



Regional Security – The View from New Delhi



PRESENTATION BY AMB. HEMANT KRISHAN SINGH
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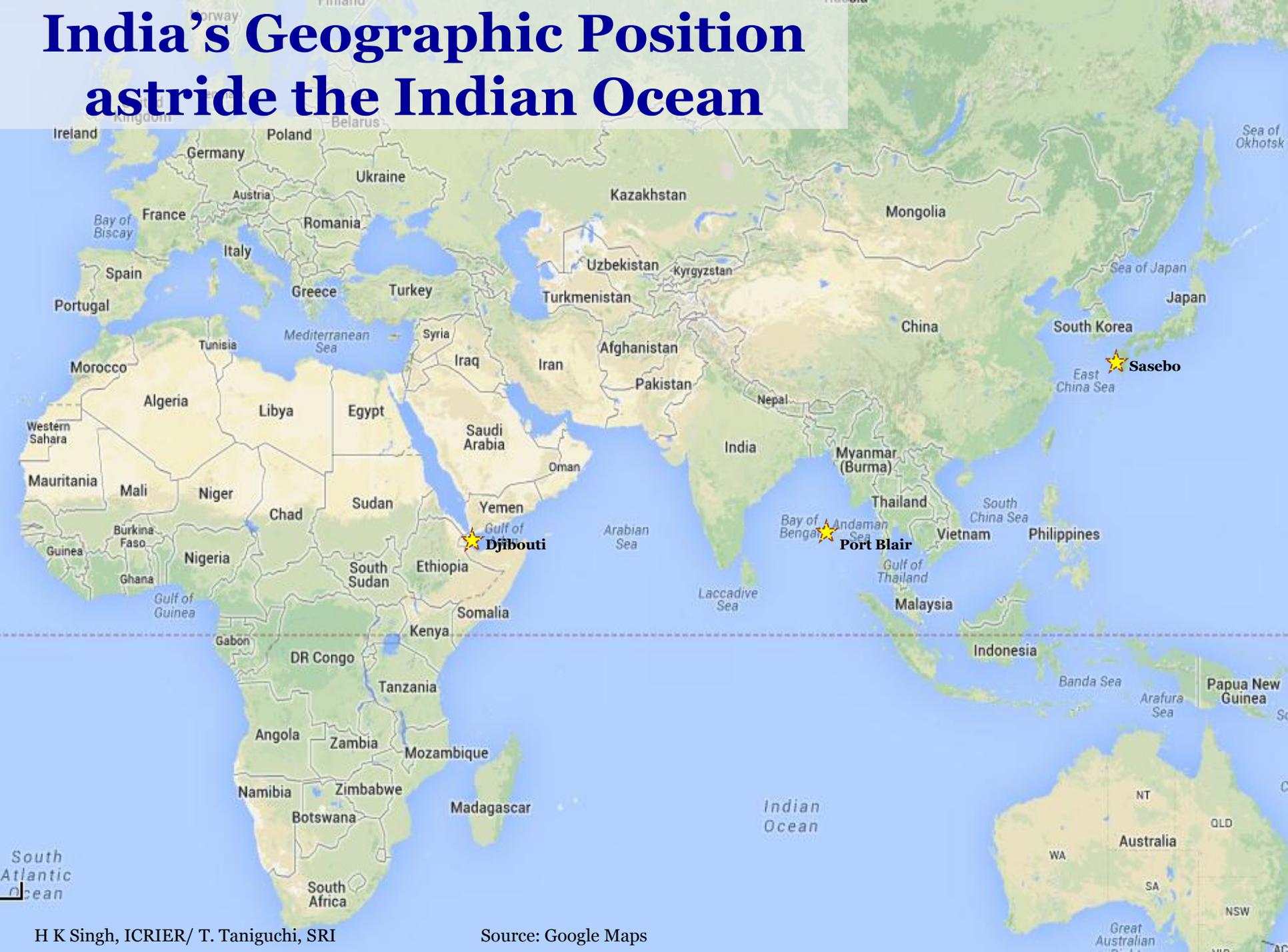


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India's Geographic Position astride the Indian Ocean

