various countries, 1970-2017

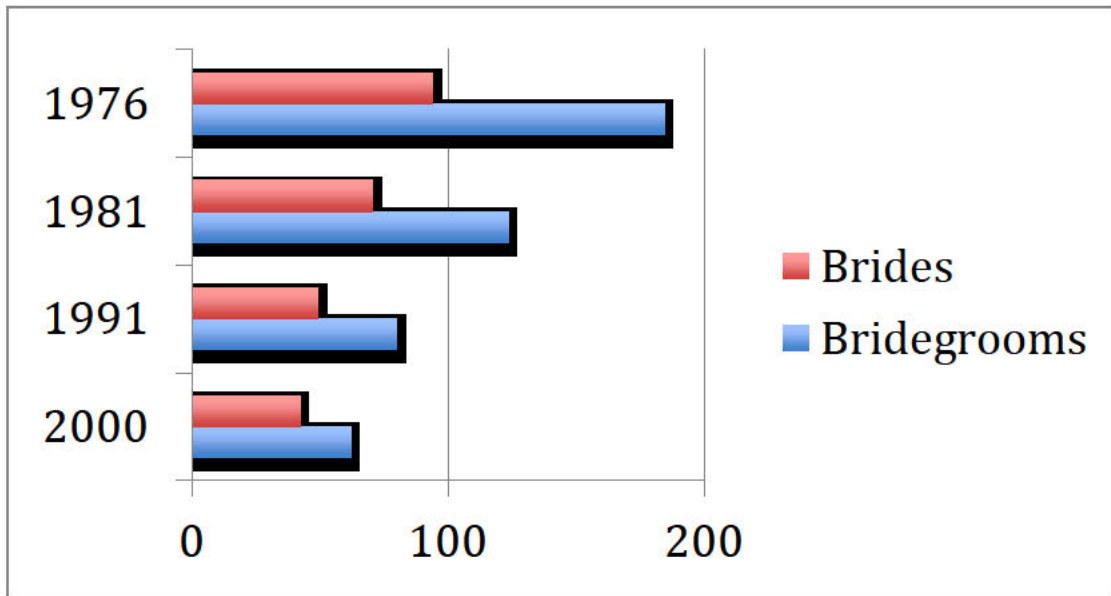
Fact 2: Divorce rates have risen. . .



Crude divorce rate – selected countries, 1970s and 2010s: USA, UK, Sweden, Russia, New Zealand, Japan, Hungary, Italy, France, Canada and Australia.

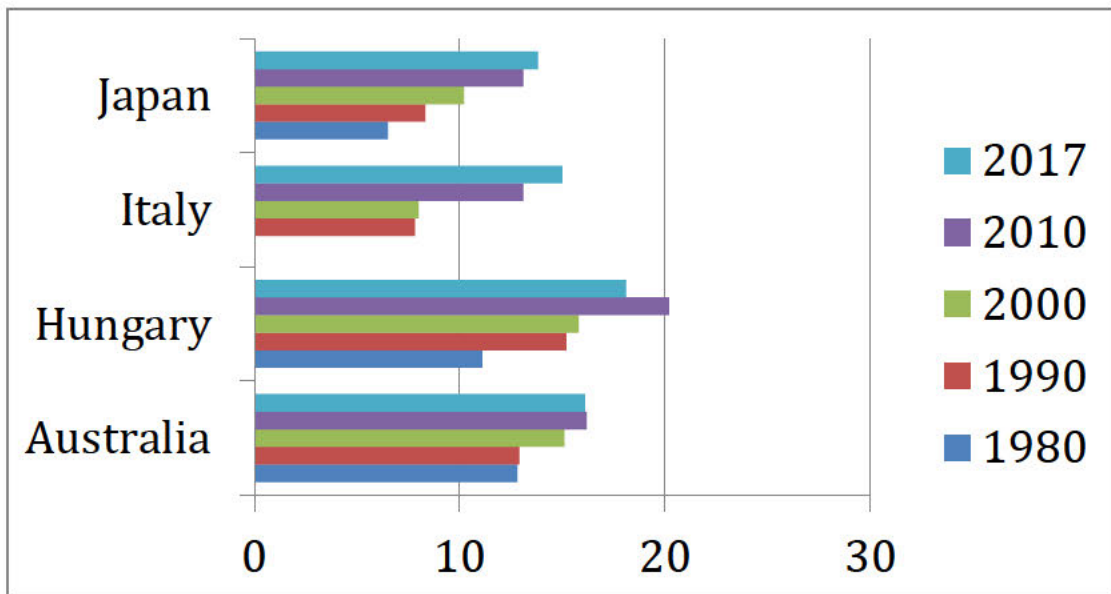
Note: In some nations, such as Hungary and the USA, there have been recent (small) falls in the divorce rate.

... and re-marriage rates have fallen.



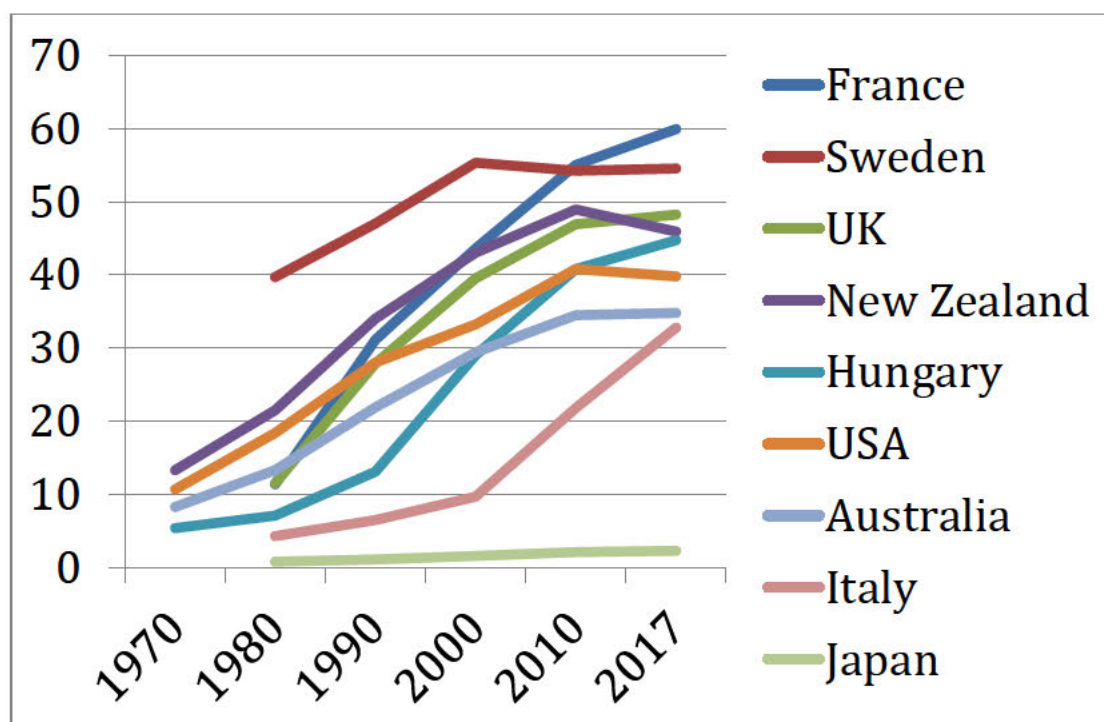
Remariages per 1,000 of divorced and widowed, 40-44 years of age, Australia

Fact 3: There has been a significant increase in the number of single-parent families . . .



Single-parent families as a proportion of all families: Japan, Italy, Hungary and Australia.

... and children born out-of-wedlock.



Births outside marriage as a proportion of births.

