#### Japan-India Symposium

International House of Japan, Tokyo 13 December, 2012

# Regional Security in Asia

Presentation by

#### **Ambassador Hemant Krishan Singh**

Former Ambassador of India to Japan Chair Professor, ICRIER-Wadhwani Chair in India-US Policy Studies ICRIER, New Delhi

#### **Contents**

- Strategic Environment
- Security Challenges
- Regional Architecture
- Power Balance
- India's Strategic Posture
- India's Defence Posture
- India and the United States
- India and China
- India and Japan
- Conclusion

### Strategic Environment

- US "pivot"/"re-balancing" towards Asia, driven by geo-economic issues of Asia's economic potential plus geo-strategic dimension of ensuring China's "predictable" rise.
  - TPP for trans-Pacific economic integration.
  - East Asia Summit (EAS) for Asia-centered security architecture.
  - Modest expansion of military presence, strengthening of alliances and military exercises.
  - New guidelines for US-Japan alliance role, X-Band Radar in Southern Japan.

### Strategic Environment

- China's "pivot" towards maritime domain expansion in East Asia
  - Two decades of double-digit defence spending growth; nominal defence budget now double that of Japan, three times that of India.
  - Vigorous assertion of maritime territorial claims as "core national interest" to expand control over sea lanes and resources.
  - Past tendency to use force against its most militarily capable neighbours, and to enforce maritime claims.
  - Aggressive patrolling of Senkakus, announcement of maritime policing in South China Sea.
  - Major reason for regional volatility.

**Maritime Disputes** in East Asia Sapporo Aomori Beijing Korea Sea of Japan Akita o o Morioka Japan Niigata South Korea Liancourt Rocks OBusan Tokyo China Gwangju Fukuoka Osaka Nagasaki Kumamoto Shanghai Chengdu Wuhan Kagoshima East New Delhi China Sea Chongqing Bhutan Senkaku Islands Lucknow Bangladesh Taiwan Guangzhou India o∖ Kolkata Myanmar Hong Kong Hà Nôi-(Burma) Macau Laos Hyderabad Luzon South Vietnam Bangkok Bay of galore Chennai Bengal Cambodia **Philippines** Phnom So Ho Chi Minh City Andaman Sea Sri Lanka accadive Malaysia Island Celebes Kuala o Lumpur Singapore Gulf of Molucca Tomini Bismarck Indonesia Java Sea Jakarta Banda Sea Papua New Source: WSJ research and Google Maps Guinea

Jaipur

Sea

## **Security Challenges**

- Growing gap between economic inter-dependence and strategic competition as Asia accommodates China's growing power.
- Regional impact of rising nationalism in China.
- China's growing assertiveness and coercive diplomacy raising concerns about its future behavior as dominant Asian power. No evidence of softer line on freedom of navigation and diplomatic resolution to disputes at EAS.
- Destabilising collapse of ASEAN cohesion at AMM-PMC meetings in July and ASEAN/EAS Summits in November, undermining "ASEAN centrality" in regional affairs.
- Stalled progress on binding code of conduct for resolution of maritime territorial disputes in South China Sea.
- Growing need for an open and inclusive, normative Asian security order based on international law that draws in China as a responsible stakeholder.
- Critical importance of maritime security in the Indo-Pacific for Asia's economic rise.



