

The Secretary  
Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee  
Parliament House  
CANBERRA ACT 2600

Dear secretary

I have noted that the Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee is conducting an inquiry into Australia's relationship with the countries of the Indian Ocean rim.

I would like to make a submission of material to members of your committee regarding the importance of the countries of the Indian Ocean rim to Australia and the need for a greater focus on the Indian Ocean region in our education curriculum.

I am a retired school teacher who served for more than 30 years with the Education Department of Western Australia. I retain a strong interest in education and strongly believe there is a need for a greater interest in the Indian Ocean as a part of our wider region.

Yours sincerely

JIM BARNS

## THE NEED FOR A FOCUS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION IN SCHOOL CURRICULA AND HOW IT CAN BE ACHIEVED

### The Need For A Focus On The Indian Ocean Region

The Australian Curriculum lacks a suitable focus on the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). It places a strong focus on Asia because Asia is seen as part of the world in which young Australians live. However, the IOR is also part of the world in which they live and should be given suitable focus in school curricula. The IOR includes countries of South and South East Asia but also includes countries of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions (eg Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia) and many African countries.

Note: Western Asia is not part of the Australian Curriculum's focus on Asia.

A map of the IOR and the 51 IOR countries is included here as Appendix 1.

There are strong arguments for schools placing an emphasis on the IOR in their courses of study where there is the interest and scope to do so. This is especially the case for West Australian schools given the fact that Western Australia borders the Indian Ocean and many students can relate to it.

The peace and stability of the IOR is important for Australia's security. With its energy resources (Persian Gulf Oil) and shipping lanes carrying much of the world's trade it is a region of great strategic importance. Current issues facing the region include strategic rivalry between China and India, piracy, poverty and environmental issues such as pollution, over-fishing and the effects of climate change. The region also offers significant trade and investment opportunities for Australia.

*Australia  
can play a  
role in  
dealing with  
these problems*

My conviction as to the importance of the IOR stems from wide reading over a number of years. Some of the material I have used is included here in the form of appendices.

Appendix 2: Pages from an article "Neglected no longer: The Indian Ocean at the forefront of world geopolitics and global geostrategy" published 2010.

Appendix 3: Media release for the International Indian Ocean Region Forum held in Perth in June 1995. The forum aimed at developing closer relations between Indian Ocean nations. A range of workshops focussed on economic, environmental, maritime, academic and business co-operation issues.

Appendix 4: A foreword to a history of The Indian Ocean Arts Association and the Indian Ocean Cultural Council written by Sir Charles Court in 1997. He held the view that the 21<sup>st</sup> century will see a dramatic increase in the significance and overall development of the Indian Ocean Region.

Appendices 5 and 6: Two columns from The Australian newspaper -- "Indo-Pacific Tide Rises in the West" and "The West is Poised for strategic role as hub of the Indo-Pacific Age", both published November 2012.

Appendix 7: Newspaper article "Clinton visit just the latest sign of a westward tilt", November 14, 2012. It includes reference to importance of the IOR.

### How Can A Greater Focus On The IOR Be Achieved?

I assume that the Australian Curriculum is not 100% prescriptive and that there is some scope for schools to include themes/topics/subject matter that is seen as important to them, their community, or their state.

Initiative is not likely to come from the EDWA bureaucracy when it comes to providing some focus on the IOR in Western Australian schools. The Minister for Education would probably have to give direction to the relevant senior officer/s within EDWA.

The best policy might be to encourage schools to place some emphasis on the IOR where there is scope to do so. Resources can be taken from the internet. I have located two websites but there would no doubt be others. See Appendices 8 and 9.

I assume that teachers will be devoting a lot of time and resources this year to producing courses that fit with the Australian Curriculum. Early action is needed if they are to include some focus on the IOR.

I would be prepared to address any group of teachers, principals, regional superintendants<sup>e</sup> or EDWA bureaucrats to promote a focus on the IOR. With a strong background in teaching, lecturing and public speaking I would have every confidence in doing so.

James Barns  
21 January 2013

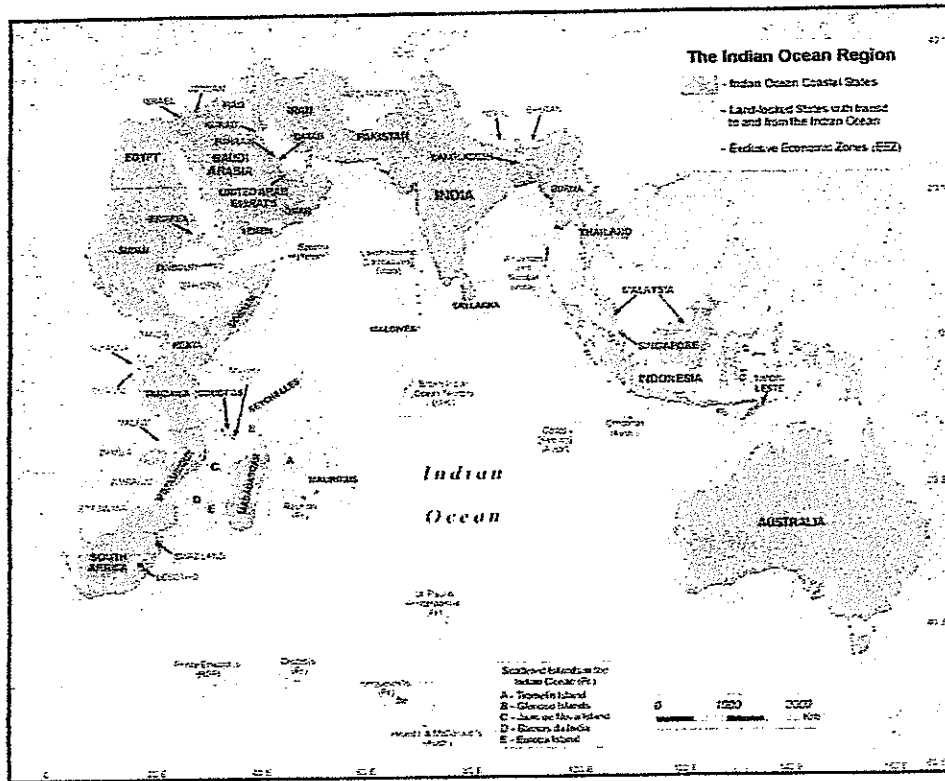
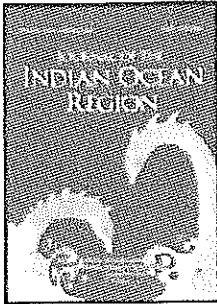


Table 1. The 51 states of the Indian Ocean Region.

Indian Ocean Rim states		Other coastal states of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf	Indian Ocean land-locked states
Australia	Mozambique	Bahrain	Afghanistan
Bangladesh	Oman	Egypt	Bhutan
Burma (Myanmar)	Pakistan	Eritrea	Botswana
Comoros	Seychelles	Iraq	Burundi
Djibouti	Singapore	Israel	Ethiopia
France*	Somalia	Jordan	Lesotho
Kenya	South Africa	Kuwait	Malawi
India	Sri Lanka	Qatar	Nepal
Indonesia	Tanzania	Saudi Arabia	Rwanda
Iran	Thailand	Sudan	Swaziland
Madagascar	Timor-Leste		Uganda
Malaysia	United Arab Emirates		Zambia
Maldives	United Kingdom*		Zimbabwe
Mauritius	Yemen		

Note: \*For France and United Kingdom: because of their island territories.