Three population myths

Myth 1: The world's population will continue to grow indefinitely

In fact, the United Nations has had to regularly downgrade the projected growth in the global population. World population is now expected to peak and stabilize at about 9.7 billion, far below previous projections. As the Oxford Professor of Geography, Danny Dorling, notes, this is because the rate of deceleration in population growth is far greater than originally thought.²

In a study of global fertility rates, the Australian demographer, Peter McDonald, concluded that if the current levels of fertility were maintained in many western nations, they are so low that that would threaten the future existence of the nations concerned:

In an era in which we have come to understand the momentum of population increase, it is remarkable that we are yet to appreciate that the same momentum applies to population decrease.³

The latest UN report observes that:

The population size of more and more countries is actually falling. Since 2010, 27 countries have seen a drop of at least one per cent, because of persistently low fertility rates. Between now and 2050, that is expected to expand to 55 countries which will see a population decrease of one per cent or more, and almost half of these will experience a drop of at least 10 per cent.⁴

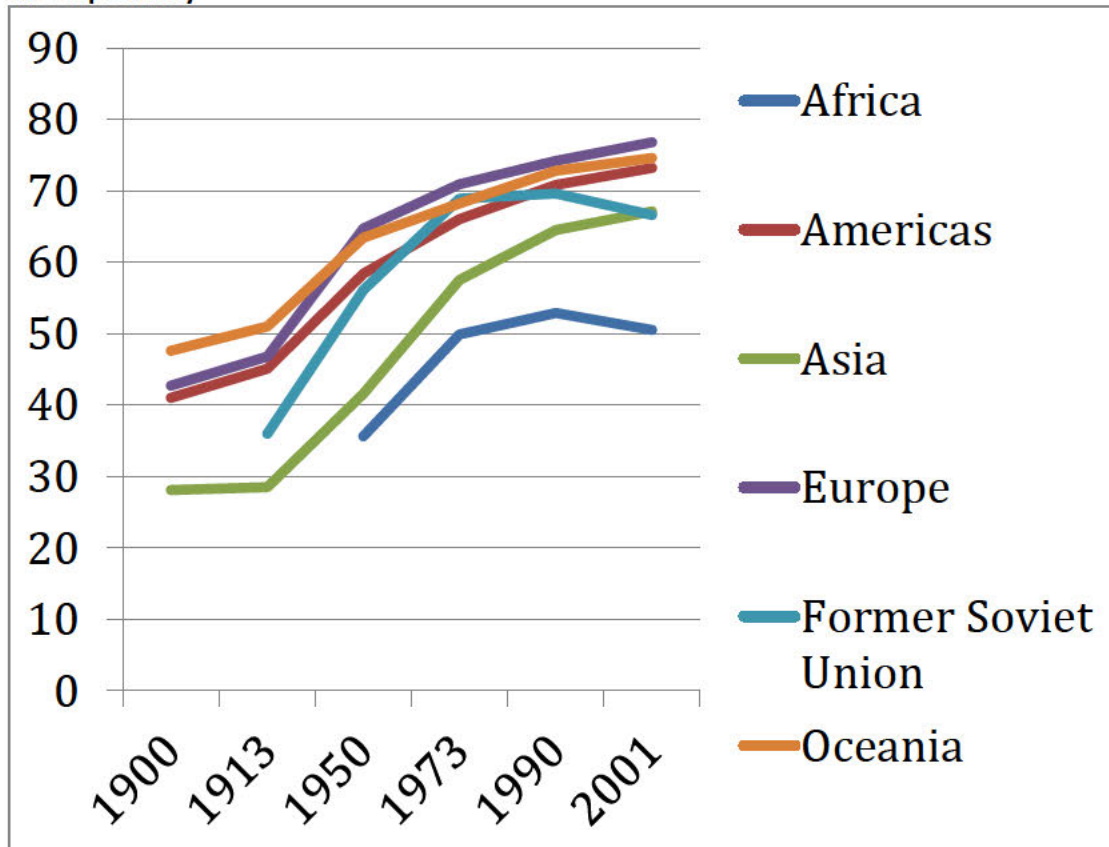
Even before these decreases occur, more than half the world's populations live in nations where the birth rate is below replacement levels.

Myth 2: The birth of too many children is causing population growth

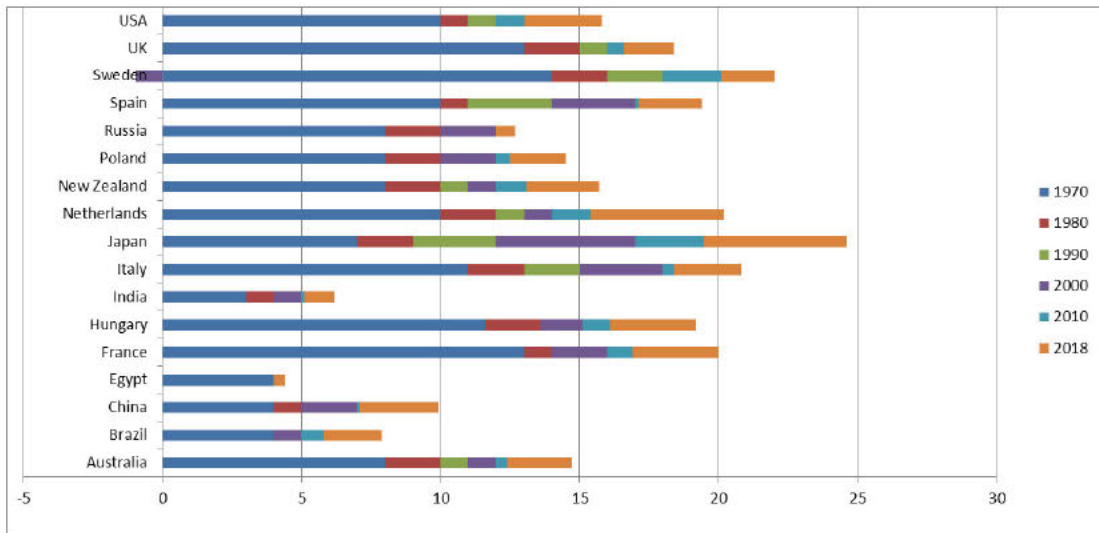
Many, often well-meaning people, contend that the human race is breeding itself to a point of unsustainability. But, the demographer Nicholas Eberstadt has observed:

The modern population explosion was sparked not because people suddenly started breeding like rabbits, but rather because they finally stopped dying like flies. . . it wasn't that fertility rates soared; rather, mortality rates plummeted. Since the start of the [20th] century, the average life expectancy at birth has probably doubled; it may have more than doubled.⁵

Life expectancy



Life expectancy, various continents, 1900-2001

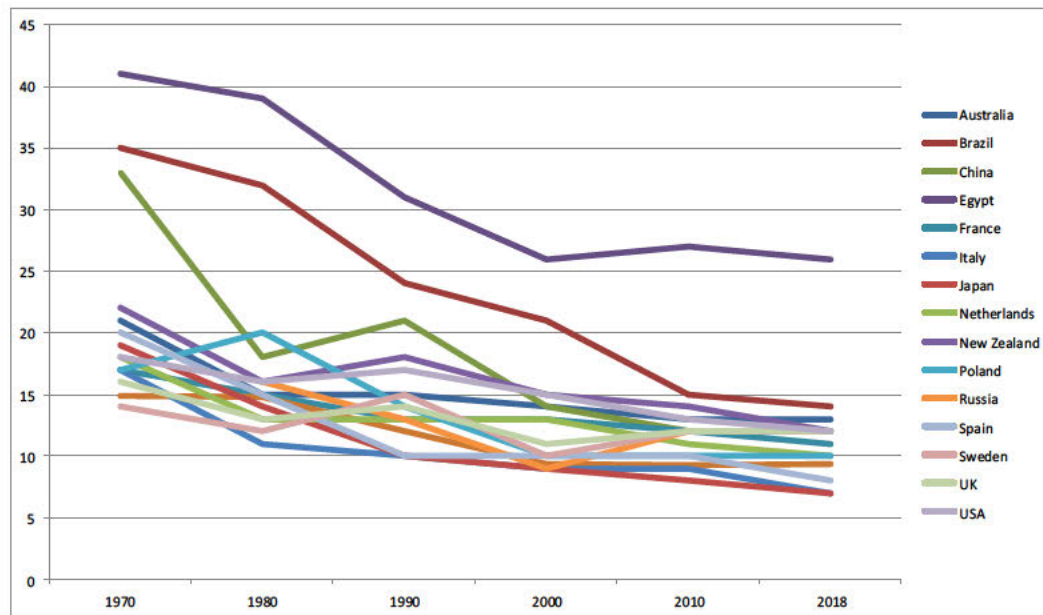


Ageing of the population – Percentage of the population aged 65 and over, decade by decade

Professor Dorling writes:

