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## **Abstract Book for the UKM-UNESCO Asia Pacific Conference on History, Politics, Strategic Studies and Climate Change**

**Conference theme:  
The Asia Pacific  
Century: Challenges  
to Human Dignity**

**29-30 November 2010,  
University Kebangsaan Malaysia**

Organized by the School of History, Politics & Strategy, Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, University Kebangsaan Malaysia and the Regional Unit for Social & Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific (RUSHSAP), UNESCO Bangkok

Monday, 29<sup>th</sup> November 2010  
Senate Hall UKM

### **9:30 – 10:30 Opening Ceremony**

#### **Welcoming Remarks**

Dr. Ravichandran Moorthy, Conference Chairperson

#### **Remarks**

Prof. Dr. Nordin Hussin, Chairman, School of History, Politics & Strategy, Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, UKM

#### **Remarks**

Prof. Dr Darryl Macer  
Regional Advisor on Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific, RUSHSAP, UNESCO Bangkok

#### **Remarks**

Y.Bhg. Dato' Dr. Rosli bin Mohamed  
Secretary General, Ministry of Education Malaysia & Deputy Chairman, Malaysia National Commission to UNESCO

#### **Speech and Official Opening**

Y.Bhg. Tan Sri Prof. Dato' Dr. Sharifah Hapsah Syed Hassan Shahabudin, Vice Chancellor, UKM

*10.00-10.30: Morning Tea Break*

## 11:00 – 13:00 Plenary Session 1: Asia Pacific Century & Human Dignity

Chairpersons: Prof. Dr. Nordin Hussin UKM  
(Chairman, School of History, Politics & Strategy,  
Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, UKM)

### A Philosophical Discourse on Human Dignity

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Who is a human? Is he a mere psycho-physical organism or is he just a physical entity? A distinction between a "person" and a "biological human being" is maintained in philosophical discourse. John Locke, for example, defines a person as "a thinking, intelligent being that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing in different times and places." The idea of personhood is important in ethical discourse also. The moralists hold the view that persons have a special value and that they deserve moral respect. Since a person is different from a biological being, "being human", i.e. being a member of the homo sapiens, does not automatically qualify one for the special kind of moral respect due to persons. According to Kant, persons are primarily characterized by their rationality, and so they have an intrinsic value, i.e. dignity, which makes them valuable. According to a Tamil text, *Tirukkural*, a man who has five noble qualities, viz. love, sensitivity, altruism, compassion, and truthfulness is considered to be a human being. One of the principles of human dignity is "to accept the other". This means that one must be ready to accept others' values and rights. The ancient Greeks have made a distinction between physis (nature) and nomos (law, custom). Aristotle makes use of this distinction when he contrasts natural and legal justice. He had a theory of natural rights that serves as the basis for the recognition of rights. Though Indian systems do not develop such a conception regarding natural rights, it is obvious that they have no quarrel with the view that all human beings have a natural right to be treated in certain ways and that they possess this right both within the political and pre-political conditions. The concept of justice can be viewed from four perspectives: (1) social, (2) economical, (3) political, and (4) gender. In the public sphere all these are important. A country should promote social justice, equality, and integration to ensure the participation of all in democracy. There should be socio-economic and political equality and justice among all. Indian Constitution ensures all its citizens equality, fraternity, and justice. Political and economic justice has no meaning apart from social equality. All men are equal by birth. The social stratification based on caste and community has no meaning. It is necessary that we have to democratize the knowledge-system, wealth, rights, and freedom. Plato argues that justice is the same both for the

individual and the state. It is the harmony of the virtues of temperance, courage, and wisdom. Plato further says that, since the state is made up of individuals, it will also be necessary for each of these virtues to be attained by each person. Justice is often identified with equality and is necessary for the existence and prosperity of a country.

### Human Dignity and the East

Dr. Ravichandran Moorthy  
School of History, Politics and Strategy  
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, UKM &  
Vice President, Asian Bioethics Association

Since the inception of the modern state from the Peace of Westphalia 1648, military actions have been used as one of the primary instruments of the state, employed extensively to manage conflicts emerging from incompatible parochial interests of the states. The many wars and conflicts fought in the name of states have resulted in enormous devastation to human lives and property. In the aftermath of the brutality of the Second World War, international legal thinkers and scholars began to engage in serious debate on the detriments of wars and conflicts to humanity and human dignity. These debates eventually gave birth to new concepts like human dignity, human security, human-centred policies, humanitarian intervention and civil society. Although human dignity originated from a war and conflict discourse, the concept draws many, at times, contradicting interpretations. The move towards human dignity is far from smooth. Its very existence challenges the notion of the centrality of the Hobbesian state, thus making it very difficult for less democratic states in the Asia Pacific to embrace human dignity principles. This article addresses three research questions; firstly it establishes the *problematiqué* of the Western construct of human dignity. Essentially, it explores the question why Western ethical precepts failed to provide solutions to human dignity abuses. It also discusses the feasibility of adopting the definition and scope proposed by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with regard to human dignity. The second question addresses the notion of human dignity from Asian perspectives, exploring the different interpretations regarding humans and his dignity based on the practices of certain Asian states and value systems. Issues of democratic value systems and practices are deliberated in this section. Thirdly, the article provides an analysis on 'how and why' certain Eastern ethical precepts may offer alternative guiding principles in tackling issues with regards to human dignity. The discussion examines the applicability of certain ethical precepts from the Hindu-Buddhist and Sino traditions.

**Ethics, Climate Change & Human Dignity**

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The Ethics and Climate Change in Asia and the Pacific (ECCAP) project involves a number of persons across the world from different disciplines, working on the production of a series of reports. The draft reports seek comments from a wide audience. The working groups are focused on different themes, including 1. Universalism and environmental values; 2. Ethical worldviews of nature; 3. Visions and hopes of the future; 4. Representation and who decides; 5. Community engagement; 7. Energy equity and environmental security; 9. Adoption and development of energy technologies (state of art review) *Report of Algal Technology*; 10. Ethical frameworks for research agendas and policy; 11. Educational frameworks for environmental ethics; 12. Nuclear Dialogues; 13. Energy flow, environment, and ethical implications of meat production; 14. Water ethics and water resource management; 15. Gender, Environment and Energy technologies; 16. Ethics and Biodiversity; 17. Ethics and International Investment in the Energy Sector, and the Environment.

The formal launch to this project as the Conference on Ethics of Energy Technologies in Asia and the Pacific was held in Bangkok 26-28 September, 2007. There was discussion of a number of the reports, during the Sixth Ordinary Session of COMEST, 15-19 June, 2009, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The project calls for developing dialogues within each participating country and between countries on the results of research, future research needs, policy lessons and policy recommendations in regard to the ethical issues of energy-related technologies, and related environmental and human security issues. How should each country make decisions on the energy technologies that they develop and which strategies to follow, given the environmental crisis and the variety of proposed benefits and potential risks of different technologies? As countries in the Asia-Pacific region face mounting external pressures to decide on their energy policy, what are the values and questions that exist inside the region for ethical deliberation over the choices for energy?

There are a number of human security issues associated with energy issues and environmental ethics, including but not limited to expertise from the fields of engineering, philosophy, government, institutional advisory bodies, civil society organizations, energy-related industries, education, and academia. To facilitate discussion and information sharing between project participants

a Yahoo Group has been established at [http://groups.yahoo.com/group/unesco\\_eet/](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/unesco_eet/)

**Security in Contemporary Malaysia: Challenges to Human Security**

Dr. Kamarulnizam Abdullah

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In today's international political environment, security cannot be adequately understood without taking into account the impact of globalization process. Globalization has indeed profoundly changed world politics, where the concept of security has shifted from the state based analysis to a more broader and comprehensive one. Furthermore, globalization has also challenged the rationality theory of state's approach to threats and survival. As Joseph Nye Jr. argues that security policies are designed to ensure 'social autonomy as a group, and a degree of political status, not merely to insure the physical survival of individuals within national boundaries.' To what extent, therefore, security debates in Malaysia adapts to the changing political scenario and changes? It can be argued that security debates in Malaysia, along with the global trend, have expanded beyond the state's notion of security. "New" security challenges such as transnational organized crime, human trafficking, and pandemic diseases among others, need be addressed from the perspectives of human security. Nonetheless, this paper also argues that domestic sources of threats remain as the main security challenges to Malaysia. Malaysia's fragile socio-political system continues to hunt its national security agenda. Hence, like other developing countries, the issue of nation building is of great priority. This structural issue emerges due to the multi-racial and multi-religious nature of the Malaysian society. State-based threats appear, however, to have been less concerned. Furthermore, the non-traditional security threats such as illegal economic migrants, environmental degradation, and, trans-national organized crime have gradually begun to dominate local security debates.

**A Status Report on Human Security in the Asia Pacific**

Assoc. Prof. Zarina Othman [UKM]

*13:00-14:00: Lunch break*

## Session 1: Human Dignity, Conflict and Society

(Senate Hall, 14:00-15:30)

### Conflicts In Society

Jayapaul Azariah

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Conflict is the basis of human life and living. Conflict is a type of disagreement. Disagreement with what is the question? All humans are born with a certain degree of conflict-mitigation-ability which is congruence - agreement. Where there is no agreement there is conflict. The magnitude of human conflict is directly proportional to the degree of disagreement. Human areas of conflict are many. Humans are in conflict with the Nature and its natural law; upsetting the eco-balance (= peace) by pumping into atmosphere the green house gases, beyond measure and thus leading to the onset of climate change. Conflict with Nature is pollution. The present paper mainly concentrates a different type of conflict in society which degrades human dignity. The *Bhagavad Gita* dictates "Man is made by his belief...As he believes, so he is..." There is a crisis in human psychic phenomena. Usually, with aging human mind is imparted with wisdom. But currently it is loaded with debauchery. Such decadence has been voiced by well honoured bioethicists. Peter Singer, the world famous Princeton bioethicist defended his position, before an Australian TV audience, on infanticide and bestiality by saying that he sees nothing wrong with either of them. More recently Singer has come out with a bright idea after seeing the damage humans have caused to society and biosphere: "So why don't we make ourselves the Last Generation on Earth? If we would all agree to have ourselves sterilized then no sacrifices would be required — we could party our way into extinction!" There were two totally attractive but *experimental* TV (Australia's government-owned ABC) advertisements for compulsory euthanasia at the age of 80 for all humanity. "Not the garden-variety voluntary euthanasia that they have in the Netherlands and Belgium, or the sneaky compromise of doctor-assisted suicide", but "80 and Sayonara, nice knowing you". Such a paradigm shift has been brought about through educational shift that denies the reality of human dignity as a spiritual reality. The educational paradigm shift is due to the establishment of the silent revolution of teaching of Darwinism which advocates the major theme of "living things" in the place of "living organisms or living beings, which qualifies to treat humans as "things", a symptom of "use and throw culture". Building of a more humanistic society — a new transcendentalism — is the need of the hour.

