

## **RESPONSE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S KEY QUESTIONS FOR DEFENCE**

### **Recommendation**

Australian defence forces should take many more openly and broadly leading, policing and assisting roles in community disaster prevention, rehabilitation and related sustainable development implementation in the future, starting in an Australian context. The Army Aboriginal Community Assistance Program, which has helped build facilities in 33 communities since it was set up 12 years ago, according to the Sydney Morning Herald (10.9.08, p. 4), may be one of many such regional models for further consideration. The Chinese Peoples' Liberation Army has a long history of leadership in this direction. TV images of how natural disasters may be handled in China, in comparison with other developing countries, also suggest superior Chinese management, albeit superficially. Many potential defence and community development partnerships now require close consideration to achieve the aims of more peaceful and sustainable development more fairly.

The following submissions to earlier government inquiries are attached to provide more information in regard to the above recommendation and the discussion outlined below. They address some of the dysfunctional feudal assumptions which remain inherent in the English common law and the related requirement for more scientific treatment approaches which encourage communication and investigation rather than the protection of secrecy.

1. Health and education for sustainable development and the Australian carbon pollution reduction scheme
2. Submission to the Ombudsman's review of preventative detention orders in the Terrorism (Police Powers) Act 2002
3. A healthier approach to justice and environment development in Australian communities and beyond

### **What is the likely future role of force in the international system?**

Attempts to guess the future are often wrong. However, when people principally lived off land rather than manufacturing or services trade, war was a normal means for the powerful to acquire more land and produce by making subjects of the populations conquered. The struggle over the control of minerals and oil has been a continuing element in this continuing feudal pattern since the industrial revolution. On the other hand, the rise of capitalism has also promoted the need for stable international trade and produced greater general wellbeing. The notion that murder of cultural outsiders is an acceptable norm also appears to have been increasingly left behind, other than for a small minority. One hopes that United Nations (UN) management will increasingly be reformed to achieve more peaceful international outcomes more effectively and promote wellbeing. One also hopes the organization will eventually become the means of managing military power, that regional conflict will be handled overwhelmingly through broader and more open communication, and that armies will increasingly be deployed to assist natural and other disaster prevention, related rehabilitation and sustainable development, especially in poor communities.

Some Europeans had the same sort of vision before the 1<sup>st</sup> World War. The League of Nations established afterwards also failed. Only the International Labor Organization (ILO) soldiered on. On the other hand, this continuing failure was also before the international communications revolution of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the opportunities that it has brought for more democratic understanding and expression by all those except the most poverty stricken and marginalized. Today one often hopes the whole world is watching. ILO deliberations became a foundation for the United Nations (UN) Declaration of Human Rights which was proclaimed by the newly established UN General Assembly in 1948, after men perpetrated an incredible range of atrocities globally, under an often venerated leadership. The Declaration states that all human beings are born equal in dignity and rights without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. All are also declared to have the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being. The UN Declaration, or 'Bill of Rights', is implemented through the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The former addresses fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value; safe and healthy working conditions; equal opportunity; rest, leisure, and working hours. It deals with community standards for family wellbeing, rights to education and cultural freedom.

Ideally, the future role of armies should become more aligned with that of nation builders and of police. One assumes that any national build-up of military machinery today continues to encourage those hidden, powerful men who have always held a commercial interest in arms production and who naturally seek to promote their product to any communities welcoming the job opportunities and related rewards produced by being prepared to kill or doing so, in the name of God or other ideal leaders. Since the concept of 'commercial in confidence' and other feudal legal tenets still co-exist today with the newer but decidedly less popular idea that perfect information is necessary for perfect markets, I have no idea of how one might reduce the influence of the 'Masters of War' on any governments or those who may oppose them. However, production and routine use of surveillance technology seems a good idea, especially when it is combined with more diverse and freer media expression. Surveillance technology is better than the feudal English common law preference for secrecy not only because it may prevent disaster, but also because its use is more consistent with the scientific search for openness and truth. Try encouraging the boys to look at these newer toys. Try to get them to pick up old ones still lying around waiting to kill more kids and families. Loose lips should no longer sink ships.