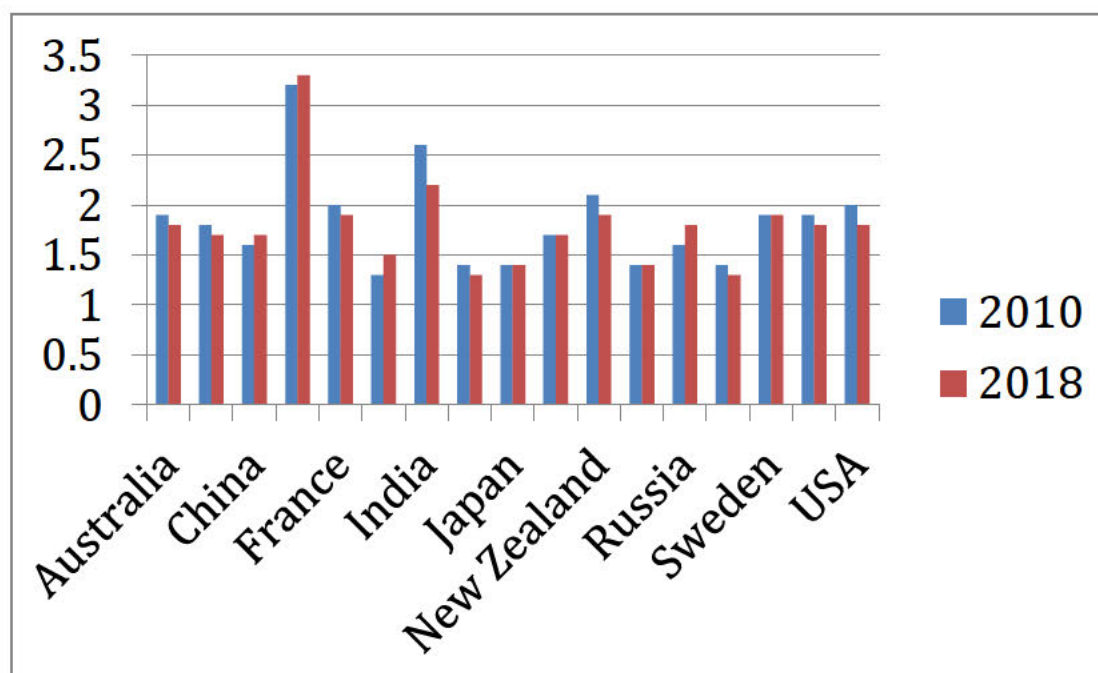
Human population growth is slowing dramatically and it is slowing because people are having fewer and fewer babies as compared to their parents – everywhere – without exception. More importantly, they are having fewer than we thought they would have a few years ago when fertility rates were already reducing dramatically and unprecedentedly. Our species have never – ever – had so few children.⁶

Crude birth rates



Births per 1,000 population, various countries, 1970-2018

Total Fertility rates



Births per female population 15-49 for Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, Spain Sweden, UK and USA.

Myth 3: Population decrease can be easily reversed

While it is relatively easy to reduce national birthrates, it is very difficult to reverse a decline. Singapore provides a good case study.

From the late 1950s, the island state adopted a strong antinatalist program of legalised abortion, voluntary sterilisation and disincentives to have more than two children. The total fertility rate fell from 6.56 in 1957 to just 1.42 in 1986.⁷ By the early eighties, the national government became alarmed about the trend. With falling fertility, especially among better-educated women, the government expressed concern about the “quality” of the population.⁸ It subsequently introduced measures to encourage more births, including privileged access to high-quality education, income tax relief, childcare leave and subsidies, part-time work rights in the public service, and housing entitlements.⁹ While the total fertility rate had increased to 1.6 by 1997, it remained below replacements levels. A subsequent decline was a concern to the government.

In 2001, the *New York Times* featured the headline: ‘Singapore, Hoping for a Baby boom, Makes Sex a Civic Duty.’ The report continued:

Here in straight-laced Singapore, it’s the new patriotism: have sex. Alarmed by its declining birthrate, this tiny city-state of just four million people is urging its citizens to multiply as fast as they can. “We need more babies!” proclaimed Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong last fall. The world, he said, is in danger of running short of Singaporeans.¹⁰

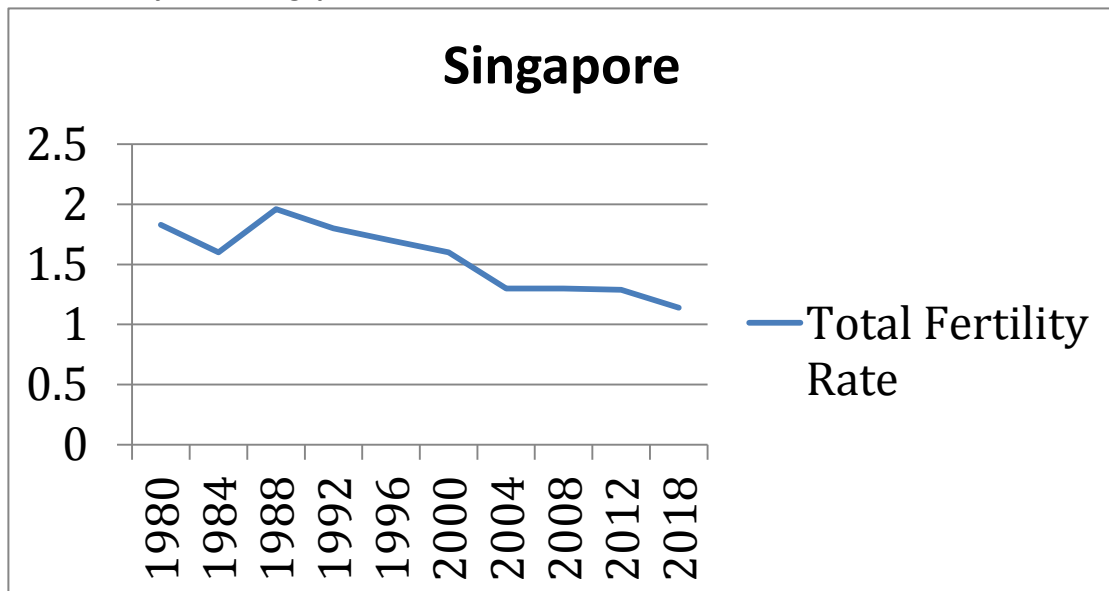
A government office, the Working Committee on Marriage and Procreation, has developed monetary and workplace incentives. The idea is to persuade Singaporeans that having

children is a better deal than going without. In what it calls the Baby Bonus Scheme, the government is offering cash to couples that have second and third children. It is extending maternity leave and adding a brief paternity leave for government workers. It is experimenting with flexible working hours to make child rearing easier. It is offering special deals on apartment rentals for young couples. It has also increased infant and child-care places, expanded healthcare for couples with children and funded assisted reproductive technology.

“Let’s get on the love wagon” urged a headline in the *Straits Times*. For a nation where dropping litter or spitting on the footpath is regarded as highly disorderly, it comes as a surprise to read in the same article tips directions to “some of the darkest, most secluded and most romantic spots for Romeos and Juliets.” Subsequently, Singapore’s Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Tony Tan, announced that the Government would fund \$50 million over five years to educate the public on family life. This includes marriage education and parenting classes. The government also established a service, ‘Marriage Central’, to dispense advice of married life.¹¹ More recently, the government set up an online dating service to boost marriage rates among graduates.¹² It also provides direct payments for each child, rising in value for every additional sibling. Despite these endeavours, Singapore’s fertility rate has fallen to 1.14 according the latest data.¹³ It has been predicted to fall below 1.0 in the next five years.

