



# australia and asia

## Issues of Global Security Symposium

17 August 2007

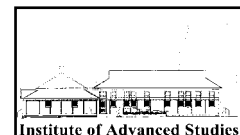
Case Study Room, University Club, UWA

This is the third and final symposium of the Australia and Asia series held at UWA in 2007. Previous Symposia have explored the themes of Labour, Migration and Economic Restructuring and of Globalisation, Culture and Identity.

This symposium seeks to explore the complex issues surrounding national and global security in an increasingly interconnected world.

Sponsored by the Institute of Advanced Studies and Asian Studies at UWA.

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**Australia and Asia in the 21st Century: Issues of Global Security**  
**17 August 2007**  
**The University of Western Australia, Perth**  
**University Club, Case Study Room**

**SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM**

- 8.45am Registration
- 9.00am Welcome and Overview: Stephen Dobbs, Chair, Asian Studies, The University of Western Australia
- 9.15am *US-China Relations and Security in East Asia*  
Ron Huisken, Australian National University, Canberra
- 9.45am *China as Global Culture: Imperial, national and regional perspectives*  
David S G Goodman, University of Technology, Sydney
- 10.15am Morning Tea
- 10.45am *NGO Community in China, expanding linkages with civil society*  
Chen Jie, The University of Western Australia
- 11.15am *Global Governance, Global Security and Harmonious World*  
Yu Keping, China Center for Comparative Politics & Economics in Beijing
- 11.45am Discussion panel  
Gary Sigley, Moderator
- 12.15 LUNCH
- 1.15pm *India-Australia Energy Cooperation: The Renewable Sector*  
Ashutosh Misra , Griffith University
- 1.45pm *Australia-India Convergence in 'New Asia': The Indian Ocean Dimension*  
Sanjay Chaturvedi, Panjab Universty
- 2.15pm *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia – The Challenges of Responding and the Role of Australia*  
Carolin Liss, Murdoch University
- 2.45pm Afternoon tea
- 3.15pm *Will Australia be 'Finlandised'?*  
Michael Wesley, Griffith University
- 3.45pm Discussion  
Stephen Dobbs, Moderator
- 4.15pm Close

## ABSTRACTS

### *Australia-India Convergence in 'New Asia': The Indian Ocean Dimension* Sanjay Chaturvedi, Panjab University

My key argument in this paper is that in the geopolitical discourse of 'New' Asia, Australia-India convergence, especially in the maritime security domain, is yet to receive the attention it demands and deserves. Contrary to the belief that there are no incentives for the most powerful rim states to look at, and deal with, the Indian Ocean (or to try to establish a 'security regime' there), I will argue that no security architecture for 'New' Asia is likely to be complete or viable without addressing both the traditional and non-traditional threats to security in the Indian Ocean region.

An area in which more critical thought is needed is how India and Australia can play a benevolent security role in maritime Asia. Some scholars might argue that international system today is best described as 'unipolarity without hegemony', where the United States (either weary of external burdens, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan, or depleted of the necessary economic vitality to shoulder the burdens of underwriting global and regional security) might look to regional powers to share its burden. Other might ask: Can India, in partnership with Australia and Japan, produce the public security goods which, to date, the US has been producing? Should a four-way security arrangement (US, Australia, India, and Japan) be designed principally to encircle/contain rising China? Concerns and questions such as these deserve scrutiny.

Looking beyond diplomacy, India and Australia, to say the least, should play a catalytic role in promoting a new regionalism and community building in New Asia. Both India and Australia have an important role to play in exhibiting pragmatism in mutually enriching cooperation to shape the Asian economic community and enable Asia to play a larger and more effective role in global affairs.

### *NGO Community in China: expanding linkages with transnational civil society* Chen Jie, The University of Western Australia

China is no longer an outsider in relation to the cooperation and networking by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) across national borders. Chinese NGOs have expanded their connections with transnational civil society, particularly international NGOs (INGOs). Cooperative projects are concentrated on the issue areas of gender, environment, public health, poverty and education, where the Chinese government seeks assistance to tackle a range of social, environmental and rural problems associated with pro-market reform. Transnational collaboration in shared ideas, funding, advocacy and campaigns helps Chinese NGOs provide services and challenge social status quo. It helps the further growth of an NGO community in China. More importantly, despite their apparent non-political nature, transnational linkages of Chinese NGOs transfer democratizing perspectives and practices to the grassroots communities and organizations, thus boding well for the country's broad socio-political development.