Australians have been sensitized by recent governments to the impact of white settlement on aborigines during the past two centuries. However, looking globally, one should not be surprised if these centuries of national policies in Europe and the US have also passed on legacies of rage related to the persecution and murder of Jews, Arabs, blacks and people of many other shades. Such feelings appear most likely to live on in pockets of comparative poverty, in families producing large numbers of poorly educated males with cultivated memories but little to do other than fighting the neighbours. Some tribal or feudal cultures were never tolerant of outsiders at the best of times. The leading cultural professions of priest and lawyer are accurately conceptualized globally today as strongly rooted in many

ancient, male ancestor worshipping traditions, which continue to be cordially welcomed by a lot of people in the contemporary marketplace and family. Because the soldier has long been called upon to deal with cross cultural disputes, he now appears well placed to assist partnerships which try to make up for past barbarity and avoid assisting in its reproduction. Broader, open discussions with a wide variety of religious leaders, lawyers and regional community representatives now appear necessary to establish infrastructure, communication programs and related services to achieve population housing, health and education for sustainable development. A new opportunity presents itself because poverty, overpopulation and environment degradation remain in many rural communities but developed, urban economies are for the first time focused on gaining sustainable production.

Sen explains the early Chinese Communist preoccupation with basic health and education in rural areas as necessary precursors for China's successful entry into global manufacturing markets later. He points out that nearly half the Indian population is illiterate today, whereas China has close to universal literacy, especially among the young. Sen argues that India has supported growth in bureaucratic and professional classes to the comparative detriment of surrounding communities and that this is a common problem. He supported Japanese Prime Minister, Obuchi Keizo's discussion on building Asia's tomorrow in an address given to the Asian Crisis and Human Security Conference in 1999. The Japanese Prime Minister spoke of the vital aim of 'human security' and the related values of creativity and dignity. This contrasts with older notions of national security and defense, which centre more narrowly on how to fight off potential aggression with force, rather than concentrating more broadly on the means to prevent it. One assumes the latter pursuit must depend more on open and effective community building rather than top diplomacy for success. 'Human security' is 'the keyword to comprehensively seizing all the menaces that threaten the survival, daily life, and dignity of human beings, and to strengthening the efforts to confront these threats'. Sen argues that support for the poor, freedom of speech and transparent management are essential for effective operation of the market and equality. Australian defense forces are well placed to work with leaders anywhere to establish more effectively democratic development directions, which is also in the interests of all Australians, including soldiers.

At an annual bank conference on development economics, Stiglitz and Muet (2001) argued that economic crises have shown the need for greater world governance, especially to manage 'public goods' such as financial stability and environment protection. They conclude that many economists now seek to go beyond 'the Washington consensus' which involves a plea for unconditional liberalization of markets and comparative lack of attention to institutions and macroeconomic policies. Attanasio argued that capital invested in less developed regions could yield higher returns to finance the retirement of the US and European baby boomers and at the same time could help development in Latin America and other developing regions. In Australia, however, without better financial understanding, including by the defence forces, there is a strong danger that the current development directions in superannuation, infrastructure, housing development and carbon trading could soon be perverted by the usual US, British and related financial interests which have most recently produced the sub-prime mortgage crisis. Beware of poorly designed, little understood, secretively administered financial services. This is addressed again later. One hopes this argument has historical appeal in Sarah Palin's US constituency, especially given

their comparative experience of employment conditions, education and health care costs, or housing and pension fund losses in more recent times. One always hopes Australians are not soon driven to being as brave as they are always forced to be. For Christ's sake help us.

### **The Australian regional political and economic context and the ideal defence direction**

On 24<sup>th</sup> October 2003, the President of the United States, George Bush and the President of China, Hu Jintao, made separate visits to Australia. The U.S. President stated to the parliament that Australia's agenda with China was the same as with his country. The Chinese President met with business leaders in Sydney before addressing parliament. Hu finalised a huge natural gas deal and pledged further cooperation in commodities, telecommunications, culture, technology, science, education and sport, as well as new opportunities for Australian investment in the rural west and the northeast of China. The President of the Australia China Business Council pointed out that Chinese is now Australia's second most spoken language, and an education agreement was also signed. This ideally is part of the new, internationally cooperative context in which a range of competing historical, political, technical and economic views may be tested more openly and scientifically, in the public interest. Australian defence forces are in a good position to assist cooperative development partnerships to achieve this global vision. The current political context in Australia and internationally suggests the defence forces should first consider their attitude and major strategies in relation to the government's carbon pollution reduction green paper as a means of going forward in productive partnership with industry and relevant communities. Related discussion of the green paper and its problems is attached.

