



The Geopolitics of the Indo Pacific

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Geopolitics

- How geography impacts upon security
- The importance of areas, zones or geographical points for the security of a state,
- For an expanding power, areas, zones or geographical points that become important for power projection against rivals
- The bottom line of policy
 - Gives direction to strategy, military or naval deployments
 - The basis of foreign policy

The Indo Pacific

- A vision joining the Asia Pacific with the Indian Ocean,
- The Indo Pacific is not a region, but a geopolitical **construct**-a basis for the extension of the notion of region
- A region is defined in terms of
 - Common history and cultural bonds
 - Economic and/or political interaction
 - Southeast Asia is a constructed region

The Indo Pacific

- The coalescing notions of an extensive geopolitical area are a response to China's challenge
- No combination of regional forces in the western pacific can counter China
- Its naval reach into the Indian Ocean, involvement with Pakistan, Sri Lanka requires an integrated response
- The search for a counterweight, or strategic equilibrium demands the geopolitical integration of the Western Pacific with the Indian Oceans, **and involvement of India**



China's Unsettling behaviour

- China's challenge to the rules-based order as a basis for stability
- China's attitude to law and UNCLOS, its claim to the South China Sea dismissed by the Arbitral Tribunal of the Law of the Sea on 16 July 2016 as failing to satisfy legal criteria
- China's reliance on power in the South China Sea, a critical indicator of its intentions and ambitions
- The militarisation of Fiery Cross, Subi and Mischief Reefs In May 2018, China installed YJ-12B land-based anti-ship cruise missiles, which can target surface vessels within a 550 kms range
 - HQ-9B surface-to-air missiles with a range of 300 kms,
 - July 2019 China test fired the DF-21D anti-ship ballistic missile, the "carrier killer" six were launched into the South China Sea.

Different views of the Indo Pacific

- Geographic extent, East Africa, South Pacific
- Geographic stress, Indian Ocean, South China Sea, Northeast Asia
- Focus and purpose
 - An exclusive counterweight to China
 - Democracies, and security and defence cooperation
 - An inclusive counterweight to China
 - Developmental and connectivity issues as central

The rules based order

- The notion of the Indo Pacific has been incorporated in official foreign policy declarations, defence policies and statements from Japan, US, ASEAN, India, and Australia
- Common focus on the importance of a “rules based order”
 - Resolution of territorial disputes through law and dialogue, not force
 - Respect for freedom of navigation and overflight
 - Adherence to international law and the Law of the Sea
 - Predictability of relations based on common observance of rules and norms of interaction

Japan and the Indo Pacific

- The inclusion of India
- Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe introduced the “Indo Pacific” during his speech to the Indian Parliament on 22 August 2007.
- A new "broader Asia" which takes shape at the confluence of the two seas of the Indian and Pacific Oceans”
- Brings together the **democracies of the area**
- In Nairobi on 28 August 2016 Abe mentioned the “free and open Pacific and Indian Oceans,” India brings in East Africa
- Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP) as Japanese policy
- Main focus is security cooperation.