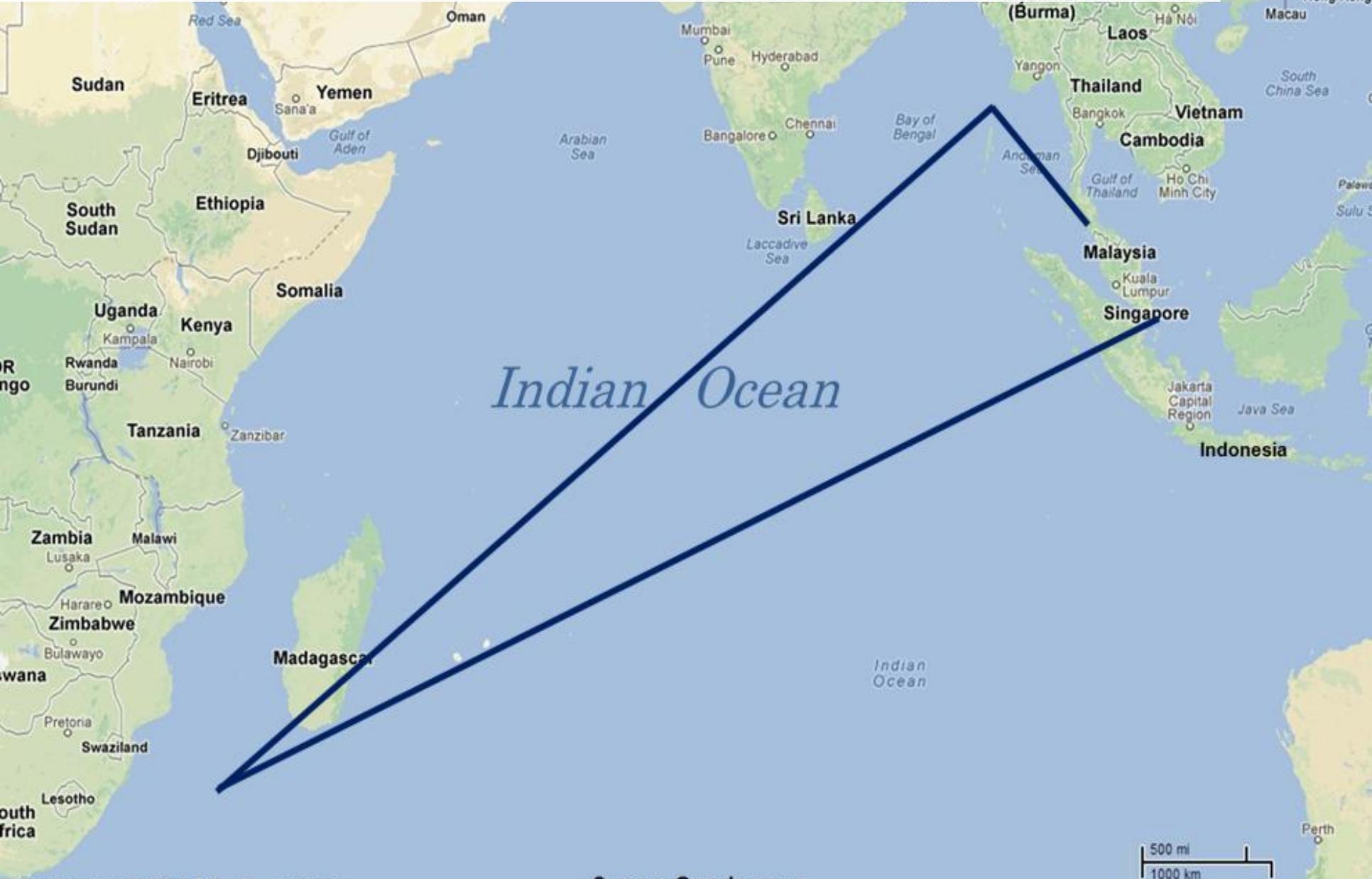


Maritime Security : Energy

Indian Ocean Region - 80% of global energy trade



India's Maritime Security Role



Maritime Security

India's Andaman and Nicobar Islands

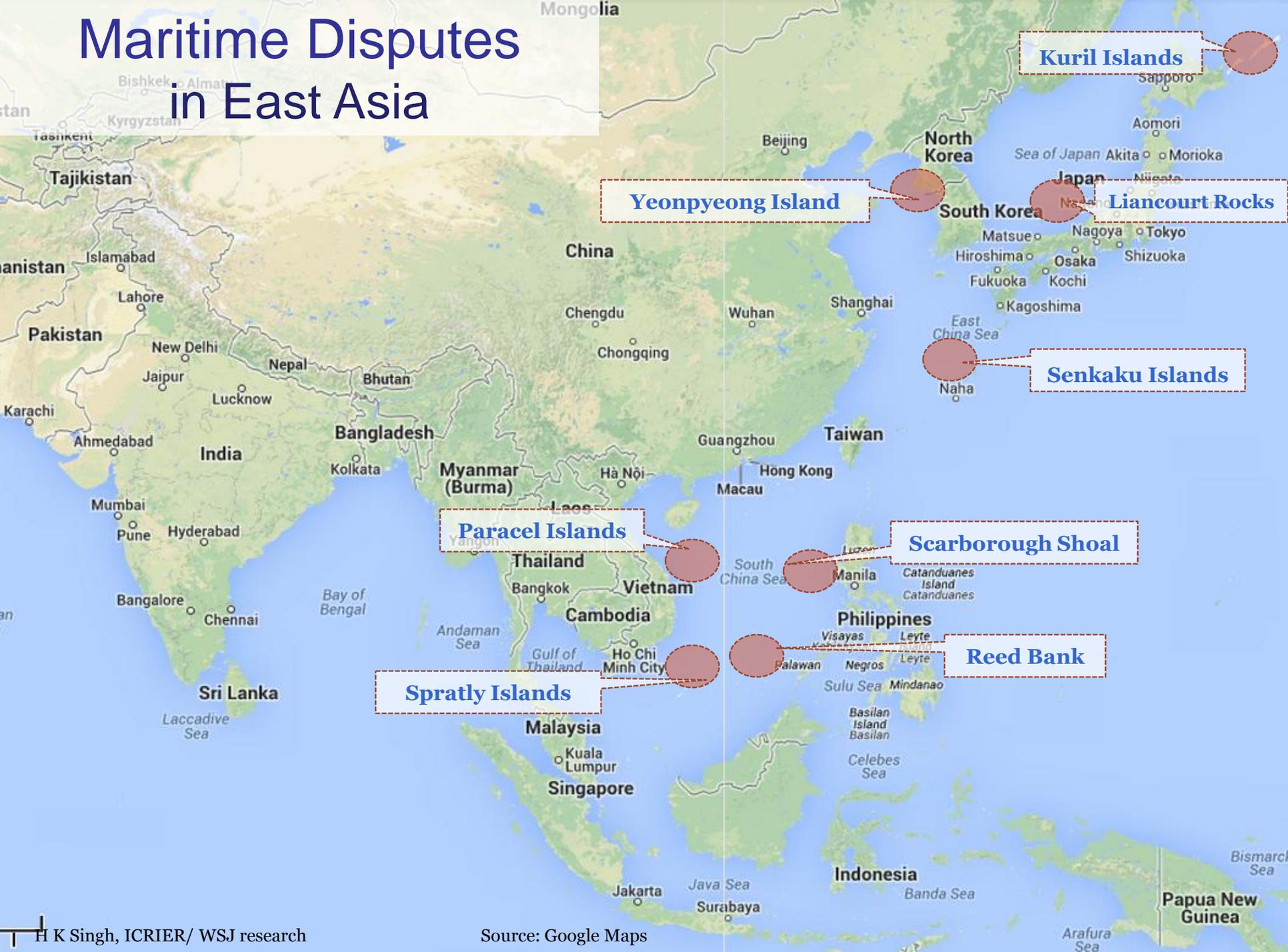


Crossroads of the Indo-Pacific

World's third-largest maritime trade area



Maritime Disputes in East Asia





India's national security priorities

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- **No published doctrine or white paper on defence and security.**
- **Strengthening strategic autonomy in the context of an independent strategic programme, indigenous defence capability, accelerated economic growth and technological prowess.**
- **Aligning strategic autonomy with India's proactive role in an increasingly globalised and interdependent world.**



India's national security priorities

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- **Intensifying international economic engagement, particularly with emerging Asia, as an important component of comprehensive security.**
- **Leveraging India's locational advantages and expanding its geopolitical significance through strategic partnerships.**
- **Assuming India's responsibility as a net provider of security in its immediate region and beyond.**
- **Expanding defence cooperation with foreign partners to address common challenges.**