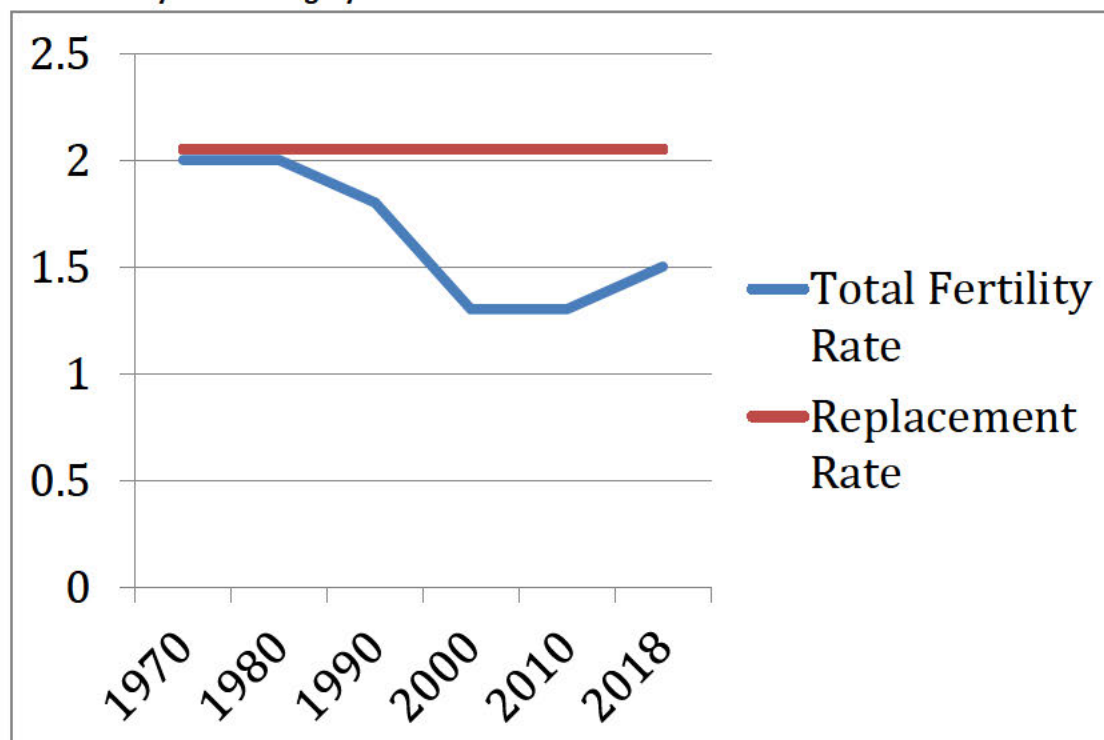
The Singapore study illustrates the point that whereas the birthrate can be reduced significantly within the space of a generation, it is much more difficult to increase again. Direct pronatalist measures alone seem insufficient to reverse declining birthrates. For this reason, policy makers also have turned to family friendly and economic policies.

Total Fertility Rate - Singapore



Hungary has been able to reverse its declining fertility rate in the past decade, but it is too early to know if this reversal is permanent.

Total Fertility Rate - Hungary



Three population challenges

Challenge 1: Population growth and economic growth are related

Although the effects of declining birth rates may not have an immediate impact on all societies, marriage breakdown, an ageing population and declining fertility combine to produce an environment inherently more unstable and antithetical to healthy family life and national prosperity.

The economic impact will be significant. Using data from two countries that have experienced population contraction - Russia and North Korea - economist Sanghan Yea observes that population decline will have a more damaging impact than we expect presently: "Depopulation not only stops economic growth completely, but also reverses it."¹⁴ Not only is there less demand for goods and services, the reduction in new entrants to the labor force may decrease flexibility and productivity. The world's working age population grew by 1.3 billion, or 40 per cent, between 1990 and 2010,¹⁵ but is expected to increase by only about 900 million between 2010 and 2030.¹⁶

The Australian Treasury argued that the ageing of the population and higher fertility over the next 35 years would bring down per-capita gross domestic product by more than two per cent. But this would be partly offset by a 0.75 per cent through migrant intake alone, and by a further 0.5 per cent through the age composition of the migrants.¹⁷ However this claim requires more investigation. A UK House of Lords Committee¹⁸ asserted in 2008 "overall Gross Domestic Product is an irrelevant and misleading criterion for assessing the economic impacts of immigration." The Committee argued that the focus of analysis should rather be on the effects of immigration on income per head of the resident population. By

this measure, immigration to Australia, for example, has a very modest impact on living standards according to an Econtech report.¹⁹

An Australian longitudinal survey of migrants showed very strong employment outcomes for skilled migrants with an employment rate of over 97 per cent and a participation rate of 94 per cent just 18 months after arrival. Migrants on a spouse visa also had very good outcomes, with unemployment of just five per cent, and participation at 72 per cent. However, there are significant variations. Non-English speaking, unskilled and older migrants have much lower levels of employment and many rely on welfare payments. This is exacerbated by any economic downturn.

There are other limitations on immigration. Settlement issues, especially in larger cities, effectively limit the number of immigrants that a place can house and settle. A worldwide demand for skilled immigrants also restricts the numbers. Moreover, immigration does little to influence the age structure of the population, as immigrants also grow older. Thirdly, the assumptions about population increase over the next 50 years take little account of any possible reversals of life expectancy. Professor Eberstadt observed:

Long-term stagnation or even decline in life expectancy is now a real possibility for urbanised, educated countries not at war. Severe and prolonged collapses of local health conditions during peacetime, furthermore, is no longer a purely theoretical eventuality. As we look towards 2025, we must consider the unpleasant likelihood that a large and growing fraction of humanity may be separated from the planetary march toward better health and subjected instead to brutal mortality crises of indeterminate duration.²⁰

In the west, cancer, diabetes, alcoholism and other diseases related to affluent but unhealthy lifestyles continue to strike the population. Obesity amongst children is at record levels. In the world's most populous nations, India and China, family sizes are expected to continue to fall.²¹ In both the UK and the USA, life expectancy peaked in 2014 and then fell.²²

Finally, population issues cannot be isolated from other national trends, including lower levels of marriage, the higher incidence of separation and divorce, and the consequences for children.

Immigration is a lazy, and, ultimately limited, response to the ageing of the population. Changing economic circumstances can result in migration reversals. The exodus of migrants from Eastern Europe is one example. Elsewhere, guest workers have been sent back to their home countries as economic conditions fluctuate.²³

Secondly, although generally younger, the new arrivals also age along with the rest of the population. Only a commitment to a continually larger immigration program can counter this fact. A record annual number of immigrants would be necessary, for example, if Europe was to counter the impact of ageing.²⁴ This would result in greater congestion and more dense settlement, neither of which would be popular. According to UN estimates, the magnitude of immigration required to prevent population ageing in Europe would result in a migrant population constituting between 59 and 99 per cent of the population.²⁵ Even if theoretically feasible, where would these immigrants come from, and what would be the impact on the existing resident population? We have already witnessed tensions in a number of countries between existing populations and more recent arrivals from other parts of the world. Little wonder that a survey of fertility and population ageing in Europe

concluded that “the sheer numbers of immigrants that are needed to prevent population ageing in the EU and its Member States are not acceptable in the current socio-political climate prevailing in Europe.”²⁶ Debates over identity are likely to increase, not decrease, in this century.²⁷

Challenge 2: There is no ‘magic bullet’ that will reverse population decline

Many countries have deployed a variety of policies. These include pro-natalist inducements, direct economic support for families, work and family measures, and programs to support marriage and discourage divorce.²⁸ No one policy or program has been successful in reversing population decline. In Australia, for example, family taxation benefits, subsidized health and childcare and a generous welfare system, along with encouragement to have “one child for Mum, one for Dad, and one for the Country” initially resulted in a raise in the birthrate, in the early 2000s before it decreased again a few years later.²⁹

Challenge 3: Reversing population decline requires a long-term, sustained effort

It is easy for nations in the early stages of fertility decline to be seduced by the phenomenon known as the ‘demographic dividend.’³⁰ This occurs when birth rates first fall, allowing more people, especially women, to enter the paid workforce. Individuals are able to spend and invest more, including in the education of fewer children. The phenomena occurred in Japan and other Asian countries from the 1960s, and are occurring in China currently. But the dividend must be repaid. As the population ages, there are fewer workers and the numbers of dependent aged grows, there is a drain on resources. Japan is already experiencing the impact, and China will in the coming two decades, as it enters longer-term depopulation.