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### Neglected no longer: the Indian Ocean at the forefront of world geopolitics and global geostrategy

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Attached sheets:

Introduction and conclusion to the article mentioned above.

Map and table showing the 51 states of the Indian Ocean Region

## Neglected no longer: the Indian Ocean at the forefront of world geopolitics and global geostrategy

Christian Bouchard\* and William Crumplin

*Department of Geography, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada*

*(Received 26 January 2010)*

Since the end of the 1960s and the 1970s, the Indian Ocean and its bordering states have been of growing significance in world geopolitics and global geostrategy. It is a region of great diversity and contrasts in terms of politics, population, economy and environment, as well as being a complex geopolitical framework where foreign powers and local states' interests deeply intermingle. Since the end of the Cold War, the region has been in a period of great instability and regional rearrangement that is still ongoing today. Taking into account the significance of its strategic energy resources, the importance of its strategic shipping lanes, the 'rise of India' as a dominant regional player, the turbulences of the Islamic world, the deep and broad involvement of the United States (and its allies) in the region, as well as China's recent entry on the regional chessboard, there is no doubt that the Indian Ocean will remain on the forefront of world geopolitics in the coming decades and most probably for the entire twenty-first century.

**Keywords:** Indian Ocean; Indian Ocean Region; geopolitics; geostrategy; conflicts; oil; sea lanes of communication; choke points; Islam; India; United States; China

### 1. Introduction

From a geopolitical perspective, the Indian Ocean, the third largest ocean in the world (after the Pacific and the Atlantic), can be defined as the body of water between Africa, Asia, Australia and the 60° south latitude; the latter being the northern limit of the area covered by the original Antarctic Treaty (1959). Conceptualised as a large-scale ocean basin-centric region, the Indian Ocean Region consists of the Indian Ocean itself, with all of its tributary water bodies (such as the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Andaman Sea and the Malacca Strait), 38 coastal states, as well as 13 land-locked states for which the transit to and from the sea is mostly oriented towards the Indian Ocean. Altogether, this region covers an area close to 102,000,000 sq km (2/3 of sea and 1/3 of land), thereby representing 20% of the entire globe's surface, is inhabited by 2.65 billion people, representing 39.1% of the world's population in 2009, and has a gross domestic product in purchasing power parity (GDP-PPP) of \$10,813 (US) billion, representing 15.4% of the world's GDP-PPP in 2008 (Appendix 1). It is an area of great diversity and contrasts in terms of politics, population, culture, economy and environment, as well as a complex

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geopolitical framework where foreign powers and local states' interests deeply intermingle.

Despite its significant area and its important population, the place of the Indian Ocean in world geopolitics and global geostrategy has long been neglected. For most of the twentieth century its role and importance have been undermined by what was going on elsewhere in the world, often considered as more significant and influential, whatever it was in the fields of politics, economy or culture. However, this situation has dramatically changed since the end of the 1960s. Today, the Indian Ocean Region has definitively reached the forefront of world geopolitics and is considered as an area of crucial geostrategic importance, and will remain so at least for many decades to come, and most probably for the entire twenty-first century. This is mainly due to the growing significance in world affairs of Persian Gulf oil and the Indian Ocean's sea lanes of communication (SLOCS) and choke points, as well as the volatile regional socio-political environment (militarisation, political conflicts, social and economic challenges), American's heavy military interventionism, China's arrival on the regional chessboard and the rise of India as a real Indian Ocean great power.

While the Indian Ocean Region is now of prime interest for so many far-off states in the world (such as the USA, the European industrial states, Japan and China), it is also an area where regional states and non-state actors have a growing say and thus have to be taken into account. Overall, the region is not only strategically important, but it also represents the most troubled and dangerous area of the world. In 2009, a total of 170 political conflicts were recorded in the Indian Ocean Region, representing 46.6% of the 365 conflicts worldwide, with 50% of all the crises and severe crises in the world, 19 of the 31 high-intensity conflicts (61.3%), as well as all of the seven wars. For many observers of the region, this unstable situation is fuelled by foreign military interventionism and interference in local politics; but it is also related to various local factors engendering social and political tensions such as cultural intolerance, radicalism and terrorism, poverty, environmental degradation and conflicts over resources, lack of democracy and weak state capacity.

To better understand this region's geopolitical and geostrategic context as well as its growing significance, we first review how, from the 1960s and 1970s, the region shifted from being an area of little consequence to one of crucial geostrategic importance. Secondly, we introduce the Indian Ocean, highlight its different contributions to the region and discuss its geostrategic context. Thirdly, we propose a definition for the Indian Ocean Region and discuss its main geographical and geopolitical characteristics. Fourthly, we consider the situation in terms of peace and security, arguing that the volatility of the region is going to remain a great challenge in the next few decades for both the foreign powers with great interests in the Indian Ocean and the regional states. Finally, we examine the complex regional geopolitical framework in which these actors interact, where the geopolitical equilibriums are constructed at different and overlapping system scales, and where a tripartite strategic rivalry is developing (USA-India-China) and emerging as the shaping force of twenty-first century Indian Ocean geopolitics.