India's national security priorities

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Transcending limitations

- **Importance of reducing policy constraints:**
 - **Geographic proximity and intensity of economic engagement are not necessarily inter-related; economic potential and consequent security interests should determine priorities.**
 - **One-third of India's trade is with East Asia; regional security issues such as the South China Sea have long-term consequences for India**
 - **Breaking free of “Mandalas”, or the traditional hierarchy of engagement, will result in a more dynamic approach towards India's extended neighbourhood.**
- **This mandates, to borrow C. Raja Mohan's phrase, a shift from “non-alignment to a solid alignment” with regional powers in East Asia.**
- **India's Look East Policy is the most successful example of breaking free to revive the ambitious agenda of Asian regionalism pioneered by India 66 years ago.**



Look East Policy: security dimensions



Look East Policy: security dimensions

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- **Through the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, military power radiated out of the Indian sub-continent into all corners of the Indian Ocean and its abutting regions. India was the geo-political anchor for the stability of Southeast Asia and some 750,000 Indian forces played a critical role in the allied victory over Japan in World War II.**
- **India's renewed security engagement with South East Asia reflects the logic of geography and is a natural corollary of LEP.**
- **Asia is witnessing profound economic change on a scale unprecedented in history.**
- **By 2030, diffusion of power will restore Asia's weight in the global economy to a level last seen in 1750.**



Look East Policy: security dimensions

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- **What transpires in Asia will in turn shape the contours of the world in this century.**
- **Asia has thus become the arena of greatest interest from the standpoint of the global order.**
- **As Asia has surged economically, the importance of the maritime domain and related security challenges has grown. 55% of India's trade with East Asia traverses the South China Sea.**
- **PM Manmohan Singh: India is “well positioned to be a net provider of security in our immediate region and beyond.”**

Look East Policy: security dimensions

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- **This economically dynamic and interdependent region also faces multiple challenges: differences of political ideology, social and economic diversity, and disputes over territory and history. The ongoing structural shift in global power has yet to be buttressed by shared normative frameworks and security architecture in Asia.**
- **India has joined other countries in the region to intensify efforts for regional cooperation. PM Manmohan Singh has defined three essential pillars for Asia's security and prosperity:**
 - **Strengthening regional mechanisms that develop habits of cooperation based on commonly accepted principles**
 - **Building maritime security across the region through the application of international norms**
 - **Promoting deeper regional economic integration and connectivity.**
- **There is growing convergence, region-wide, around these objectives.**
- **India's LEP, which began with a strong economic emphasis, "has become increasingly strategic in its content". (PM Manmohan Singh)**

Look East Policy: security dimensions

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- India has established a strategic partnership with ASEAN (2012) which includes cooperation for maritime security, and has strengthened its support for “ASEAN centrality” in crafting a well defined, “open, balanced, inclusive and transparent regional architecture” in East Asia.
- With Japan, India has concluded a Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation which includes an unprecedented 2+2 Dialogue. Japan is seen as a “natural and indispensable partner” in India’s quest for stability and peace in the Indo-Pacific.
- India’s multi-sectoral strategic partnership with the US includes an India-US Dialogue on East Asia and an India-US-Japan Trilateral Strategic Dialogue.
- India’s continuing attempts to enhance cooperative relations with China are circumscribed by periodic escalation of the long-standing boundary dispute.
- As reaffirmed by PM Manmohan Singh during his visit to China (October 23-24, 2013), peace and tranquility on the borders must remain the foundation for growth in bilateral ties.

“ASEAN centrality” and the “Indo-Pacific”

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- **As the US rebalances within Asia, China enters the Indian Ocean and India reaches out towards the Pacific, Southeast Asia is the critical hinge of the Indo-Pacific.**
- **Recognition of the region as the new geo-strategic theatre for Asia can provide the basis for constructing multilateral frameworks for a balanced regional security order.**
- **Interdependence of security interests and concerns among Indo-Pacific states is strong and growing even stronger.**
- **Since 1967, ASEAN has demonstrated its staying power by incorporating all regional states (despite different political systems and ideologies), building norms and institutions and eventually bringing together ASEAN Plus Eight partners under the EAS and ADMM+ mechanisms. No other regional organization has a similar record of success.**



“ASEAN centrality” and the “Indo-Pacific”

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- **As the principal driver of East Asian regionalism, ASEAN centrality and cohesion are essential for regional stability. ASEAN has recovered well from the destabilising developments of 2012.**
- **Political commitment to ASEAN is growing; the broad trend is to give substance and structure to ASEAN-centric regional security architecture, as well as to give ASEAN the lead role in defining principles of responsible conduct based on international law.**

Security Architecture: Inter-Asian or Asia Pacific?