The last Australian Commonwealth budget contained \$2.3 billion for reducing climate emissions, adapting to climate change we cannot avoid and helping to shape a global solution. Sharan Burrow, President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and Peter Andersen, Chief Executive of the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) have also written to support better planned cooperation for sustainable development under the title, 'United front to weather change' (AFR, 17.6.08, p.71). The Australian Prime Minister discussed a 'New phase of Australia, Indonesia cooperation' (New Sabah Times, 14.6.08, p. 16). Mr Rudd and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono addressed the PM's suggestions for a European Union-style Asia-Pacific Community to be set up by 2020 and to include the major economies of India, China and the US. The PM pointed out that the Association of South-East Asian Nations provides a model of regional cooperation which could be expanded. The leaders signed an agreement on forests and carbon trading reflecting the new importance of climate change in regional relations. The PM has also worked with Japan to set up an independent commission of global experts and eminent people to generate blueprints for disarmament and non-proliferation (AFR, 11.9.08, p.71).

On the other hand, the French Finance Minister, Christine Lagarde, spoke recently of the current problems of the cost of finance, food and fuel (the 3Fs) for populations around the world, but especially for the poor in developing nations. She said:

‘The common policy challenges that we have are clearly a need for (a) political and economic answer to the rise in both the fuel and food prices and their social and economic impact’. (The Borneo Bulletin, 16.6.08, p.1).

She did not mention climate change or environment protection. The Borneo Bulletin also reported (16.6.08) that His Royal Highness, Prince Jeffri Bolkia has been threatened with jail for failing to turn up to a British court in which he has been accused of breaching the terms of a court order requiring him to hand over three billion pounds (US\$5.8 billion) in cash and assets to the Brunei Government Investment Agency, the investment arm of the Brunei government. The funds are alleged to have gone missing during the Prince’s time as finance minister. He denies the allegations and insists he has authority to use the state funds. His royal family is very large. Will the world be watching this clash of management expectations between legal titans, or is this considered another game for just the super rich?

Government controls 95% of land in Brunei and this state control is now blamed for slow industry diversification. Revenue from mineral fuels accounts for over 95% of export earnings. However, this has allowed Brunei the luxury of leaving pristine rain forests intact over more than 70% of the island, while providing all citizens with free education and health care, without taxation (Royal Brunei Airlines in-flight magazine, June 2008). If neighbouring Sabah is a model of how Brunei might develop under increasing economic pressures, the latter could encourage the maximum possible exploitation of forest wood, followed by the maximum possible planting of palm oil, rubber, cocoa or other plantations, using foreign contract labour. Local landowners are able to lease their land and go to town. Species extinctions appear likely. Eco-tourism and community services need more support.

Australia’s Productivity Commission (PC) recently held a review of regulatory burdens on the upstream petroleum (oil and gas) sector (2008). It seems logical that all production related ‘value chains’ for sustainable development are now ideally developed not only through linear concepts like ‘upstream’ and ‘downstream’ production, but also from production clearly conceptualized in geographic arenas. This requires government, industry and related community cooperation to achieve many global and local aims together. All defence forces, including Australia’s defence forces, should support and help coordinate this development direction. A regional industry and community stakeholder management framework, rather than a petroleum production chain approach, also appears necessary to achieve sustainable development across national industry and community boards and beyond as competitively as possible. Consultatively made directions, openly available education, open project management and better dispute resolution and research could save billions. Size and national importance give defence forces potential leading roles in this.

Traditional ideas about the market and competition, which have gradually extended globally from European, feudal origins, are now challenged vocally in many communities. More open global markets reveal more demands for fairer treatment to meet more diverse development requirements. Sustainable development is a comparatively new and democratic vision supporting this direction, which ideally also requires an internationally coordinated focus on regional and local community health and the related identification and solution of key environment problems. For example, the Bill and Melinda Gates

Foundation take prioritized, regional, holistic and scientific approaches to helping those who are globally poorest. It funds programs to improve community health, develop agriculture, and to provide access to financial security, libraries and related information networks. Some Australian organizations and communities are assisting this development and their own.

