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ASEAN INDIA AUSTRALIA

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ASEAN INDIA AUSTRALIA

Towards
Closer
Engagement
in a
New Asia

Edited by **WILLIAM T. TOW** and **CHIN KIN WAH**

First published in Singapore in 2009 by
Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace
Pasir Panjang
Singapore 119614

E-mail: publish@iseas.edu.sg

Website: [<http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg>](http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg)

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ISEAS Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

ASEAN-India-Australia : towards closer engagement in a new Asia / editors William T. Tow and Chin Kin Wah.

1. Southeast Asia—Relations—Australia.
 2. Australia—Relations—Southeast Asia.
 3. Southeast Asia—Relations—India.
 4. India—Relations—Southeast Asia.
 5. Australia—Relations—India.
 6. India—Relations—Australia.
- I. ASEAN.
 - II. Tow, William T.
 - III. Chin, Kin Wah.

DS33.3 A81

2009

ISBN 978-981-230-963-1 (hard cover)

ISBN 978-981-230-964-8 (PDF)

Typeset by Superskill Graphics Pte Ltd
Printed in Singapore by Utopia Press Pte Ltd

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PREFACE

Nearly two decades after the Cold War, what type of security order is emerging in the Asia-Pacific remains unclear. Hegemony, power balancing, the politics of concert, and community building have all been designated as possible models for a future regional order, but all of these approaches contain risks for misperception and conflict escalation. Uncertainties are further intensified by the nature of emerging, broader security tests now confronting the region. These “non-traditional” or “transnational” challenges originate largely from “non-state-centric” sources and permeate national boundaries in unprecedented fashion. Climate change, international crime, maritime threats, energy shortages, and various issues of civil society and human security emanating from problems of governance all vie for attention of Asia-Pacific policymakers in an increasingly complex world.

What remains constant, however, is the human tendency to seek ways of organizing collectively to overcome the major security challenges of the day. The bipolarity that was shaped by superpower competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and dominated “strategic Asia” for the second half of the previous century is clearly transforming into new geometries that are not yet clearly understood. In the absence of a more certain and transparent world, actors who have either previously formed habits of interacting with each other in a regional context, or who share a common heritage of language, political culture, and geopolitical affinity, often find it easier to communicate and cooperate with each other than to negotiate hard bargains with potential adversaries. ASEAN-Australian relations exemplify the first pattern; Australian-Indian relations potentially reflect the second. The ASEAN-Indian relationship appears to have largely remained outside

such orbits to date. Yet both Southeast Asian and Indian analysts have noted that a greater “security convergence” is now materializing within that dyad as well. Visible strategic consensus now clearly exists, for example, in the areas of counter-terrorism, maritime security, and democratization.¹

An obvious question flowing from such developments is to what extent these three actors might constructively pursue an implicit form of trilateralism in their security interactions. “Trilateralism” is applied to mean that the three actors under review in this particular volume would forge a series of arrangements or even policy-specific regimes, underwritten by a commonality of interests, derived from increasingly shared democratic values, economic concerns, and geopolitical relativities. India has joined ASEAN and Australia to adopt a robust anti-terrorism posture, and this will only be reinforced in the aftermath of the December 2008 Mumbai attacks. As predominantly maritime entities, all three are largely dependent on unencumbered sea lanes and are apprehensive about Asian land powers developing maritime projection capabilities that could challenge their natural *domain reserves*. All of them will grapple with developing or accessing effective sources of water, energy, and food needed to sustain growing populations. Australia has a keen interest in encouraging the continued development of democratic forces in both India and in various ASEAN member states.

In early 2008, the time appeared opportune to convene a workshop finally of experts representing these three polities for discussions and analysis of these issues. India had reached a crossroads in its “Look East” policy with ASEAN, with initial high expectations for a free trade agreement between the two parties not realized, and with the Indian government becoming more strategically enmeshed with the United States via the Indo-United States nuclear deal. ASEAN was moving closer towards implementing formal, regional community-building processes for Southeast Asia via the ASEAN Charter. Australia had just elected its first new Prime Minister in eleven years and one who was determined to resuscitate his country’s “Asian credentials” after his predecessor had arguably linked it closer to U.S. strategy than had any other post-war Australian leader. By 2007, India had emerged as Australia’s fourth largest export market and was being viewed more seriously as a potential geopolitical counterweight to the expansion of Chinese power in Asia. Indeed, one respected Australian observer noted near the end of the year that, “... (s)ome would even argue that the stability of India’s political system, with the shock-absorber that democracy provides, might make its long-run success more assured than China’s and therefore an increasingly appealing economic and strategic collaborator with Australia.”²

