

TENSIONS IN THE EAST CHINA SEA

AN INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

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PAPER PRESENTERS

Ms Bonnie GLASER is a senior adviser for Asia in the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), where she works on issues related to Chinese foreign and security policy. She is concomitantly a senior associate with CSIS Pacific Forum and a consultant for the U.S. government on East Asia. From 2003 to mid-2008, Ms Glaser was a senior associate in the CSIS International Security Program. Prior to joining CSIS, she served as a consultant for various U.S. government offices, including the Departments of Defense and State. Ms Glaser is a board member of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the Institute of International Strategic Studies. She served as a member of the Defense Department's Defense Policy Board China Panel in 1997. Ms Glaser received her BA in political science from Boston University and her MA with concentrations in international economics and Chinese studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Ms Linda JAKOBSON is East Asia Program Director at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. Before moving to Sydney in 2011 she lived and worked in China for 20 years and published six books on China and East Asia. The Finnish edition of *A Million Truths: A Decade in China* (New York: M. Evans 1998) won the 1998 Finnish Government Publication Award. A Mandarin speaker, she has published extensively on China's foreign policy, the Taiwan Strait, and China's science & technology policies. She is the author of *New Foreign Policy Actors in China* (SIPRI 2010, with Dean Knox); *China's Arctic aspirations* (SIPRI 2012, with Jingchao Peng) and *China's Foreign Policy Dilemma* (Lowy Institute, 2013). From 2009-2011 Jakobson served as Director of the China and Global Security Programme and Senior Researcher at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Jakobson's research focuses on China's foreign and security policies, Northeast Asian security and Australia's ties with China.

Professor JIN Canrong is Associate Dean and Professor in the School of International Studies at Renmin University in Beijing. Before joining Renmin University, he worked at the Institute of American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) from 1987 to 2002. His studies focus on American politics (in particular the US Congress), American foreign policy, Sino-US relations and China's foreign policy. His main publications include over 100 academic papers, over 500 articles for mass media, seven books and five book translations, including *The Liberal Tradition in America* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1991) by Louis Hart; *Between Hope and History* (Random House, 1996) by former President Bill Clinton and *Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 2011) by Henry Kissinger. Professor Jin was the first columnist on international politics in China, writing for the column of 'Focusing on America' in World Affairs (a bi-monthly) from 1995 to 1998. He holds a BA in political

science from Fudan University, a MA from the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and a PhD from the School of International Studies at Peking University.

Lieutenant General Noboru YAMAGUCHI, JGSDF (Ret.) is a Professor and Director for International Programs at the National Defense Academy (NDA) of Japan. He graduated from the NDA majoring in applied physics in 1974 and trained as an army aviator, mainly flying helicopters. He received his MA from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, in 1988 and was a National Security Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University 1991-1992. Lt Gen Yamaguchi's major assignments include Senior Defense Attaché at the Japanese Embassy in the United States (1999-2001), Vice President of the National Institute for Defense Studies (2005-2006) and Commanding General of the GSDF Research and Development Command (2006-2008). After retiring from active duty in late 2008, Lt Gen Yamaguchi started teaching military history and strategy. After the East Japan Great Earthquake, he served at the Prime Minister's Official Residence as Special Adviser to the Cabinet on Crisis Management from March to September 2011.

PARTICIPANTS

Dr Joel ATKINSON is a Lecturer in Taiwan Studies at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, where he was also awarded a PhD in politics in March 2009. Before returning to Monash, he spent several years as a visiting scholar in South Korea. He recently published a book: *Australia and Taiwan: Bilateral Relations, China, the United States, and the South Pacific* (Brill, 2012). His research has also been published in *The Pacific Review*, *Pacific Affairs*, the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and the *Australian Journal of Politics and History*.

Professor Nick BISLEY is Professor of International Relations at La Trobe University where he is the head of the Department of Politics, Philosophy and Legal Studies. His research and teaching expertise is in Asia's international relations, globalisation and the diplomacy of great powers. His most recent books are *Issues in 21st Century World Politics*, 2nd edition, co-edited with Mark Beeson (Palgrave, 2013) and *Great Powers in the Changing International Order* (Lynne Rienner, 2012). From July 2013 he will be Editor-in-Chief of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*.

Dr Philippa BRANT is a Research Associate at the Lowy Institute. She wrote her PhD at the University of Melbourne investigating China's foreign aid program and its implications for the global development system, including a focus on the South Pacific region. As an inaugural Prime Minister's Australia Asia Endeavour Award holder (2010-2011), Brant worked in Beijing as a Visiting Scholar at the International Poverty Reduction Centre in China. She also holds a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Asian Studies and International Relations and a Diploma of Modern Languages (Chinese) from the University of Melbourne.