As the Australian Standing Committee on Environment and Heritage report on sustainable cities (2005, p.20) pointed out, coordinated governance structures are essential to translate the vision of sustainability into targets, and to plan, implement and review the programs that will achieve them. This also allows more stable and accurate estimates of economic activity and related risk management requirements. The World Wide Fund Climate Solutions Vision for 2050 (WWF 2007) and other key findings also appear ideally considered and implemented through related regional industry and government investment frameworks. The WWF recommends breaking the link between energy services and primary energy production, strategies to stop forest loss and concurrent growth of low-emissions technologies, development of more flexible fuels, energy storage and new infrastructure and the displacement of high carbon coal with low carbon gas. Carbon capture and storage potential must also be addressed. Locally, the Sustainable Sydney 2030 Plan includes the introduction of locally generated energy using various low-carbon energy generation technologies such as co-generation, tri-generation and renewables. In the longer term, some of the fuel for this network will be sourced from local waste.

Planning and related project requirements are ideally written in plain language and effectively coordinated with local plans to achieve effective public/private partnerships for sustainable development and triple bottom line accounting – economic, social and environmental - as required by UN and Australian national directions. Program and project requirements and related management information should be clearly outlined in plain language on relevant websites, to avoid confusion, corruption, development delay and other costly unintended consequences. Australian local councils recently called for an efficient development and approvals processes, which are not undertaken at the expense of heritage, sustainability and the democratic right for input into the future of the neighbourhood. These claims must be implemented from more broadly open and scientific perspectives to be effectively met and corruption free. The alternative is more confusion, division, cost and conflict over land, driven largely by the twin desires for market and political advancement. Australian councils are concerned that any plans to limit monetary contributions to councils from developers prevent the latter from providing local facilities and services. They also say these development contributions provide only a fraction of the cost of infrastructure needs. However, funding or in-kind contributions for land purchase, housing and infrastructure development need to be clear and broadly justified. Otherwise the current incomprehensible red tape or worse will continue to reign.

All forms of communication and technology are ideally now considered by Australian defence forces in this new global context in which skills and management education for sustainable development must be developed as widely and effectively as possible before introduction of the Australian carbon pollution reduction scheme in 2010. The objects of the Radiocommunications Act (1992) should have focused recent government inquiries

more effectively on educational and other screen content than was the case, because the act primarily seeks management of the radiofrequency spectrum to:

- Maximise, by ensuring the efficient allocation and use of the spectrum, the overall public benefit derived from using the radiofrequency spectrum
- make adequate provision of the spectrum for use by agencies involved in the defence or national security of Australia, law enforcement, the provision of emergency services, or for use by other public or community services

The role of the Australian defence forces should also be considered and developed in the light of these national communication aims.

Open education, like that delivered by Britain's Open University, which aims for quality, access and scale of educational delivery, in cooperation with regional communities and tutors, is necessary, supported by books, television, radio, videos and computers. The government's announcement of an 'education revolution' in late 2007, first aimed to provide each school child with access to a personal computer, the 'tool-box of the future'. In his article entitled 'Abandon left and right for a vision to unite' in the Sydney Morning Herald (17.4.08, p.11) the Prime Minister discussed a vision to 'unleash the national imagination from beyond the ranks of politics and the public service' and 'to help fashion a national consensus around a common vision for the nation, with common goals to aim for within that vision'. The Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) outlined its plans for five channels. ABC5 will be the Educational Channel providing English and foreign language tuition, curriculum material and an integral digital resource for a newly developed national schools curriculum, with at least 50 percent Australian content. Coordinated consideration and attainment of open education and related entertainment content is vitally necessary, so learning on the job and away from it is easier and more enjoyable for all. Because the defence forces offer training to a total of 96,211 people, they are in an excellent position to consultatively assist and extend the Australian government's education revolution.