Exploratory discussions between representatives of the Australian National University's (ANU's) Department of International Relations and Singapore's Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) had resulted in a planning meeting at ISEAS on 16 October 2006, which paved the way to a substantive workshop at the ANU on 18–19 February 2008 to consider this emerging trilateral relationship. Vigorous discussions were conducted at this latter event in the six broad issue-areas that constitute this volume's subsections. These were subsequently synthesized into formal chapters and supplemented by other contributions from selected analysts unable to attend the original proceedings.

Acknowledgements for projects such as this invariably omit individuals who played some role in their manifestation. There is no doubt, however, that those who are mentioned below all contributed substantially to those processes leading to the planning meeting, the subsequent wonderfully productive workshop, the publication of this book, and the realization of overall project success. These include, in particular, Ambassador K. Kesavapany, ISEAS Director, who extended his institute's resources and encouragement to see the project through to completion, and Professor Robin Jeffrey, Dean of ANU's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the time the workshop convened. To both of them, we owe an immense debt and are highly grateful for their interest and support. Chin Kin Wah, who oversaw the project on the ISEAS side, was assisted by Pritam Singh and Deepak Nair (both of whose work appear within these pages) at critical junctures of project development. The publications process was ably managed by ISEAS Managing Editor, Triena Ong. Preparation of the reference list was painstakingly handled by Linda Yip and D. Ghandimorthy of the ISEAS Library, and assisted by Sheila Flores of ANU's Department of International Relations. Kasmawati binte Abdullah of the Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore, steadfastly formatted most of the revised chapter drafts for the ISEAS editorial team and she was assisted by Lynn Aw of ISEAS, who also helped to prepare the final pre-publication manuscript. The editors are particularly grateful to Mary-Louise Hickey for assuming responsibility of the book's copy editing at a crucial juncture in its production phase. We are deeply indebted to her timely and hugely effective involvement in this project. Professor Lorraine Mazerolle, Director of the Australian Research Council's Centre of Excellence for Policing and Security (CEPS), is to be particularly thanked for the infusion of critical financial support for the project at a critical time. Professor Peter Grabosky, CEP's Deputy Director, was instrumental in ensuring that the Centre provided valuable and timely

logistical support for the workshop's duration. Workshop organization was administered at the ANU by Amy Chen, Tomohiko Satake, and Peta Hill. Dr Brendan Taylor proved to be an invaluable contributor to the proceedings, not only for his academic input, but for logistical contributions to workshop functions as well.

Finally, the co-editors wish to thank the contributors to this volume for their patience and understanding towards what became a somewhat extended editorial process. We hope what follows will be worth the wait, stimulating greater thought and more extensive debate on what promises to be an increasingly significant trilateral security relationship in years to come.

William T. Tow
Chin Kin Wah

Notes

- ¹ See Sudhir Devare, *India and Southeast Asia: Towards Security Convergence* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006) and ASEAN Secretariat, "ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations". <<http://www.aseansec.org/14802.htm>> (accessed 22 December 2008).
- ² Rory Medcalf, "Australia's Relations with India", *Incoming Government Brief* (Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, 21 December 2007).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	Australian Customs Service
ADF	Australian Defence Force
ADMM	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting
AFP	Australian Federal Police
AHTCC	Australian High Tech Crime Centre
AMMTC	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime
AOC	Asian Organized Crime
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEANAPOL	ASEAN Chiefs of National Police
ASEAN+3	ASEAN plus China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea
ASEAN+6	ASEAN+3 plus Australia, India, and New Zealand
ASEM	Asia Europe Meetings
ASL	archipelagic sea lane
ASOD	ASEAN Senior Officials on Drugs
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
APT	ASEAN+3
ATS	amphetamine type stimulants
b/d	barrels a day
BEID	Bomb and Explosives Investigation Division
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical Economic Cooperation
BNP	Bangladesh National Party
BPO	Business and Process Outsourcing
CCS	carbon capture and sequestration