### *China as Global Culture: Imperial, national and regional perspectives* David S G Goodman, University of Technology, Sydney

The political and economic interaction with the rest of the world that results from the growth of the economies of the People's Republic of China since the early 1980s has been regularly and comprehensively discussed by the informed media as well as in the academy. Less well considered or even understood is China's cultural involvement. Indeed, China's cultural significance is often discounted despite the construction of such obvious examples of cultural diplomacy as the Confucius Institutes. China is seen as having limited cultural outreach, being more concerned with restricting the inward movement of external influences, and having little involvement with the Chinese diaspora, which is largely seen as having been abandoned. Such conclusions are only sustainable if the party-state is seen as the only source of cultural activity, and if no distinction is made between the influence of the People's Republic of

China in East Asia and in the wider world. It is arguable not only that Chinese culture does have considerable influence beyond the boundaries of the People's Republic of China, particularly in East Asia, but also that a significant part of the global impact of the government of the People's Republic of China is derived from Chinese cultural influence in that region.

### *US-China Relations and Security in East Asia* Ron Huiskens, Australian National University, Canberra

Over the past 60 years, the United States and China have been allies (during World War II), enemies (during the Korean War), political adversaries (during the 1950s and 1960s), and de facto allies once more (during the 1970s and 1980s). Since the end of the Cold War, the US-China relationship has assumed decisive importance, but the two countries have been ambivalent about one another and relations between them have retained the roller-coaster quality of the past. There are signs that this ambivalence could harden into antagonism which would, in turn, constitute a significant qualification to the broadly optimistic outlook most people have for East Asia.

### *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia – The Challenges of Responding and the Role of Australia* Carolyn Liss, Murdoch University, Perth

Since the late 1980s, Southeast Asia has become one of the global 'hot spots' of pirate attacks on commercial vessels and fishing boats, with data from the International Maritime Bureau's Piracy Reporting Centre indicating that, since 1992, Southeast Asian waters have been the most 'pirate infested' in the world. This paper examines the complex phenomenon of modern day piracy in Southeast Asia and the national, international and private responses to piracy in this region. It examines why, despite these efforts, piracy remains a security concern, suggesting that present anti-piracy measures target only the symptoms not the root causes of piracy.

The first part of this paper provides an overview of the different kinds of pirate attacks, identifies regional piracy hot-spots, and discusses the various types of pirates operating in Southeast Asia today. In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of contemporary piracy, political, economic, and social developments that shape the character of pirate attacks as well as the root causes of piracy will also be explored, including shortcomings in maritime regulations, the problem of over-fishing, and the lack of resources of some regional law enforcement agencies. The second part of the paper discusses national, international and private responses to the threat of piracy in the region, with a particular focus on the involvement of the Australian government and Australian security companies in the 'fight against piracy'. The limited success of these responses in addressing the threat of piracy in Southeast Asia will be examined and it will be suggested that in order to significantly reduce the number of pirate attacks, more comprehensive efforts are required which directly address the root causes of piracy. In concluding, it will be argued that despite the difficulties faced by governments, including the Australian government, in addressing the underlying causes of piracy, to do so would be beneficial. Such efforts could not only reduce the number of pirate attacks, but also address other non-traditional security threats such as smuggling, terrorism and environmental degradation.

***India-Australia Energy Cooperation: The Renewable Sector***  
**Ashutosh Misra , Griffith University**

India is projected to witness a 30 percent increase in its energy demands by 2030 and its domestic oil reserves of 5 billion barrels (bbls) would help little at that stage. Traditionally, India has imported bulk of its oil (69 percent of its oil needs) from the Gulf states and thus has been vulnerable to supply disruptions. In recent years serious thinking has pushed policy makers into exploring other options such as renewable energy resources. An exclusive Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (MNRE) was established and dedicated to 'development and deployment of renewables' and supplement India's energy demands through solar energy, Biomass, wind-power, bio-fuel and multiple wastes. Over 65 percent people are dependent on biomass, animal waste and kerosene for cooking and lighting and biomass and animal waste cater to India's thirty percent of energy needs. The renewable sector in India is vast and can be developed through joint collaboration with other countries.