Because it ideally focuses holistically on community health promotion, good primary health care is vital in developed as well as developing economies, and is particularly relevant when economic benefits have not reached particular population groups, such as indigenous Australians. The World Health Organization (WHO) states it rests on eight elements:

- Education concerning prevailing health problems and the methods of preventing and controlling them
- Promotion of food supply and proper nutrition
- An adequate supply of safe water and basic sanitation
- Maternal and child health care, including family planning
- Immunization against the major infectious diseases
- Prevention and control of locally endemic diseases
- Appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries
- Provision of essential drugs

The focus of the WHO is on supporting high risk populations in developing countries. More broadly, millions die yearly from circulatory problems and diseases related to smoking. WHO estimated that during the year 2000 forty million people were living

with HIV/AIDS. The non-government organization (NGO) Save the Children estimates that at the end of 2007 there were 2.5 million children living with HIV around the world. Recent wars have created an estimated 20 million refugees. All these problems require solution through a general development approach which puts community infrastructure, housing, health, education and autonomous decision making first. In Australia, rural and remote communities may experience health problems typically related to underdevelopment, but also experience the health problems related to lifestyle which are most common in developed economies, such as obesity through poor nutrition, smoking, alcohol consumption and lack of exercise. Health partnerships with local communities are a logical starting point for the proposed sustainable development direction.

Community benefits can be derived across many regional boards if industry leaders, their organizations and members participate in broader, more open, regional community planning and development approaches which also centrally address effective communication, health service delivery, skills development and management education to achieve the diverse goals of sustainable development for as many people in the world as possible, starting with those at highest risk, who are usually also poorest. The Australian carbon pollution reduction scheme presents many new opportunities, but also presents risks. Defence forces should critically evaluate and join in this direction as well as leading in the open education revolution. Open curriculum, communicated broadly and flexibly, is the best guarantee of quality education which can reach wider communities faster to create learning and development networks better. Students and communities can also implement basic skills and governance principles related to injury prevention, rehabilitation and project management through practical exercises in the consultative identification and control of risks, in work or other communities. Some students may make films or other products as contributions towards their communities and their assessments.

Community and industry concerns about the effects of global warming in any regional environment are logically linked to cooperative national industry, government and community planning and management to improve communication, health and education and to reduce the degradation of air, land and water quality which also leads to poverty, poor health and the loss of biodiversity. The general risk management aim begins with understanding the particular living and production environment under consideration in order to reduce related risks. The next step is to identify and prioritize risks to human health and to air, land, water quality and related biodiversity on a regional community, industry and organizational basis. Then develop cooperative regional industry programs and related community projects which aim to control these risks. Rehabilitation and other environment protection goals may be usefully considered as carbon offset investments in regional development contexts and provide funding incentives to the private and voluntary sectors to assist governments to achieve national and related regional goals. All people concerned about religion, poverty, crime and sustainable family development should now discuss how family planning is ideally to be conducted, especially in rural societies.

It is common in developing countries to commence the establishment of social security systems by introducing social insurance in the formal economic sector. This approach often excludes those who are most likely to be poor. Education for local development and social insurance, are ideally considered in coordinated national development



contexts. Primary education provides the greatest return on investment and may also be related to fertility control and sustainable development goals. For example, Iran is currently a world leader in improving mother and child health, education and birth control. This is conducted in part through the teachings of Islamic scholars and medical practitioners concerned about effective contraception. In 1986, Wilenski wrote about the Chinese mobilisation of a large labour force to carry out the slogan 'Put prevention first' in regard to environmental health tasks. He noted the break-up of the medical monopoly and the creation of new health service delivery models designed to meet identified community needs. As a result of the Kyoto Treaty and its related carbon trading and investment aims, broader renewals of this approach may now be assisted in rural areas through openly related skills development and education for sustainable development.

### **Key Australian problems for consideration**

The economist Bruce Chapman (2001) calculated that it takes the average Australian male thirty-one years to pay off a university debt of \$100,000 and that after 38 years the average female has paid off a higher education debt of only \$60,000. Besides being saddled with university tuition debts, the younger Australian generation also faces a situation where housing is comparatively more expensive than it has ever been before. Since 1990 workers must also make compulsory superannuation payments which will contribute, along with matching payments by employers and government, towards their upkeep in old age, as long as the funds are well invested. On the other hand, since the mid 1980s basic health care delivery has been designed to be freely available, as it is in many other developed countries outside the US. The challenge is to transform this policy context so it serves the public interest, rather than more limited and expensive legal, professional or related private financial interests, as at present. (A discussion of the legal system and alternative, more effective dispute resolution procedures is attached.)