CDIAC	Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Center
CDM	clean development mechanism
CEPEA	Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement of East Asia
CETS	Child Exploitation Tracking System
CFL	compact fluorescent lamp
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CO ₂	carbon dioxide
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
CSI	Container Security Initiative
e-ADS	electronic ASEANAPOL Database System
EPA	Environment Protection Act
EAEC	East Asian Economic Caucus
EAEG	East Asian Economic Grouping
EAS	East Asia Summit
EAVG	East Asia Vision Group
ECBC	Energy Conservation Building Code
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia
EU	European Union
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FIU-IND	Financial Intelligence Unit — India
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangements
FTA	free trade agreement
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GHG	greenhouse gas
GIS	Geographic Information System
GNOP	Greater Nile Oil Project
HDI	Human Development Index
IDRF	Indian Development and Relief Fund
IEA	International Energy Agency
IMB	International Maritime Bureau
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INP	Indonesian National Police
INTERFET	International Force for East Timor
Interpol	International Criminal Police Organization
IOC	Indian Oil Corporation
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IP	intellectual property

IPC	Indian Penal Code
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRRI	International Rice Research Institute
ISP	Internet Service Provider
JCLEC	Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation
JDA	Joint Development Area (Malaysia-Thailand)
JI	Jemaah Islamiyah
JMSDF	Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Force
LNG	liquefied natural gas
LULUCF	land use, land-use change, and forestry
mbd	million barrels a day
MDMA	Methylenedioxyamphetamine
MSW	Municipal Solid Waste
MW	megawatt
NAPCC	National Action Plan on Climate Change
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEAT	Network of East Asian Think-tanks
NPA	New People's Army
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIL	Oil India Ltd
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OVL	Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Ltd
PECC	Pacific Economic Cooperation Council
PMLA	Prevention of Money Laundering Act
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRIA	Society for Participatory Research in Asia
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
PVC	photovoltaic cell
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SLL	Special and Local Laws
SLOC	sea lines of communication
SLR	sea level rise
SOMTC	Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime
SOLAS	Safety of Life at Sea
SPF	Singapore Police Force

SRATS	Specialist Response Amphetamine Type Stimulant
SUA	Suppression of Unlawful Acts
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TERI	The Energy and Resources Institute
TTEG	Tripartite Technical Experts Group
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Asom
UNMISET	U.N. Mission in Support of East Timor
UNCLOS	U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNEP	U.N. Environment Programme
UNFCCC	U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNODC	U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime
VGTF	Virtual Global Task Force
VoIP	Voice over Internet Protocol
WHO	World Health Organization
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
WOT	war on terror
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality

INTRODUCTION

Robin Jeffrey

Two incidents help to explain the reason for this book, a book about a new, constantly interacting world, yet a world in which local skills, history, and emotions reach out more widely and potently than ever before.

In 2008, a news item highlighted aspects of old and new times: the Indian Navy pursued pirates in the Gulf of Aden and sank a Thai vessel that pirates had hijacked. “An Indian Navy, sinking a Thai boat in the Arabian Sea?”, many consumers of English language media would have asked. “When did India become a great seafaring power?” Surely it should be the Royal Navy or the U.S. Navy that squared off with maritime malefactors? And “pirates”? The word returned to common use in 2008, not in reference to musical comedy or Hollywood swashbuckling, but to sea-borne criminals threatening shipping from the Suez Canal to the Strait of Malacca.

In 2008, too, the city of Mumbai was attacked by a handful of terrorists from dusty Punjab in Pakistan who slipped into the city from the sea. The police who interrogated the sole surviving attacker took hours to make sense of him because “the Mumbai Police officers ... were Marathi speakers, unable to communicate with the south Punjab resident.”¹

The task that this book sets itself — the task the Mumbai police wrestled with — is to understand local subtleties and nuances within the larger context of globalization. The “actors” in this book — India, Australia, and the ASEAN countries — might once have seemed an unusual combination. For the first two generations after the Second World War, these were distant neighbours and an unlikely triangle. Australia, to be sure, had interests in Southeast Asia, but these varied enormously — from confrontation with Indonesia and war in Vietnam, to military bases in Malaysia. In spite of assertions about things in common, India and Australia struggled to find genuine partnerships either

in diplomacy or commerce.² And India, champion of a global non-aligned movement, did not begin to “look east” until the 1990s.³

So much has changed, as the present book illustrates. Emerging from ascetic stand-offishness, India, since the 1990s, has sought recognition as a conventional “great power”. Its interests in the countries of ASEAN range from fascination with the economic successes of Singapore, to a sense of family involvement that extends back to the Hindu kingdoms of Bali and mainland Southeast Asia.