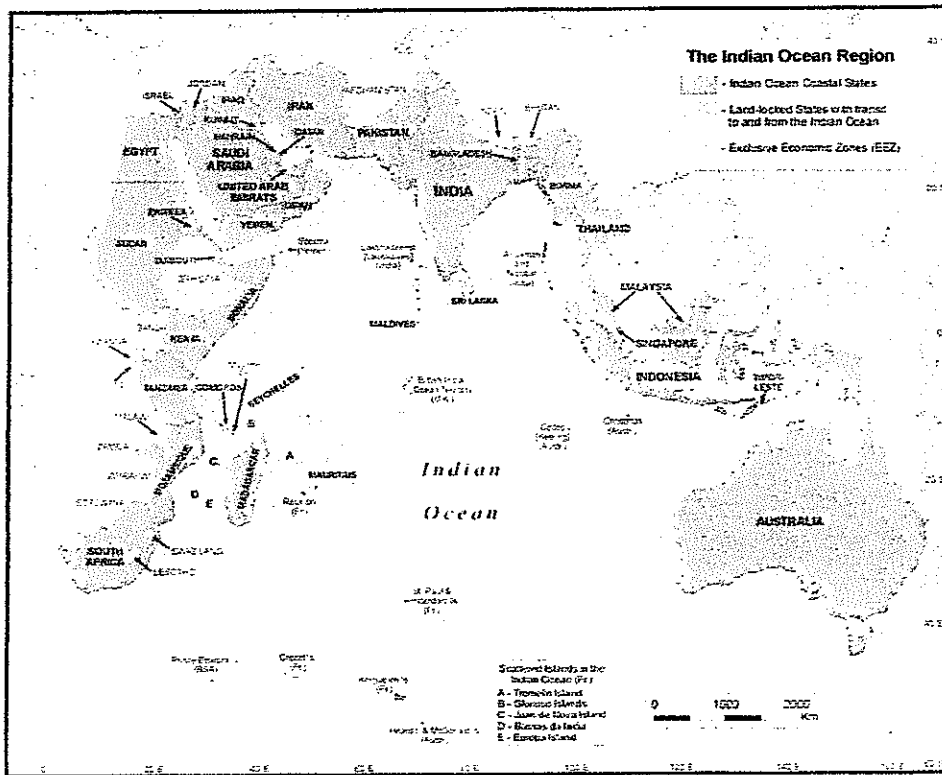


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Comoros	Seychelles	Iraq	Burundi
Djibouti	Singapore	Israel	Ethiopia
France*	Somalia	Jordan	Lesotho
Kenya	South Africa	Kuwait	Malawi
India	Sri Lanka	Qatar	Nepal
Indonesia	Tanzania	Saudi Arabia	Rwanda
Iran	Thailand	Sudan	Swaziland
Madagascar	Timor-Leste		Uganda
Malaysia	United Arab Emirates		Zambia
Maldives	United Kingdom*		Zimbabwe
Mauritius	Yemen		

Note: \*For France and United Kingdom: because of their island territories.



## 7. Conclusion

With global geopolitical and economic developments since the end of the Second World War and, in particular, since the end of the 1960s and the 1970s, the Indian Ocean has moved from being largely ignored to becoming an area of crucial geostrategic importance. On the one hand, it is a region where tremendously important natural resources are found, especially Persian Gulf oil, which will be of growing importance in the coming decades and is already of particular significance for the oil-dependent large economic powers of Europe as well as for China, India, Japan and the United States.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, its sea lanes of communication which funnel into a small number of choke points are vital to global commerce, and especially for the very significant trade between Europe and Asia, as well as for the energy security of the states that rely significantly on Persian Gulf oil.

There is no reason to suspect that this importance will diminish in coming decades; on the contrary, and as Robert Kaplan has phrased it, the Indian Ocean now forms the centre stage for the challenges of the twenty-first century. In addition to the two more traditional issues of oil and maritime trade, two other main regional factors contribute to the growing significance of the Indian Ocean Region, which is inhabited today by nearly 40% of the world's population. The first of these is the 'rise of India' as a real Indian Ocean-wide regional power and an emerging great power on the global scene, a major and growing economy which presently ranks fourth in the world in terms of gross domestic product (at purchasing power parity; only after the United States, China and Japan), as well as a country of close to 1.2 billion people today, most probably over 1.6 billion in 2050 and predicted to surpass China's population by 2028 (United Nations 2009c, pp. 2, 38). A second factor is the turbulence faced presently by the Islamic world as a whole in relation to modernisation, religious and local socio-economic issues and political contexts, as well as the spread of radical movements and the use of violence as a tool of political action, which has culminated in international jihad and Islamic terrorism. However, the Islamic world is far from having a monopoly on instability and insecurity in the region.

In fact, the Indian Ocean Region can now be considered as the most troubled and dangerous area of the world. With a total of 170 conflicts and 19 high-intensity violent conflicts recorded in the region in 2009, respectively accounting for 46.6% of

all the conflicts recorded worldwide and 63.1% of the high-intensity violent conflicts, it is a very volatile region. These conflicts are related to numerous and interrelated root factors such ethnicity, religion, resources, political clashes, foreign great power military interventionism and interference in local politics (including military aid and arm supplies), regional state interference in their neighbours' affairs, the lack of democracy, weak state capacities as well as poverty and low socio-economic development. However, insecurity in the region also emanates from a wide range of additional non-traditional security issues such as organised crime, environmental degradation, resource depletion and natural disasters.

It is in this volatile geopolitical environment that both foreign powers involved in the region and Indian Ocean states have to manoeuvre and secure their own national interests. Among all of these states and in addition to India, which we highlighted as a main regional factor, two other great powers are of particular significance to the unstable and reshaping Indian Ocean geopolitical context, namely the United States and China. In the case of the United States, its involvement in the region has been constantly increasing since the Second World War as it has resolved to secure its access to and control of a large share of Persian Gulf oil. As this fundamental objective remains in a context of growing competition for this strategic resource, new and very important geostrategic issues such as maritime security, nuclear proliferation and Islamic terrorism have forced the Americans to engage in the Indian Ocean Region more deeply and broadly than ever before. As for China, the other 'rising Asian great power', its involvement in the Indian Ocean is just beginning; but its entry and fast growing significance on the regional chessboard has led to the emergence of a strategic triangle with the United States and India; a triangle that could well represent the shaping forces of the Indian Ocean Region geopolitics in the twenty-first century.

In sum, the Indian Ocean is now at the forefront of world geopolitics and global geostrategy, a situation that should continue for some time, taking into account the significance of its strategic energy resources, the importance of its strategic shipping lanes, the 'rise of India' as a dominant regional player, the turbulence of the Islamic world, the deep and broad involvement of the United States (and its Western allies) in the region, and China's entry onto the regional chessboard. In this context and considering that the region is already very volatile, peace and security will remain a great challenge in the next few decades for both the foreign powers with great interests in the region and the regional states. There is no doubt that the Indian Ocean has now entered a period of rough seas, and what is happening there cannot be neglected.



## Ministerial Media Statements

### Richard Court

Sun 11 June, 1995

#### International Indian Ocean Region (IFIOR) forum under way

**Portfolio: Premier**

11/6/95

A major forum aimed at developing closer links between Indian Ocean nations gets under way in Perth today.

Premier Richard Court said the three-day forum - the International Forum on the Indian Ocean Region (IFIOR) - had attracted more than 300 delegates from more than 21 Indian Ocean countries.

Mr Court said the forum - jointly organised by the Western Australian and Federal Governments - was an indication of Australia's commitment to encouraging closer ties with its Indian Ocean neighbours.

Federal Foreign Affairs Minister Senator Gareth Evans, Trade Minister Senator Bob McMullan and WA Deputy Premier Hendy Cowan will be participating in the forum.

"We are proud that WA, the nation's 'face' on the Indian Ocean, is hosting this forum, which is an opportunity to develop economic, social and cultural links with our neighbouring countries," Mr Court said.

"The Commonwealth has recognised our key role in promoting Australia's presence in the region at a time when substantial social, political and economic changes are taking place in countries like South Africa and India.

"WA, with its strong export economy, is a State that has deservedly built up a reputation as being 'outward looking'."

Mr Court said IFIOR would be held at the Hyatt Hotel and had been organised in conjunction with the Federal Government's 'Look West' strategy announced by Senator Evans and Senator McMullan in Perth last year.

It will explore ways of improving dialogue and co-operation within the region, and focus business, government and academic attention in Australia on emerging opportunities in the Indian Ocean Region - including opportunities for trade and investment.

The forum is being chaired by the Hon. John Dawkins and the vice chair is the Hon Clive Griffiths, President of WA's Legislative Council.

IFIOR will include a range of working groups focussing on economic, environmental, maritime, academic and business co-operation issues.