### Regional Architecture

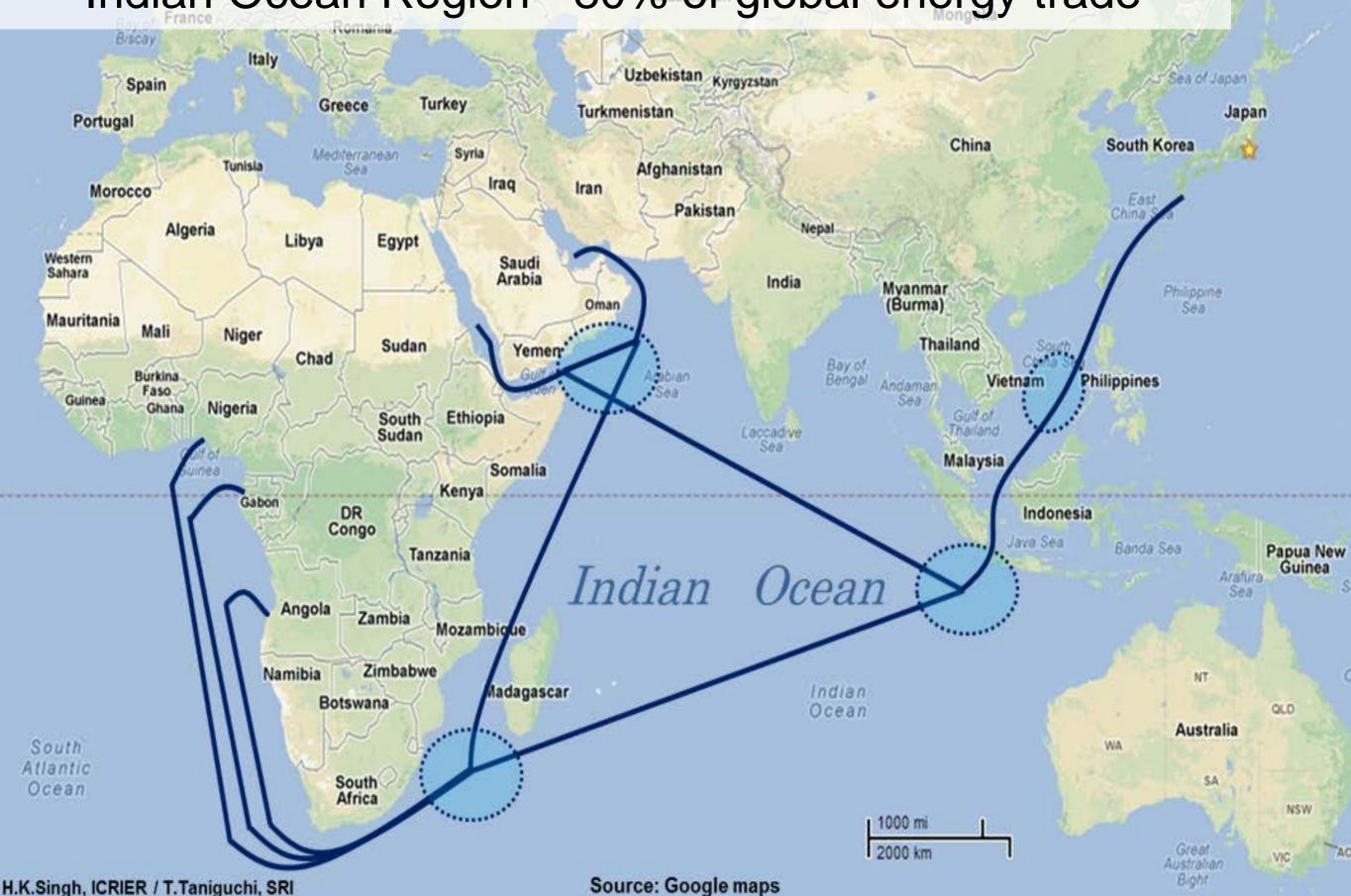
- Restoring ASEAN as the pivot of a multi-polar regional environment.
- Consolidating the East Asia Summit as the principal forum for regional political and security issues.
- Asian economic community building through ASEAN's RCEP initiative and the US-led TPP.
- Developing Indian Ocean Region Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) forum for the security of maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean Region littoral, based on "open regionalism". (Japan, US are Observers)

United Kingdom Ireland

## Maritime Security: Energy

Sea of Okhotsk

Indian Ocean Region - 80% of global energy trade



#### Global Power Balance

- US "decline" is relatively marginal.
- No other state is likely to match the comprehensive national power of the US for several decades.
- US enjoys a controlling footprint on the international system and rule making.
- Likelihood of "constrained" multi-polarity in the foreseeable future.
- Asia has largely welcomed US "rebalancing".

### India's Strategic Posture

- India's geo-strategic and geo-economic footprint is still limited while its vulnerability to external factors is not.
- Losing ground against China, India needs preferential partnerships that bolster its "strategic autonomy".
- Ongoing transition from past ideological fixations ("Indian exceptionalism")
  to the pragmatic pursuit of national interests.
- Third largest economy by 2025, rising economic powerhouse like China is today by the 2030s.

#### India's Defence Posture



- India's geographic location at crossroads of Asia plus its Andaman and Nicobar Islands in South East Asia give it a unique role and responsibility across the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean Region.
- Continental, strategic and maritime power: significant regional potential.
- Major focus on air power (\$35 billion) and Naval (\$60 billion) expansion over the next decade.
- INS 'Baaz' (August 2012) at Campbell Bay (Andaman & Nicobar) to expand operational reach in South East Asia.
- Pursuing regional partnerships for maritime security, anti-piracy and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (IONS, "MILAN" regional exercises).



#### **Maritime Security** India's Andaman and Nicobar Islands Chhattisgarh Myanmar Nagpur Hà Nội Tripura (Burma) Orissa Mizoram Laos Mumbai Maharastra Pune Visakhapatnam Hyderabad Bay of Yangon Andhra Bengal Pradesh Thailand Goa Port Blair Karnataka Vietnam Bangkok Bangalore Chennal Cambodia Phnom o Ho Chi Tamil Nadu Andaman Minh City Sea Combatore o Madurai Gulf of Thailand Kerala Sri Lanka Laccadive Colombo Sea 200 mi Perak olpoh Kepulauan Medan Malaysia Shah Alam Singapore Indian Ocean Riau West. Maldives Sumatra Jambi Indonesia Source: Google maps H.K.Singh, ICRIER / T.Taniguchi, SRI

#### India and the United States

- Transformation of India-US relations over the past decade has been a major strategic gain for both countries.
- US support for India's emergence as a major power; parallel interests which are increasingly converging.
- Intensifying defence ties: joint exercises (59 since 2005) and arms trade (\$ 9 billion, likely to double).
- Cooperation on Asian security architecture (East Asia Dialogue, India-US-Japan Trilateral Dialogue).