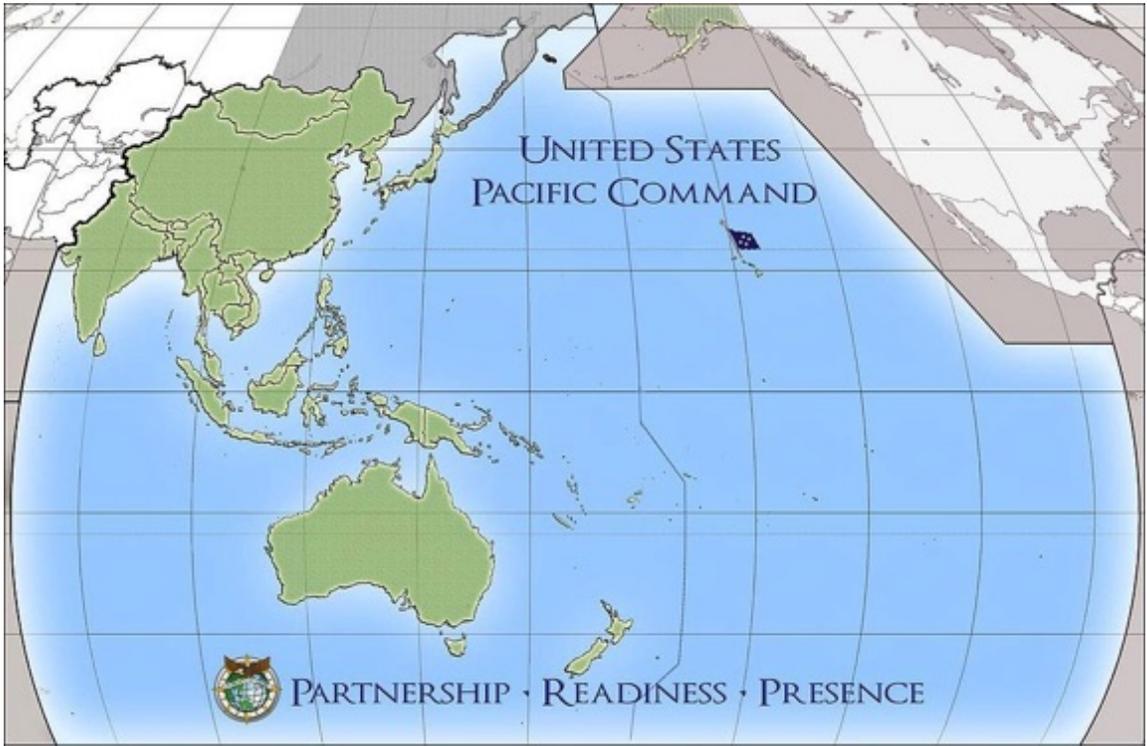


To make the “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy” into shape, Japan will strengthen strategic collaboration with India, which has a historical relationship with East Africa, as well as the US and Australia.

Japan and the Indo Pacific

The US and the Indo Pacific

- President Trump called for a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" (FOIP) at the APEC CEO Summit in Da Nang in November 2017.
- **By definition exclusive**, freedom from coercion and “fundamental freedoms” open sea lines of communication and open airways
- On 30 May 2018 the US Pacific Command became INDOPACOM to include India
- The US view includes the West coast of India and the West coast of the US,
- The area west of India has been designated part of the US Central Command (CENTCOM) and Africa command (AFRICACOM) and is excluded.
- Main focus is security and defence



US
INDOPACOM

Australia

The Indo Pacific is a maritime area connecting Southeast Asia, India, North Asia the US and the South Pacific

- 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper calls for “a stable and prosperous Indo–Pacific” and a “rules based order”
- Engagement with major Indo–Pacific democracies.
- China’s role in regional order recognized
- The nearer region, which encompasses Australia’s borders and offshore territories, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste and Pacific Island Countries, and maritime South East Asia is of most immediate
- Then the wider Indo-Pacific region,
- Wants to avoid diversion to Northeast Asia, and India’s concern with China’s activities in South Asia