Page last revised: 4 Nov 2006

## FOREWORD

by

**Sir Charles Court AK KCMG OBE**

**I**t is with pleasure I write a Foreword to what Terry Craig has to say about the activities of the Indian Ocean Arts Association and the Indian Ocean Cultural Council 1977-1997.

He has produced a record which will be of considerable value to future researchers, historians, politicians and others who become involved in the inevitable future development of the Indian Ocean Region.

I have for many years held a strong view that the next century will see a dramatic increase in the significance and overall development of the Indian Ocean Region. We will see the political, economic and other importance of the region and the countries that go to make up the region, increase dramatically within the world scene.

As the Premier of Western Australia at the time, I felt strongly that we should have an Indian Ocean Arts Festival to coincide with Western Australia's 150th Anniversary Celebrations in 1979.

Eastern Australia and particularly the Melbourne/Sydney/Canberra triangle, has for a long time been obsessed with Australia's Eastern States and with the Pacific Ocean Region. In more recent years the Asian countries have been seen by them as an extension of the Pacific Region.

Rarely, do they pause and look at the bigger Australian picture and see the significance of the Western third of Australia looking West into the Indian Ocean and North to Asia.

It is only those of us in Western Australia who have had extensive dealings with Asia in the post World War II period, who are deeply conscious of the fact that most of Asia is in the same time zone as Western Australia. Likewise, as we look West, we become very conscious of the relationship of Australia's Western third to the countries around the periphery of the Indian Ocean.

It would do all politicians, academics, businessmen and others good, to take some time off and have a look at the world map and particularly the significance of Western Australia to the Asian and the Indian Ocean Regions. In most cases they would be surprised and achieve a different perspective.

It is not so long ago many of the Asian countries, were economically and otherwise struggling and had serious internal problems. One had to look to the future and know, that sooner or later many of these problems would become manageable and each country's future change for the good. Some of these countries are now pace-setters in both the Asian and the international scene and it shows how dramatically and quickly things change.

When we were approaching our State's 150th Anniversary, it appeared to me that the only way we could successfully set about communicating with the Indian Ocean Region was through the arts and other cultural activities. Music in particular seems to have some magic about the way it can communicate, regardless of language and other barriers. To attempt an economic and /or political type conference would have been futile.

Terry Craig's detailed and frank description of the staging of the 1979 Conferences and Festival clearly tells the story of how determination and courage on the part of those who had the daunting task of overcoming scepticism, lack of communication and understanding and a host of other problems, eventually staged something that was a great triumph.

A similar story has been written around the 1984 Conference and Festival. Unfortunately, the story from then onwards is not so encouraging. One can only put it down to the fact there was a failure on the part of the politicians, business people and others to understand the value of the work that had been done in breaking through the early barriers of communication and lack of understanding. It was a foundation waiting to be built on.

Many people might find it hard to understand the significance of successful communication and co-operation in the field of arts, music and other cultural activities, but it should be realised that in all of these things we are dealing with people of these countries who are influential in their wider population.

You do not have to be very smart to see how communications established in any particular field between countries can be used to lubricate communication in all other fields, be they economic, political, sporting or other activities.

It is not too late to go back and review the successes as well as the problems of the 1979, 1984 ventures and beyond and rekindle the great progress that was made. For some reason or another it was not identified as being a stepping stone to a much wider economic, political and other development between countries which border the Indian Ocean.

Maybe the work that has been done by Terry Craig to bring this story together in such a forthright, frank and professional way will be seen at the political, bureaucratic, industrial, commercial, sporting and other levels, as something with the potential to achieve wider objectives. Such re-appraisal could identify sensible moves towards a complete relationship between countries of the Indian Ocean Region and not one which is only assessed and valued by an over-emphasis on economic, cultural or any one set of values.

Perth, Western Australia.  
April 1997

Appendix 5

## THE AUSTRALIAN

## Indo-Pacific tide rises in the west

PAUL KELLY, EDITOR-AT-LARGE THE AUSTRALIAN

NOVEMBER 28, 2012 12:00AM

**AS the centre of Australia's economic gravity moves towards Western Australia, which generates 45 per cent of our exports with its state-of-the-art mining and energy sector, the west is now staking another bid - for intellectual leadership in how Australia sees the world.**

The Sydney-Canberra-Melbourne east coast elites face an inevitable challenge from the west, more confident than ever, successful in huge project management and, with 40 per cent of its population born overseas, claiming to be more multicultural than the eastern states.

This week The Australian was a partner with the University of Western Australia for its third In the Zone conference based on the idea of Western Australia as the gateway to a new Asia - an Asia that unites the Indian and Pacific oceans.

The In the Zone message this week is that Australia needs to move away from its rigid East Asia mindset of the past 40 years and think instead of Indo-Pacific Asia. As usual, branding means everything.

The political spearhead of the new approach is Defence Minister and former foreign minister Stephen Smith, a passionate West Australian.

"Everyone sees the rise of China but not enough see the rise of India," Smith said last year in Mumbai.

"Perth and Chennai are closer to each other than Sydney is to Seoul or to Tokyo."

Shifting the strategic language, Smith said recently: "In this century the Asia-Pacific and the Indian Ocean rim, what some now refer to as the Indo-Pacific, will become the world's strategic centre of gravity."

The Indo-Pacific concept will be built into the next defence white paper. This is partly because the idea is now championed by the US, our alliance partner. Indeed, last year US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said of ANZUS: "We are also expanding our alliance with Australia from a Pacific partnership to an Indo-Pacific one."

It is a statement of vast potential - an insight into America's growing ties with India and, given the rise of China, how the US sees the evolution of its alliance with Australia, which was once almost exclusively a Pacific Ocean partnership.

Clinton's statement dovetails into the WA push. Indeed, the quest to redefine how Australia sees the region comes from the WA lobby, a new "Indian lobby" in our foreign policy debate and from advocates of an expanded US alliance, all reinforcing each other.

Champions of the Indo-Pacific concept include the new head of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Peter Varghese, the Lowy Institute's former executive director Michael Wesley and former Defence Department chief Ric Smith, a West Australian.

At this week's In the Zone meeting the best exposition of the Indo-Pacific idea came from Rory Medcalf, an Indian policy specialist and senior figure at the Lowy Institute. He said: "The Asia that Australia needs to engage, economically, societally and strategically, is no longer limited to the Southeast Asia, Japan and (South) Korea of the 1970s, 80s and 90s, or the China of the 90s and early

2000s; it is also South Asia, but especially India, now a major trading partner, substantial investor, growing military power and diplomatic player, the source of one of our largest skilled migrant communities."

Medcalf, whose father was a West Australian, promoted the idea to conference moderator Elena Douglas in the prelude to the first In the Zone conference in 2009.

He told this week's meeting the Indo-Pacific concept is right for Australia because it is the best geographic description of our interests; it reflects the rebalancing of priorities undertaken by the US; and, most significantly, it captures the reality that the leading states of Asia are now interacting, economically and strategically, across the two oceans.

The recent Asian Century white paper says the Indian Ocean is surpassing the Atlantic and Pacific as the world's busiest corridor. Giving credence to the Indo-Pacific concept, it says this idea means "the western Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean would come to be considered as one strategic arc".

Given that Varghese is about to run DFAT, his recent comments as high commissioner to India deserve attention: "Today it makes more sense to think of the Indo-Pacific, rather than the Asia-Pacific, as the crucible of Australian security.