"Oh! Let the self exalt itself, not sink itself below: Self is the only friend of self, and self Self's only foe. For self, when it subdues itself, befriends itself. And so when it eludes self-conquest, is its own and only foe" Bhagavad-Gita

### Human Security and the Israel-Palestine Conflict: External vs. Internal Perspectives

Ravichandran Moorthy & Nadia Baranovich

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The formation of the State of Israel in 1948 has led into bloody course of events, which continues to this day, as to who has the right to claim the land home; the Palestinian-Arabs (mostly Muslim) or the Jewish (mostly non-Arab residents). The numerous wars in conjunction with the rise of militant groups like Hezbollah and Hamas have led to the development of a human security dilemma in Palestine and Israel. Decades of violence and destruction have resulted in massive human casualties, political chaos and disruption to the way of life of the people in the region. The Israel-Palestine conflict remains one of the longest and nastiest conflicts known to man. The concept of human security began to enter mainstreams human rights, security and international politics debate, more prominently, after the release of the 1994 report United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report on Human Development. The report is essentially explicit manifestations of the human rights principles enshrined in the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Humans Rights (UNDHR). Human security pushes for intense promotion and greater respect for human life in all spheres of human endeavors. This article inspects the human security dimension present in the Israel-Palestine conflict. The conflict is one of the most violent and bloodiest protracted conflict in the post World War II era, which has resulted in massive human casualties and human rights abuses for decades. This article encompasses two major parts. The first part provides an external understanding of how human security principles can be applied to Israel-Palestine conflict and how it affects the possibility of peace. Secondly, the article addresses the question on how do people 'inside' the conflict view human security and the possibility of peace.

**Keywords:** Human Security, Peace, Violence, Terrorism, Israel-Palestine conflict

### On the Role of South Korea to Promote North Korean Defectors' Human Rights

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Since the 1990s, as famine exacerbated causing more than three million to die from starvation and malnutrition, thousands of North Koreans crossed the Chinese border but their rights were no better protected in China. North Koreans are plagued by ridiculously low wages, vulnerable to human trafficking along with numerous other human rights violations, and exposed to constant threat of repatriation; the protection of human rights of North Koreans has become a controversial sociopolitical problem. The purpose of this paper is to provide the ways to promote the human rights of North Korean defectors who, unfortunately, are not qualified as refugees by international law. To that end, the paper will review the issues concerning the rights of North Korean defectors such as illegal immigration, recognition of refugee status, and repatriation, and examine the stances of major States involved. Then, based on previous experiences of Germany and the interviews of North Korean defectors in Yanji, Chian and Seoul, Korea, this paper will propose five ways to promote the defectors' human rights including the ways to 1) establish a geo-political organization comprising concerned nations in East Asia in collaboration with ASEAN, 2) urge North Korea to alleviate the punishments imposed on the repatriated defectors and political criminals, 3) urge the international community to pressure China to act according to the terms of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, 4) resolve Chinese government's concerns about increased socioeconomic costs due to potential influx of North Korean defectors once it grants refugee status to them, and 5) persuade the governments of Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, Russia, and Mongolia to protect the rights of North Korean defectors according to international laws and help them reach the South Korean government.

**Keywords:** North Korean defectors, human rights, International community

### Need for Protecting the Dignity of the Child

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Article 25(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) deals with the protection of children. Care and assistance are needed for them. They are to be saved from exploitation. Articles 39, 23 and 24 of the Indian Constitution specify the importance of child protection.

In actual practice, the child's dignity is at stake. Many children are neglected both by the parents and

government. Many are abandoned in streets. Their future is bleak. Such children are misused in various ways. Children of lower strata suffer due to poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, unhygienic atmosphere, lack of security and minimum comforts. Children are trafficked and put into hazardous jobs. They are victims of bonded labour, prostitution and drug addiction. Children in custody are ill-treated.

There is no safety for girl child. Child abuse is very common. They are raped and tortured in tender ages, Even in villages, they are to take care of siblings and household work. Gender inequality exists everywhere.

Neglected children turn to become thieves leading unscrupulous life.

Juvenile courts are functioning for the betterment of affected children. Reform schools are there to give them education and occupation.

Children in the middle and upper classes face different problems. If both parents go for job, the children miss parental care and some go astray and lose their dignity. Some children of wealthy parents lose their morals because of their status and wealth. Enmity between two powerful groups results in kidnapping children and killing.

The National Policy for children was introduced in 1974 and 1979 was declared as the year of the International year of the Children by the United Nations.

As children are the future citizens, they are to be well protected, fed and nurtured with care and dignity. Parents and teachers should share the responsibility in moulding their future. They are to be well trained in ethical values. Any number of regulations may not change the status of children unless their basic needs are taken into account.

Case study, interviews, Regulations, and published works are used for the study.

**Keywords:** Basic needs, abuse, Government policy, parental care, ethical values.

### Illicit Drug Trafficking Among Youth

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In Brazil, youth are widely explored to drugs issue and this problem is extremely serious. The youth has actively involved in illegal drug trafficking because they were hardly detect and caught up in this complex and danger drug businesses. The major impact that effects the wide spreading of illegal drugs trafficking in South America is the adoption on *free market*. The *free market* has encouraged the build-up of technology, communications and transportation and with these facilities; trading activities will expand largely in South America. Therefore, it has created a chance for the transaction of illegal economic activities such as goods (illegal drugs) and services flowed into the nation's market freely in South America region. The illegal drugs have controlled the South America formal market and it has destabilized

the region's economies. There three (3) arguments to explain the widely spread of illegal drugs trafficking in Brazil and South America. The three arguments are: 1) The weak institutional of government; 2) The increase of poverty and; 3) The traditional political structure. In this paper, it will provide a clear picture that youth participation in illegal drugs trafficking has eventually increased the violence act towards the communities in South America. So, the following discussion will scrutinize the impact of illegal drugs trafficking on Brazil and the whole region in South America. The illegal drug trafficking has given several impacts on different level of security analysis: 1) state security and; 2) human security.

**Keywords:** illicit drug trafficking, free market, poverty, state security, human security

## **Session 2A: Security, Foreign Policy & International Relations**

*(Majlis Hall, 1400-15:30)*

### **A Future Asian Security Crisis: Piracy as a Determinant of Economic Insecurity**

Haris Hadrovic

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Maritime piracy consists of any criminal acts of violence, detention, rape, or depredation committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship that is directed against another ship or against persons or property on board a ship (UNCLOS, 1982). Piracy remains a very serious issue for international trade – over 90% of all trade is conducted via sea. Globally, a total of 6.8 billion tonnes of goods are moved by sea every year, valued at about US\$7.4 trillion. For example, with 600 vessels and 11 million barrels of oil passing through the Malacca Strait each day, sea-lane security is paramount to international trade and recovery. Though the proliferation of piracy in the Gulf of Aden has shifted international focus, Southeast Asia (Indonesia in particular) still bears the largest portion of piracy attacks on vessels. Five factors are of particular importance in shaping piracy in Southeast Asia: over-fishing, lax maritime regulations, the existence of organised crime syndicates, the presence of radical politically motivated groups in the region, and widespread poverty. Widespread poverty is mainly a result of the poor efforts at wealth re-distribution within the region. The core is greatly developed and retains the wealth while the periphery remains at the same level of development and poverty. Due to the large population density and poverty of Southeast Asia and the high percentage of this population living by and depending on the sea (about 60% of the region's animal protein comes from the sea), the factors afore mentioned will only continue to exacerbate the issues and greatly contribute to the increase of piracy which will then further compound the poor security of shipping lanes and ultimately international trade.

**Keywords:** Piracy, Southeast Asia, Security, International Trade, Crisis

### **Renovation With Stagnation - The Political Analysis to the Post-Ecfa Cross-Strait Relation**

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On 29<sup>th</sup> June 2010, the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) and the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF), the political technical organizations representing the People's Republic of China (PRC, China) and the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan), signed the pact of Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in Chongqing. This agreement lays down numerous and profound socioeconomic and political influences to both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

As an economic agreement, the ECFA is still waiting the endorsement of Taiwan side's legislative authority, and it really runs since 2011 only. However, in terms of the political effects, the ECFA is on its way already. It symbolizes the reconstruction of the cross strait trust, which was ruined during Chen Shui-bian's governance in Taiwan from 2000 to 2008. At the same time, the ECFA is providing a bilateral trust platform for further, possibly political, discussion. On this stage, the ECFA indeed is a more political topic, than economic one. Furthermore, the ECFA is also a highly flexible topic that could extend to military and international strategy level, because China, Taiwan, Japan, and the US, the stakeholders of cross-strait securities, are remarkably important members in international community, and East Asia is one of the most dynamic economic bodies globally after the financial crisis.

Starting from the study the substance of the ECFA, and the strategies of both sides of Taiwan Strait, this paper analyzes the political development, especially the cross-strait relation, after signing the ECFA, from politician-politics, party-politics, norm-politics, and region-politics perspectives. This paper points out the power and disadvantages of the ECFA in pushing the cross-strait political talks. Finally the paper also ponders the ECFA's implication and assessment to international relations for East Asia and also ASEAN.

Reading this paper would help academics, analyzers, businessmen, policy makers and journalists understand the most up-to-date situation for cross strait relation and the ECFA.

**Keywords:** China, Taiwan, ECFA, Cross-Strait Relation, East Asia

### **North Korea's Nuclear Development: A Major Security Threat in Northeast Asia**

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Many see North Korea as Northeast Asia's time bomb, seemingly ripe for implosion or explosion. As the years pass by, North Korea has not only continued to exist, but it has also managed to survive regardless of calamities such as a downward spiral of declining production, spreading famine and triage, and deepening socialist alienation.

The ambiguity of survival in the face of seemingly fatal internal contradictions raises several key questions for scholars and policy makers concerned about the future of North Korea in the Northeast Asian context. This article seeks to discuss the nature of the North Korean threat in the post Cold War Northeast Asia, which has caused managing it (the threat) in its multiple and mutating forms become the integral part of the problem and the solution for both the future of the Korean Peninsula and the future of Southeast Asian geopolitics. The article also aims to unveil what has made it possible for North Korea to defy the classical realist axiom "the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept," in acquiring almost everything it wanted from the United States through the asymmetrical nuclear negotiations in 1993 and 1994, including the Agreed Framework? Other means deployed by the United States, Japan and South Korea to curb North Korea nuclear development programme such as the Sunshine Policy, Peace and Prosperity, Threat of Regime Change, economic sanctions and trade embargoes, Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and the Six-Party Talk have not convinced North Korea to give up its nuclear ambition, why is it so? What accounts for the equally remarkable ambiguity of North Korea becoming America's largest aid recipient in Asia, despite its remaining on the United States' blacklist of terror-sponsoring countries states- "one of the axis of evil" as rated by President George W. Bush?. The paper will also look at the Six Party –Talks as a negotiation strategy, and also China as mediator.