India’s closer engagement with Australia, which is only slowly being appreciated, dates in part from the beginning of the twenty-first century and the arrival of large numbers of Indian students — 65,000 in mid-2008.⁴ Many will stay in Australia, and most will retain long-term connections. Previously, three reasons explained why Australia-India relations always seemed to be filled with unfulfilled potential. First, the human dimension was narrow. People of Indian extraction in Australia were fewer and of more recent standing than similar populations in Canada, the United Kingdom or the United States,⁵ and thus the constant two-way traffic, which creates relationships and diversifies commerce, was small. Second and relatedly, though the volume of India-Australia trade grew from the 1980s, the bulk of it lay in Australia’s export of a narrow range of raw materials.⁶ Third, until the 1990s, Australia and India were wedded to antagonistic partners — Australia to the United States and India to the Soviet Union. As India and the United States warm to each other in the twenty-first century, defence and intelligence cooperation between Australia and India becomes less inhibited. By 2005, the dynamics of the relationship were changing. This is seen most clearly in the people traffic: In 2005, a surprising number of Indian tourists (79,000) visited Australia and 94,000 Australian tourists went to India. India had become Australia’s fastest growing merchandise export market.⁷

Expanding global trade, and Australia’s role as a trading nation, have focused Australian attention on trading routes as never before. Similar considerations apply to many of the countries of ASEAN and certainly to ASEAN’s corporate aspirations as a facilitator of, and hub for, trade. As Prabhakar tells us in this book, 50,000 ships today pass through Indian territorial waters each year and another 50,000 call at Indian ports. India’s Andaman Islands, the southernmost of which is closer to Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia than to mainland India, can be seen as the guardians of the Strait of Malacca, through which pass much of the world’s oil trade on its way to China and Japan. This maritime world, which has been interrelated in slow-moving ways for hundreds of years, has in the past generation been augmented by the digital and electronic revolution and the speed and reach

that the digital age make possible. India, Australia, and the countries of ASEAN now find themselves confronting their geography on a daily, interactive basis as never before. The struggle to comprehend and adapt to this new world is the substance of the chapters in this book.

It is a book about “security”, but security understood in broad terms. Indeed, the fundamental question is posed by Deepak Nair: How can India, Australia, and ASEAN contribute to stability in the new Asia? Without stability, the biggest questions — those of climate change and the improved well-being of large numbers of people — cannot be effectively tackled. And if they are not tackled, the future, not just of the region, but of the planet, is gloomy.

The supplementary question, sometimes alluded to, but not dealt with explicitly in this book, is how India, Australia, and ASEAN manage their relationships with China. It is a question worth a conference and a book in itself. India, some would argue, lacks knowledge and expertise about China, and Australia should develop a role to work with India to enhance its cadre of China specialists. (It is worth pointing out that Australia’s prime minister speaks Mandarin, learned at an Australian university.) On the ASEAN side, each of its members has a complex and unique history of engagement with China — from Singapore, where Mandarin is an official language, to Indonesia and Vietnam and their troubled China links. Australia, for its part, seeks to mitigate potential conflict between its U.S. ally and its immense new trading partner, China. A common approach to growing Chinese power is unlikely to emerge among India, ASEAN, and Australia; but the “China factor” will be ever-present in future meetings of India, ASEAN, and Australian leaders.

This book’s six sections analyse both broad and specific concerns:

- **Emerging Regional Security Architectures** provides readers with details of the treaties and agreements into which India, Australia, and ASEAN have entered, and interpretation of what these attempts to construct diplomatic “architecture” mean;
- **Energy Security** examines the needs of the three actors and the policies that attempt to satisfy those needs;
- **Climate Change** examines each actor’s understanding of, and policy efforts towards, the great issue of the twenty-first century;
- **Maritime Security** emphasizes the aspect, noted at the start of this introduction, that “everything old is new again”. Growing world trade, overwhelmingly dependent on the sea, has brought seafaring before public minds in ways unheard of since planes became a popular mode of travel in the 1960s. As the three chapters in this section point out, ships are

vulnerable, their cargoes both valuable and potentially dangerous, and their capacity to degrade environments is great;

- **Governance** returns to broader questions: How do countries and trans-state groupings such as ASEAN organize themselves to serve their people? In ASEAN's case, the question is tantalizing: Variations of "governance" range from Singapore's efficacious paternalism to the brutal incompetence of Burma. And the picture of India drawn in this book is depressing indeed;
- **Law Enforcement** leads analysts — not to mention law-enforcers — into problems of governance and interstate relations. One country's crime may be another's successful business (for example, online gambling), and the variations in law among ASEAN states, not to mention between Australia and India, are vast. Yet cooperation is essential if the larger goal of regional stability to enable human well-being is to be achieved.