India is already attracting large investments from international bodies. On similar lines, recognising the potential for cooperation, India and Australia established a Joint Working Group on Energy and Minerals (JWG) in 2000. Australia already exports non-monetary gold, coal and copper ores to India which were valued around A\$6 billion in 2005. In June 2005 the JWG looked into various aspects including promotion of Australia's expertise in renewable energy. Australia has committed to exchange information on renewable energy sector to facilitate the identification of possible proposals for joint research and development with Indian research bodies. While the initiative builds upon Australia's commitment to addressing international and regional energy security issues and sustainable development, it would also boost India-Australia strategic ties in the coming years. This paper is broadly divided into two parts. The first looks into India's energy potential and challenges in the renewable sector and the second looks into the scope for cooperation with Australia in the field.

***Will Australia be 'Finlandised'?***  
**Michael Wesley, Griffith University**

The prospects of a Rudd Labor government have prompted commentators such as Dennis Shanahan and Greg Sheridan to warn that Australia risks being 'Finlandised' by a rising China; i.e. increasingly constrained from assuming foreign policy positions seen to be against China's interests. This paper will ask this question in more general terms about Australia's diplomatic future in Asia. If Australia's future is, to use Coral Bell's phrase, one of 'living with giants', will our future diplomatic successes depend on our willingness to be circumspect in voicing independent foreign policy positions? Will a powerful China be in a position to punish Australia for acting against Beijing's interests? Will a United States worried about Chinese influence tolerate an independently-minded ally? Where will the tension points be in our relations with China and the United States? How can Australia best position itself to escape the prospects of Finlandisation?

***Global Governance, Global Security and Harmonious World***  
**Yu Keping, China Center for Comparative Politics & Economics in Beijing**

Hu Jintao, President of the Peoples Republic of China, raised a new conception of Harmonious World at the ceremony of 60 anniversaries of the UN, which is regarded by him to be the ideal goal for the international community at the global age. A harmonious world, actually, has been earnestly longed for by all peoples over the world. A prerequisite of a harmonious world is a safe survival environment for human being. In other words, global security is a prerequisite of a harmonious world. There are many necessary conditions with which global security is realized under globalization and among them is global governance. As the process of globalization goes ahead, the fate of all peoples and nations in the world ties in closely each other. Many problems being faced by all nations are global and need to be resolved globally. Thus, there will be no global security without global governance. It seems to the author that there is an inherent relationship between global governance, global security and harmonious world. It is the purpose of the paper to inquiry into the meaning of conception of global governance, global security and harmonious world and the relationship among them in perspective of a Chinese scholar.

## BIOGRAPHIES

### Sanjay Chaturvedi

Sanjay Chaturvedi is currently the Coordinator, Centre for the Study of Geopolitics, Department of Political Science and Honorary Director, Centre for the Study of Mid-West and Central Asia, at Panjab University, Chandigarh. His area of specialization is the theory and practice of Geopolitics; with special reference to Polar Regions, Indian Ocean and South Asia.

He has been awarded numerous research and visiting fellowships, among them the Nehru Centenary British Fellowship, a highly coveted Leverhulme Trust Research Grant, to pursue his post-doctoral research at University of Cambridge, England and several Visiting Fellowships to the United States, France, Israel and Australia. In 2001 he was awarded a research grant by the Australia-India Council in connection with his project, "Australian-Indian Perspectives on Antarctic and Ocean Governance: Interactions, Linkages and Opportunities".

Dr. Chaturvedi serves on the international editorial board of *Geopolitics* (London: Routledge), and *Co-operation and Conflict* (New York: Sage). Elected recently as the Co-Chair of the Research Committee 15 (RC 15) of International Political Science Association (IPSA) for the term 2007-2009, he also serves on the Steering Committee of International Geographical Union (IGU) Commission on Political Geography for the term 2004-2008.

He is the author of *The Dawning of Antarctica* (1990); *Polar Regions: A Political Geography* (1996); co-author of *Partitions: Reshaping Minds and States* (2005); and co-editor of *Geopolitical Orientations Regionalism and Security in the Indian Ocean* (2004); *India in the Antarctic: Scientific and Geopolitical Perspectives* (2005); *Energy Security and the Indian Ocean Region* (2005); *Globalization: Spaces, Identities and Insecurities* (2005); and *Security of the Sea Lanes of Communication in the Indian Ocean Region* (2007). His recent journal articles have appeared in *Environment and Planning D Society and Space* (London: Pion Ltd), *Journal of Economic and Social Geography* (Blackwell), *Terra: Journal of the Geographical Society of Finland and Ocean Yearbook* (University of Chicago Press) and *Third World Quarterly* (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group).