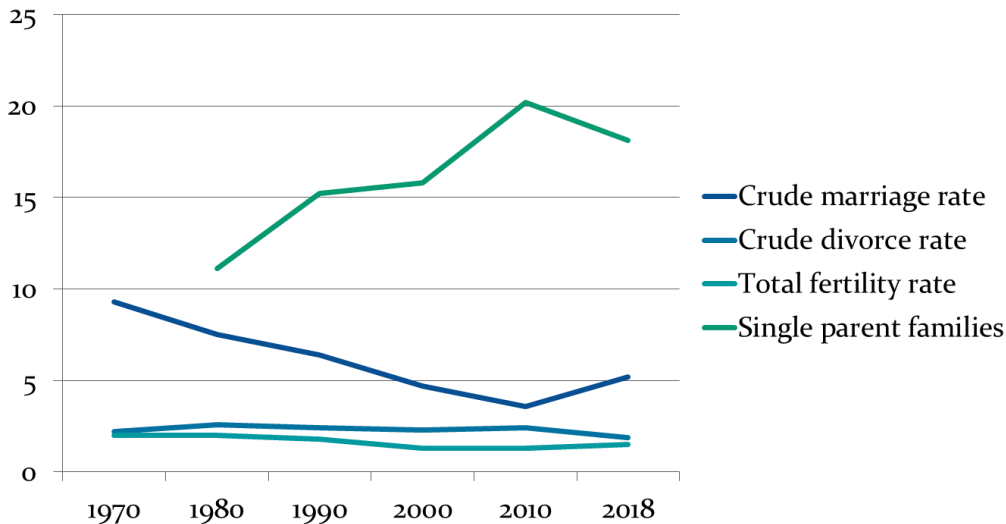
Even nations that have seriously addressed population decrease have witnessed varying outcomes. Reversing population decline involves sustained policies over two generations – possibly longer.

Conclusion

Popular ideas and current lifestyle choices militate against the acceptance of appropriate policy responses. Having experienced their parents’ divorces, the movement of governmental support from families with children to the elderly, high levels of unemployment, the need to have two incomes to achieve what their parent’s regarded as a reasonable standard of living, and facing what they perceive as an uncertain future, many young people are postponing or avoiding marriage and delaying children.

Reversing population decline will require the sustained, combined response of civic and cultural institutions, government and the business community.

Hungary’s efforts to address the population challenge are a commendable example of measures that nations will increasingly need to adopt if they are to avoid or mitigate the economic, social and cultural consequences of population decline.



Hungary, 1970-2018

The Hon Kevin Andrews MP has been a member of the Australian Parliament since 1991. He served in the Cabinet of Prime Minister's John Howard and Tony Abbott. He is the author of a number of books, including *Changing Australia – social, cultural and economic trends shaping the nation* (with Michelle Curtis) [Annandale, NSW, Australia, The Federation Press, 1998], *Maybe 'I do' – modern marriage and the pursuit of happiness* [Ballan, Australia, Connor Court, 2012, 2014 (concise edition)] and *One People One Destiny* [Melbourne, Australia, Threshold Publishing, 2017]. Kevin is married to Margaret. They have five children and three grandchildren. Prior to his election to Parliament, Kevin and Margaret co-founded the Marriage Education Programme Inc, which provided pre- and post-wedding courses for some 20,000 couples.

Contact: menzies@aph.gov.au

Website: www.kevinandrews.com.au

Notes

¹ Kevin Andrews (2012) *Maybe 'I do' – Modern marriage and the pursuit of happiness* [Ballan, Australia, Connor Court], 12

² Danny Dorling (2019) 'The smaller generation to come – worldwide' www.dannydorling.org

³ Peter McDonald (2000) 'Low fertility in Australia: Evidence, causes and policy responses' *People and Places* 8: 6-21; and Peter McDonald and Rebecca Kippen (2000) "Population projections for Australia", *BCA Papers*, September 96-104, cited in Kevin Andrews (2009) 'Population, immigration and Australia's future' *Australian Polity* 3: 12-16

⁴ United Nations Population Division (2019) *World Population Prospects 2019*, [United Nations, New York]

⁵ Nicholas Eberstadt, (2007) *Too many people?* [London, International Policy Network]

⁶ Dorling, *supra*

⁷ Graeme Hugo (2000) 'Declining fertility and policy interventions in Europe: some lessons for Australia' *Journal of Population Research*, November 2000

⁸ Saw Swee-Hock (1990) 'Changes in the fertility policy of Singapore,' *Institute of Policy Studies Occasional Paper No 2* [Singapore, Times Academic Press]

⁹ Hugo (2000) *supra*

¹⁰ 'Singapore, Hoping for a Baby boom, Makes Sex a Civic Duty.' *New York Times*, April 21, 2001

¹¹ 'Marriage Central Singapore' (2007) *Threshold* 90: 4. See also 'Promoting marriage' (2003) *Threshold* 75: 35

¹² Lovebyte.org.sg See also 'The flight from marriage' (2010) *The Economist*, August 20, 20

¹³ <https://www.singstat.gov.sg/modules/infographics/total-fertility-rate>. See also: Justin Ong (2018) 'Singapore's fertility rate at new 7-year low of 1.16: Josephine Teo, channelnewsasia.com (1 March 2018) and Singapore Department of Statistics (2008) 'Key demographic Indicators, 1970 – 2007,' *Population Trends* 2008

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- ¹⁴ Sanghan Yea (2004) 'Are we prepared for world population implosion?' *Futures* 36: 683-601
- ¹⁵ Nicholas Eberstadt (2011) 'World population prospects and the global economic outlook: The shape of things to come' *Working Series Paper on Development Policy* 5 [Washington DC, American Enterprise Institute]
- ¹⁶ US Census Bureau, *International Data Base*. www.census.gov
- ¹⁷ Cited in K Andrews (2009) 'Population, immigration and Australia's future' *The Australian Polity* 3: 12-16
- ¹⁸ *Ibid*
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*
- ²⁰ Nicholas Eberstadt (2007) 'Global demographic outlook to 2025' *Speech*, Economic Conference on Demography, Growth and Wellbeing, Zurich [Washington DC, American Enterprise Institute]
- ²¹ See for example: 'China: Changes to marriage' (2005) *Threshold* 83: 28
- ²² Danny Dorling (2019) 'We need more babies, not fewer, Harry!' *Daily Mail*, August 4, 2019
- ²³ See John P Martin (2008) *International Migration Outlook* [Paris, OECD]
- ²⁴ R Lesthaeghe, H Page and J Surkyn (1988) *Are immigrants substitutes for birth?* Inter-university programme in demography, working paper 1988-3 [Brussels, Inter-university]
- ²⁵ United Nations (2000) *Replacement migration: is it a solution to declining and ageing populations?* [Geneva and New York, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division]
- ²⁶ Jonathan Grant *et al* (2004) *Low fertility and population ageing* [Leiden, The Netherlands, Rand Europe] 135
- ²⁷ See for example Samuel P Huntington (2004) *Who are we?* [New York, Simon & Shuster]; and Jonathan Sacks (2007) *The home we build together* [London, Continuum]
- ²⁸ See Andrews, *supra*, 243-261
- ²⁹ *ibid*
- ³⁰ David E Bloom *et al* (2003) *The demographic dividend: A new perspective on the economic consequences of population change* [Santa Monica CA, The Rand Corporation]

Acknowledgement: The charts in this paper are based on demographic data compiled for the author by the Australian Parliamentary Library.

Tony Abbott

ADDRESS TO THE DANUBE INSTITUTE

Source: <http://tonyabbott.com.au/2019/09/address-to-the-danube-institute/> (Last access: 10/9/2019)

The working title for these remarks is what Australia can teach Hungary on border protection. In fact, Australia has very little to teach Hungary on border protection. In fact, no country has much to teach Hungary on border protection. But Australia does have much to teach Europe on border protection – as does Hungary, which has provided Germany, France, Spain and Sweden (just some of the countries that have struggled with border protection) with an object lesson in how to handle it.

Just as Australia has shown the world how to protect a maritime border, Hungary has shown the world how to protect a land border – so between our two countries, there's no end of a lesson for Europe which has now been subject to what amounts to a peaceful invasion for about four years.

Yes, because of the fence that Hungary erected in 2015 to stop the hundreds of thousands marching towards Germany; and because of policy changes to mimic Hungary's in some other central and eastern European countries; and because of deals that the EU has done with Turkey, that particular flood has become more-like-a-trickle. But there are still many tens of thousands of people taking to small boats across the Mediterranean in the hope of a better life. Thousands are still drowning but most are making it across, where they add immensely to the economic and social problems of Europe.