The tasks identified in the six sections of this book are daunting. Yet change is possible, as the history of relations among India, ASEAN, and Australia indicates. In the early 1980s, in a Cold-War world in which the Soviet Union had occupied Afghanistan, and Vietnamese troops had overthrown the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, India sought to divide ASEAN, which opposed the Vietnamese invasion.⁸ In the late 1980s, ASEAN members regarded Indian naval expansion as an intrusion and potential threat.⁹ In Australian diplomatic eyes, India rated in the second division: The former High Commissioner to Fiji was sent as Australia's High Commissioner to India in 1979, and soon afterwards created a diplomatic incident with a leaked report pessimistic about India and critical of Mrs Gandhi.¹⁰ India, ASEAN, and Australia in many ways inhabited their own solitudes.

Much had changed by the twenty-first century. India had become a dialogue partner of the ASEAN Regional Forum in 1996, and the Indian navy had become for ASEAN a benign presence and bulwark against piracy (even if a Thai trawler might occasionally fall victim to mistaken identity).¹¹ For Australia, the post of its High Commissioner in New Delhi now went to its most senior diplomats coming from ambassadorships in Washington, Tokyo, and Jakarta. In trade, both India and Australia registered strong increases in their dealings with the ASEAN countries, Australia emerging as ASEAN's fifth largest trading partner, and India its sixth by 2006.¹²

The growing interconnectedness of the actors in this book is another mark of an increasingly interdependent world. Flows of trade, people, and information will increase, along with the potential for both conflict and harmonious prosperity. The chapters in this book document both what has

been achieved and what needs to be done if goals of well-being and stability are to be realized.

Notes

- ¹ *Hindu*, 6 December 2008, <<http://www.thehindu.com/2008/12/06/stories/2008120661211200.htm>>.
- ² Meg Gurry, *India: Australia's Neglected Neighbour?* (Brisbane: Griffith University, 1996).
- ³ Sandy Gordon, "India's Strategic Posture: 'Look East' or 'Look West'", Working Paper No. 225 (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1991).
- ⁴ *Australian*, 3 September 2008, <<http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,24284358-12332,00.html>>.
- ⁵ An estimate based on the 1981 census put the population of Indian extraction in Australia at about 14,000 people. Purusottama Bilimoria and Ruchira Ganguly-Scrase, *Indians in Victoria* (Melbourne: Deakin University, 1988), p. 9, citing the work of the demographer Charles Price. In comparison, Canada in the early 1990s had more than 200,000 people of Sikh background alone. Sarjeet Singh Jagpal, *Becoming Canadians* (Vancouver: Harbour Publishing, 1994), p. 15.
- ⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book Australia, 2006* (Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Sandy Gordon, "India and South Asia", *Current Affairs* 67, no. 12 (May 1991): 11–12.
- ⁷ Department of Industry, Trade and Resources, Submission to the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, Inquiry into Australia's Relationship with India, 2006, pp. 5, 11. <<http://www.aph.gov.au/House/committee/jfadt/india2006/subs/sub37.pdf>>.
- ⁸ *Age*, 12 July 1980; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1980, 13 August 1980.
- ⁹ Malla V.S.V. Prasad, "Political and Security Cooperation between India and ASEAN: Implications for Economic Cooperation", in *India-ASEAN Economic Relations: Meeting the Challenges of Globalization*, edited by Nagesh Kumar, Rahul Sen, and Mukul Asher (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; New Delhi: Research and Information System for Developing Countries, 2006), p. 276.
- ¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 December 1979, 17 November 1980; *Age*, 6 November 1980.
- ¹¹ Prasad, "Political and Security Cooperation", p. 276.
- ¹² ASEAN Secretariat, "Top Ten ASEAN Trade Partner Countries/Regions, 2006 as of 14 September 2007", Table 20, <<http://www.aseansec.org/Stat/Table20.pdf>>.