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- **Over two decades of contestation between:**
 - **Inter-Asian or Asia-Pacific focus (historical vs. functional regionalism)**
 - **Open regionalism or geographically closed frameworks**
 - **Growing economic interdependence and strategic competition.**
- **The region faces disturbingly adverse security trends, including sharper tensions, strong expansion in armament programmes and other tools of coercion, and the perception of increasing risk of military conflict.**
- **Lagging management of strategic competition through accepted rules of the road.**
- **Continuing tussle between bilateralism versus multilateralism.**
- **Counterbalancing “asymmetric interdependence” or hegemonism with multi-polarity.**
- **Overall, the prospects of an Asia-Pacific stream are diminishing, while support for inter-Asian but geographically open regionalism is gathering pace.**



East Asia Summit (EAS)

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- **EAS has the potential to become the “premier institution for political and strategic issues, the capstone of an increasingly mature and effective regional architecture” (Clinton, 2012)**
- **However, the EAS role and agenda remains less than impressive on both security and economic fronts.**
- **To yield results, EAS needs a supporting institutional framework, a broader agenda that includes traditional and non-traditional security issues, and benchmarks for progress at annual Summits.**

Guiding principles of regional security

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- **ASEAN centred architecture offers best prospects for success.**
- **Open, inclusive, balanced and transparent.**
- **No single country can shape and sustain the security architecture in Asia.**
- **There can be no containment, hegemonism or condominium.**
- **Participation of all countries with substantive interests and capability in shaping regional security is a necessity.**
- **Meeting growing security challenges and power imbalances by bolstering Asian multipolarity; incorporating China in a multi-polar order in which it is not destabilisingly dominant; ensuring “dynamic equilibrium” or a reassuring regional power balance with a different name.**



Guiding principles of regional security

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- **Need for an overarching apex framework or eco-system to sustain a power balance and normative frameworks (EAS).**
- **Supporting institutional framework for EAS: AEM, ADMM+, PMC-ARF, other Ministerial meetings.**
- **Multi-tracked regional arrangements in which all EAS states have an equal stake in building norms through overlapping institutions (ADMM+, AMF+, ARF, AEM etc.).**
- **Growing importance of multilateralism in bolstering Asian security and creating habits of cooperation.**

Regional Security - The China factor

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(i) **Assertion of core interests backed by military power; strategic ascendancy through dominance of the seas.**

- Unprecedented, double-digit growth of military expenditure for two decades; defence spending more than double that of Japan, three times that of India; military manpower 850,000 more than India, 44% of ASEAN+3, 30% of ASEAN+8 (EAS). “Dream of a strong nation and a strong military”
- Pledge to “resolutely safeguard China’s maritime rights and interests, and build China into a maritime power”. Pursuit of power at sea befitting its status as a major power.
- China’s new foreign policy template: diplomatic and military assertion of ever expanding “core interests” on which there can be no compromise (Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang, maintaining the power of the Communist Party in China’s political system, claims in the East and South China Seas).
- Vigorous territorial assertions and coercive actions in both East and South China Seas (216 Chinese ships, on 61 separate occasions, have entered Japanese-claimed territorial waters in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands over the past year).



Regional Security - The China factor

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- (i) **Assertion of core interests backed by military power; strategic ascendancy through dominance of the seas.**
- **Claim to 90% of the South China Sea as a historic right comes without assurances that China will not impede the freedom of navigation under international law.**
 - **Territorial claims on multiple fronts across Asia appear to be designed to create new facts on the ground and subvert the status quo.**

Regional Security - The China factor

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(ii) Uncertain attitude towards a regional security framework appears designed to shape a new China-centric regional order.

- China's claim of responsibility for Asian affairs and preponderant interest in the Western Pacific is a source of growing insecurity.
- Limited tolerance for multilateralism, no recognition of Asian multipolarity.
- China suggests that regional security requires an entirely new arrangement based on an Asian model and Asian values, neither of which is defined.
- Demand for a “new model of major power relations” in which Asia-Pacific security is a major part, implying that the US must accommodate China's “core interests”.