For example, the closed, computer-based, distance education which Australian universities have funded are comparatively little utilized (Gallagher 2000; Nelson 2002), their production costs are more expensive than classroom teaching and they have not made money (Marginson 2004). The content is not open to scrutiny so the quality can be judged by hardly anyone except the students who have already paid dearly for it. The current closed shop approach to higher education is narrowly elitist and socially dysfunctional. Such systems worsen the situation of the poor by drawing those already rich enough to be educated abroad to better career opportunities, to the detriment of those left behind. The Australian Financial Review (AFR, 19.9.08, p.68) reported that the government of East Timor plans to send 100 geology and engineering students overseas on scholarships this year and that next year it hopes to send more than 1000 students (across all disciplines) overseas to acquire skills and improve human resources. This is expensive and hard on those who may also fail to adapt well to living for long periods in foreign environments and thus disappoint their backers and themselves. Few poor nations can afford to send their supposedly best and brightest overseas and support them there, in the hope they will bring skills back to their country of origin, rather than go where they think they will be better off. How often is higher education a passport for the well connected to go elsewhere? My guess is often.

In 'Unfinished Business: Paul Keating's Interrupted Revolution', David Love (2008) describes the recent decades of financial policy transition which Australian governments enacted to meet the requirements of effective and competitive participation in international markets. The book argues for an increase in current superannuation contributions to meet Keating's ideal of the policy 'golden circle', which is 'the line that runs through rising household savings to rising capital supply to rising international strength to stable interest rates and back to rising household net worth'(p. 205). The National Rental Affordability Scheme, coordinated by the Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs seems an excellent new national initiative in this context. It seeks to address the shortage of rental housing and rapidly rising rents by offering a national rental incentive to providers of new dwellings on the condition that they are rented to eligible low and moderate income households at 20% below market rents. However, many debates about how best to determine land, housing, business and related financial values must now be addressed because these estimated values, along with superannuation funds, appear to be the foundations on which mass lending and investment has increasingly occurred.

Love quotes Bethany McLean, of America's 'Fortune' magazine, who co-wrote 'The Smartest Guys in the Room – The Amazing Rise and Scandalous Fall of Enron'. The latter started its spectacular life in clean energy and related trading. Many key managers and close associates continuously did deals primarily designed to massively enrich themselves. Others later ended up in jail. Huge amounts of pension and other funds were lost. McLean apparently wrote that Australia's Macquarie Bank also seems to be engaging in 'a Ponzi scheme'. This is a fraudulent investment operation that involves paying abnormally high returns to investors out of the money paid in by subsequent investors, rather than from net revenues generated by any real business. It requires an ever increasing flow of 'investment money' in order to keep the scheme going (p. 113). That was the Enron way. One wonders how to tell the difference between the legitimate value creating operations of the marketplace and running a Ponzi scheme, as the key features of all legitimate businesses have always included that operational information is almost nobody's business but their own. From the brief descriptions in the press of the activities and spectacular financial troubles now being faced by the US housing lenders Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, they sound very much like Ponzi schemes. Since lawyers guard all 'commercial in confidence' information, the economist's later bright idea, that perfect information is needed for a perfect market, may easily be lost, especially by the same financial experts.

It seems Australians may risk losing a lot of money in future, while making a handful of US, British or domestic financial con men even richer. We need to know a lot more about how to construct financial services in the public interest rather than in the interests of the financial services providers. Good service design, openness and clear accountability are also necessary to avoid being continually and unnecessarily ripped off by sharks in suits who run the system according to rules that they appear to have made up in their own interests, often as they go along, while keeping all their activities separate and secret. Australian defence forces, like all other Australians, should investigate superannuation, infrastructure, housing and other loan arrangements with such problems firmly in mind.

Thank you for the opportunity to make this submission

Yours truly

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