Mr James BROWN is the Military Fellow at the Lowy Institute and his research focuses on military issues and defence policy. He is also a visiting research fellow at the Australian Army's Land Warfare Studies Centre. Brown previously served as an officer in the Australian Army, commanding a cavalry troop in Southern Iraq, serving on the Australian task force headquarters in Baghdad, and was attached to Special Forces in Afghanistan. He was awarded a commendation for work in the Solomon Islands and as an operational planner at the Australian Defence Force Headquarters Joint Operations Command. Brown currently

coordinates a project investigating the use of private military security companies in disaster and conflict zones. He studied economics at Sydney University and completed graduate studies in strategy at the University of New South Wales.

Professor Malcolm COOK is Dean of the School of International Studies and a Professor in International Relations at Flinders University. Prior to joining Flinders in 2011, Cook was the founding East Asia Program Director at the Lowy Institute where he remains a nonresident fellow. He has had the opportunity of living and working in Canada, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Australia, and enjoys working in the intersections between academia, government and media. Over the past decade, Cook's research interests have focused on the evolving Asia-Pacific security order, Japan-Australia relations and Japanese foreign and security policy.

Mr Harry GENN is Assistant Director-General of the Office of National Assessments (ONA). He joined the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) in 1989 and held a range of positions in Canberra. In the 1990s he was posted to Shanghai and Beijing, and from 2005-08 was deputy head of post at the Australian office in Taipei. Genn has been head of ONA's North Asia Branch since 2008.

Dr Bates GILL commenced as CEO of the US Studies Centre in October 2012 after a five year appointment as the Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). He previously led major research programmes at public policy think tanks in Washington, DC (Brookings Institution and Center for Strategic and International Studies) and in Monterey, California (Monterey Institute of International Studies). He has also served as a consultant to US companies, foundations, and government agencies, especially with regard to their policies in Asia. He received his PhD in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia, and, in addition to his experience in the USA, has lived and worked for lengthy periods in France, Switzerland, Sweden, and China.

Rear Admiral James GOLDRICK, Royal Australian Navy (Ret), is a graduate of the RAN College, the Harvard Business School Advanced Management Program, UNSW, UNE and holds a Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* of UNSW. He has commanded HMA Ships *Cessnock* and *Sydney* (twice), the multinational maritime interception force in the Persian Gulf and the Australian Defence Force Academy. He led Australia's Border Protection Command and then the Australian Defence College. He is a Fellow of the RAN Sea Power Centre, Australia and the Lowy Institute. His books include: *No Easy Answers: The Development of the Navies of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka* (Spantech & Lancer, 1997) and, with Jack McCaffrie, *Navies of South-East Asia: A Comparative Study* (Routledge, 2013).

Captain Justin JONES, RAN, is the Director of the Sea Power Centre and Naval Associate at the Lowy Institute. A serving naval officer for 24 years, Jones has had diverse experiences ranging across maritime counter terrorism, peace monitoring, operations in the Middle East, and extensive engagement with navies throughout Indo-Pacific Asia. He was the Commanding Officer of the guided missile frigate HMAS Newcastle in 2009-10. He contributed to the Lowy Institute paper *Crisis and Confidence: Major Powers and Maritime Security in Indo-Pacific Asia* (2011). He holds a Master of Management Studies, a Master of Arts (Strategy and Policy) and a Graduate Diploma in Defence Studies. Jones is a PhD candidate at the Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security at the University of Wollongong. His thesis will examine Australian defence policy in the Indian Ocean from the turn of the century.

Professor Rikki KERSTEN is a former Australian diplomat specialising in modern Japanese political thought. She is currently Professor of Modern Japanese Political History at the ANU. Her academic interests include Japan's security policy, particularly the impact of the 'rebalance' on Japan's place in the US alliance system and the Australia-Japan defence relationship. Recent publications include 'Japan, the U.S. Alliance and Asia', *ANU-MASI Policy Background Paper*, August, 2011; W. Tow and R. Kersten eds., *Bilateral Perspectives on Regional Security: Australia, Japan and the Asia-Pacific Region* (Palgrave Macmillan 2012); and 'Stretching the US-Japan alliance' in W. Tow and B. Taylor eds., *Bilateralism, Multilateralism and Asia-Pacific Security* (Routledge 2013). She is a graduate of Adelaide and Oxford universities. She was awarded the Endeavour Executive Award in 2012.

Commodore Peter LEAVY joined the Royal Australian Navy in 1984 and is a Principal Warfare Officer. He has served in a variety of ships including command of HMAS Stuart (FFH 153) and HMAS Sydney (FFG 03). Operationally he deployed twice to the Middle East Area of Operations and has also conducted multiple deployments throughout Asia, and the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Ashore he has served as the Director of the RAN Sea Power Centre in addition to postings in strategy and personnel areas within Navy Strategic Command in Canberra. Leavy is currently Commodore Warfare and Deputy Fleet Commander at Fleet Headquarters in Sydney.