The people smuggling trade simply has to be stopped. To save lives it simply has to be stopped. That's what Australia has shown the world how-to-do. That's what the countries of Europe could do if they were prepared to follow Australia's example. But to save lives in the short run, and to save themselves in the long run, the countries of Europe would have to adopt some of Australia's attitudes – and Hungary's attitudes too – because you can't put effective protections in place unless you first believe in yourselves enough to make them work.

Yes, there are at least four million people who have been displaced by the war in Syria and Iraq. But only about half of the nearly four million people who've shoved their way into Europe over the past four years have come from war zones. In fact, they've converged on Europe from all over the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia, not because they were the victims of fighting but because they've believed that Europe was open to everyone, thanks to the German chancellor's "we will cope" initial response to this human wave.

Of course, a well-organised country of some 80 million people can cope with a million arrivals. The question is not "can it cope?" but "should it have to cope?" That's the difference between Australia and Hungary, on the one hand; and most of the countries of Europe, on the other. Australia and Hungary are quite clear that being poor and being able to benefit from life in a rich country confers no right of entry. Most of the countries of Europe, though, are not so sure. They don't

want people to arrive illegally by boat; they don't want people to cross borders illegally; but they're not sure that they have the moral right to stop them.

There's no doubt that people in immediate fear of their lives should indeed be able to claim sanctuary. Of course, civilians threatened by war should be able to cross a border to seek safety. But there's a world of moral difference between people who cross one border to be safe and people who cross multiple borders to have a better life. No one can blame them for wanting a better life but no one has a duty to give it to them, unconditionally, and with no questions asked. A person who crosses one border to be safe is a refugee whom the host country has a duty to protect. A person who crosses multiple borders for a better life is a would-be economic migrant whom the host country has every right to refuse.

Australia and Hungary accept this – although unlike Hungary, Australia also has the world's largest refugee programme, on a per capita basis, and since stopping the illegal migrant boats has actually increased its intake of refugees who come the right way. But most importantly, Australia and Hungary haven't allowed rich-country guilt to obscure their duty to their own citizens to maintain strict control of their borders in order to keep their countries' character.

Make no mistake: a rich country that takes the view that "anyone who can get here can stay here", even if it's 80 million strong, will eventually find that it can't cope with the numbers that have the inclination and the ability to come, especially when the newcomers are effectively *breaking in* rather than *joining in*.

We have to face facts here: some of Turkey's leaders have urged Muslims to take back parts of Europe; and as Europe has discovered, among the would-be migrants are soldiers of the caliphate bent on mayhem. Many of those who have taken boats across the Mediterranean, or clamoured at Europe's gates, look set to join an angry underclass. Too many have come, not with gratitude but with grievance, and with the insistence that Europe should make way for them. If allowed to continue unchecked, over time, this could hardly-not-turn into an existential challenge.

Thanks to better transport and greater knowledge on-line, there is virtually no limit to the numbers that can and will turn up on your doorstep if they think they might be welcomed. That's the key to controlling your border: declaring that you have the right to do so, because it's only once you've done that, and mean it, that sensible measures can be adopted.

And that's exactly what Australia did, under my government. We stopped illegal boats at sea and escorted them back to Indonesian waters. As well, we had arrangements with the governments of Sri Lanka and Vietnam to fly back anyone who had made the much longer journey from there by illegal boat. And if the boats were scuttled, we had big orange life rafts on hand so that people could be safely returned to whence they'd come. I knew the risks to our personnel; I knew the strain this could put on relations with Indonesia; I knew the outcry it would spark from well-meaning people but it simply had to be done.

Effective border protection is not for the squeamish, but it is absolutely necessary to save lives and to preserve nations. That, indeed, is the truly compassionate thing to do: to stop the boats and to stop the deaths – indeed, the only way to stop the deaths is to stop the boats – and for more than five years now, there have been almost no illegal arrivals by boat in Australia and the drownings have totally stopped.

Europe's challenges are on a larger scale and the geography is different but with the right will and the right organisation there is no reason why there could not be similar success. What it needs, though, is a conviction among the continent's leaders that stopping people smuggling, stopping deaths at sea, and protecting Europe's way of life is the right and the moral thing to do. You have to match the conviction of those demanding entry with the greater conviction that you have a right to say "no". What's needed is an end to the self-doubt about the entitlement of European nations, individually and collectively, to stand up for themselves.

Of course, Europe's navies must do their humanitarian duty and rescue people who might otherwise drown; but subsequently taking them onto Spain, Italy and Greece – the destinations they were always making for – just guarantees that more will make this dangerous journey. So long as people think that arriving in Europe means staying in Europe, they will keep coming. Sending them to *more* European countries won't solve the problem; it will just *spread it around*. People in no immediate danger just *have to be turned back* at Europe's borders. People intercepted in the Mediterranean just *have to be returned* to their starting point.

You see people smuggling can't be managed; it just has to be stopped. And if that means European naval personnel delivering people back onto the beaches of Libya, so be it. The morning early in 2014 I saw a photograph all-over-the-front-page of our biggest selling newspaper of an orange life raft washed up on an Indonesian beach, I knew that we had the people-smuggling trade beaten. Likewise, a photograph of European naval personnel putting people ashore, not in Italy or in Spain but in Libya, would finally prove that these countries had rediscovered the will needed to say "no" to moral blackmail. Because that's what this is: foreigners saying to us that you've no right to stop us; and people in our midst agreeing that because we're relatively rich and they're relatively poor we have to let them in.

Perhaps the most unseemly aspect of this now-drawn-out crisis has been the NGO flotillas cruising the Med looking to "rescue" those in leaky boats and to take them safely to Europe. They claim to be good Samaritans but they're actually just unpaid assistants to the people-smuggling trade. What's more, they're confirming the moral entitlement of everyone getting on a boat in Africa or in Asia to a new life in Europe. They're effectively accessories to crime and in Australia could probably themselves be charged with people smuggling offences. But in Europe they seem to be regarded as misguided "do-gooders" at worst.

Then there's the pervasive reference to these would-be illegal immigrants as "asylum seekers". They might be asking for asylum but they're hardly ever entitled to it. The vast majority have deliberately chosen a course of action that's outside the law; and anything that tends to depict them as having little or no choice is misleading, even morally corrupting. It amounts to an attempt to condition, even to coerce our reaction by deliberately mis-describing what's actually happening.

No doubt many of the believers in "open borders" are good people who just want the right thing for those who are worse off. But it's hard not to detect a political agenda here: those who-most-insist-on-letting-everyone-in must at some level want to *force* the changes on Europe (and on other Western societies) that uncontrolled migration will bring – or are at least indifferent to them, perhaps because they think that these changes will only be noticed in someone else's neighbourhood.

At some level, they must want to see economies weakened, social cohesion reduced, and governments distracted because you can't will the cause without also willing the effect. Of course, most would prefer not to acknowledge the downsides of uncontrolled immigration. But again, it's hard not to discern a deliberate stratagem to change the nature of European countries as much as to exhibit post-Christian compassion.

If you'd concluded that voters would never buy the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and would never support confiscatory levels of taxation, maybe uncontrolled borders is a back-door-way to reducing the relative wealth of the West and increasing the relative wealth of the rest.

Likewise, the high-sounding climate change policy that activists push on rich countries, but not on developing ones like China and India, is a very effective way to make rich countries poorer and poor countries richer. The old socialists couldn't win an economic argument for the equalisation of wealth *within countries*, so the new socialists are now trying a moral argument for the equalisation of wealth *between countries*.

With climate change, uncontrolled immigration has become the left's preferred way to weaken the strength and self-confidence of the West – and it's quite clever because it's an appeal to our ideals, not just a challenge to our best interests.

In his powerful book on the immigration crisis, *The Strange Death of Europe*, Douglas Murray attributes the confusion of the elites and the paralysis of governments to a collapse of cultural self-confidence linked to the loss of Christian faith. There's no doubt that it's real: the loss of religious faith and even of religious knowledge; it's real in Australia, no less than in Western Europe; if perhaps less so in Eastern Europe. Yet at least one increasingly religion-free country, Australia, has brought the problem of *illegal* migration under control, even if we've not yet really tackled excessive *legal* migration.