#### **India and China**

- Relations are stable but strategic concerns and mistrust remain.
- Standstill on boundary dispute, periodic provocations.
- Nuclear and missile proliferation activities impacting India's security.
- Single most important foreign policy and security challenge for India.

### India and Japan

- Unprecedented opportunity for a mutually reinforcing security posture and a vigorous economic partnership based on shared values.
- Enhanced maritime security cooperation and interoperability; annual bilateral naval exercises; operational linkages between MSDF and Indian Navy from Sasebo to Port Blair to Djibouti.
- Widening security engagement to include defence industrial cooperation.
- Cooperation on Asian security architecture (EAS, ADMM+, IOR-ARC).

### **India and Japan**

### Maritime Security Cooperation





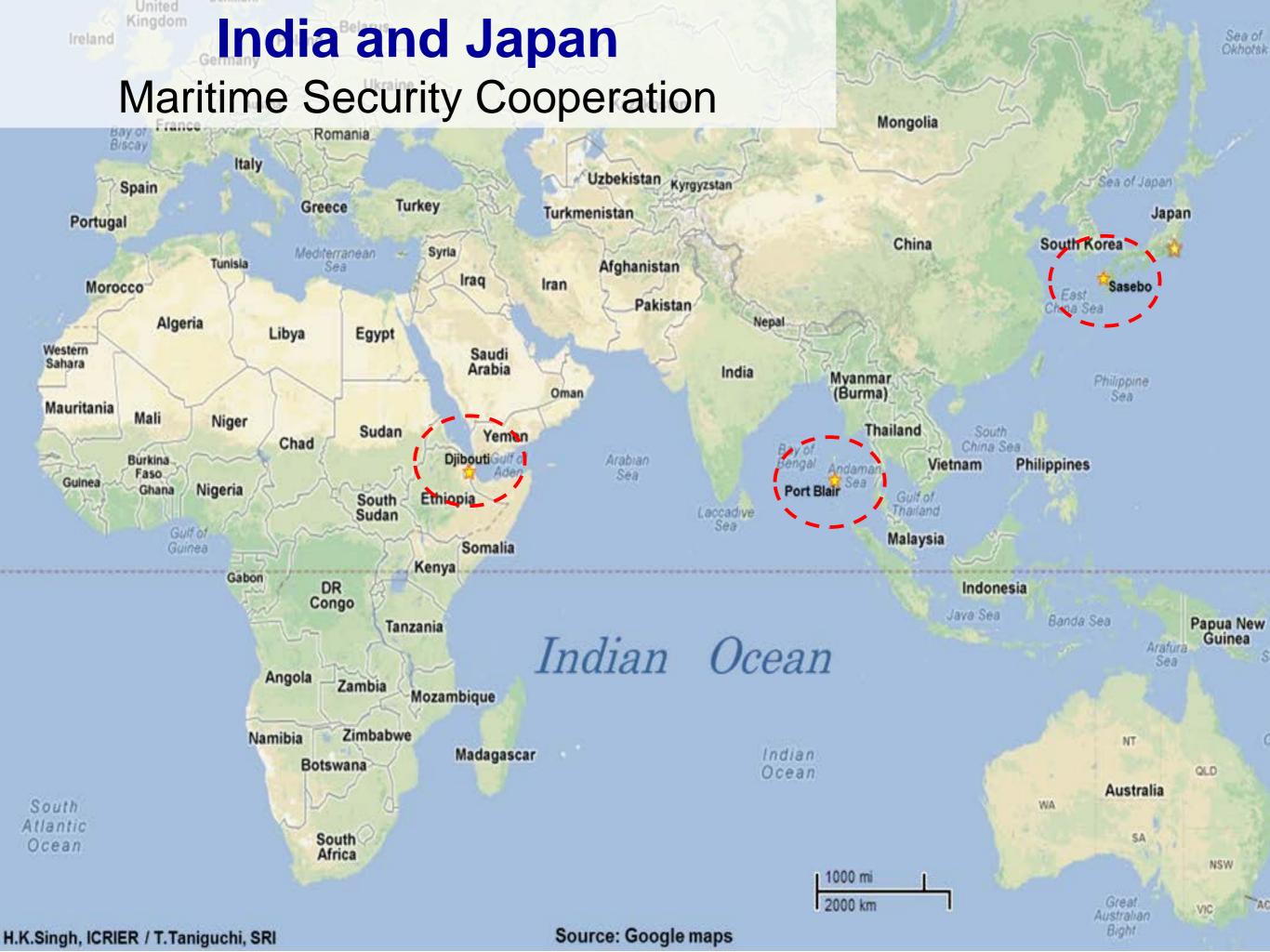


### **India and Japan**

### Maritime Security Cooperation



**Source: Japan Ministry of Defense** 



#### Conclusion

- Over the coming decade, both India and Japan will need to play an increasing role to bolster their own national security and become net providers of regional security as Asia's largest maritime democracies.
- Mutual stake in each other's success reflected in the "vibrant India, resurgent Japan" theme of the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations.