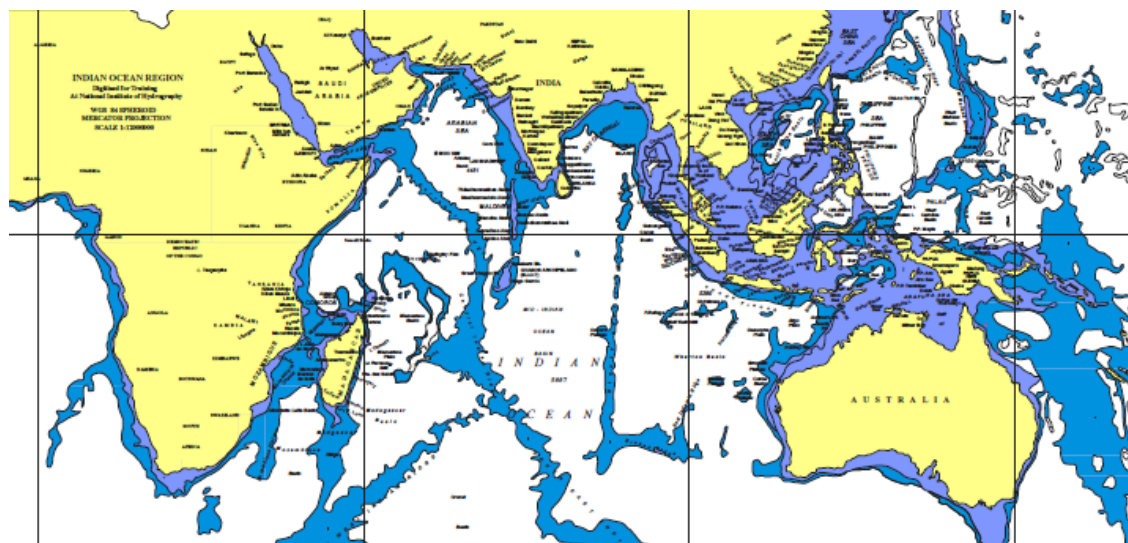


THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: GEOPOLITICAL CONNECTEDNESS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN



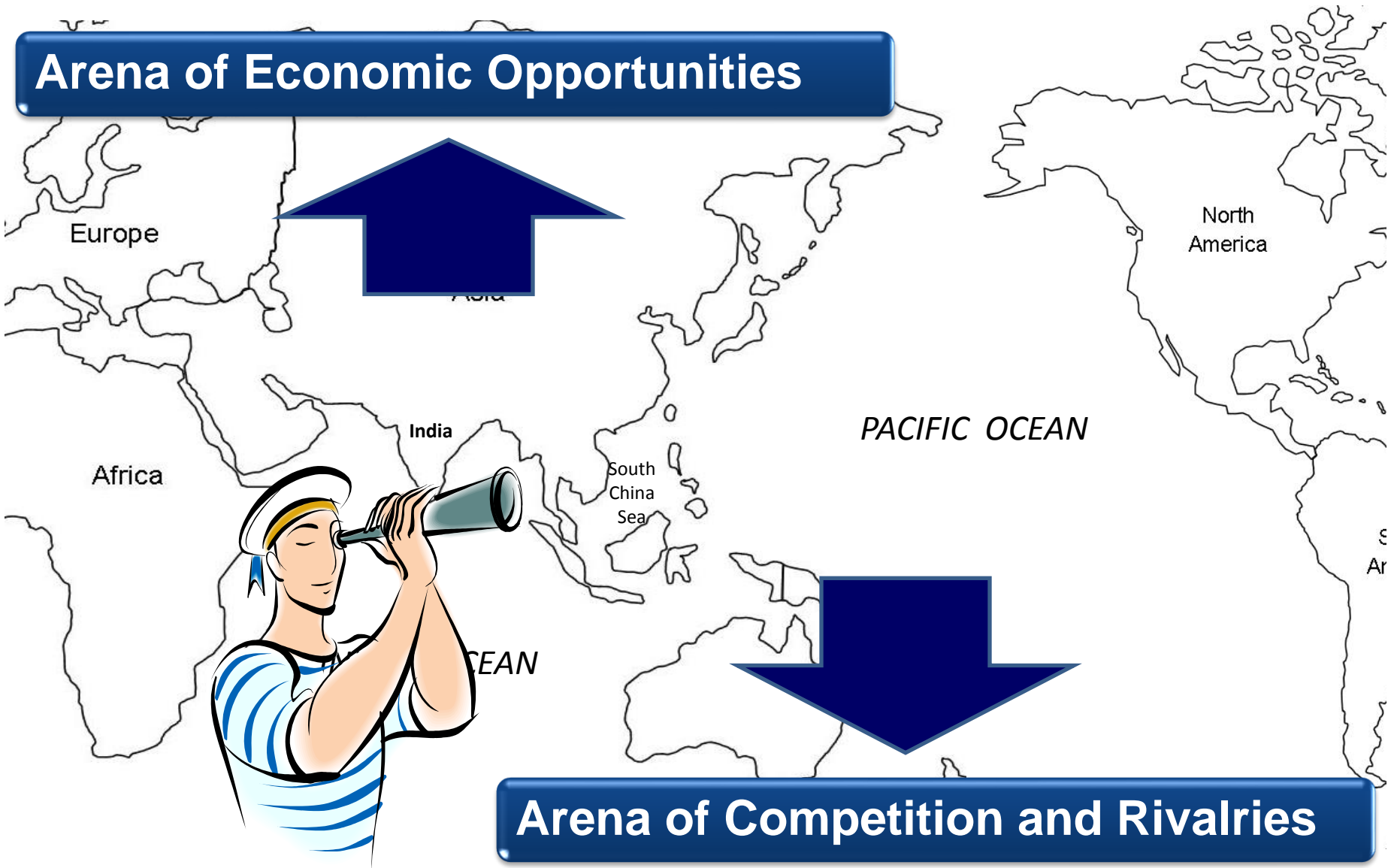
**Captain (Dr) Gurpreet S Khurana, Indian Navy
Executive Director, National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi**



**10th South China Sea International Conference
Cooperation for Regional Peace and Development
Da Nang (Vietnam), 8-9 November 2018**

SOUTH CHINA SEA: As Viewed from the Indian Ocean

Arena of Economic Opportunities



Arena of Competition and Rivalries

INDIA: EXPANDING AREAS OF GEOPOLITICAL INTEREST



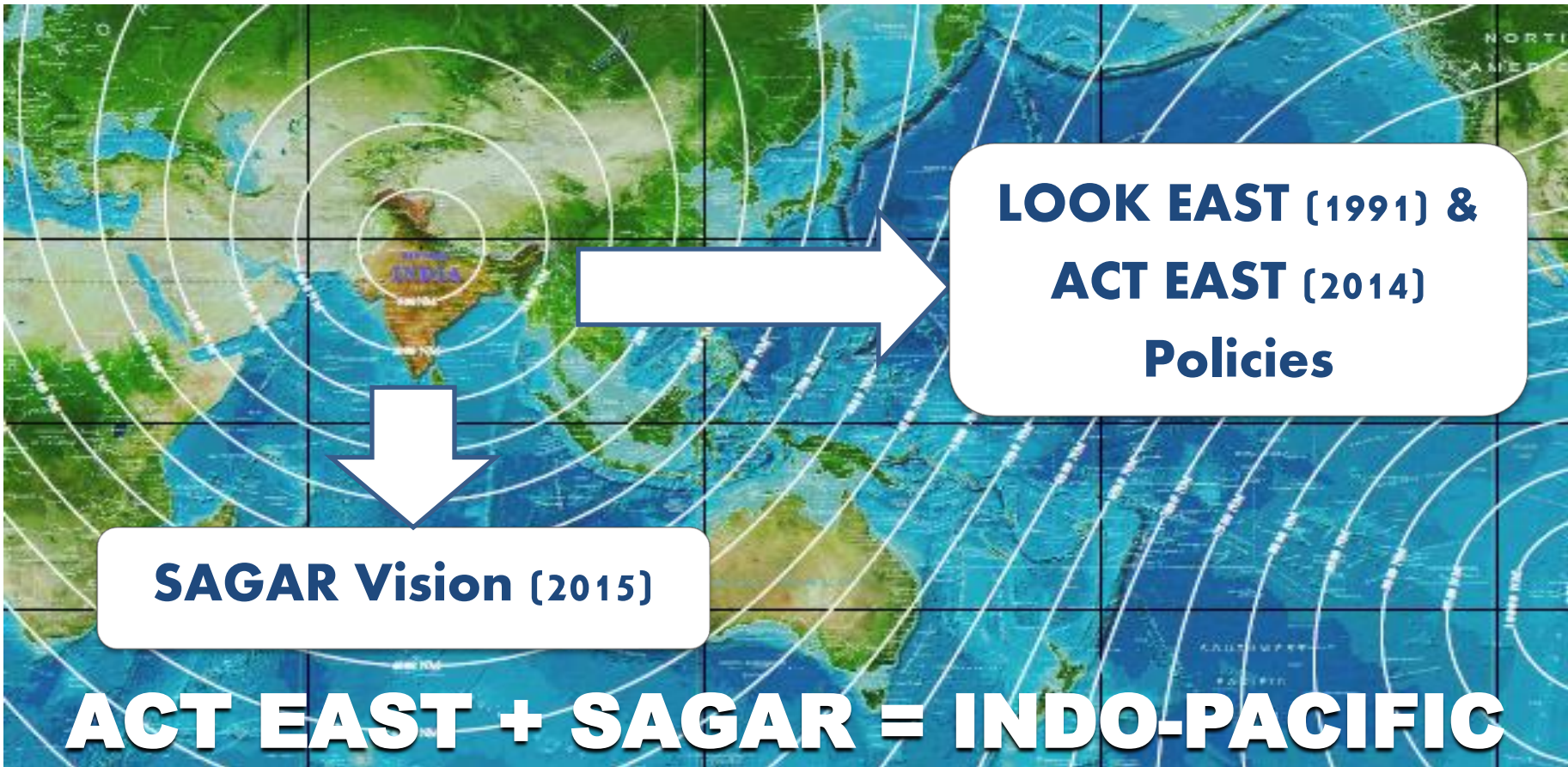
LEGEND: 2007 STATUS

- X** Not an Area of Interest (Now, it is Secondary Area)
- S** Secondary Area (Now, it is Primary Area)

INDIA'S EXPANDING 'GEO-STRATEGIC FRONTIER'



INDIA'S NEED FOR BALANCED GEO-STRATEGY



**LOOK EAST (1991) &
ACT EAST (2014)
Policies**

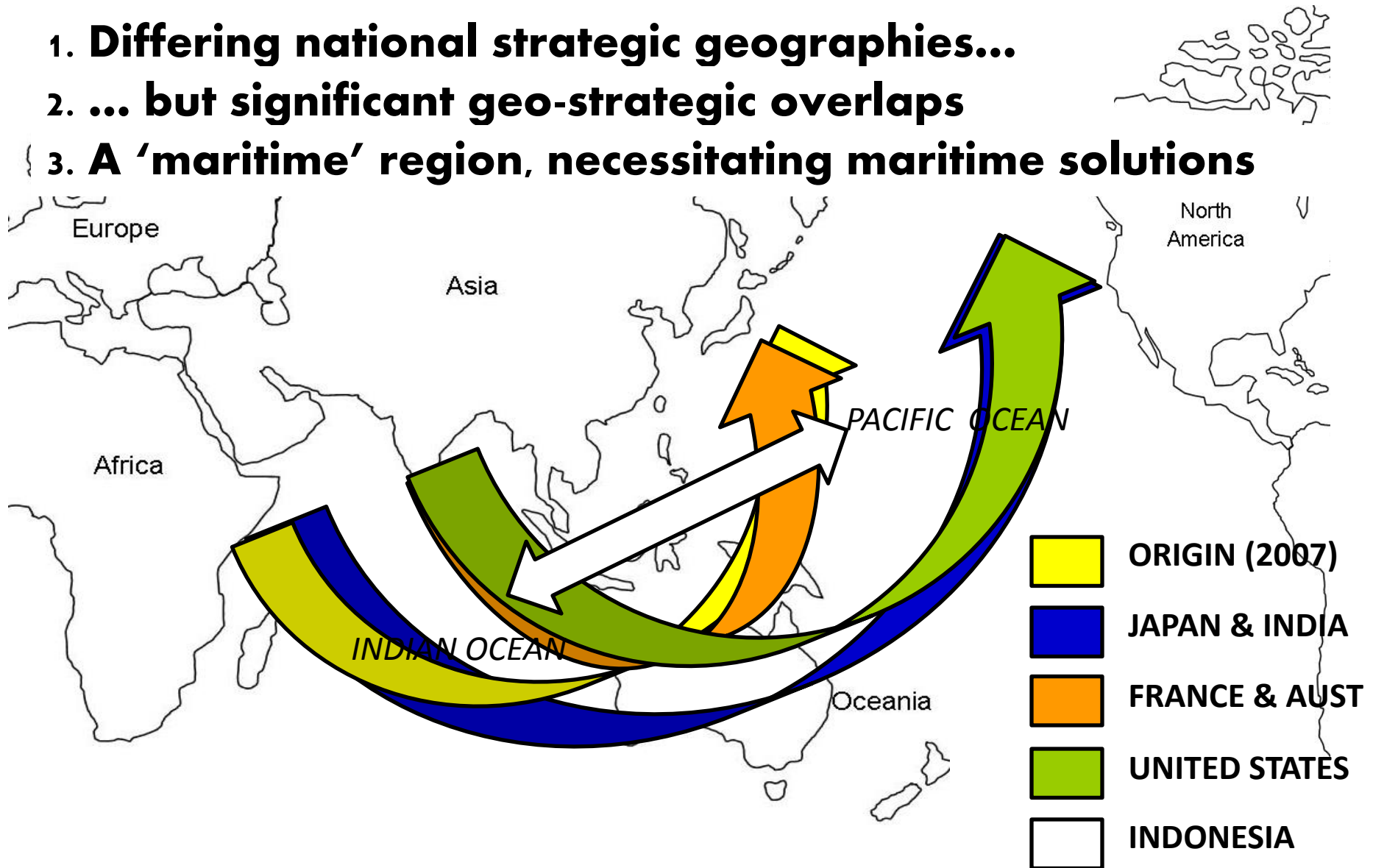
SAGAR Vision (2015)

ACT EAST + SAGAR = INDO-PACIFIC

GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE OF THE 'INDO-PACIFIC'

KEY TAKEAWAYS

1. Differing national strategic geographies...
2. ... but significant geo-strategic overlaps
3. A 'maritime' region, necessitating maritime solutions



ORIGINS OF 'INDO-PACIFIC' CONCEPT

Early Usage

Context of Marine Biography

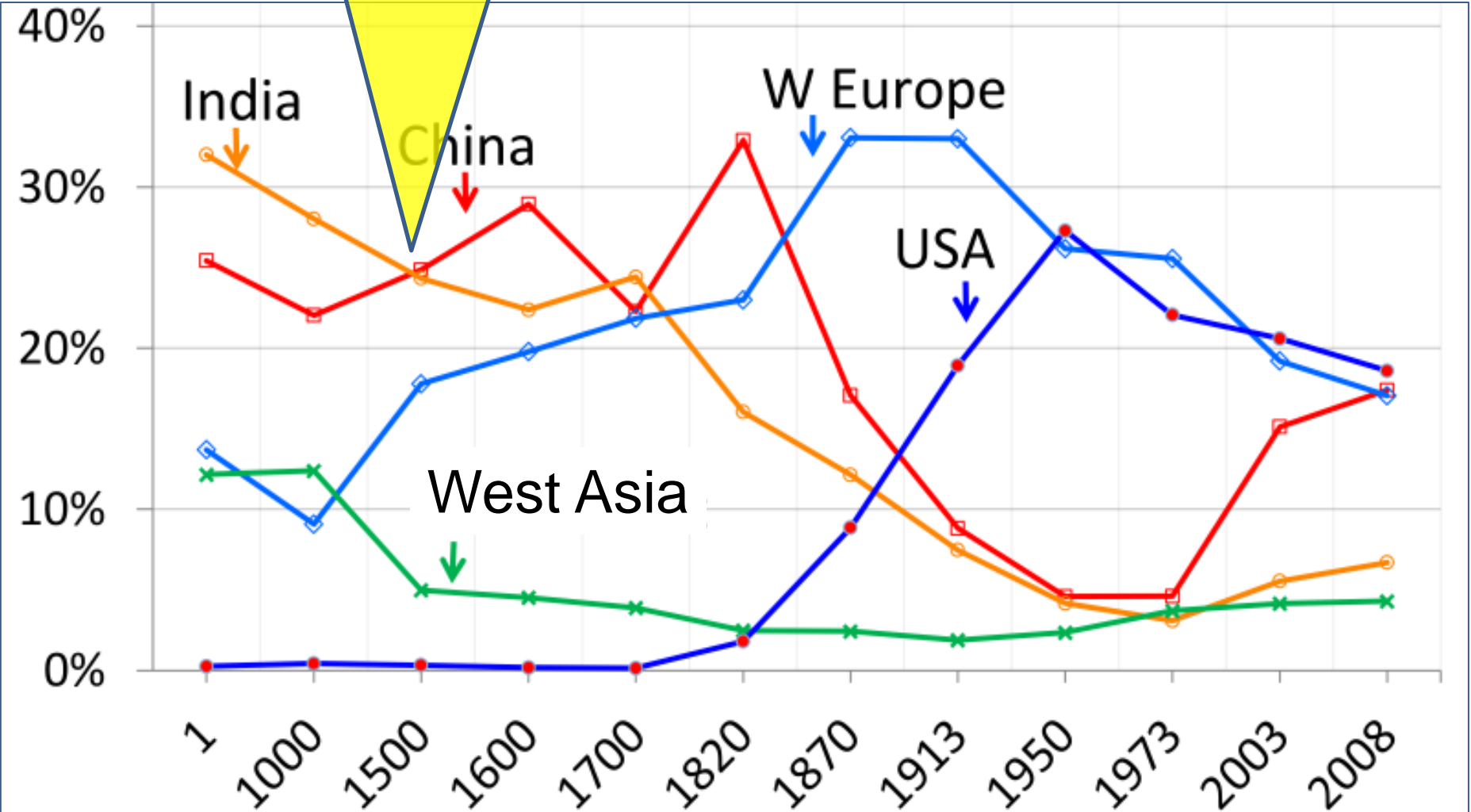
Common marine eco-system in the tropical swath of the Indo-Pacific Oceans



Is the 'geopolitical' context of Indo-Pacific a conceptual aberration?

Not Really... GEO-ECONOMIC LINKAGE has existed since long!

GDP (China + India) > 50%



Contribution to World's GDP by Major Economies (1 AD TO 2008 AD)