### Chen Jie

Chen Jie achieved his Ph.D from the Australian National University in 1995. He currently teaches international relations at the Political Science and International Relations, UWA. He has published peer-reviewed articles in *Asian Survey*, *The Pacific Review*, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *Issues and Studies*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, and *China Perspectives*. His main book is *Foreign Policy of the New Taiwan: Pragmatic Diplomacy in Southeast Asia* (Edward Elgar, London, 2003).

### David S G Goodman

David S G Goodman is Professor of Contemporary China Studies at the University of Technology, Sydney, where he is also Deputy Vice Chancellor, International. He was educated at the University of Manchester, Peking University, and the London School of African and Oriental Studies. Recent publications include *Social and Political Change in Revolutionary China* (2000) *China's Communist Revolutions* (2002) and *China's Campaign to 'Open Up the West'* (2004.) He is currently working on social relations between Chinese and Germans in the German Colony of Qingdao, 1897-1914; and the local political economy of social change in contemporary China.

### Ron Huisken

Ron Huisken joined the Strategic & Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University as a Senior Fellow in 2001, after nearly 20 years in government with the departments of Defence, Foreign Affairs & Trade, and Prime Minister and Cabinet. His research interests are focussed on US security policies, the security architecture in the Asia Pacific, alliance management, non-proliferation and arms control, and China's foreign and security policies. Prior to his career in government, he worked at

the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the University of Malaya, and the United Nations in New York. He holds a Bachelor of Economics (First Class Hons) from the University of Western Australia, a Master of Social Science (Economics) from the Royal Stockholm University, and a PhD (International Relations) from the Australian National University.

### Carolyn (Line) Liss

Carolyn holds an Honours Degree (Thesis: *The Sipadan Kidnapping 'Drama' (April – September 2000) The Rise of the Abu Sayyaf, International Terrorism, and the Global Media*) from Murdoch University and a MA (Magister) degree in Politics and History from the University of Hannover, Germany. She is currently a postgraduate student working on contemporary maritime piracy in Southeast Asia. Her interests include non-traditional security issues, the privatization of the security sector, as well social and political issues and changes in the Asian region.

### Ashutosh Misra

Ashutosh Misra is a Research Fellow at the Griffith Asia Institute at Griffith University. Formerly a Visiting Fellow with the Centre for Muslim States and Societies at the University of Western Australia and Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi, Dr. Misra has written on civil-military relations in Pakistan's, Indo-Pak relations and the Jammu and Kashmir conflict. He has published extensively in books, journals, and newspapers in India and abroad. His latest works include *Contours of India's Energy Security* in Michael Wesley (ed.) *Energy Security in Asia*, (Routledge Security in Asia-Pacific Series), 2006. He is currently working on his book entitled *Pakistan: Engagement of the Extremes* which is expected to be published by October 2007. He holds a PhD (2000) from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on Indo-Pak relations.

### Michael Wesley

Michael Wesley is Professor of International Relations and Director of the Griffith Asia Institute at Griffith University. Prior this, he was the Assistant Director-General for Transnational Issues at the Office of National Assessments, and a Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of New South Wales. Professor Wesley is the Research Convenor of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, incoming Editor of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, a member of the Australian Research Council's College of Experts, and a Trustee of the Queensland Art Gallery. His most recent books are *Energy Security in Asia* (Routledge, 2007); *The Howard Paradox: Australian Diplomacy in Asia 1996-2006* (ABC Books, 2007); and (with Allan Gyngell) *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, 2nd edition, (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

### Yu Keping

Yu Keping now is Professor and Director of the China Center for Comparative Politics and Economics (CCCPE), and also Professor and Director, Center for Chinese Government Innovations, Peking University. His major fields include Political Philosophy, Comparative Politics, Globalization, Civil Society, Governance and Politics in China. Among his many books are *The Institutional Environment of Civil Society in China* (2006); *Democracy and Top* (2006); *Chinese Rural Governance in the Past and Nowadays* (2004); *Globalization and Sovereignty* (2004); *Politics and Political Science* (2003); *Incremental Democracy and Good Governance in China* (2003); *Globalization and China's Political Development*, (2003); *The Emerging of Civil Society and Its Significance to Governance*, (and others, 2002); *Politics of Public Good or Politics of Rights*, (1999); *China's Political System Nowadays* (1998).