That suggests to me that countries that retain a strong sense of national pride, like Australia – and the US and the UK – as well as Hungary and the other newly free countries of Eastern Europe are those most likely to keep their borders strong. Countries that kept their freedom, or have won it back, seem more inclined to defend their borders than those that have in relatively recent times surrendered their freedom or misused it. Perhaps there's a lesson here: once you give some of your national freedom away and forfeit some of your national pride, you risk losing much of what you have left.

Title: Hungary: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
MRN: s 47E(d) 02/10/2019 05:53:48 PM CEDT
To: Canberra
Cc: RR : Europe Posts, Geneva UN, UN New York, Washington
From: Vienna UN
From File:
EDRMS
Files:
References: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Response: Routine, Information Only

Summary

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 33(a)(iii), s 33(b)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

text ends

Sent by: s 22(1)(a)(ii)

**Prepared
by:**

Approved HOM
by:

Topics: HUMAN RIGHTS/General, POLITICAL-ECONOMIC/Domestic Political

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
To:
Cc:
Subject: RE: Hungary: Budapest Demography Summit - Assistance provided to Australian Speakers?
[SEC=UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Friday, 4 October 2019 7:14:30 PM

UNCLASSIFIED

Hi s 22(1)(a)(ii)

No, post was not asked and neither did we provide support to Mr Abbott or Mr Andrews. We were not contacted at any stage by either Mr Abbott or Mr Andrews offices. s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Cheers

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Sent: Friday, 4 October 2019 3:55 AM
To: s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Cc: s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>; s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Subject: Hungary: Budapest Demography Summit - Assistance provided to Australian Speakers?
[SEC=UNCLASSIFIED]

UNCLASSIFIED

Hi s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Did Post provide any assistance to either Mr Abbott or Mr Andrews for their participation in the Budapest Demography Summit s 22(1)(a)(ii) If so, what form did that assistance take?
s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Also, can you please confirm (again for the brief) that s 22(1)(a)(ii) was the only person from Post to attend. Was she there to provide any assistance to either Mr Abbott or Mr Andrews or solely as an observer?

Many thanks and best regards
s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Policy Officer | Northern and Central Europe Section
EU Political and Strategy Branch | Europe and Latin America Division
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Phone s 22(1)(a)(ii)
www.dfat.gov.au
[Web](#) | [Twitter](#) | [YouTube](#) | [Flickr](#)

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
To:
Cc: [Richard Sadleir](#); s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Subject: RE: Hungary s 22(1)(a)(ii) [SEC=OFFICIAL]
Date: Friday, 19 February 2021 3:59:00 AM
Attachments: [image001.jpg](#)
[Tony Abbott No end of a lesson to Europe Mark Higgie Christianity Migration and Multiculturalism HUNGARIAN REVIEW Nov 2019.pdf](#)

OFFICIAL

Hi s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

The first was former PM Abbott (speech, extracted in a journal, attached) and the second was former minister Kevin Andrews MP s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

NO END OF A LESSON TO EUROPE

On Border Protection at the Danube Institute in Budapest

Tony Abbott

The working title for these remarks is what Australia can teach Hungary on border protection. In fact, Australia has very little to teach Hungary on border protection. In fact, no country has much to teach Hungary on border protection. But Australia does have much to teach Europe on border protection – as does Hungary, which has provided Germany, France, Spain and Sweden (just some of the countries that have struggled with border protection) with an object lesson in how to handle it.

Just as Australia has shown the world how to protect a maritime border, Hungary has shown the world how to protect a land border – so between our two countries, there is no end of a lesson for Europe which has now been subject to what amounts to a peaceful invasion for about four years.

Yes, because of the fence that Hungary erected in 2015 to stop the hundreds of thousands marching towards Germany; and because of policy changes to mimic Hungary's in some other Central and Eastern European countries; and because of deals that the EU has done with Turkey, that particular flood has become more like a trickle. But there are still many tens of thousands of people taking to small boats across the Mediterranean in the hope of a better life. Thousands are still drowning but most are making it across, where they add immensely to the economic and social problems of Europe.

The people smuggling trade simply has to be stopped. To save lives it simply has to be stopped. That is what Australia has shown the world how to do. That is what the countries of Europe could do if they were prepared to follow Australia's example. But to save lives in the short run, and to save themselves in the long run, the countries of Europe would have to adopt some of Australia's attitudes – and Hungary's attitudes too – because you cannot put effective protections in place unless you first believe in yourselves enough to make them work.

Yes, there are at least four million people who have been displaced by the war in Syria and Iraq. But only about half of the nearly four million people who have

shoved their way into Europe over the past four years have come from war zones. In fact, they have converged on Europe from all over the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia, not because they were the victims of fighting but because they have believed that Europe was open to everyone, thanks to the German chancellor's "we will cope" initial response to this human wave.

Of course, a well-organised country of some 80 million people can cope with a million arrivals. The question is not "can it cope?" but "should it have to cope?" That is the difference between Australia and Hungary, on the one hand, and most of the countries of Europe, on the other. Australia and Hungary are quite clear that being poor and being able to benefit from life in a rich country confers no right of entry. Most of the countries of Europe, though, are not so sure. They do not want people to arrive illegally by boat; they do not want people to cross borders illegally; but they are not sure that they have the moral right to stop them.

There is no doubt that people in immediate fear of their lives should indeed be able to claim sanctuary. Of course, civilians threatened by war should be able to cross a border to seek safety. But there is a world of moral difference between people who cross one border to be safe and people who cross multiple borders to have a better life. No one can blame them for wanting a better life but no one has a duty to give it to them, unconditionally, and with no questions asked. A person who crosses one border to be safe is a refugee whom the host country has a duty to protect. A person who crosses multiple borders for a better life is a would-be economic migrant whom the host country has every right to refuse.

Australia and Hungary accept this – although unlike Hungary, Australia also has the world's largest refugee programme, on a per capita basis, and since stopping the illegal migrant boats has actually increased its intake of refugees who come the right way. But most importantly, Australia and Hungary have not allowed rich-country guilt to obscure their duty to their own citizens to maintain strict control of their borders in order to keep their countries' character.

Make no mistake: a rich country that takes the view that "anyone who can get here can stay here", even if it is 80 million strong, will eventually find that it cannot cope with the numbers that have the inclination and the ability to come, especially when the newcomers are effectively *breaking in* rather than *joining in*.

We have to face facts here: some of Turkey's leaders have urged Muslims to take back parts of Europe; and as Europe has discovered, among the would-be migrants are soldiers of the caliphate bent on mayhem. Many of those who have taken boats across the Mediterranean, or clamoured at Europe's gates, look set

to join an angry underclass. Too many have come, not with gratitude but with grievance, and with the insistence that Europe should make way for them. If allowed to continue unchecked, over time, this could hardly not turn into an existential challenge.

Thanks to better transport and greater knowledge on line, there is virtually no limit to the numbers that can and will turn up on your doorstep if they think they might be welcomed. That is the key to controlling your border: declaring that you have the right to do so, because it is only once you have done that, and mean it, that sensible measures can be adopted.

And that is exactly what Australia did, under my government. We stopped illegal boats at sea and escorted them back to Indonesian waters. As well, we had arrangements with the governments of Sri Lanka and Vietnam to fly back anyone who had made the much longer journey from there by illegal boat. And if the boats were scuttled, we had big orange life rafts on hand so that people could be safely returned to whence they had come. I knew the risks to our personnel; I knew the strain this could put on relations with Indonesia; I knew the outcry it would spark from well-meaning people but it simply had to be done.

Effective border protection is not for the squeamish, but it is absolutely necessary to save lives and to preserve nations. That, indeed, is the truly compassionate thing to do: to stop the boats and to stop the deaths – indeed, the only way to stop the deaths is to stop the boats – and for more than five years now, there have been almost no illegal arrivals by boat in Australia and the drownings have totally stopped.

Europe's challenges are on a larger scale and the geography is different but with the right will and the right organisation there is no reason why there could not be similar success. What it needs, though, is a conviction among the continent's leaders that stopping people smuggling, stopping deaths at sea, and protecting Europe's way of life is the right and the moral thing to do. You have to match the conviction of those demanding entry with the greater conviction that you have a right to say "no". What is needed is an end to the self-doubt about the entitlement of European nations, individually and collectively, to stand up for themselves.