ASEAN and Indo Pacific

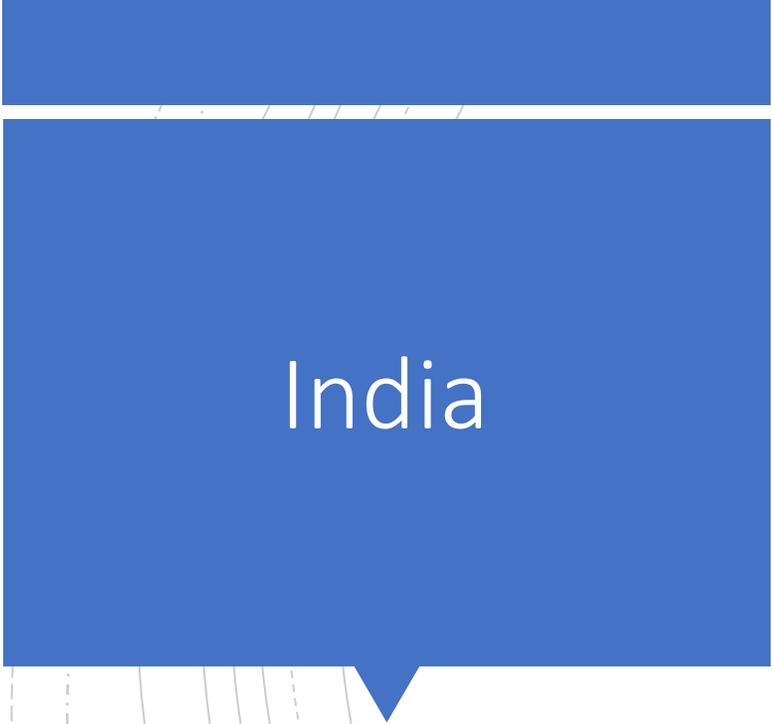
- The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo Pacific (23 June 2019) an “open” and “inclusive” Indo-Pacific.
- The notion of the Indo Pacific challenges ASEAN centrality
- Avoidance of great power rivalry that could fragment the grouping
- ASEAN-led mechanisms the East Asia Summit (EAS), as platforms for dialogue and Indo–Pacific cooperation
- The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, (1976) stress on International law, Law of the Sea
- Functional cooperation, sustainable development and connectivity between regions
- Maintain the focus on ASEAN as the core of region building

India and the Indo Pacific

- Narendra Modi's vision of the Indo-Pacific, the Shangri La dialogue, June 2018
- The "shores of Africa to that of the Americas,"
- ASEAN is the core
- Includes the Indian Ocean Rim Association, (IORA) with 22 members. Arabian Sea/Gulf region and Indian Ocean island states
- "free, open, inclusive Indo- Pacific" (FOIIP), an inclusive region, and not a "club of limited members."
- Avoidance of a defence coalition against China, diversion to Northeast Asia

India

- India is the key to the notion of the Indo Pacific
- The then CINPAC Harry Harris declared in 2018 that India was the biggest strategic opportunity for the US and that the two countries are “natural partner
- India as a “Major Defence Partner” of the US (June 2016)
- Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), concluded with US India to receive license-free access to a wide range of dual-use technologies
 - The movement of Chinese naval vessels into the Indian Ocean, at times operating close to Indian waters.
 - Pakistan as China’s largest purchaser of weapons, the \$4 billion deal for 8 Yuan class submarines, and 4 Juankai frigates



India

- Non alignment and strategic autonomy
- Modi's speech to the Shangri la dialogue in Singapore in June 2018
 - the importance of the strategic partnership with the US,
 - But China was important for global peace and progress. In this context, India's relationship with China had "many layers
 - Modi's relationship with Russia and Putin at the Eastern Economic Summit in Vladivostok India will extend a US\$ 1 billion Credit for the development of the Russian Far East,
 - The "Vladivostok-Chennai Sea Link" to reduce sea transport time to counter China's Maritime Silk Route, will pass close to the South China Sea
- Quadrilateralism is regarded as central to the Indo Pacific
- But India wants it to focus on coastguard cooperation, piracy and maritime humanitarian relief

Developing security relationships

Bilateral security cooperation

- The first U.S.-ASEAN maritime exercise (AUMX) August 2019
- Japan-India Maritime Exercises (JIMEX) December 2013, October 2018. Japan-India Acquisition and Cross Servicing Agreement under negotiation

Trilateralism

- Summit meetings, US, Japan and India, 2018, 2019, Malabar naval exercises
- Australia, US, Japan Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (TSD)
- US, Australia, Japan and Trilateral Partnership for infrastructure investment in the Indo-Pacific, November 2018

Quadrilateralism

- Japan US, France and Australia naval exercises May 2018,
- Japan, US, India and Australia, now two meetings annually
- Upgraded to foreign minister level as from September 2019

Conclusion

- The Indo Pacific, an area of common geopolitical interest as a response to China's challenge to the rules based order that has benefited the region
- Very different approaches on a new Indo Pacific order, or how relations with China should be conducted.
- A common commitment to a rules-based order, international law, and freedom of navigation
- Signifiers of predictable, orderly and stable regional relations which would be endangered by China's increasing reliance on power
- The development of the Indo Pacific as a geopolitical concept will depend largely on China's behaviour