Source: Angus Maddison

THE 'INDO-PACIFIC' CONCEPT

Early Usage

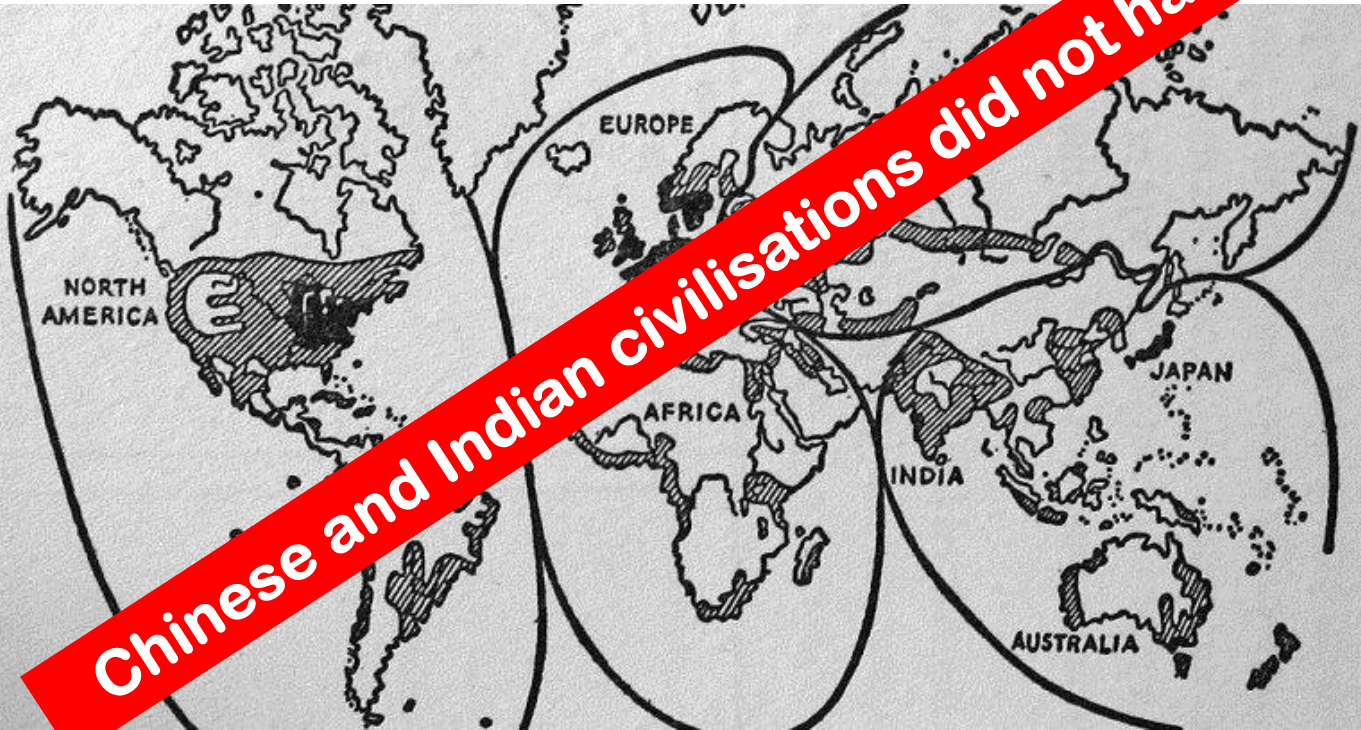
Geopolitical Context

“Indopazifischen Raum” (1920)

Impact of the historical concentration of humanity and culture of India and China on the future power relations in the “Greater Indo-Pacific Ocean.”



Karl Haushofer
(German geopolitician)

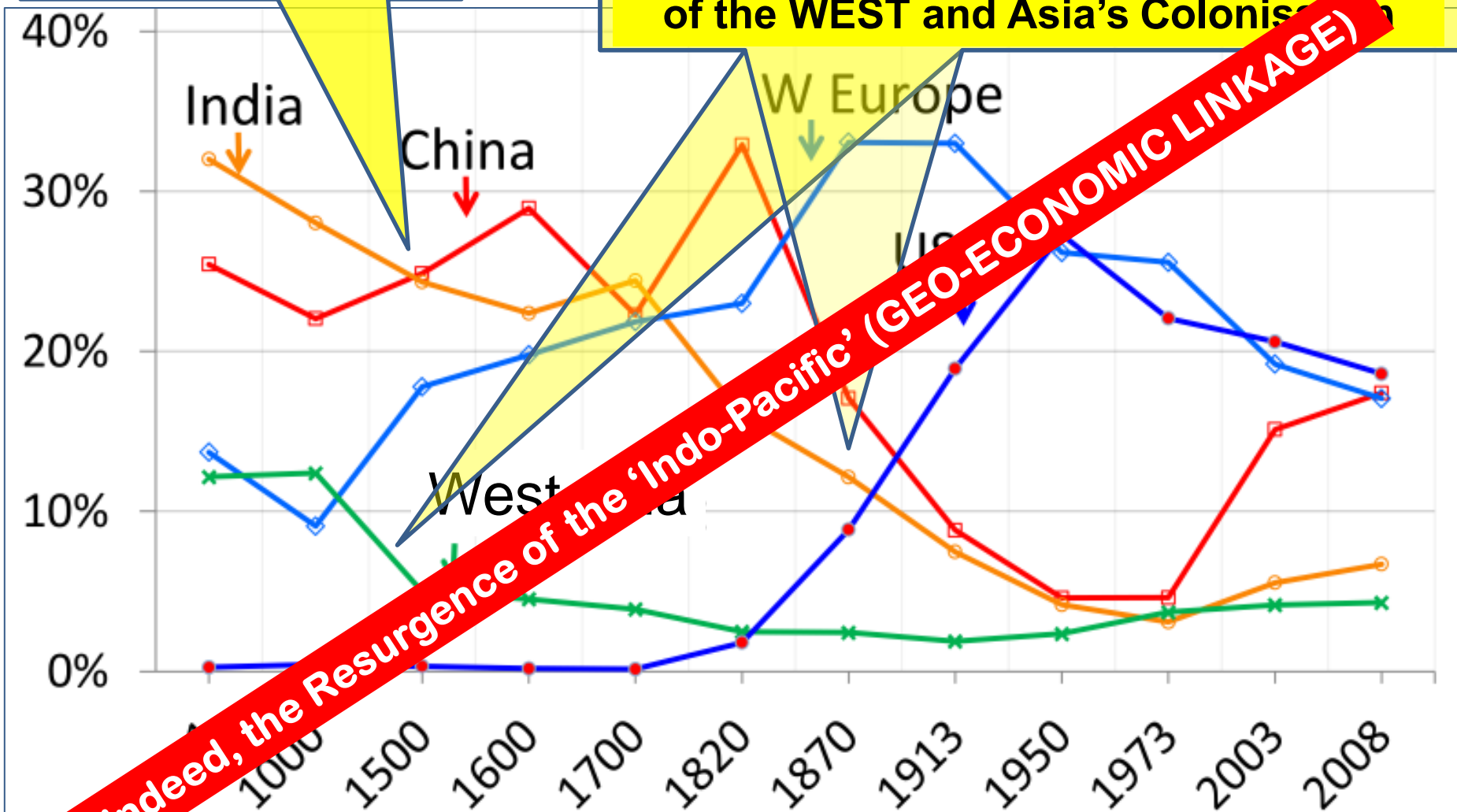


HAUSHOFER'S "PAN-REGIONS" THEORY

'Rise' of Asia?... Or 'Resurgence' of Asia...?

China + India > 50%

Asian GDP falls due to Industrialisation of the WEST and Asia's Colonisation



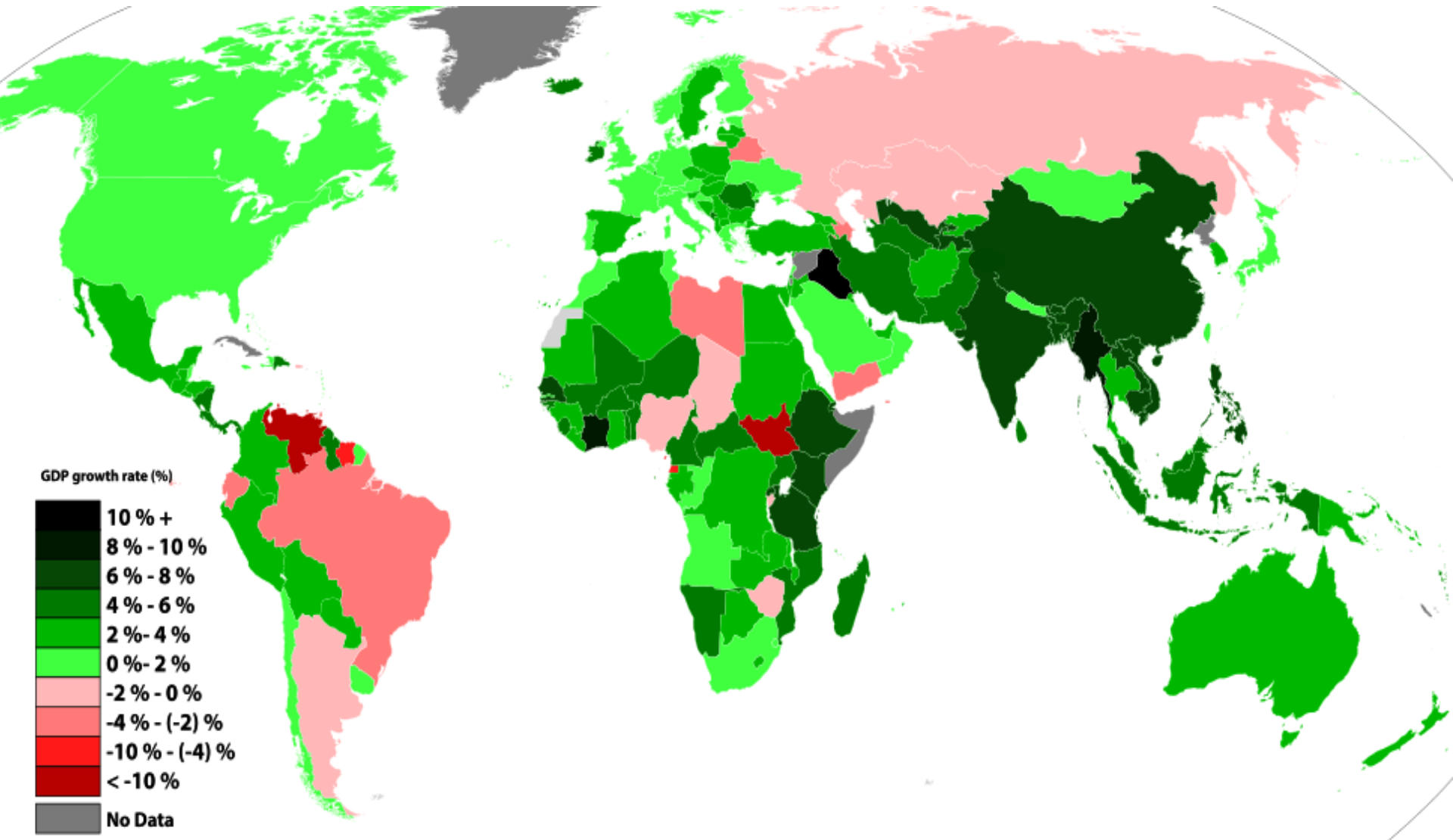
....Indeed, the Resurgence of the 'Indo-Pacific' (GEO-ECONOMIC LINKAGE)

Contribution to World's GDP by Major Economies

(1 AD TO 2008 AD)

Source: Angus Maddison

GDP GROWTH OF THE WORLD (AS IN 2016)



Some Reflections on Maritime Developments in the Indo-Pacific During the Past Sixty Years

Peter Cozens*

Introduction

The Indo-Pacific in territorial terms extends through the landmass of Eastern Asia, the archipelago of Southeast Asia, the sub-continent of South Asia and Australasia. However, it is important from a maritime perspective, to view it in a wider oceanic context. In this regard, the Indian Ocean, the South Pacific and Antarctic Oceans have an implicit linkage. In geographic terms, therefore, and from a maritime perspective, the Indo-Pacific extends from the northern extremities of the Indian Ocean to include the sub-continent of South Asia, Southeast Asia (formerly termed Indo-China), Australasia, the islands of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, and the eastern countries of Asia. Within the

CONCEPTUAL LINKAGE: Establishment of EAS (2005), led Dr Cozens to present a new perspective vis-à-vis the established 'Atlantic' view of the world

'INDO-PACIFIC' CONCEPT: CONTEMPORARY GENESIS (2006-07)

Resurgence of Asia/ Indo-Pacific is not pre-ordained

Leading to security challenges & Indo-Pacific linkage

OBJECTIVES

Meeting geo-economic ends to achieve shared prosperity

Common interest in free and open maritime order

Containing disruptive forces, both state and non-state

Premised on SECURITY LINKAGE since the turn of 21st Century



'INDO-PACIFIC' CONCEPT: CONTEMPORARY GENESIS

IDSA-JIIA Track-2 Dialogue (Oct 2006, New Delhi) on
"Emerging 'security' linkage between IOR & West Pacific".

2004: US' PSI to curb WMD Proliferation (Iran... DPRK)

2005: US' BAH Report on China's "String of Pearls".

2006 - China's new-gen SSN (093 *Shang*) inducted

For Japan, threat to SLOCs

For India, a new (seaward) dimension of threat

For both, an unstable and unfavourable regional BoP

'Indo-Pacific' was meant to moderate China's behaviour



 Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Strategic Analysis Security of Sea Lines: Prospects for India–Japan Cooperation

Gurpreet S. Khurana

Strategic Analysis, Vol. 31, No. 1, Jan–Feb 2007

Introduction

The increase in economic interdependence among states in recent years has led to vigorous flows of trade, especially in the Indo-Pacific region.¹ This has accelerated economic growth and industrial development in the

Notes

- ¹ The term 'Indo-Pacific' refers to the maritime space comprising the Indian Ocean and the western Pacific. Littoral to it are the states of Asia (including West Asia/Middle East) and eastern Africa.

ADDRESS BY JAPAN'S PM SHINZO ABE TO THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT (AUGUST 2007)

AUGUST 2016
Japan's vision: 'Free & Open Indo-Pacific'



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
外務省

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“Confluence of Indian and Pacific Oceans” Speech by H.E. Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan at the Parliament of the Republic of India

August 22, 2007

“... The Pacific and the Indian Oceans are now bringing about a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity... By Japan and India coming together, this “East Asia” will evolve into an immense network *spanning the entirety of the Pacific Ocean, incorporating the USA and Australia*. Open and transparent in this network will allow people, goods, capital, and knowledge to flow freely... as maritime states, ***both India and Japan have vital interests in the security of sea lanes***”.

The Indian Government did not pay attention to this...

CHINA'S MARCH WEST STRATEGY



China's Proposed New Silk Roads



THE U.S. APPROACH

The 'Asia-Pacific' construct was inadequate, due to:



China's strategic footprint expanding to the I.O.R.

Need for India's proactive role in pan-Asian security architecture

Continued use of "Asia-Pacific". Linked to 'Rebalance to Asia' (till 2013)

PACOM use of "Indo-Asia-Pacific" (2013-2017)

Africa

INDIAN OCEAN

PACIFIC OCEAN

Ocean



Nov 17 - US President polarises "Indo-Pacific" during his Asia tour

Trump's new Cold War alliance in Asia is dangerous

By Gurpreet S. Khurana November 14, 2017

Gurpreet S. Khurana, who first used the term “Indo-Pacific” a decade ago, is a maritime strategist and executive director of the National Maritime Foundation in New Delhi.



NEW DELHI — On his recent tour of Asia, U.S. President Donald Trump offered the world a first glance into his formative geopolitical strategy. Both in Vietnam at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit and at his earlier meeting with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in Japan, he [spoke](#) of the “Indo-Pacific” instead of the “Asia-Pacific,” the term used most often by previous American administrations.

The new term changes the mental map that has prevailed since the end of the Cold

THE 'ASEAN' VIEW



President Trump's 'Indo-Pacific' statement, & its temporal coincidence with launching of the 'Quad' made ASEAN apprehensive

Asia

PACIFIC OCEAN

ASEAN: "Indo-Pacific will force the smaller countries to take sides"

INDIAN OCEAN

Singularly, key ASEAN members support the concept

Eg. Indonesia, Singapore and Vietnam

INDIA'S APPROACH



Shangri-La Dialogue
01 August 2018

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

SHRI NARENDRA MODI
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

“Indo-Pacific (is) free, open and inclusive region ... not directed against any country ... with SE Asia at its centre ... all have equal access to use of common spaces above and in the air that would require freedom of navigation, unimpeded commerce and peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with international law.”

Emphasis on 'security', through in a subdued and 'inclusive' manner

Power, dissuasion & deterrence vis-à-vis China remains implicit

Followed by the US Secy of State endorsing ASEAN centrality (Aug 18)

An effort to tone down the rhetoric!

THE EVOLVING INDO-PACIFIC ARCHITECTURE

(NOTIONAL)

CONCEPTUAL LEVEL

Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) Concept

POLITICAL LEVEL

East Asia Summit (EAS)
ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)/ ADMM+
Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)
Quadrilateral Security Dialogue
Bilateral Partnerships

FUNCTIONAL LEVEL

National Agencies/ Stakeholders operating & cooperating in the same Domain
West Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS)
Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS)

EAS needs to lead, with ARF and IORA as supplements.

The Quad also holds value

RECOMMENDED PRIORITISATION

1: Geo-economics and Confidence-Building

- Economic connectivity, trade issues...
- Conservation of Marine Environment, Blue Economy...
- Maritime Safety and Security (against non-traditional threats)... and
- Political and Military Confidence Building Measures (CBM)

2: Legal Pressures upon China

- Common interpretation of International Law on FoN...&
- Dispute Resolution through International Arbitration...
- ...For persuasive and dissuasive pressures upon China

3: Balance of Power

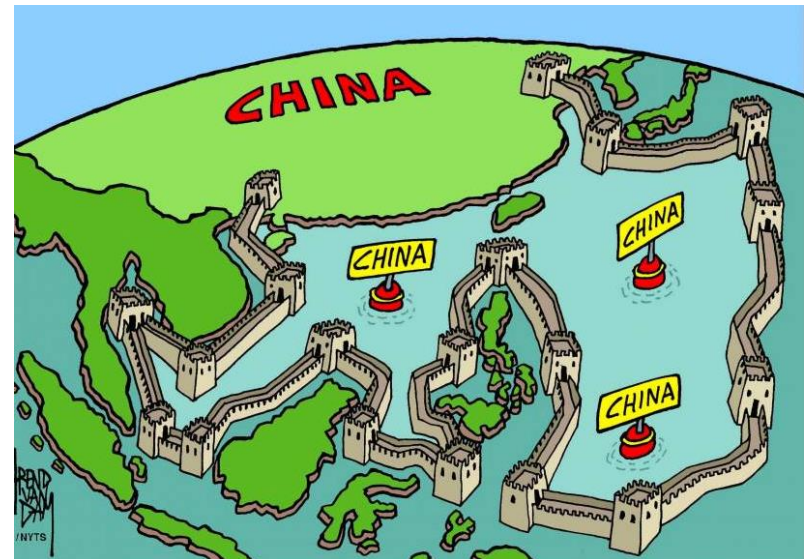
- Coordinated Capability-enhancement (including Capacity-building) of regional countries...
- to reduce military asymmetries

4: Military Security

- ASSURANCE/ DETERRENCE: Military Presence, Shaping Ops, Combined defence exercises...
- INSURANCE: Preparedness... Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA)... operational compatibility.... naval sustenance.... etc.

LEGAL PRESSURES ON CHINA

(Perceptions matter, but so does Power!)



- Maritime laws (including “historic rights”) existed in Asia long before European (Roman/ Nordic) Laws were formulated
- Must China adhere to European laws codified in UNCLOS?

MARITIME DISPUTE RESOLUTION

Cases/ Potential Cases in the Indo-Pacific

Bangladesh-Myanmar (Maritime boundary, ITLOS) 2012

Bangladesh-India (Maritime boundary, PCA) 2009-2014

Philippines-Indonesia (Maritime boundary, Bilateral) 2014

Mauritius-UK (Marine Protected Area, Chagos, PCA) 2015

Philippines-China (China's "historic rights" in SCS, PCA) 2016

Mauritius-UK (Status of Chagos, ICJ) Ongoing (Began in 2017)

Vietnam-China (SCS claims) ?

Malaysia-China (SCS claims) ?

Indonesia-China (China's 9-dash line overlap in Natuna Sea) ?



COMMON INTERPRETATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION

Innocent Passage of Foreign Warships (TS)

Foreign Military Activities in EEZ

US, Australia

----- No Restrictions -----

Thailand

No Restrictions

India, Bangladesh, Malaysia

Notification

Consent

Myanmar, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Oman

Prior Authorisation

China

“Advance approval or Prior Notification” as determined by China

“Consent” (not applicable to PLA Navy)

Reconcile divergences to prevent China's exploitation of this 'fault-line'

Thank You for your Attention