"It connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans, thereby underlining the crucial role that the maritime environment is likely to play in our future strategic and defence planning."

A fortnight ago Clinton launched in Perth the new USAsia Centre at the University of Western Australia and, in her speech, backed Australia's growing ties with India.

The new think tank, linked to the US Studies Centre at the University of Sydney, will focus on Australia-Asia-US ties and, you can bet, the Indo-Pacific concept.

It testifies to the rising intellectual ambitions from WA, certain to meet resistance from our east coast elites.

They will oppose the Indo-Pacific concept for three reasons. First, from Bob Hawke to Paul Keating the political and emotional investment in China and the East Asia concept is embedded in our power centres and will not lightly surrender.

Second, expressed only in private, is the deep belief that China is far more likely to succeed than India and, in addition, that India lacks the ability to ever assume great power status.

Finally, this redefinition is widely seen to be part of a US strategy of balancing and managing China. Medcalf debunks the notion it is about excluding China, yet such misgivings will be alive in parts of the region.

The US, from the George W. Bush era, has built a new strategic partnership with India, and Australia is now doing the same.

The push, however, from Australia's west coast will not be halted. It is the latest manifestation of the west flexing its intellectual muscle - and Australia would be a better nation if it happened more often.

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## Comments on this story

### **Dr B S Goh of Australian in Asia**

India provides extremely new and great opportunities for Australia. Unfortunately there is a huge risk facing India. This is its continued population growth. Last year India reported 1.2 billion people with 180,000,000 added in the last ten years. At this rate there is a serious risk of a critical food crisis in India and Asia before 2050.



**Barry Wakelin of Kimba**

It is fitting that a state that was from memory a very reluctant starter to the Federation should be an increasingly important partner to the Australian contribution to the world and particularly the Asian and Indian regions. The Western Australian approach will benefit Australia with a distinctive self-confident culture and a more practical solution to the rigidity which the older states cannot overcome. They have the increasing economic clout to back it up and will be the new political force to reckon with.

**Positive Thinker**

Better still let's just acknowledge that in today's networked world everywhere is next door. Let's focus on being as innovative, productive and resilient as we can be without compromising our values. This is, for us, the Australian Century with more opportunities than any other nation.

Appendix G

## THE AUSTRALIAN

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# The west is poised for strategic role as hub of the Indo-Pacific age

RORY MEDCALF THE AUSTRALIAN

NOVEMBER 12, 2012 12:00AM

**THE symbolism is striking. On Wednesday, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta will meet their Australian counterparts in Perth, Australia's booming Indian Ocean city.**

The West Australian setting is apt not only because it is the home state of Defence Minister Stephen Smith, who will join Foreign Minister Bob Carr in the Australia-US ministerial consultations, or AUSMIN.

It's also because these talks are the perfect chance to adjust the Australia-US alliance for a horizon wider than the Asian Century -- the era of the Indo-Pacific.

Global economic and military weight -- and the potential for competition or co-operation among powerful states -- is shifting to Australia's greater region, a single strategic system spanning the Indian and Pacific oceans.

In one of its smarter observations, the federal government's recent Asian Century white paper recognised the Indian Ocean as surpassing the Atlantic and the Pacific as "the world's busiest and most strategically significant trade corridor". Due to the economic rise of China and other Asian nations, a third of the world's bulk cargo and two-thirds of oil shipments now use its sea lanes.

China's growth is not the only Asian drama that counts. Despite recent setbacks, India's long-term rise will also matter profoundly for Australia, in human, economic and military terms. Myanmar's future is in play. Indonesia is a rising Indo-Pacific power.

And America's strategy of shoring up its security and diplomatic investment in Asia, the so-called pivot, is as much about the Indian Ocean as it is about the Pacific.

In all this, Australia's national qualities, its two-ocean geography and its status as a US ally make it a critical player.

This has deep resonance for Western Australia, which is poised to become a hub for the Indo-Pacific age.

Economically, Western Australia's mineral and energy resources are meeting the needs of China, Japan, India and other Asian nations.

Its Asian time zone opens added potential in the services sector and in building knowledge and societal links, in some senses putting Perth closer to Singapore than to Sydney.

And, strategically, Australia's vast west is no longer dormant or peripheral, if ever it really was.

The US marines may be training in Darwin, but a closer Australia-US alliance could play out more in Western Australia, whether through naval access, intelligence, communications or the sometimes overlooked domain of space.

So the place is right, but the timing of this year's AUSMIN is delicate -- between Barack Obama's re-election and China's leadership transition at the Communist Party's national congress, which concludes this week.

It makes it doubly hard for Washington and Canberra to deny that the pivot and the strengthened alliance

are not principally a response to China's growing power, and the ensuing risks of strategic uncertainty and instability in the region.

It will be easy enough for China and the critics of a closer Australia-US alliance to portray this week's Perth talks as simply the next step in an American anti-China strategy caricatured as "containment".

So this time Canberra has to be exceptionally deft in getting the balance of diplomatic signals just right.

There is no need to be shy about shared values, but there is little to gain from gratuitous rhetoric about China's democratic deficit, as Obama proclaimed in the Australian parliament a year ago.

With last week's polls on full display, the US has led by example, and that is what matters.

Nor would there be sense in hinting at big steps that neither side may be able or willing to follow through, such as a US naval base or collaborating on nuclear-powered submarines.

Rather, it will make sense if this AUSMIN is about consolidating steps already in train, such as an increased tempo of ship visits, or collaboration on surveillance and space tracking.

On the diplomatic front, Clinton, Panetta, Smith and Carr have a chance to make their Perth statement a founding vision for shared security in Indo-Pacific Asia.

Australia and the US are well placed as core contributors to such a framework, along with India, the essential Indian Ocean power whose ties with Australia are deepening in the wake of Julia Gillard's recent visit to New Delhi.

Indonesia and Japan also have major stakes and potential to contribute.

But the vision must not exclude China. China's far-flung trade and energy links make it the quintessential Indo-Pacific nation.

The Perth statement could invite China's new leaders to contribute to and respect rules, understandings and institutions for peace throughout maritime Asia. This would help puncture the myth that talk of the Indo-Pacific is code for locking China out.

*Rory Medcalf is director of the international security program at the Lowy Institute and a fellow at the Australia-India Institute.*

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## Comments on this story

### **Phil Herd**

Barry Cassidy gave Stephen Smith the usual free ride on the ABC's Insiders yesterday and allowed Smith to side step the issue of defense cuts. Smith is about the worst Defense Minister this country has ever had; not only has he agreed to cut defense spending to 1.56 per cent of gnp to provide the cash bribes to keep Julia Gillard in her job and in the process slashing key sections in defence that provide essential armaments support for the three front line services. Smith is seriously at odds with Defence Chiefs and General Morrison is to be congratulated for speaking out. Smith is also engaged in a social engineering exercise to allow women to fill front line fighting roles. The opinion from within the military that this strategy will weaken fighting ability in operations parallels the experience of the US and the Israelis.