*Keywords:* Six-Party Talks, mediation, nuclear development, China, United States.

### **The Nuclear Policy of Iran: Perspective China**

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Iranian nuclear program has become a political discussion of significance in both Iran and western countries. Iran claims that it is entitled to nuclear sovereignty over civilian nuclear power and has denied that it has had a nuclear weapons program, while western governments feel the peaceful nuclear

program has hidden intension of nuclear weapons. The international mediators have been making reconciliatory efforts with Iran but have met with little success. In the face of these past failures and present challenges, China, a member of UN Security Council, could be forced to consider acting with the other major powers to curb Iran's nuclear ambition. On one hand, China has been increasingly supportive of the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, at the same time; however, China's economic boom has resulted in an energy thirst that is now affecting Beijing's foreign policy. China's rise has brought its multifaceted national interests to the fore and into competition with one another, including securing stable and cooperative relations with other major powers; developing peaceful relations with neighbors and nearby states, including Iran; and gaining access to sufficient and reliable resources to sustain the nation's growing economy. Thus Iran's nuclear case presents China's leaders to demonstrate their ability to balance their domestic interests with their international responsibilities as a growing global power. Conventional wisdom holds that the friendly relationships that Beijing is cultivating with Iran, Myanmar, Sudan, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe, among others, all of which have strained relations with the United States, are more or less tied to its petroleum needs. While Beijing regards its nuclear cooperation programs with Tehran as legitimate and in compliance with IAEA safeguards, Washington has tended to view such activities as contributing to Iran's covert nuclear weapons program. Under the circumstances China's support for Iran's nuclear program has become one of the most talked topics regarding Beijing's Middle East policy in the international arena. This article aims at examining the fundamental causes behind China's support for Iran's nuclear program. Five main considerations shape China's thinking on the Iranian nuclear issue: respecting Iran's right to a civilian nuclear program, perpetuating the nuclear nonproliferation regime, maintaining bilateral energy and economic ties with Iran, protecting relations with the United States, and promoting China's international image. It also includes understanding the nature of Irano-Chinese relation, Iran's nuclear motivations and aspirations with a view to calculate Beijing's stand.

*Keywords:* Nuclear policy, Iran, China, Nonproliferation, IAEA, United States, European Union, UN security council.

### **Civilians in Conflict Zones: Experiences from South Asia**

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The Treaty of Westphalia acknowledged the problem of civilians in situations of conflict in 1648 in its Article 125 which granted the right to wage war provided the efforts were not directed against 'public peace'. Yet, five hundred years afterwards, civilians have emerged as the biggest casualties of the on-going wars (both intra-state and inter-state), experiencing armed and sexual violence, displacement, pauperization, camp life, diseases and hunger, whether in the mountains of South Asia, in the sub-Saharan deserts or along the shores of deep oceans and the banks of fast-flowing rivers. Born in Northeast India, the site of some of the major insurgencies in South Asia, I recall growing up in an environment where insurgency and violence was a part every-day civilian life even in its sprawling cities. As a professional student of South Asian politics and society, since 2001 I carried out formal and informal interviews of varying lengths, and held meetings with civilians in conflict zones from a range of backgrounds. During that time, I also took fieldtrips across civil-war zones of the eastern part of the country, as well as visited refugee camps in Sri Lanka to research on issues of human security in conflict zones. For this paper, I will draw on my own research and lived experience to reflect both critically and personally on the situation of civilians in the two conflict zones in South Asia: Assam ( northeast India) and Sri Lanka.

### **Concentric Circle Approach: Indonesia's Defence and Foreign Policy**

Mohd Firdaus Abdul Jabbar  
Institute of Diplomacy & Foreign Relations, Malaysia

In discussing Indonesia's defence and foreign policy, we have to look at its geopolitical and geostrategic compulsions in the region. Being the world largest archipelago with the biggest Muslim population, Indonesia is trying it best to play a leadership role and at the same time struggling to maintain order mainly from internal as well as external security threats. In this case, Indonesia is trying it best to maintain its national interest justified as territorial integrity and sovereignty. The question is how and in what approach does Indonesia take to preserve its national interest? In answering and analysing the two questions posed, this paper will concentrate on two segments; first, addressing Indonesia's current internal and external security environment and second, by analysing Indonesia's approaches in managing the threat. This paper

suggests that Indonesia apply a 'concentric circle approach' in managing its security environment through its defence and foreign policy.

**Keywords:** national security, national interest, sovereignty, security threat.

### **Session 2B: Security, Foreign Policy and International Relations**

(Senate Hall, 16:00-17:30)

#### **The U.S. Post-911 Maritime Security Geopolitics in Southeast Asia: Its Implications on Malaysia' Contemporary Foreign Policy**

Ruhanie Ahmad  
School of History, Politics and Strategy, Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 43600, UKM Bangi, Selangor

This analysis is based on an assumption that the United States---"a lonely superpower" in the Post-Cold War Era---is aggressively executing its global neo-imperialistic grand design through the war on terror, including in Southeast Asia, aimed at preserving its universal supremacy, especially due to the meteoric rise of China as an international economic powerhouse of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This paper, therefore, attempts to analyze the multi-dimensional implications of the United States National Maritime Security Strategy 2005---"the principal protective element of the United States' global war on terror"---on Malaysia as one of the littoral states to two of the world's vital sea-lanes, namely the Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea. The crux of this analysis will be focused to Malaysia's foreign policy response to this scenario, including the ability to balance its contemporary relations with China, especially because the primary objective of all US current strategies in Southeast Asia are perceived to be directed at China. In summary, this paper will analyze Malaysia's capability in balancing its foreign policy strategy towards the US and China in anticipation of future great power rivalry in Southeast Asia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It will conclude by providing the probable answers to the question of what will be the fate of Malaysia should the US-China rivalry in Southeast Asia becomes a future reality?



### **Sudan-Malaysia Bilateral Relations History and Future Perspective in Economic Sphere**

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This paper elucidates the framework of international relations in a big picture focusing on the cooperation between two countries (Sudan-Malaysia) in several spheres of political, social and particularly in economic aspect. The important of this bilateral relation between Malaysia and the Government of Sudan (GOS) is probably one of the most significant factors to consider when analysing the oil industry. The economic collaboration between the two countries in terms of trade, development of the oil sector, infrastructure projects, and financial assistance have escalated to such an extent that Malaysia appears to have become one of the GOS's greatest allies. It is very much a symbiotic relationship, where Malaysia is in desperate need of a secure source of oil over the long term, while Sudan needs the external credit, investment and market for its oil. Despite the unity of the Islamic religion and common membership for both countries in organizations, such as the Organization of Islamic Conference and the Organization of Non-Aligned Movement and other, but we find that there is no reaction to strong motion a process of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries through those organizations, despite the existence of the phenomenon of globalization. This paper emphasizes to analyze the fundamental changes and challenges faced by the two countries and how it can be addressed through economic relations. The main conclusion of this paper to draw that bilateral relations between Sudan and Malaysia, from starting in (1963) till now is witness more changing and it going to improve from time to time especially at the present time particularly in economic spheres.

**Keywords:** International relations, bilateral relations, cooperation, development, economic.

### **Maritime Dispute: Case of Malaysia and Indonesia over Ambalat**

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After the settlement of an undeclared war, also known as Confrontation in 1966, Indonesia and Malaysia bilateral relations worked together closely under the new leadership of President Suharto. Indonesia and Malaysia was always known to have a relation of brotherhood, in order words "*Serumpun*" or solidarity since both countries shares a common language, culture, and also identity. However,

despite the solidarity that both countries shares, still, Malaysia and Indonesia appears to have several unsolved dispute especially on the territorial claims in the Celebes Sea (Sulawesi Sea). During the early year of 2005, Malaysia and Indonesia bilateral relations came to a tense when both states were on the preparation of an arm conflict over a maritime territorial dispute which was located in the part of the Celebes Sea (Sulawesi) positioning at the east coast of Borneo (Kalimantan to Indonesia). The emergence of the dispute was related to the competing claims over "Ambalat" which is not an island but an offshore sea area consist a massive hydro-carbon resources. This Ambalat offshore area issue has been said to potential hot spot between Malaysia and Indonesia and has not come to any settlement until present. This sensitive issue has once again caused a conflict when the issue of several fishermen was caught at Bintain Island in mid August this year. With the lost of sovereignty over the Ligitan and Sipadan Island by the Indonesian Government to the Malaysian Government in 2002, both countries are seeing the International Court of Justice (ICJ) role as the last option. Therefore, this attempt to examine in what ways Malaysia and Indonesia can cooperate in solving the Ambalat dispute area, so as to identify what are the challenges that both countries are facing in the settlement of the disputed area. Under certain circumstances, the settlement of dispute might be seen to be extremely complex task since it involves the willingness of both states to cooperate with one another's national interest.

**Keywords:** territorial dispute, sovereignty, national interest

### **US-China Rivalry in East Asia: Prelude to a Cold War**

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East Asia was an important theatre of war during the Cold War. While Europe witnessed the demise of the Soviet Union and total collapse of communism in 1989, the Cold War structure remained intact in East Asia. China which was expected to collapse like the USSR, instead emerged as an important economic power and as a more powerful military power in East Asia. While US and China is having cordial bilateral relations at the moment, more assertive China poses a threat to the US interest in East Asia. To balance China, the US is establishing a relationship among nations that see China as a common threat. Recently, the US had announced that it has its national interest in South China Sea and called for an international effort to solve the dispute in South China Sea. This has infuriated China which has also announced that the South China Sea is an area of its core interest. A new fold of security relations is emerging in East Asia. On one side is US, Japan, South Korea, India, Vietnam and other US allies. On

the other side is China, North Korea (may be Russia) that look upon the US as the common enemy. This may lead to a new cold war scenario in East Asia, one led by the US and the other by China with implication in the region.

**Keywords:** Major power, Rivalry, Cold War, United States, China

### **Afghanistan Government Loses Face as Deteriorating Security Hinders Nation Build-Up – Emergence of a New Taliban Regime.**

Khadeeja Najeeha

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Afghanistan is a country constantly at a state of war ever since 1970, first the continuous state of civil wars followed by the Soviet Union invasion of the country in 1979. After the Soviet left, during the early 1990s, Afghanistan was again encountered by clashes of civil conflicts. After the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001, Afghanistan was again faced by a new challenge of war on terror targeted towards the Taliban regime in Afghanistan who was believed to be harboring Usama bin Laden and Al Qaeda terrorist groups. After the war in 2001, with the assistance from international community for the development and reconstructing process of Afghanistan, many people anticipated that with the newly establish Afghan government, the country will show adequate improvement in the social, economic and political lives of Afghan People. However after nine years of fall of Taliban regime, the country has not shown any developments or progress in terms of economic, political and even in social life of the people of Afghanistan. The security of the country has been deteriorating since 2006, insurgencies have been a major issue for Afghan government to deal with and due to this adequate and basic service are not provided to the Afghan people. Many Afghan people are questioning about the legitimacy of the government and many are in the midst of joining in with the re emerging Taliban force in the country. Thus this paper intends to examine why the country has not shown much progress after the oppressing Taliban regime was overthrown and also to analyze why the deteriorating security condition in the country may lead to an emergence of a new Taliban regime in the country.

**Keywords:** Security, nation building, development, terrorism, insurgencies

### **Kashmir Dispute: Analysis of Indo-Pakistan Relations**

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India and Pakistan have encountered three major wars and several conflicts from the time of their independence over the possession of Kashmir. The dispute has bedeviled the two countries led to the acquisition of Nuclear Weapons. It still remains one of the most enduring disputes of our time and shows

no signs of a peaceful settlement in the near future. Both countries have been trying to solve their differences over Kashmir dispute in a serious ways since the time of its inception. However, Kashmir dispute persists for over six decades despite repeated expression of the interest of resolving conflict by both countries. India is much than Pakistan in population, national economy and in territorial size. Therefore, Pakistan has consistently pursued a policy of obtaining parity with India and tried to reduce the power asymmetry by acquiring Nuclear Weapons; enhancing military capabilities; and by making alignment with outside powers. Likewise, India also developed Nuclear Weapons and moved closer to the USSR in order to balance Pakistan. Therefore, in my article, I highlights the importance of the structure of the international system and its role as the primary determinant of state behaviour and argue that reducing the power asymmetry or balancing the Power between India and Pakistan have caused tense relations and finally obstructed the peaceful settlement of their original problem.

**Keywords:** Conflict, power asymmetry, nuclear weapon, neo-realist, peaceful settlement.

### **Ketidakselamatan Tenaga Di Cina: Debat Daripada Perspektif Cina (*Energy Insecurity in China: The Debate from Chinese Perspective*)**

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Wacana mengenai ketidakselamatan tenaga (*energy insecurity*) di China mulai berkembang sejak awal dekad tahun 1990-an semasa negara tersebut mulai mengalami peningkatan pengambilan dan permintaan minyak yang pantas. Namun, pada bahagian lain, pengeluaran (*production*) minyak negara tersebut pula mulai turun sehingga menimbulkan celah besar (*gap*) sehingga menjejaskan kebolehannya memenuhi permintaan domestiknya sendiri. Akibatnya, Cina sendiri menyedari bahawa ia mulai bergantung pada bekalan minyak dari luar negara dan telah berubah daripada negara pengeksport minyak pada tahun 1960-an menjadi negara importer minyak sejak tahun 1993. Justeru itu, isu ketidakselamatan tenaga Cina kemudiannya menarik perhatian ramai pakar dan pengamat tenaga daripada kalangan akademik atau sarjana di China. Oleh kerana itu, paper ini bertujuan melakukan penerokaan terhadap perspektif para sarjana China tersebut menerusi persepsi ketidakselamatan tenaga mereka. Maklumat penelusuran ini pula adalah untuk mengenal pasti kecenderungan perdebatan para akademik China tersebut mengenai punca dan impak daripada masalah ketidakselamatan tenaga China. Pendekatan yang digunapakai dalam paper ini adalah analisis kualitatif bagi menerokai wacana tersebut. Dapatan kajian ini seterusnya menunjukkan bahawa perdebatan kalangan

akademik China tersebut cukup dinamik, kontras dan memiliki dimensi yang bertindih semasa menerangkan kesan sebenar yang timbul daripada masalah ketidakselamatan tenaga China. Bagaimanapun, situasi yang kurang menguntungkan tersebut berada pada tahapan yang membimbangkan sekaligus menjadi cabaran bagi pembangunan dan kebangkitan industri China sehingga keperluan untuk menyelamatkan tenaga adalah perkara yang mustahak bagi kerajaan. Justeru itu, kajian ini mempunyai sumbangan keilmuan bagi meningkatkan pemahaman mengenai situasi dan persepsi keselamatan tenaga China menerusi pemikiran para akademik atau pakar-pakar tenaga di China.

**Kata kunci:** tenaga, ketidakselamatan, perdebatan, perspektif, Cina.

### Session 3: Ethics, Climate Change and Resources

(Majlis Hall, 16:00-17:30)

#### Ethical Implications of Data Collection, Use and Retention of Biometric Data in Biometric Applications

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In this paper, ethical implications of data collection, use and retention of biometric data in biometrics applications are identified. These implications are discussed in the context of five main ethical principles – privacy, confidentiality, security, property and ownership, and reliability and trustworthiness. In addition, to illustrate unethical uses of biometric data and its application, cases of misuse are described. Our research contributes to the European Union's FP7 ETHICAL project (<http://www.ethical-fp7.eu/>), which aims to promote international debate and dialogue on ethical implications of data collection, use, and retention of biometric and medical data.

**Keywords:** Ethics, Biometric, Ethical, Security, Privacy

#### Promotion of Self-Determination and Dignity Through Bioethics Education

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Self-determination is important for all individuals to enhance their ability to make wise decisions, and to take responsibility for their actions. As stated in

the Universal Declaration of Bioethics and Human Rights, respect for autonomy is associated with moral responsibility. Every person has intrinsic dignity and this dignity is further enhanced through their personal moral development to be competent decision makers in the pursuit of a good life. Self-determination can be achieved through bioethics education. This paper will explore the goals of bioethics and values education that promote self-determination of people at all ages, and what forms of education can be applied in different cultures. It will also examine how education is related to the concept of dignity. The maturation of citizens in society is important for shaping the direction of not only individual futures but for the security and well being of the whole society, and our global community.

#### From Squalor to Sustainability: Examining the Contradictions in Goal 7 of the Millennium Development Project

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One of the greatest affronts to human dignity, poverty is "defined as a human condition characterized by sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights". The eradication of poverty is the first goal of the UN Millennium Development Approach thus framing all the other goals that follow. The lack of resources poses a challenge to entire process. This paper addresses questions raised by Goal Seven which specifies four targets clustered around environmental sustainability.

Target 7.1 talks about reversing environmental resource loss by "integrating principles of sustainable development" into country policies and taking decisive action to combat climate change. Within this same cluster, target 7.4 aims to "significantly" improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. A slum is "a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor". (UN HABITAT) A natural corollary of urbanization which in itself is a necessary part of industrial development, slums have become a staple feature of nearly every global city today. The allocation of resources to the eradication of slums necessitates both an increase in the overall amount of resources available and the examination of the criteria that form the basis of this allocation. With the current global economic structure, industrial and post industrial societies generate the greatest amount of wealth. However a natural corollary of industrialization is the creation of slums. Climate change complicates this decision making insofar as it increases the number of people who will potentially lose their homes and therefore move into slums.

This seemingly vicious cycle needs to be broken in order for both Target 7A and 7D to be viable.

The question then is how do decision makers integrate all three components – the social, the economic and the environmental – into a sustainable strategy? What strategies need to be adopted to effectively manage socioeconomic and environmental sustainability priorities while retaining the larger focus on human dignity.

**Keywords:** climate change, urbanization, slums, Millennium Development Goals, Human Dignity

### **Effectiveness of Spatial Methods and Approaches on Climate Change**

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Since decades ago rapid population growth and immigration from rural to urban car and motor based life, over use of land and land use changing and totally human activities, caused climate change. In addition, when we face too many different aspects of climate change physically aspects (increasing amount of CO<sub>2</sub> emission, high temperature and sea level rising, and so on) and human aspects (regional disparities, minorities, ethnics, groups and famish, biological hazards, and so on) has made one of most important daily problems in the world. So, climate change not only is one of the most vital issues for geographers also that is too important for politicians, economists, sociologists, even medical science because, climate change is taking place in the context of other developmental stresses, notably poverty, fluctuating oil price, and food insecurity as well as combination with environmental change, drought and land degradation. Climate change is being taken account under the planning systems, processes and policies by spatial planning. Spatial planning methods and approaches are key instruments for establishing long-term, sustainable framework for social, territorial and economic development from local to worldwide scale. Furthermore, the primary role of spatial planning is that enhance the integration between sectors such as housing, transport, energy, and industry and to improve national and local system of urban and rural development, also taking into account environmental considerations. Then, spatial planning reduces climate change damages on environment and promotes more balanced accessibility by creating improved living conditions and creating unique settlement areas by identifying the local environmental resources, establishing system for their appropriate protection, rehabilitation and management, as well as identifying means of integration of the natural into the built environment and of appropriate utilisation.

**Keywords:** Spatial Planning, Climate Change, Disparities, Spatial Methods, Equity

### **Important Factors Related to Environmentalism In Malaysia**

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This article discusses several factors related to environmentalism: knowledge of environmental issues, concern for or attitude toward the environment, and behavior stemming from environmental concerns. A questionnaire designed to examine levels of environmental consciousness was distributed to a sample of approximately 300 individuals. The results show a high level of concern for environmental issues and a high proportion of the sample describing themselves as environmentalists. The pattern is fairly consistent by sex, age, and ethnic grouping. But closer analysis suggests caution before concluding that there is a high level of environmental consciousness in Malaysia. Findings from this study provide insight into people's response towards policy and practices related to the environment and the importance of knowledge in generating environmental consciousness. Governance of environmental issues is also addressed.

### **Regional Security Issue: Climate Change in the Pacific Islands**

Syarifah Jamiatul Amira

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Based on the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) fourth assessment report, it identifies small island states as being the most vulnerable countries of the world to the adverse impacts of climate change. The Pacific islands in fact without doubt one of world's most vulnerable regions when it comes to the risks of disaster due to climate change, especially to the several of the low-laying coral islands. Climate change is already affecting Pacific islands with dramatic revenue loss across sectors such as agriculture, water resources, forestry, tourism and other industry-related sectors. The Pacific islands are subjected to the impacts of climate change caused by excessive fossil burning, deforestation and atmospheric pollution. The Pacific islands see climate change is the major disaster and have openly and continually blame the industrialized nations for failure to take definitive steps towards deteriorating pollution of the global atmosphere. Climate change poses an existential threat to the Pacific islands and may further aggravate conflicts over increasingly scarce resources. This paper examines the implications of climate change on economic, social and political security in the Pacific islands states.

**Keywords:** Climate Change, Pacific islands, Small Island states, pollution.

### **Climate Change Education in Vietnam – An Orientation Suggestion**

Ngo Thi Tuyen, Ph.D.

Centre for Educational Technology

Vietnam Institute of Educational Sciences

Vietnam is the south – east Asian country which is beautiful, rich of natural resources, and has a long marine coast of nearly 2000 km. To forecast, Vietnam is one of the five countries, which will suffer most heavily from climate change, increasing sea water, and global warming. The paper will review a number of human security challenges for Vietnam. It will ask what does Vietnamese education have to do to deal with climate change? How can we make Vietnamese school children and university students awake about the problem and get specific actions in order to reduce climate change and to adapt to its risks?

To technologize the educational process, the 3 aspects of climate change education need to be affected including reasons, emotions and wills, in order to produce students which are flexible, adaptable proactively, able to cope with difficulties, agreeable to using energy economically and effectively. They need to look for new resources of energy which can be reproduced while not polluting the environment. These are the suggested orientations for climate change education.

**Tuesday, 30<sup>th</sup> November 2010**

Majlis Hall UKM

### **10.30 - 12.30 Plenary Session 2: Asia Pacific Human Dignity Dynamism: Strategic & Contemporary Perspectives**

*Chairpersons: Prof. Dr Darryl Macer, Regional Advisor on Social and Human Sciences in Asia and the Pacific, RUSHSAP, UNESCO Bangkok, and Dr. Ravichandran Moorthy, Conference Chairperson, UKM*

### **The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: An Evolving Approach to Human Dignity and Regional Security in Southeast Asia**

Prof. Dr. K.S. Nathan

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This presentation attempts to briefly trace the concept of human dignity and security that is embedded in ASEAN's approach to regional cooperation, socio-economic development, human security and Community formation. ASEAN is a regional organization whose foundational goals stemmed from the regional and global strategic context

of the Cold War. Hence, the initial focus was to combat the threat of international communism, preserve independence, protect national sovereignty, and promote regional cooperation. As regional cooperation consolidated over time since 1967, and especially after the end of the Cold War (1947-1991), the regional entity began to redouble efforts towards socio-economic development, and to build a more comprehensive community that could raise human dignity and security at the national and regional levels. In pursuit of this goal especially after Bali Concord II in 2003, ASEAN leaders began to meet more regularly on an annual basis to flesh out the three pillars of the ASEAN Community: ASC (ASEAN Security Community), AEC (ASEAN Economic Community), and ASCC (ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community). This paper will focus on the third pillar of community formation as the issue of human dignity and security is well conceptualized therein, and progress has been made by the inauguration of the ASEAN Charter in November 2007, and which was ratified by all ten members a year later. Article 1, para 7 of the ASEAN Charter states that the purposes of ASEAN are: "To strengthen democracy, enhance good governance and the rule of law, and to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, with due regard to the rights and responsibilities of the Member States of ASEAN". Nevertheless, this paper argues that while progress in the security and economic dimensions of Community are more visible, efforts to promote human dignity are confronted by several challenges including structural factors such as (1) persistence of a 2-tier ASEAN, (2) differing interpretations of what constitutes 'human rights and fundamental freedoms' given the variations in each Member State's internal socio-political dynamics and challenges to national stability and development, and (3) the regional body's own decision-making style based on consensus which can impede collective decision-making on issues of political democratization, linked as it is to the jealous protection of national sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States. The paper concludes that under the prevailing circumstances and constraints, ASEAN's concept of evolutionary progress and process-oriented regionalism has made creditable progress in regional empowerment in all three dimensions of Community formation, although the ambitious goal of a full-fledged ASEAN Community by 2015 might still encounter problems and challenges in raising human dignity and security at the individual and societal levels of development and integration.

**Water – Its Ecological Distress Signature**

Jayapaul Azariah,

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Scientists are supposed to provide scientific facts about water. But information dissemination about water to the public gives a wrong impression about the water in biosphere. The report of 'The Strategic Foresight Group' (SFG) of Mumbai, India was published in the Times of India Newspaper. It read "in the next 20 years, the four countries in the Himalayan sub-region (India, Nepal, China, Bangladesh) will face the depletion of almost 275 billion cubic metres of annual renewable water. For comparison, this is more than the total amount of water available in...Nepal at present." The misrepresentation of scientific facts is that the report considers water as a "renewable" natural resource entity, which is wrong. On the other hand, religious literature like the Bible, which is non scientific provides correct scientific nomenclature which is water is a "non-renewable" resource. As long as wrong water signatures are presented to school children, it is bound to be misused by the next generation and plunge humanity into conflict and misery. Water resources are finite. This hard fact is the root cause of all misery. Mismanagement of water resources can trigger major conflicts.

The amount of fresh water for human activity is limited. If total amount of the water which is not found within the reach of human consumption is figuratively compared to a gallon of water then freshwater availability for human activity is just a spoon full. Such a finite quantity of water will be miss-matched with the growing human population in 2050. This will place water utilization in a crisis situation. Since water is a precious national wealth and a lifeline of any nation a global agenda in water management has to be evolved. Some policy makers visualize the eventuality of a "water war".

Much of the water is locked up in human body, kept out of circulation for at least three score years or more. Many policy makers predict a depletion of water for human activity. But anthropocentric civilization has triggered the melting of 'fixed deposits' of water such as the Himalayan galleries. Such an augmentation of water supply may counter the predicted water depletion. This situation will dispel the myth of water wars.

**Human Dignity & Islam: Some Scenarios in the Asia Pacific**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kamarulzaman Yusuf [UKM]

**Militarization in the Asia Pacific: Consequences to Human Dignity**

Karminder Singh Dhillon, PhD (Boston)  
Ministry of Defense Malaysia

This paper has three basic premises. First, militarization, or at least weaponization of states within the Asia Pacific region is, with the exception of few states, a growing trend. While at the state level, militarization is observable as an arms race or the expansion or modernization of the states' armed forces; at the societal and group level, it is evident from the increased use of weapons and violence in intra-state issues. Another measure is the speed at which non-violent political and social conflicts have degenerated into violence in the region. Second, in the Asia Pacific region at least, human dignity has not generally been considered as a vital input into the decision making process of militarization and weaponization. This is not to say that human dignity is ignored all together. The business of militarization and weaponization falls within the ambit of the defense of a nation. Embedded within the parameters of defense of a nation is the notion of safeguarding the territorial integrity, national systems and the life of its citizens. Innocent lives, if lost are not purposive, but collateral damage. On the part of non-state actors who have increasingly resorted to violence, the loss of human life and well-being is similarly considered a necessary evil. A reasonable conclusion relating to this second premise then is that, while human dignity – or more specifically, matters relating to loss of human life, pain and suffering are not ignored, they are not considered seriously either. The third premise is that should human dignity become an important element in defense planning, it can be expected that weaponization, militarization and violence would decline, and the notion of defense itself would have to undergo re-conceptualization. This paper suggests two methods – one conceptual and the other political in this regard. At the conceptual level, there is need to appreciate that human dignity is not a zero-sum game. Death, violence, pain and suffering that is inflicted on humans on the opposing side affects human dignity on our side too. Not unlike an eco-system – the loss of human dignity in any one place in a globalized and inter-connected world affects the entire human race at some point or other. At the political level, the suggestion is for increased democratization, greater transparency and more accountability in matters pertaining to defense. In a vast majority of nations in the Asia Pacific – both developing and developed – defense policy making and planning is an elite function far removed from the democratic processes. This must change if the desire is to not allow for human dignity to be put on the back burner.

### **Human Security and New Security Agenda in the Asia Pacific**

Ruhans Harun

Associate Professor

National Defense University Malaysia

The end of the Cold War ushered in a more complex outlook on security. The new security agenda in the Asia-Pacific region has included human security as a part of its security agenda, focusing on human individual human lives, in contrast to the notion of "national security" understood primarily in the military and state context. However, the definition of national security also includes the well-being of the people, thus it is appropriate that human security be a concern of national security. The many occurrence of conflict, violence, political instability and social uncertainty found in many countries of the region created a deep concern for human 'insecurity' and how to deal with the related problems. Key issues in human security include the impact of conflict on the population, including the problem of refugees, internationally displaced persons, the issue of humanitarian assistance, development and political coexistence between opposite groups following conflicts. This paper will discuss some of the key issues and the role of the state and the community in promoting human security in situations under conflict and in non-conflict areas. It will highlight the fact that there is a need for a comprehensive effort to reduce, if not eliminate human insecurity. It is argued that the existence of a strong civil society, legitimate and improved governance, democratization and people's participation is central to the process. It is also acknowledged that it may be difficult to succeed since it involves many parties and positions, including that of the political will of the state and its willingness to give up its monopoly of power over such process. But by accepting human security as part of the new security agenda, half the battle is already won.

### **Session 4: Regionalism and Interdependencies**

(Senate Hall, 14:00-15:30)

#### **The Construction Of Regionalism in the Asia Pacific Region: APEC'S Role 1989-2009**

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International organizations (IO) play an important role in international arena. Its functions can be seen as a global player with general objectives or with specific roles. It is also can be seen as a regional

player with general objectives or with limited roles. IO can be divided into two categories, which, International Intergovernmental Organization (IGO) and Non-governmental Organization (NGO). IO focuses in many aspects with regards to politics, economics, military and security and socio-cultural. The examples of IGO are, such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). International Red Cross Society, International Postal Union, and International Chamber of Commerce are examples of NGO. Interdependency within the nations makes IO as an important actor in international politics. This is due to the dramatic economic development within the nations. This paper intends to look into APEC as one of the IGO which function on regional basis and specifically focus on an economic integration in the Asia Pacific region. Since World War II, the Asia Pacific region became very important due to its tremendous economic achievement lead by Japan and the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) such as South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. This follows by the economic progress by ASEAN countries like Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and lately Vietnam joined the chorus. The progress of these countries is due to internal stability and economic development in the region. With that, much attention was given by scholars to study on these regions economic development which was integrated through by the formation of APEC in November 1989. The objectives of APEC are to integrate economies in the Asia Pacific region by trade liberalization, trade facilitation and economic and technical cooperation among its member economies. With that, the objective of this paper is to explain the role of APEC in the construction of regionalism in the Asia Pacific region since 1989-2009. It also intends to analyze how APEC plays its role in the construction of regionalism in the region? Does APEC achieve strong regionalism in Asia Pacific? To analyze better, this paper will use the theory and the concept of regionalism and open regionalism.

**Keywords:** Regionalism. Open regionalism. Asia Pacific. Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

#### **ASEAN'S Regional Engagement: From AFTA, ARF to APT**

Thanh Tung Hoang

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The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) developed from a Cold War alliance into a regional institution aimed at binding all Southeast Asian nations together to form an organization that promote economic & political cooperation that could somehow balance the neighboring major powers like China, India, and Japan. The period of mid 1970s to mid 1980s marks a milestone of rapid economic

growth and increasing political self-confidence among the ASEAN member states. ASEAN is regarded as the first and the most successful institution in Asia-Pacific region and among one of the most successful regional institutions in the post-Cold War world system. ASEAN's flexible and nonintrusive procedural norms have set the foundation for its regional institution building and attractive enough to engage major powers in the Asia-Pacific region. This paper is aimed at examining the influence of international institutions in promoting cooperation between states and ASEAN's role in regional institution developments in East Asia.

**Keywords:** ASEAN, international institutions, regional engagement, cooperation.

### **Peranan Indonesia Dalam Arf: Antara Tekanan Struktur Antarabangsa Dan Kepentingan Nasional**

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Sejak Perang Dingin berakhir, ada dua perkara yang menjadi perhatian para sarjana di dalam persekitaran geo-strategik dan geo-politik di Asia Pasifik: *pertama*, peranan Amerika Syarikat (AS) dan komitmennya di rantau ini, serta *kedua*, kebangkitan China. Situasi antarabangsa pasca Perang Dingin juga menunjukkan bahawa telah wujud negara-negara dengan kekuatan ekonomi dan tentera yang meningkat, seperti kesatuan Eropah, Japan, Rusia, India, Korea Selatan dan negara ASEAN. Situasi politik dan keselamatan di Asia Pasifik yang bergolak semenjak pengurangan kuasa tentera AS, telah mewujudkan persepsi "power vacuum", dan ini membuat Indonesia dan beberapa negara Asia bersetuju untuk mewujudkan forum dialog multilateral dengan China, Jepun dan AS bersama dengan ASEAN, bertujuan untuk membincangkan isu-isu keselamatan rantau. Indonesia bersetuju mengenai tujuan penubuhan *ASEAN Regional Forum* (ARF) bagi mewujudkan keseimbangan kuasa di rantau Asia Tenggara dan Asia Pasifik, terutamanya untuk mengimbang balas kuasa China. Faktor tekanan struktur antarabangsa inilah yang memberi impak kepada Indonesia untuk menyokong penubuhan ARF. Dengan terciptanya situasi yang aman dan selamat di rantau Asia Tenggara dan Asia Pasifik, maka Indonesia akan mampu mengurus keselamatan dalaman negara dan kepentingan nasionalnya dengan tanpa menafikan peranan pentingnya di rantau ini. Meskipun perkembangan peranan Indonesia mengalami beberapa perubahan utamanya kerana krisis di Asia dan beberapa peristiwa antarabangsa, Indonesia tetap berupaya untuk menyesuaikan tekanan antarabangsa dengan kepentingan nasionalnya. Artikel ini menggunakan pendekatan realisme neoklasik, ianya bertujuan

untuk mengkaji faktor penggerak penglibatan Indonesia di dalam ARF dan bagaimana perkembangan dan peranan Indonesia dalam ARF sejak penubuhannya, sehingga perkembangan ARF setakat ini.

**Kata kunci:** Indonesia, ARF, Realisme Neo-Klasik, Multilateralisme, Struktur antarabangsa, Faktor domestik

### **Revisiting China's Interest through the Shanghai Cooperation (SCO)**

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National interest is a key element in any Foreign Policy of any nation. China has vested interest in Central Asia through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Through this paper I will be highlighting the interest of China in Central on social, economic and political aspects. Thus this paper will be solely on China's interests through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The unit of analysis will be through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and its capability through the region since when it was established. Later on I will try to outline the interests of China in Central Asia through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Is the SCO merely an organization for economic purposes? Secondly why is it called the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and not any other name that sees fitting for other states in Central Asia? Two elements that needs more analyzing is the notion of the threat pose to China from external forces and secondly domestic deterrence by the Central Asian states ability to attain economic, social and political stability. Stability in the region will mean the significant enhancement of China's profile in the Central Asian region through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as well as globally.

**Keywords:** Interests, Threat Perception, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, State, International System

### **East Asia's Economic and Political Integration**

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The nations in East Asia will be increasingly depending on China through economic interaction. Nevertheless, in terms of political and cultural influence, the rising of China is not strong enough to reshape system in the East Asia, there is a small chance of war in the East Asia due to China's rising, and the current stability is hardly changed by over-stressing China's rising. Furthermore, the U.S is still a crucial factor to East Asia's affairs, even though the U.S. might decrease her political influence on the Korean Peninsula, or heavily focus on other regions. After establishment of the European Union and the North America free-trade zone, the establishment of the East Asia regional economies integration



organization becomes more indispensable in recent years. The E.U.'s integration suggests that countries in East Asia must seek for common sense and rebuild East Asia's values in the process of East Asia's integration. The U.S. is also an important economic partner with nations in East Asia. The economic interdependence between the U.S. and East Asia is very closely, hence, economic interdependence with the U.S. will become essential of political considerations for the East Asia's leaders. In explaining further delve about East Asia Economic and Political Integration, this paper will be dividing into three main arguments. First, the current development on East Asia's Integration. Second, the difficulties and possibilities in East Asia's Integration. Third, China's Rising and the East Asia's Stability. Towards the end of session, this paper will conclude with the future perspective of East Asia's Integration in the last chapter.

### **Session 5: Gender and Development**

*(Senate Hall, 16:00-17:30)*

#### **Participatory Management: Essential Component for Creating Organizational Commitment among Female Teachers**

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The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between Participatory Management (PM) and Organizational Commitment (OC) as multi dimensional phenomena among female government high schools in Iran. The shift to PM in the workplace is both inevitable and necessary (Wood, 2004). PM and employee empowerment, both individually and in teams, are critical components of the new corporative strategy (Sweetland & Hoy, 2000; Matthews, 2003). In addition OC is a vital component in any effective organization as to achieve human resources capabilities (Chang, 2006). It is a key aspect of a school's capacity (Geijsel, 2003). OC is associated with boosted morale, reduced absenteeism and turnover (Clugston, 2000); Job satisfaction (Tepper, 2004); less stress (LaMastro, 2000). Likewise, PM practices are significantly related to increased productivity, enhanced competitive advantage (Worth, 2001), and improved performance (Ming, 2004). The sample for the study consisted of 903 female teachers randomly drawn from female government high schools. The reliability of questionnaire with Cronbach's coefficient alpha was 0.97. SPSS was used to perform correlation analysis between PM and OC generally. The results show that a positive correlation exists between PM and OC generally. In addition the result of ANOVA show there were significant differences between PM and OC and educational level and age level. Findings of the study can be used to make some changes to the management process and improve organizational

performance especially in female high schools. PM is a tool that has tremendous potential in educational organization for increasing the OC among female teacher.

**Keywords:** Participatory Management, Organizational Commitment, Female Teacher

#### **Implementation of the Women Development Programme in Panchayati Raj, Gram – Devguradia, Indore District (M.P.) India**

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We prepared an exclusive programme for women development in Panchayati Raj (rural area). We focus on the awareness of women development programme for health, education, safe drinking water, sanitation, nutrition, rights etc. The main strategy of this programme is to motivate and enhance the rural women towards their dignified life style. It highlights some of the key issues that concerned with rural women participation in individual and public life at local level for rural development. This development programme aims skill training and infrastructure support for self-employment. It introduced for ensuring that the benefits of this programme reach to women directly. The main objective of this programme is to encourage and inspire to women empowerment. Implementation of this programme will be beneficial to build a well organized ideal village through women Empowerment.

**Keywords:** Panchayati Raj, rights, empowerment, awareness, self-employment.

#### **Relationship between Performance Appraisal Politics and Job Satisfaction: The Mediation Role of Distributive Justice.**

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The study was conducted to examine the mediating role of distributive justice in the relationship between performance appraisal politics and job satisfaction using 150 usable questionnaires gathered from employees who have worked in the main post office of Sarawak, Malaysia. The outcomes of Stepwise Regression analysis showed two important findings: First, relationship between motivational motive and distributive justice

significantly correlated with job satisfaction. Second, relationship between punishment motive and distributive justice significantly correlated with job satisfaction. Statistically, this result confirms that distributive justice does act as a full mediating variable in the relationship between performance appraisal politics and job satisfaction. This study explains that the ability of management to properly implement performance appraisal politics will invoke employees' feelings of distributive justice. As a result, it may lead to increased job satisfaction in the studied organization. Further, discussion, implications and conclusion are elaborated.

**Keywords:** Performance Appraisal Politics, Distributive Justice, Job Satisfaction

### **Empowering the Ilocanos: Recuperating the Role of Ethnic Groups and Classes in Vigan's History**

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Scholars have always asserted that Vigan owed its urban fabric to the efforts of the Chinese *mestizos* or half-castes, whose influence, it was claimed, is still visible in its architecture and arts. Recently, documents surfaced that showed the active role played by the native Ilocanos in this sphere. A two-pronged approach is used to look further into the native's participation in the city's history. Firstly, the *polos y servicios personales* - the Spanish policy of soliciting labor from among the city's population for communal work - is reviewed, to check how the city's urban fabric was built. Secondly, the social relation among the classes and ethnic groups is verified to look into details that may add to the present knowledge of class relations in Vigan. This methodology showed that consistent with the Spanish policy, the natives were much more dominant in the city's affairs than it was previously thought, the city's native *gobernadorcillo*, which is roughly equivalent to today's mayor, spearheading public construction projects in the city. It was also revealed that the present *mestizo* district in the city center was formerly comprised of two barrios or villages, one each for the Chinese *mestizos* and the native Ilocanos. A crucial event in the past was overlooked which led to the native's exclusion in today's conception of the city's urban fabric and history. This also occurred at a time when the rising stature of the Chinese *mestizos* led to sporadic tension with the natives, culminating in the usurpation of the latter's traditional role in the religious function. The review of these events showed how a huge segment of the city's memory was obliterated when documents, written almost entirely in Spanish, were almost never consulted in drawing conclusions.

**Keywords:** Ethnicity, Natives, Classes, Urban Fabric, Memory

### **Administrative Controls and Organisational Efficacy: A Perspective from Provincial Vietnam**

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This paper examines the administrative apparatus in Vietnam's Dak Lak province. While administrative control can be seen as necessary for socio-political stability and economic growth, ineffective control or control in areas where regulation is unnecessary can limit long-term economic growth through inefficiency resource utilisation. The administrative controls and efficacy of state entities in the province are analysed for deviations from legislative requirements and normal practices. Are administrative controls in Dak Lak province perceived as contributing to organisational efficacy/non-efficacy in the administration of the province? The research findings from in-depth interviews with 37 senior provincial officials provide evidence of the People's Council's active involvement at multiple levels in the province which calls into question the legitimate role of its People's Committee. While the uncertain role of the People's Committee in Dak Lak may exacerbate existing perceptions of organisational efficacy there is no evidence to suggest that deviations in administrative controls directly result in either organisational efficiency or inefficiency. The application of Weberian principles points to the Vietnamese administrative system being inherently inefficient regardless of the administrative controls in place.

**Keywords:** State administrative control; Organisational efficacy; Socio-economic stability  
Conference sub-theme: Eastern ideologies and democracies

### **Shrinkage of the Corporate Town Atenquique and its Economic and Environmental Decline**

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This paper is aimed to analyze the development process of Atenquique, a corporative town, and how these changes have affected the livelihood and welfare of its inhabitants. This paper focuses on the effects the transfer of ownership from a state-owned Paper Mill Company to a corporate private ownership has had on environmental and economic shrinkage in Atenquique. This transfer was the result of the ongoing economic process of globalization, after the industrial boom of the paper mills during the second half of the last century. The paper also focuses on

how the employees of this Paper Mill Company live and how they have been affected by globalization and how they feel about their paper mill's new corporate owners. The methodology used was descriptive and exploratory. A sample of ten workers at the company who lived in Atenquique was chosen for an interview. After being inhabited the town of Atenquique developed in terms of population, society and economy. On the other hand the Industrial Company of Atenquique grew during the period when it was a property of the Mexican State. After the company's privatization, the town started to decline and shrink in three above-mentioned variables. The impact on the environmental and economic development has initiated the shrinking and declining of Atenquique and the surrounding cities and towns.

**Keywords:** Atenquique, environmental development, economic development, shrinkage, neoliberal model, globalization.

## Session 6A: Democracies, Civil Societies and Nationalism

(Majlis Hall, 14:00-15:30)

### Social Movements in Malaysia: Issues and Strategies

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The existence of civil society is encouraging in a democratic system because the guarantee to freedom of movement, assembly, and speech. This is consistent with the perspective of pluralism that recognizes the existence of entities other than governments that influence the conduct of society and provide the ability to help communities live in harmony. In tandem with this paradigm, the civil society in Malaysia exists in a variety of packages in terms of goals and interests. Civil society movements in Malaysia are recognized by their racial identity. The thick primordial sentiments are prominent in this communal society. However, the influence of globalization lead to more universal approaches than racial approaches that champion issues across-racial identity. Such issues are human rights, environmental safety and welfare benefits for elderly and people with disability, health care provisions and many more. In addition, the mechanisms apply by civil society movements share some similarities such as lobbying, petitioning, participation in active dialogues, organizing joint workshops between NGOs and governmental agencies that help strengthening local and international networks to make the discourse invaluable and the implementation effective.

**Keywords:** civil society, primordial, communal, globalization, mechanism, Malaysia

### Elections: Peace and Democratization In Aceh-Indonesia

Iskandar Zulkarnaen

General elections are used as a mechanism of conflict resolution in several conflict regions, including Aceh. It is based on this notion that Indonesia implements Regional Heads of Government Elections (Local Election/Pilkada), in which Governors, as well as regents and mayors are elected, albeit in Aceh with its own particularities. Concern for the transformation of separatist conflict can undermine peace by instead developing into political conflict. Another unique feature is Aceh's status of "exclusivity" established within the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), Acehese Government Legislation, as well as Acehese Qanun law (local regulation), particularly concerning the existence of local political parties. In the context of the Gubernatorial election of 2006, many outside observers predicted that independent partnerships from the "GAM youth" (Acehese Independence Movement, youth) would seize an outright victory, defeating coalition partnerships from more established political parties containing seasoned politicians, as well as GAM élite. The eventual victory which followed produced a domino effect, with GAM partnerships dominating results in several Local region elections. Whilst delivering new regional leadership, these election victories also installed the successful campaign team members as "rulers" in the government administration field. The presence of these new entrants has had the result of disturbing the operation of effective governance causing inefficiency, as well as cultivating the practice of corruption. In the lead up to the national election, GAM declared itself the Aceh Party. And as predicted, the Aceh Party achieved an outright victory, dominating the local parliamentary (DPRD) elections. As also predicted however, the election was overshadowed by conflict. Several political incidents occurred, involving violence which claimed the death of civilians, heightening the possibility that post-conflict peace would be jeopardized. Aceh Party members appear to be involved in most of these cases, as both perpetrators and victims of political conflict. Conflict is not only existent between the Aceh Party and other political parties which feel intimidated by the local party, but also within the party itself. This research will give comment on the local election and national election process, as well as the conflict which surrounded the results, and there implications for Acehese democratization which by itself is a necessary avenue towards peace.

**Keywords:** Aceh, Election, Democratization, Post-conflict activity

### **The Effects of Leadership Performance Toward Apparatus Competence in South Sulawesi, Indonesia**

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This paper discuss about the effects of leadership performance toward apparatus competence in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. This shows that the influence of the leadership competencies will still be needed to increase the better the performance of the apparatus. Increasing the leadership competencies can be increased through education and training, considering that in performing its duties and responsibilities they are required to possess knowledge, skills and attitudes in accordance with the demands of his job, because the accumulation of competencies that exist within an organization can be directed to competitive advantage factors for an organization. This research has been held in three cities of South Sulawesi. They are Makassar, Maros and Gowa. The research has used descriptive and inferential statistical techniques as well as analysing with structural equation modelling (SEM) and the linear structural relationship and being continued by using path analysis. Based on empirical findings which showed the significant influence of the leadership competencies to the performance apparatus with both categories, the results of this study provide information that is: First, the leadership competencies that includes 11 (eleven) dimensions where the dimensions of developing other people with the lowest index value of 45.07, this case shows that the apparatus for improving performance need to be improved through various training and education programs. The second findings of this research is that if leadership has a good competence then the apparatus will have better performance, this is in line with the opinions expressed by Spencer (1993) that through the leadership competencies performance results of its officials can be predicted. Third, that different leadership competencies result different apparatus performance. For the leader who has particularly good competence, the performance will be better.

**Keywords:** effect, leadership performance, apparatus, competence, organization.

### **Non-Party Based General Elections in Pakistan: Causes and Effect**

Dr. Amir Ali Chandio

Democracy and stable Democratic government is a big problem of Pakistan from its birth. After the short time of ten years Military occupied the power. Army rulers did not leave the power till the separation of East Pakistan. The power of rest Pakistan transferred to the elected representatives but after six and half years military took over the power again and imposed the Martial Law on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1977. The alliance, Movement for the Restoration of Democracy was formed in 1981. Alliance launched the movement for the restoration of Democracy in 1983. Though the movement was crushed by brutal used of force, but it was the result of the pressure of MRD that general elections were hold in 1985, though it was on non- party basis. The object of this paper is to find out the causes and impact of the elections of 1985.

**Keywords:** Pakistan, Martial Law Democracy, Struggle, Elections,

### **Pilihan Raya Umum Ke-13: Adakah Barisan Nasional Masih Relevan? (The 13<sup>th</sup> General Election: Is the National Front still Relevant?)**

Mohd Faidz Mohd Zain, Junaidi Awang Besar & Mohd Fuad Mat Jali

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General Election (GE) 2008 is an election that gave major implications on the Malaysian election history for the first time the BN failed to obtain a majority 2/3 majority of parliamentary seats. Thus, in this study will analyze the performance of the BN and the opposition/Pakatan Rakyat in terms of mastery of parliamentary seats based on the majority of voters by ethnicity and region / constituency of parliamentary seat according to the racial composition of a majority of 70 percent Malays, 70 per cent majority of Chinese voters, 60 percent of voters Malays, 60 per cent of Chinese voters, 50 percent Malay voters, 50 per cent of Chinese voters, 40 percent Malay voters and 40 per cent Chinese voters. This paper also discussed the relevance of BN about the acceptance of the voters in the 13<sup>th</sup> general election soon to see comparison of the voting pattern of the 2004 general election with the election in 2008. The study found that if the pattern of Malay voters in the election in 2008 did not change so BN was still able to rule the country by a simple majority. However, if the trend of Chinese voters in the election in 2008 in favor of the opposition parties still remain, then the position of the BN may be affected and the state that has a 'fix deposit' to the Johor BN will fall at the next general election.

**Keywords:** election, electoral constituency, parliament, voters, voting pattern

### Pilihan Raya Kecil Kawasan Parlimen Hulu Selangor 2010: Politik Pembangunan Dan Pola Pengundian

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By-election of Hulu Selangor Parliamentary seat held following the death of the late incumbent Zainal Abidin Ahmad from Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) on March 25, 2010. History of General Elections (GE) in Hulu Selangor from 1955 to 2004 GE proves this is the stronghold of Barisan Nasional (BN), but the political tsunami in the GE in 2008 resulted in the BN lost to PKR in the area. Later in the 2010 election saw the BN captured the parliamentary seat with a majority of votes in 1725. Victory can be seen in the areas of particular ethnic majority. In all the polling districts are political elements of development adopted by the ruling Federal Government with the promise of development is to get the for votes. But after election results are known with the promise of development has been made in all the polling districts, found the majority of the voting districts in the Malay traditional villages and settlements FELDA give high votes to BN, but in the majority of the ethnic Chinese new villages and towns gave a vote of the growing to opposition. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the voting patterns variation factor. Based on questionnaires and observation, the study showed that 75 percent of youths in the area have access to political information from television and 63 percent believe the source of information. In terms of candidate selection criteria, the 81.7 percent of respondents said they choose the candidate who can friendly with all people. The party which used the issue of development and poverty become their first choice (75.3 percent). The study also found that 68.3 percent of youth expressed disagreement among the leaders in the Pakatan Rakyat will affect voters at the Hulu Selangor PKR candidate. 79.1 percent of youth support, appreciate and manifestasion concept of "1 Malaysia: Rakyat Didahulukan, Pencapaian Diutamakan." 73.2 percent of youths Hulu Selangor stated that performance of Federal Government leadership is at a satisfactory level. The majority of respondents support the aspirations of the government in maintaining national youth development agenda. 78.0 percent of them said that Key Performance Indicators Index (KPI) for MPs and ministers will affect the people support the government.

**Keywords:** election, politics, policies, candidates, government

### Session 6B: Democracies, Civil Societies and Nationalism

(Majlis Hall, 16:00-17:30)

#### "Tujuh Syaitan Desa": Analisis Terhadap Pemikiran Politik Dn Aidit Tentang Kontradiksi Kelas Di Jawa

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This research used literature study to analyse the concept of *Tujuh Setan Desa* (Seven Satanic's Village). This concept was introduced by D.N. Aidit, Indonesia Communist Party (ICP) leader and Marxist scholar (1923-1965). Concept of *Tujuh Setan Desa* means to investigate Indonesia society transformation from semi feudal society to capitalist modern society. This concept based on historical and sociological background of Indonesia society. Aidit found there are contradiction class and polarization in Java village. He has analysis that source of those problem are existence of *Tujuh Setan Desa*. Aidit said this condition will complicate transition from semi feudal society to capitalist modern society. It is also a difficulties condition to transform Indonesia society towards phase of socialist society. Aidit offered to destroy residues of semi feudal society such as *Tujuh Setan Desa* and their companion. He argued that contradiction of class in Java Village and destroyed of *Tujuh Setan Desa* as a condition which would be supported transition to communist society. This research aimed to investigate whole impact from contradiction of class among communist and their companion against their enemy who have known as *Tujuh Setan Desa*.

#### Lost In Transformation: Islam And Nationalism in the Struggle of Free Aceh Movement in Aceh (1976-2005)

Muhammad Rizwan

This study investigates the relationship between Islam and nationalism in contemporary Aceh specifically since the emergence of Free Aceh Movement (*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka--GAM*) in 1976 as nationalist movement who attempted to seceding Aceh from Indonesian territory. It analyses the interaction between Islam as religion and the emergence and development of Acehnese nationalism, and eventually explain how the nationalism be transformed after three decades a very bloody conflict in Southeast Asia occurred between Indonesian government and GAM which ended peacefully in August 2005 after tsunami disaster hit the region by end of 2004. Aceh also known as *Serambi Mekkah* the Veranda of Mecca' is according to some historians, the region where Islam first entered the archipelago and Southeast Asia. In

the late of nineteenth, Aceh was an independent sultanate that had existed as a sovereign identity before the European colonialism reached the archipelago and involved in war with the Sultanate that cost the lives of some 10,000 colonial soldiers and destroying the sultanate. The article argues that GAM and its leaders have transformed ideology of the movement from Islamism that it is inherited from Aceh *Darul Islam* revolt in 1950s to nationalism. Islam was the central theme in Aceh *Darul Islam* revolt, but in the hand of GAM, Islam was a component of nationalism, not central of the struggle. The premier aim of Darul Islam revolt in Aceh was to Islamize Indonesia, but the goal of GAM is to free Aceh from Indonesia and restore Aceh as independent state. The ideology shifting from Islamism to nationalism was caused by several factors. Firstly, GAM was born in majority Muslim country context, Indonesia. Using Islam as ideology would make Acehnese is not different with the rest Indonesian community. Secondly, GAM wanted to internationalize Acehnese identity and realized that using Islam was not conducive amidst of clash of civilization. Islam is basic identification of Acehnese, GAM initially did not leave Islam as the core of its ideology but overshadowed it to gain international support. However, in process of Acehnese nationalism, Islam accidentally was marginalized and eventually lost in GAM's ideology transformation and GAM represent itself as a secular nationalist movement

### Orang Bugis Di Selangor

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Orang Bugis telah membuat hubungan dagang dengan kerajaan Melaka sejak dari kurun ke-15 M lagi. Pada akhir abad ke-17 M mereka telah mula membuka petempatan baru di pesisir pantai Selat Melaka. Sebagai kuasa pendatang campurtangan mereka dalam politik Tanah Melayu terutama pada akhir abad ke-17 dan ke-18 tidak dapat disangsikan lagi. Mereka telah banyak mencorakkan sejarah Tanah Melayu khasnya dan Nusantara amnya. Mereka majoritinya di dapati di dua buah negeri di Semenanjung Tanah Melayu iaitu di Johor dan Selangor. Bahkan kedua-dua negeri ini dikatakan diperintah oleh raja yang berketurunan Bugis. Kewujudan masyarakat Bugis di Johor masih dapat dikesan di beberapa petempatan yang masih kekal sampai sekarang. Sejak dari awal kedatangan masyarakat Bugis ke Johor mereka telah berjaya menempatkan nama suku mereka dalam sejarah tempatan, sehingga kewujudan masyarakat Bugis di Johor dapat dikatakan lebih terserlah daripada etnik lainnya. Berbeza dengan Selangor, walaupun kedatangan orang Bugis ke Selangor lebih awal daripada Johor, mengikut catatan Belanda petempatan Bugis di Selangor (Sungai Selangor dan Sungai Klang) telah wujud menjelang tahun 1681

lagi. Dalam tahun 1700 Tuk Engku Klang, kerabat Sultan Abdul Jalil Riayat Shah Johor telah memberi satu mohor kuasa kepada Yam Tuan Bugis untuk bergerak bebas di Selangor (Kuala Selangor). Pengurniaan cap mohor ini menandakan titik permulaan pengaruh Bugis di Selangor. Bahkan pada awal abad ke-18 Belanda sempat merasa bimbang melihat betapa banyaknya orang Bugis di Selangor. Namun kajian sekarang mendapati jumlah orang Bugis di Selangor tidak begitu ramai berbanding dengan suku-suku bangsa Melayu lainnya malah etnik ini hampir hilang. Sehubungan dengan itu kertas kerja ini akan cuba membincangkan ke mana menghilangnya orang-orang Bugis di Selangor.

**Kata Kunci:** Bugis, Penghijrahan, Petempatan, Selangor, Tanah Melayu

### Identity Politics: Identity Construction of Mandar Ethnic West Sulawesi, Indonesia

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The purpose of this research is to have a comprehensive understanding of the complexity and dynamics of the local politics underlying the identity and ethnicity. This situation occurs in a social setting of Mandar ethnic group as the representation of West Sulawesi. The research is designed to answer two questions. First, how the Mandar ethnic group construct their identity? What are essential elements existing in the Mandar ethnic, and why the ethnic identity is very important for them both in political and social senses? Second, does the formation of the Mandar ethnic identity represent a *project identity* that becomes an integral part of the process in forming West Sulawesi province? The constructivism perspective put into use in the research reveals the desires of the local elite carrying out their actions on behalf of Mandar ethnic group's common interest to reinvent the ethnic rights and historicity ownership. With respect to this understanding, it is concluded that thoughts, behaviors and actions of Mandar ethnic group, particularly those put into force by the elite, are deliberately designed to produce the active awareness of ethnic politics. The results show that, first, an identity produced by elite (who does so on behalf of the ethnic group) is translated into the ethnic group's common interest in associated with their efforts to sustain and secure the ethnic honor and dignity. Consequently, the ethnic identity and carried on the identity politics by placing Mandar as equal to other ethnic present in South Sulawesi. Thus, the identity construction represents the ethnic and political recognition as well. A fundamental contribution the research may give to the body of social sciences is that certain behaviors can revitalize the ethnic honor and dignity through elements of identity. This identity construction may

reflect an injustice of the competent authorities that have placed Mandar as minor ethnic group who is seriously lacked of an access to political opportunities in South Sulawesi. In this context, ethnicity is employed to raise the vibrant solidarity among ethnic people. Thus, the ethnicity becomes unifying and discriminating factors from other ethnic groups. Some reasons behind the identity construction in Mandar ethnic group relative to their ethnic group may be attributed to symbolic interaction point of view from Mead and Blumer. In like manner, any efforts in line with the identity construction under control of the elite (both intellectual and traditional elite) can be dated back to the theories of Bradley, Hale and Castell, arguing that those elite's actions represent the shared wishes of the minority and marginal groups to reinvent their rights. The symbolic interaction theory from Blumer say that the ethnic honor as built and reinforced by the elite is the translation from interpretive actions in associated with the ethnic *self-indication*. Conversely, theory of Bradley, Hale and Castell is translated as constructivist-interpretivist (instrumentalist) perspective. The perspective states that the ethnic identity doesn't happen naturally, since there are intentional effort from the elite or other community members to maintain, secure and guard the ethnic identity in order that it remains to exist. As for the finding of Hoshour, Stokwell and Suparlan declaring that the identity may take a source from ethnic, then the ethnic can be either as the source of conflict trigger or can be employed as the way to pursue and grab the political power. In this research, Mandar ethnic group has profoundly constructed their identity in peaceful manner without involving any violent conflicts. Thus, the finding of this research give a support to Hoshour, Stokwell and Suparlan's research and corroborate the idea of identity territorialization of Mandar ethnic as the identity politics based on constructivism approach.

**Keywords:** Constructivist, Identity, Ethnicity, Elite, Minority, Marginal and Identity Politics

### **The Causes of National Front Failure and Disintegration during its Life**

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The National Front was a unique self-motivated political process whose main goal was considered as observing Iranians certain rights, manipulating free elections, and preventing foreign forces from their negative influence on national benefit and interests and running regulations. This front was formed in 1949 by the leader of Dr. Mosaddeq. It was the most significant front against dictatorship and colonialism.

From 1949 until 1979 the National Front was formed four times. The causes of National Front frustration can be accounted as weakness of organization and ideology, mistakes made by its

leadership, and different branches with the National Front. What caused those National Front leaders could not pursue the same aim? And it failed to form a coherent party? And it could not unite the political parties, unions, national communities and social groups? Why did they learn same points from Mosaddeq's failure and after 25 years, Bakhtiar experienced the same failure?

The main purpose of this paper will be introducing the National Front's leaders and their aims, and that all these leaders followed the same route to achieve the countries benefits. Through a variety of mottos, Shah, U.S and Britain were not eager to give the National Front the power. Moreover, they more soon suppressed in a short time when they took the power.

The National Movement's failure was not a sort of historical incident which? Would be considered as algebraic. Nevertheless, it is the event that it could be avoided while following a proper ideology and suitable leadership. The main reason of it, failure was due to same ambiguities in its ideology.

Iranian's struggle to get freedom and democracy will not be put to the end. In each course of time, it renewed its power and manifested itself with more intercity and extent. Mosaddeq, has shown us how to struggle for freedom and democracy and after him, Bakhtiyar continued this struggle with a courageous resistance against creating a new dictatorship and their idea and wishes are still going on.

**Keywords:** National Front, democracy, election, anti dictatorship, coup

### **Kudeta 1953 Di Iran Mengikuti Sumber British: Satu Perbahasan (Reflections from British Documents after the 1953 Coup in Iran: from August 19 to December)**

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Kajian ini meneliti usaha British selepas kudeta di Iran pada tahun 1953, kudeta ini merupakan satu titik penting dalam sejarah Iran kontemporari, kerana peristiwa ini telah menyebabkan jatuhnya Mosaddeq daripada jawatan perdana menteri. Beliau telah ditangkap dan dijatuhkan hukuman penjara. Pada masa yang sama, perdana menteri baru Iran, Zahedi, telah mengambil beberapa tindakan. Beliau adalah agen British. Beliau telah menekan penyokong Mosaddeq dengan bantuan British. Kajian ini mempunyai dua objektif utama. Pertamanya melihat strategi British bagi menghadapi suasana dalam negeri Iran. Objektif kedua adalah untuk menganalisis pelbagai respons penduduk Iran selepas kudeta ini. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dalam kajian ini. Kajian terperinci kepada dokumen British telah berjaya memberikan gambaran sebenar tentang kudeta dan selepasnya daripada perspektif British dan USA.

Selain itu, bahan sekunder juga digunakan walaupun penumpuan lebih diberikan kepada bahan primer di atas. Hasil kajian mendapati melalui rancangan kudeta ini, British telah berjaya menukar polisi negara Iran, sama ada dalam atau luar negara. Selepas berjayanya kudeta ini, Zahedi telah menekan penyokong Mosaddeq. Selepas itu, keadaan menjadi aman khususnya pada akhir tahun 1953. Shah kembali berkuasa penuh dan mula mengawal segala aspek pentadbiran negara.

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