Dr John LEE is the Michael Hintze Fellow and an Adjunct Associate Professor at the Centre for International Security Studies at Sydney University. He is also a non-resident senior scholar at the Hudson Institute and on the Board of Directors of the Kokoda Foundation. Dr Lee is regularly invited to brief ministerial and secretarial level officials in the United States, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, India and Australia. His articles are published in leading journals, and he has contributed hundreds of opinion pieces to over forty leading newspapers. He is one of only a handful of Australians to have been invited to formally testify to US Congressional committees. He obtained first class honours degrees in Arts (Philosophy) and Laws from the University of New South Wales, and his Masters and Doctorate from the University of Oxford.

Mr Rory MEDCALF is Director of the International Security Program at the Lowy Institute and a Non-resident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington DC. His professional background spans diplomacy, journalism and intelligence analysis. He has worked as a senior strategic analyst with the Office of National Assessments in Canberra. As a diplomat, his work included a posting to New Delhi, a secondment to Japan's foreign ministry and truce monitoring on Bougainville. His work as a journalist was commended in the Walkley awards. He has also contributed to three landmark reports on nuclear arms control, including the Canberra Commission. He is Associate Director of the Australia-India Institute and also the co-chair of the Australia-India Roundtable. His principal research subjects in 2013-14 include opinion polling on Indian attitudes to the world, the development of an Indo-Pacific concept of the Asian strategic environment, Australia's defence challenges, and maritime and nuclear strategy in Indo-Pacific Asia.

Mr Harrison PALMER is a Research Associate in the East Asia Program at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. He holds a Bachelor of Asian Studies from the Australian National University majoring in Security Studies and Chinese language. His experience in China includes studying at Renmin University and working in Beijing's expanding human resources sector.

Ms Danielle RAJENDRAM is a Research Associate in the International Security Program at the Lowy Institute. Her work focuses on Indian foreign and domestic policy, India-China relations and Asian security issues. Danielle holds a Master of International Law from the Australian National University and a Bachelor of International Studies from the University of New South Wales, with a major in Asian Studies. During her undergraduate degree she spent a year studying international relations and Japanese language at Keio University in Tokyo.

Dr James REILLY is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China's Japan Policy* (Columbia University Press, 2012), and the co-editor of *Australia and China at 40* (UNSW Press, 2012). He has published several book chapters in edited volumes, as well as articles in numerous international journals. He holds a PhD from George Washington University and an MA from the University of Washington, and was a post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Oxford (2008-09). Before that, he served as the East Asia Representative of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in China from 2001-2008.

Mr Sam ROGGEVEEN is the founding editor of the Lowy Institute's blog, The Interpreter. Since 2007 he's been privileged to work with some of Australia's best international policy minds to put together one of the smartest, wittiest, most informative sites on the web. Before joining the Lowy Institute, Roggeveen was a senior strategic analyst at the Office of National Assessments, where his work dealt mainly with nuclear strategy and arms control, ballistic-missile defence, North Asian strategic affairs and WMD terrorism. He also worked on arms control policy in Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs, and as an analyst in the Defence Intelligence Organisation. During his time in the bureaucracy, he discovered the power of blogs to transform the way politics is debated and discussed.

Mr Michael SHIRAEV is a Research Associate in the East Asia Program at the Lowy Institute. His research focuses on China's territorial disputes in the South and East China Seas. Michael holds a Bachelor of Laws (Hons) and Bachelor of International Studies from Sydney University majoring in Government and International Relations. He has studied Chinese foreign policy at Peking University and speaks Mandarin.

Mr Dirk VAN DER KLEY is a Research Associate in the East Asia Program at the Lowy Institute. His work focuses on China's foreign and domestic policy, China-Australia relations and the relationship between China and Central Asia. He holds a Bachelor of Arts (Mathematics/Chinese Studies) from Sydney University and was awarded first class honours for his thesis on China's aid to Kyrgyzstan, which he wrote in Chinese. Prior to joining the Institute, Mr van der Kley worked in China as a translator and in business development.

Dr YOU Ji is Associate Professor and Reader at the School of Social Science, University of New South Wales. He graduated from Peking University and the Australian National University. He is the author of three books, including *The Armed Forces of China* (Allen and Unwin, 1999), and numerous articles. His papers have been published in journals such as *the Problems of Communism*, *China Journal*, *the Pacific Review*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Asia Policy*, *Japanese Studies*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Naval War College Review*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, and *Contemporary Security Policy*. He is on the editorial board of *the China Journal*; *Provincial China*; *East Asia Policy*; *Asian and Middle East Studies*, *Issue and Studies*, and *Journal of Contemporary China*.

Dr Jingdong YUAN is an Associate Professor at the Centre for International Security Studies and the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. Professor Yuan specialises in Asia-Pacific security, Chinese defence and foreign policy, and non-proliferation. He has had research and teaching appointments at Queen's University, York University, the University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia and visiting appointments at the National University of Singapore and the University of Macau. Between 1999 and 2010, he held various appointments at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. He is the co-editor of *Australia and China at 40* (UNSW Press, 2012) and co-author of *China and India: Cooperation or Conflict?* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003). His publications have also appeared in a wide variety of international peer-reviewed journals and newspapers. He holds a Doctorate in political science from Queen's University.