### **paul of perth**

Perth based politicians and businessmen have been far more deft at such international relations than The Gillard or Rudd governments have ever been. The recent boom was no accident, no construct of the Labor party - it's been in the making a lot longer than taht.

### **Nick of Canberra**

With Smith and Carr heading up Australia's delegation to AUSMIN in Perth, the outcome will be distinctly bland and full of spin. With the strategic position of the Indian Ocean, easily accessible from both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans coupled with the increasing importance of India as an economic powerhouse it is obvious why the USA is placing so much interest in the area and remember that the USA has a military base on Diego Garcia. All oil tankers from the Persian Gulf also must transit through the Indian Ocean whatever their destination and of course pirates permitting.

calcium which multiplied her pain and emotional distress.

Other medications were added — sedatives, muscle relaxant

She went through periods where she kicked away her coverings and every year? The numbers must be rising steadily as the control of

But without so much as an aspirin to relieve their pain.

AUSMIN - restriction US Ministerial Co-ordination

# Clinton visit just the latest sign of a westward tilt

The West Australian 14 November 2012

## Thom Woodroffe

Senior US politicians Hillary Clinton and Leon Panetta have made the long trip west for today's AUSMIN talks in Perth. In January, their British counterparts will also visit.

Both these trips are part of a longer line of international visitors. Last year, Perth hosted the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, which brought together more than 50 world leaders in the biggest diplomatic gathering Australia had seen. The Australian American Leaders Dialogue

also broke with its east coast tradition for the first time, bringing the likes of the World Bank president to town.

Part of the reason for this profile has been a small band of passionate powerbrokers who have long understood the importance of the west coast to Australian foreign policy. During his tenure as foreign affairs minister from 2007-10, Stephen Smith was a strong advocate for Perth, inviting many of his counterparts, including Mrs Clinton's predecessor Condoleezza Rice, to visit. Shadow foreign minister Julie Bishop and shadow

defence minister David Johnston have also been big players in this shift as has Labor's Mark Bishop who chairs the Senate standing committee for foreign affairs, defence and trade.

Another Labor backbencher Melissa Parke is one of the few foreign policy practitioners in Parliament, with a background as an international human rights lawyer. Having Kim Beazley as Australia's man in Washington has also helped.

Australia is uniquely placed as the only US ally to span the Pacific and Indian oceans but the implications this has for our

foreign policy remains underappreciated. The Indian Ocean region is home to 48 countries, including five members of the powerful G20, 2.6 billion people, or 40 per cent of the world's population, and contributes 10 per cent of global GDP with more than 40 per cent of all trade passing through it.

More than 60 per cent of the world's population now lives in the same time zone as Perth, including all the growth markets of Asia. And as the Asian White Paper points out, the tyranny of distance has been overtaken by the possibilities of proximity.

Today's AUSMIN talks are likely to make progress on a \$100 million proposal to upgrade HMAS Stirling to accommodate visiting US aircraft carriers. Stirling is the navy's Indian Ocean base and home to five Anzac-class frigates and six Collins-class submarines. But it is unable to bring into port larger vessels through the Cockburn Sound channel. Perth is yet to cement its role as the new geopolitical hub for Australian foreign policy but the AUSMIN talks are another part of bringing about that change. Thom Woodroffe is an associate fellow of the Asia Society

Appendix 7

# The harder you work at your own business the easier it should be to



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AUSMIN - Australian US Minister's visit

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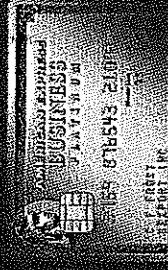
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# MarineWATERS

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- 
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- 

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woodside

# Oceans & Seas

The Oceans

Other Information

## **ocean [n.]**

1. a very large expanse of sea; in particular, each of the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, Arctic, and Antarctic Oceans. 2. [the ocean] *chiefly N. Amer.* the sea.  
- Greek *okeanos* 'great stream encircling the earth's disc'.

### ***Oxford Dictionaries***

Water covers about 70% of the surface of the Earth. The oceans of the world make up a very large portion of this. They influence our weather patterns, our food production, aspects of our leisure, long distance transport and more. We are continually building our knowledge about them, but we still know very little.

Related topics such as Environment, Climate Change and Weather can be accessed via the **Science Introduction** page.

This page provides information about the oceans of the world, oceanography, ocean conditions including tsunamis, shipping plus further general information.

The **News** and **Newspapers** pages may provide breaking news, events and more in this area.

## **The Oceans**

### **Atlantic Ocean**

#### ✓ **Atlantic Ocean**

Background, geography, economy, transportation, transnational issues. Links to other Bartleby sites.

#### ✓ **Atlantic Ocean : Introduction**

Introduction, geography, government, economy, transportation, transnational issues, maps, flags.

#### ✓ **The Atlantic Ocean**

Geography, cultural significance, ocean bottom, water characteristics, climate, history, Ethiopic Ocean, economy, terrain, environmental issues, major ports and harbours, references, links. From Wikipedia.

### **Arctic Ocean**

#### ✓ **Arctic Ocean**

Geography, history, climate, natural resources, natural hazards, animal and plant life, environmental concerns, major ports and harbours, references, further reading, links. From Wikipedia.

### ✓ Arctic Ocean [2]

Information, links to further information. Infoplease.

### ✓ The Hidden Ocean Arctic 2005

Information and imagery about this exploration of the Arctic Ocean region. ILogs, education material, fauna, biodiversity, diving information, more.

### ✓ Welcome to the Arctic Ocean

By a Canadian university. Chapters of information covering The Sea Ice, Snow & Ice, Continental Shelves, Ocean Basin, Currents.

## Indian Ocean

### ✓ Indian Ocean

Geography, climate, hydrology, economy, history, culture and literature, major ports and harbours, references, links. From Wikipedia.

### ✓ Indian Ocean History

Introduction, educator information, videos, maps from different historical periods, learning tools. Sultan Qaboos Cultural Centre.

*Impressive.*

### ✓ The Indian Ocean

The World Factbook section on the Indian Ocean.

### ✓ The Indian Ocean [2]

Climatology & Oceanography Gateway. Scientific information, climate, weather, oceanography, environment, international programs, bibliography, links, more.

### ✓ The Indian Ocean Trade : A Classroom Simulation

Background, map of trade, The Simulation, procedures, worksheets, overheads. A PDF Version is also available.

## Pacific Ocean

### ✓ Pacific Ocean

Overview, water characteristics, geology, landmasses, history & economy, environmental issues, major ports and harbours, references, further reading, links. From Wikipedia.

### ✓ Pacific Ocean [2]

Information from the CIA World Factbook.

### ✓ Pacific Ocean [Infoplease]

Physical Geography, Currents, Commerce & Shipping, Exploration & Settlement, Bibliography.

### ✓ The Pacific

Commerce and shipping, currents, exploration and settlement, physical geography, general information including some history.

### ✓ The Pacific Ocean

## Southern Ocean

The Great Southern Ocean circles the globe around the Antarctic continent below 60° south. Information, photographs, links.

### ✓ CIA - The World Factbook - Southern Ocean

A good general introduction.

### ✓ Southern Ocean

Geography, history, features, climate, natural resources, natural hazards, economy, environmental issues, ports and harbours, references, links. From Wikipedia.

✓ **Hydrographic Atlas of the Southern Ocean**

'An online Atlas of hydrographic data products for the region extending to the south of 30° S, nominally the Southern Ocean'.

✓ **The New Fifth Ocean**

Introduction, information, links. About.com.

✓ **The Southern Ocean - Antarctic Seas and Wildlife**

Site by a biologist with a specific interest in this area.



## Other Information

### General Sites

✓ **All About Oceans and Seas**

Why is the sea salty ?, What causes waves and tides ?, The water cycle, Why is it blue ?. Several sections, printable resources, links.

✓ **Australian Marine Conservation Society**

'Organisation whose mission is to protect the health and vitality of Australia's coasts and seas, provide leadership on a wide range of marine issues throughout Australia including marine parks, fisheries, threatened species and land-based pollution'.

✓ **Exploration of the Oceans**

Thinkquest. Famous people, submersibles, treasures, poetry, glossary, more.

✓ **Ocean Explorer**

A site for educators, students, the general public. It allows a virtual exploration of the ocean and provides educational information about every aspect.

✓ **Ocean Planet**

Exhibit from the Smithsonian.

✓ **New Ocean Portal : Find Your Blue**

Smithsonian Institution. 'We focus on everything ocean - unusual and everyday organisms, ocean-inspired art, researchers devoting their lives to exploring the still mostly mysterious ocean. Check out the **Educator's Corner** for a wealth of material to use including complete lesson plans and more'.

✓ **Ocean Quest**

Thinkquest. Cultures and legends, problems facing the oceans, their uses, resources, the future of oceans, more.

✓ **Oceans, Seas & Coasts**

Simple presentation about world oceans, the need to protect them, animals that live in them.

✓ **Oceans : an Introduction**

Introduction to five main oceans including maps, deepest points, other links.

✓ **Sea and Sky**

Images, games, information, links, software. Covers both sea and space.

✓ **Secrets at Sea**

Based around four themes. Section for frequently asked questions, teacher's guide.

### ✓ **The Great Ocean**

*Mother Nature's Creation*. Thinkquest. Sea structure, creatures underwater, activities at sea.

### ✓ **Treasures@Sea**

'Exploring the Ocean through Literature'. Sub-sections include Book Activities, Writing Activities, Art Activities, Web Resources.

### ✓ **World Oceans**

Thinkquest. Ocean landscape, atlas, uses, science, monitoring. Covers several oceans.

## **Ocean Currents**

An ocean current is a continuous, directed movement of ocean water generated by the forces acting upon this mean flow, such as breaking waves, wind, Coriolis force, temperature and salinity differences and tides caused by the gravitational pull of the Moon and the Sun - **Wikipedia**. There are different types of currents and several especially well-known currents.

### ✓ **Agulhas Current**

Formation and behaviour, retroflection, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

### ✓ **Current Map**

Covers surface currents. Also has links to additional information and related links.

### ✓ **Currents**

Information on multiple pages from Ocean World.

### ✓ **Gulf Stream**

History, properties, formation and behaviour, localised effects, effect on cyclone formation, possible renewable power source, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

### ✓ **How Ocean Currents Work**

From HowStuffWorks. Introduction, Ocean Current Types, surface currents, deep ocean currents, tidal currents, more.

### ✓ **Ocean Current**

Function, importance, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

### ✓ **Ocean Currents**

Information covering several aspects and with references to other ocean information. From Water Encyclopaedia.

### ✓ **Ocean Currents [About.com]**

Types and Causes, their importance, Ocean Current v. Alternative Energy, suggested reading and related articles.

### ✓ **Ocean Currents and Climate**

basic information and multiple graphics. From University of Southern California.'

### ✓ **Ocean Currents [CSIRO]**

Extensive data including archived information about Australia. Includes animations, news, maps and more.

### ✓ **Ocean Currents [NASA]**

Information, with several embedded links.

### ✓ **Ocean Currents [NOAA]**

'Special tools like radars and floating buoys are used to map and predict ocean currents. This activity will introduce you to the information that these buoys collect for us'. A K-12 activity source.

### ✓ **Ocean Surface Currents**

Extensive information in multiple sections from the University of Miami. Some sections still under construction.

### ✓ **Surface Currents in the Atlantic Ocean**

Opens on the Agulhas Current but you can access more than 30 others and also currents in the Indian, Pacific and Polar Oceans and other seas.



### **Oceanography**

#### **✓ Oceanlink**

Information, news, glossary, aquafacts, ask a scientist, links, oceanic careers, more.

#### **✓ Oceanographic Services**

Tides, sea level, tsunamis, ocean temperatures, waves, forecasts, links to Facilities, Projects, Other Information. Australian Bureau of Meteorology.

#### **✓ Oceanography**

Ocean facts, information. Oceans in motion, habitats, ocean life, ocean water, ocean regions, research vessels, resources.

#### **✓ Oceanography Theme Page**

'Students and teachers will find curricular resources to help learn about this topic. In addition, there are links to instructional materials'.

#### **✓ Oceans Alive**

This Water Planet, Oceans in Motion, Life in The Sea, Scientist at Sea. Resources.

#### **✓ Scripps Institution of Oceanography**

News, images, research information, educational information, resources.

#### **✓ Take a Dive into Oceanography**

Thinkquest. 'This Website gives information from the waves washing on shore, to the dark, mysterious sea floor ! Includes El Niño, sea vents, pollution, more.

### **Seas**

A sea generally refers to a large body of salt water, but the term is used in other contexts as well. Most commonly, the term refers to a large expanse of saline water connected with an ocean - [Wikipedia](#)

### **Information about Specific Seas**

#### **✓ Arabian Sea**

Description, limits, trade routes, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### **✓ Baltic Sea**

Geophysical data, etymology, sea ice, hydrography, salinity. geographic data, geologic history, history, biology, economy, tourism, The Helsinki Convention, countries, islands and archipelagos, cities, further reading, other links, From Wikipedia.

#### **✓ Black Sea**

Extent, name, geology, hydrology & hydrochemistry, ecology, climate, history, archaeology, regional organisations, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### **✓ Caribbean Sea**

History, extent, geology, ecology, weather, economy and human activity, popular culture, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### **✓ Coral Sea**

Extent, geology, hydrology, climate, flora, fauna, human activities, references,

bibliography, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **Dead Sea**

Etymology, geography, Natural history, climate, chemistry, health effects and therapies, fauna and flora, human settlement, history, Biblical period, industry, gallery, references, further reading, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **Mediterranean Sea**

Name, history, geography, geology, palaeoclimate, ecology and biota, environmental threats, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **Red Sea**

Extent, name, history, oceanography, geology, living resources, mineral resources, security, facts and figures, tourism, bordering countries, towns and cities, references, further reading, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **Sea of Japan**

Extent, geography and geology, climate, hydrology, flora and fauna, economy, history and exploration, naming dispute, references, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **South China Sea**

Names for the sea, geography, extent, resources, territorial claims, references, further reading, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **Tasman Sea**

Geography, extent, references. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **Maps of Seas**

Modern maps, old maps, maps of specific seas. Links provided to all of these. Also media for this category. From Wikimedia Commons.

#### ✓ **Major Seas of the World**

map detailing these.

#### ✓ **List of Seas**

Quite extensive listing of seas from around the world. Another **Sea Listing** can be found here, while the **Major Seas by Size** can be found listed here.

#### ✓ **Sea[s]**

List of seas [links to information on each], nomenclature, science, notes, other links. From Wikipedia.

#### ✓ **What Are The Seven Seas ?**

'There is no definitive answer to this question. The phrase is a figure of speech and has been used to refer to different bodies of water at various times and places'.



## **Ships & Shipping**

#### ✓ **Famous Shipwrecks Worldwide**

'Historical and current Information including links to period related articles on some of histories most famous shipwrecks'.

#### ✓ **Maritime**

Thinkquest. Sub-titled *Ships, Oceans, Legends and more !*.

#### ✓ **Sailing the Seven Seas**

Thinkquest. 'A comprehensive educational website about ocean-going vessels. Information on everything from the evolution of the ship through the ages to the workings of modern

surface skimmers'.

✓ **Shipwreck World**

News, articles, Q & A, forums, Wreck Finder, Reviews, links, events, more.

✓ **The Ships List**

Has both general and specific lists.

**Specific Sites on Ocean-Related Topics**

✓ **Lighthouses : Road Signs for the Oceans**

Thinkquest. History, how they work, sites around the world, colouring book, games, more.

✓ **Oceans at Risk**

By people concerned we are destroying the natural systems and beauty of the world's oceans and that we can't continue doing so.

*Now on Facebook. You need to sign up to interact with the site.*

✓ **Oceanweather**

Commercial entity. Public and private work related to ocean weather research and forecasting.

✓ **The Oceanic Resource Foundation : Problems & Dangers Affecting Our Oceans**

Part of a larger site about oceans.

✓ **World Aquaculture**

Thinkquest. What is Aquaculture ?, Important Commercial Species, Influential Countries, Environmental Concerns, Aquaculture Diseases, Aquaculture Trends, more.

**Tsunamis**

✓ **International Tsunami Information Centre**

Overviews, safety, Great Waves, glossary, reading list, Tsunami Events, media, history, more. Linked to NOAA and UNESCO.

✓ **Killer Wave ! Tsunami**

National Geographic. How they form, *I Survived*, Killer Wave !, Speed Demon.

✓ **Pacific Tsunami Museum**

Special areas, programs, archives, links, FAQs, student & teacher areas, areas to explore.

✓ **Physics of Tsunamis**

Six sections on this.

✓ **Surviving a Tsunami - Lessons from ...**

Information, graphics, lessons, examples, advice.

✓ **Tsunamis & Earthquakes**

Discussions, research studies, animations, virtual reality models [needs plugin].

✓ **Tsunami Event Database**

Search historically, geographically, by cause, magnitude, other parameters. Other information is also found at **Tsunami Data**.

✓ **Tsunami Page of Dr George PC**

*Huge listing of information on every possible aspect.* Also has volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, man-made disasters.

✓ **Welcome to Tsunami !**

**Under the Oceans**

✓ **Coral Realm**

*Explore the Underwater Kingdoms* Thinkquest. Corals, ecology, stories, gallery, quiz, more.

✓ **Diving : Human Contact with the Underwater World**



Thinkquest. Diving for amateurs and professionals, the history of its development, changes that have occurred, things that are used, how humans have changed.



Bowen material. Not mentioned elsewhere.  
Countries of East Africa and some in Southern Africa  
Middle East and Africa

# Emerging from the frontier *economic development*



Africa will invest in Africa, promoting stronger economic ties within the continent, predicts Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, Nigeria's finance minister and co-ordinating minister for the economy

The year 2013 will mark a turning-point for Africa south of the Sahara. Often viewed as frontier markets, sub-Saharan economies are gradually advancing towards the top ranks of emerging economies hitherto dominated by South Africa and the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India and China). In 2013 some "frontier" African economies will at last complete this transition—and become established members of the emerging-markets club.

Across the continent, economies have grown strongly, despite the global economic malaise, and I believe this growth will be sustained in 2013, led by the robust economic performance of Nigeria, Ethiopia and Angola, accompanied by sustained growth in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa and Tanzania. As before, economic growth in Africa in 2013 will be driven not only by its wealth of natural resources but also by continued investments in agriculture and manufacturing.

This transition of Africa's economies will be marked by three distinct phenomena.

First, as global uncertainty continues to be the norm in 2013, trade and investment flows between Africa and the BRIC economies will expand and help spur growth. Infrastructure investments are still needed on the continent, especially in power generation, roads and railways. Much of this will be financed by other emerging-market economies, such as China, Brazil and India. In 2013 the issue will not be the usual trade-off of fiscal consolidation versus growth. Rather, it will be fiscal consolidation *and* growth, with priority investments concentrated in those areas, such as infrastructure, most likely to drive growth.

Africa's growing economic ties with the BRIC economies, particularly China, are well known. As an example, the continent's trade with China increased from about \$10.6 billion in 2000 to \$166 billion in 2012. In my own country, Nigeria, trade with China increased over the same period from less than \$1 billion to \$7.8 billion. In 2013 China will become the greatest influence on the continent as its new leaders deepen the strategic relationship with Africa beyond natural resources. At the same time, civil-society organisations in Africa will demand greater transparency from China in government-to-government relations, and more community engagement from Chinese companies.

I see many opportunities here for private investors in Africa. As Asia's economies slow

and its wages rise, Africa will become the preferred destination for labour-intensive manufacturing of products such as garments and shoes. Its large domestic market of 1.2 billion people will serve as a further attraction for low-cost, light manufacturing.

Development aid, though still important for humanitarian interventions, will definitely take a back seat to private investment. Africa will emerge as a more solid and respected member of the global community—less a recipient of aid than a recipient of private investment. The new focus will then be on how to leverage development aid to attract more private-sector flows.

## Leapfrogging to the future

The second phenomenon will be an Africa that promotes stronger economic ties at home. "Africa investing in Africa" will become an important slogan for Nigeria, South Africa and Angola, and will encourage more African professionals in the diaspora to return to the continent to seek opportunity and contribute their skills.

Meanwhile, Africa will continue to be innovative in using existing technologies, such as mobile phones, in new ways to spur increased productivity, and to provide a better delivery of basic health and education services. As an example, the Nigerian government is implementing an e-wallet payment system in its agricultural supply chain, enabling rural farmers to purchase fertilisers directly from dealers and thus avoid corrupt middlemen.

The third aspect of Africa's economic transition is a continuing struggle with weak institutions and weak governance. As a result, civil-society groups will need to become more visible, sophisticated and vocal, exerting pressure for more democratic institutions and for transparent elections, as well as for greater openness and less corruption in the management of public finances. Yet at the same time these civil-society groups will themselves face greater demands for accountability in 2013 as they play a larger role in shaping their countries' futures.

But if civil-society groups will be important, so too will Africa's women. They account for about half of the continent's agricultural labour force and manage a large proportion of its small enterprises. As one of Africa's women, I am confident that 2013 will be the year the continent becomes a destination of choice for global investment—a beacon of hope in a still-uncertain world. ■

*Africa will become the next preferred destination for labour-intensive manufacturing*