Of course, Europe's navies must do their humanitarian duty and rescue people who might otherwise drown; but subsequently taking them onto Spain, Italy and Greece – the destinations they were always making for – just guarantees that more will make this dangerous journey. So long as people think that arriving in Europe means staying in Europe, they will keep coming. Sending them to *more*

European countries will not solve the problem; it will just *spread it around*. People in no immediate danger just *have to be turned back* at Europe's borders. People intercepted in the Mediterranean just *have to be returned* to their starting point.

You see people smuggling cannot be managed; it just has to be stopped. And if that means European naval personnel delivering people back onto the beaches of Libya, so be it. The morning early in 2014 I saw a photograph all over the front page of our biggest selling newspaper of an orange life raft washed up on an Indonesian beach, I knew that we had the people-smuggling trade beaten. Likewise, a photograph of European naval personnel putting people ashore, not in Italy or in Spain but in Libya, would finally prove that these countries had rediscovered the will needed to say "no" to moral blackmail. Because that is what this is: foreigners saying to us that you have no right to stop them; and people in our midst agreeing that because we are relatively rich and they are relatively poor we have to let them in.

Perhaps the most unseemly aspect of this now drawn out crisis has been the NGO flotillas cruising the Mediterranean looking to "rescue" those in leaky boats and to take them safely to Europe. They claim to be good Samaritans but they are actually just unpaid assistants to the people-smuggling trade. What is more, they are confirming the moral entitlement of everyone getting on a boat in Africa or in Asia to a new life in Europe. They are effectively accessories to crime and in Australia could probably themselves be charged with people smuggling offences. But in Europe they seem to be regarded as misguided "do-gooders" at worst.

Then there is the pervasive reference to these would-be illegal immigrants as "asylum seekers". They might be asking for asylum but they are hardly ever entitled to it. The vast majority have deliberately chosen a course of action that is outside the law; and anything that tends to depict them as having little or no choice is misleading, even morally corrupting. It amounts to an attempt to condition, even to coerce our reaction by deliberately mis-describing what is actually happening.

No doubt many of the believers in "open borders" are good people who just want the right thing for those who are worse off. But it is hard not to detect a political agenda here: those who most insist on letting everyone in must at some level want to *force* the changes on Europe (and on other Western societies) that uncontrolled migration will bring – or are at least indifferent to them, perhaps because they think that these changes will only be noticed in someone else's neighbourhood.

At some level, they must want to see economies weakened, social cohesion reduced, and governments distracted because you cannot will the **35 of 49** without also willing the effect. Of course, most would prefer not to acknowledge the

downsides of uncontrolled immigration. But again, it is hard not to discern a deliberate stratagem to change the nature of European countries as much as to exhibit post-Christian compassion.

If you had concluded that voters would never buy the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and would never support confiscatory levels of taxation, maybe uncontrolled borders is a back door way to reducing the relative wealth of the West and increasing the relative wealth of the rest.

Likewise, the high-sounding climate change policy that activists push on rich countries, but not on developing ones like China and India, is a very effective way to make rich countries poorer and poor countries richer. The old socialists could not win an economic argument for the equalisation of wealth *within countries*, so the new socialists are now trying a moral argument for the equalisation of wealth *between countries*.

With climate change, uncontrolled immigration has become the left's preferred way to weaken the strength and self-confidence of the West – and it is quite clever because it is an appeal to our ideals, not just a challenge to our best interests.

In his powerful book on the immigration crisis, *The Strange Death of Europe*, Douglas Murray attributes the confusion of the elites and the paralysis of governments to a collapse of cultural self-confidence linked to the loss of Christian faith. There is no doubt that it is real: the loss of religious faith and even of religious knowledge; it is real in Australia, no less than in Western Europe; if perhaps less so in Eastern Europe. Yet at least one increasingly religion-free country, Australia, has brought the problem of *illegal* migration under control, even if we have not yet really tackled excessive *legal* migration.

That suggests to me that countries that retain a strong sense of national pride, like Australia – and the US and the UK – as well as Hungary and the other newly free countries of Eastern Europe are those most likely to keep their borders strong. Countries that kept their freedom, or have won it back, seem more inclined to defend their borders than those that have in relatively recent times surrendered their freedom or misused it. Perhaps there is a lesson here: once you give some of your national freedom away and forfeit some of your national pride, you risk losing much of what you have left.

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
To:
Cc:
Subject: RE: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
[SEC=OFFICIAL]
Date: Wednesday, 28 April 2021 10:08:26 AM
Attachments: [image001.jpg](#)
[Tony Abbott No end of a lesson to Europe Mark Higgie Christianity Migration and Multiculturalism HUNGARIAN REVIEW Nov 2019.pdf](#)

OFFICIAL

Hi s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Thanks for your email.

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

The first was former PM Abbott (speech, extracted in a journal, attached) and the second was former minister Kevin Andrews MP. s 22(1)(a)(ii)
s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Look forward to hearing from you.

Best

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Assistant Director
Northern and Central Europe Section
Mobile s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Phone

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
To:
Cc:
Subject: FW: Hungary: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Date: Thursday, 3 August 2023 7:13:43 PM
Attachments: [image001.jpg](#)

[SEC=OFFICIAL]

OFFICIAL

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii)
Sent: Thursday, 18 February 2021 4:40 PM
To: s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Cc: Richard Sadleir <xxxxxxx.xxxxxx@xxxx.xxx.xx>; s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Subject: RE: Hungary: s 22(1)(a)(ii)

[SEC=OFFICIAL]

OFFICIAL

Many thanks for this s 22(1)(a)(ii) great work. I'll use it in my response to Canberra.

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Sent: Thursday, 18 February 2021 1:56 PM
To: s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Cc: Richard Sadleir <xxxxxxx.xxxxxx@xxxx.xxx.xx>; s 22(1)(a)(ii) @dfat.gov.au>
Subject: RE: Hungary: s 22(1)(a)(ii)

[SEC=OFFICIAL]

OFFICIAL

Hi s 22(1)(a)(ii)

What about the below:

Previous Australian attendance at the demographic summit included participation by **Mr Tony Abbott** in September 2019. Mr Abbott's speech (attached), entitled "Immigration: What Europe can learn from Australia", s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Also Liberal MP **Kevin Andrews** attended the demography conference, and held a speech by the title of "Demography is Destiny: Families and future Prosperity".

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Hope this helps and grateful your advice on whether you would like me to do some further research.

Regards

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii) <[s 22\(1\)\(a\)\(ii\)@dfat.gov.au](mailto:s 22(1)(a)(ii)@dfat.gov.au)>
Sent: Thursday, 18 February 2021 9:30 AM
To: s 22(1)(a)(ii) <[s 22\(1\)\(a\)\(ii\)@dfat.gov.au](mailto:s 22(1)(a)(ii)@dfat.gov.au)>
Cc: Richard Sadleir <xxxxxxx.xxxxxxx@xxxx.xxx.xx>; s 22(1)(a)(ii) <[s 22\(1\)\(a\)\(ii\)@dfat.gov.au](mailto:s 22(1)(a)(ii)@dfat.gov.au)>
Subject: RE: Hungary: s 22(1)(a)(ii)

[SEC=OFFICIAL]

OFFICIAL

Thank you s 22(1)(a)(ii) If I'm not mistaken Kevin Andrews MP also attended? s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

From: s 22(1)(a)(ii) <[s 22\(1\)\(a\)\(ii\)@dfat.gov.au](mailto:s 22(1)(a)(ii)@dfat.gov.au)>
Sent: Thursday, 18 February 2021 9:04 AM
To: s 22(1)(a)(ii) <[s 22\(1\)\(a\)\(ii\)@dfat.gov.au](mailto:s 22(1)(a)(ii)@dfat.gov.au)>
Cc: Richard Sadleir <xxxxxxx.xxxxxxx@xxxx.xxx.xx>; s 22(1)(a)(ii) <[s 22\(1\)\(a\)\(ii\)@dfat.gov.au](mailto:s 22(1)(a)(ii)@dfat.gov.au)>
Subject: FW: Hungary s 22(1)(a)(ii)

[SEC=OFFICIAL]

OFFICIAL

Hi s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii) Mr Tony Abbott attended the
demographic summit in 2019. Mr Abbott's lecture "Immigration: What Europe can learn from
Australia" s 22(1)(a)(ii)
s 22(1)(a)(ii)

Regards
s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)

s 22(1)(a)(ii)