Regional Security – The US rebalance

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The US rebalance

- In spite of its long-standing and foundational security presence in Asia, the US has traditionally maintained an Asia-Pacific, or Trans-Pacific, orientation since the founding of APEC (1989).
- The US “pivot” or “rebalance” (2011) is not a one-off grand strategy and lacks a clear articulation of strategic assumptions and principles. However, it flows from a recognition of the ongoing structural shift in global geo-politics towards Asia and US stakes in the region.
- “Our rebalance to Asia is mostly a political and economic concept, not a military one.” (Ashton Carter)



Regional Security – The US rebalance

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- **Elements of the US rebalance:**

- Partnerships, presence, power projection and principles of the freedom of seas
- Support for a regional architecture of institutions and arrangements to foster economic cooperation, manage security challenges and enforce international norms
- Rebalancing within the Asia-Pacific to recognise the growing importance of Southeast Asia
- Recognition of ASEAN's "indispensable" role in maintaining regional stability, support for ASEAN unity and ASEAN's efforts to create a rule-based framework for the South China Sea.

Regional Security – The US rebalance

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- **A robust US rebalance reduces the growing tendency towards a competitive arms build-up and the likelihood of further nuclearisation of the region.**
- **Conversely, the absence of credible US strategic reassurance, or US strategic ambiguity, can undermine regional stability and progress on a rule-based regional security architecture.**
- **US posture at recent ADMM+ meeting: commitment to rebalance, cooperation for regional peace and shared development, partnerships that are intended to engage China and not contain it.**
- **Pending issues :**
 - **The US should align its economic and security policies in Asia which today follow two distinct tracks – EAS for security and the APEC-linked TPP for economic integration**
 - **Regional and US interests are better served if the US accommodates both the ASEAN-centred processes, EAS and RCEP**
 - **The US should actively promote India's membership of APEC and eventual participation in TPP.**



India's unfinished LEP: Engaging and Acting East

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- **India has a historic opportunity alongside ASEAN and other partners to shape the balance of power and stability in the Indo-Pacific. ASEAN's expectation is that a non-dominating but increasingly capable India can contribute to ASEAN initiatives across the board. India needs to measure up.**
- **Strategic stability in the Indo-Pacific can be bolstered if India's promise as a net provider of security is given a concrete dimension through its participation in bilateral and multilateral initiatives.**
- **India has made limited progress in building defence ties with ASEAN but is far from meeting expectations. There is too much emphasis on bilateralism and not enough of multilateralism.**
- **India's security partnership with ASEAN demands a much more active participation by India's defence establishment in the ADMM+8 process, which is yet to materialise.**



India's unfinished LEP: Engaging and Acting East

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- **“Purposeful defence diplomacy from India can help create military synergies among Asia’s middle powers.” (C. Raja Mohan)**
- **India’s maritime security interests require that its cooperation arrangements with Southeast Asian neighbours go beyond periodic cooperation to include inter-operability training and logistical support.**
- **India should develop Port Blair as a regional hub for India-ASEAN cooperation on maritime security, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.**
- **To take full advantage of India’s geographical location, its maritime security initiatives with ASEAN must extend across the wider Indian Ocean region and include partnerships with Japan, Indonesia, Australia and the US.**



India and South Korea

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Consolidating Bilateral Ties

- **India's strategic partnership with ROK (January 2010) reflects the economic and geopolitical importance it attaches to growing bilateral ties.**
- **Momentum of political and security ties needs to be accelerated under President Park Geun-hye.**
- **Growing defence cooperation with significant future potential for defence industrial cooperation should be prioritised.**

India and South Korea

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Regional Co-operation

1. **Shared security concerns related to North Korea's missile and nuclear programmes, threat of clandestine proliferation and destabilizing activities in Northeast Asia.**
2. **Regional economic and security architecture (EAS, ADMM+, RCEP).**
3. **Maritime security, anti-piracy and HA/DR across broader Indo-Pacific region.**
4. **Information and intelligence sharing on strategic scenarios in areas of common concern.**
5. **Progressing India-Korea-Japan Trilateral strategic dialogue.**



Thank You