



## Perspectives on the India-ASEAN Summit

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### **Abstract**

*The commemorative ASEAN-India Summit held on January 25, 2018, in New Delhi, was the grand finale to the year-long celebration of 25 years of ASEAN-India relations. The ASEAN region is considered as India's extended neighbourhood with civilisational linkages going back to two millennia. The hosting of the ten heads of ASEAN states has in a way enabled India to re-energise the relations and provided much scope for new areas of cooperation while seeking to address the old as well as the new challenges being witnessed in the region. This paper while laying out some of the major themes that provide the roadmap for India-ASEAN relations would also provide an overview of the major highlights of the summit. One of the major outcomes was strengthening cooperation in the maritime area between India and the ASEAN states. The move towards deepening maritime security and cooperation with ASEAN would play out to become significant in India's pursuit of the establishment of a free and open Indo-Pacific.*

## **Introduction**

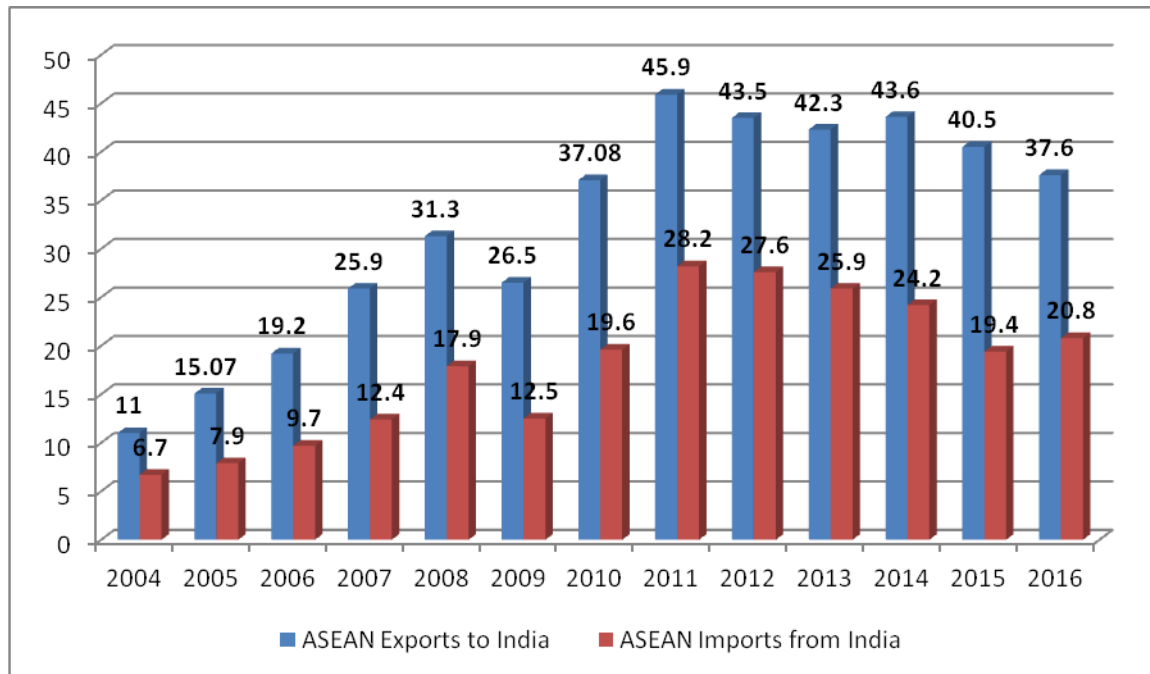
The year-long celebration of 25 years of India-ASEAN Dialogue Partnership concluded with signing of the Delhi Declaration and the ten ASEAN head of states attending the 69<sup>th</sup> Republic Day parade as chief guests. They got a glimpse of the socio-cultural heritage that India represents, along with a display of India's defence capabilities. This was important as India is one of the major defence exporters to some of the ASEAN nations. The importance of the gesture, of calling the ASEAN country heads to be chief guests, added weight to India's 'Act East' policy. The initiative was also for the promotion of the ongoing Make in India, Skill India, Digital India programmes as well as strengthening India's position as an investment destination. Bringing together all the ASEAN leaders twice within five years demonstrates the commitment both sides have to elevating existing relations to the next level. It already has thirty sectoral dialogue mechanisms, seven ministerial level interactions, in addition to the annual summit meetings. India also nurtures civilizational, cultural, social as well as religious links with most of the ASEAN nations that have been the bedrock for a long and sustained relationship. This has provided the foundation towards broadening the scope of the relations and categories of cooperation, namely in the area of economics, security, and socio-cultural ties.

## **Three elements of the India-ASEAN Relations**

The progress being witnessed today in the India-ASEAN relations has been determined by three broad factors that have acted as catalysts towards strengthening the relations.

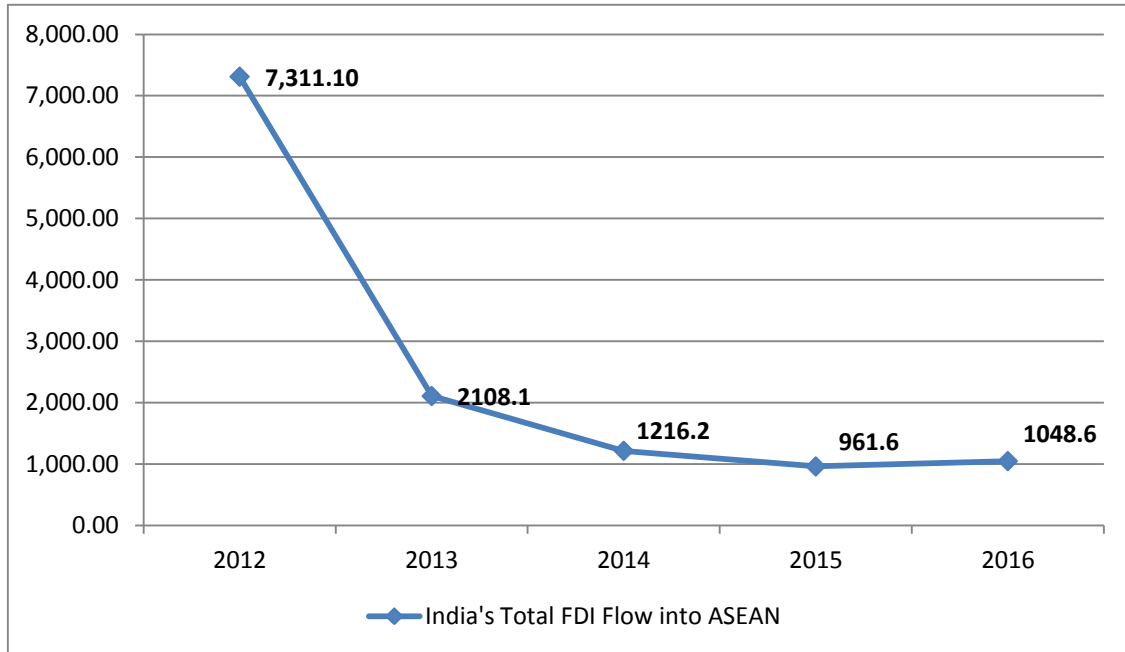
### ***Economic Factors***

The need to push economic relations with Southeast Asia was one of the major agenda in India's foreign policy in the post-Cold War period. Given India's domestic economic slowdown during the period and the emergence of ASEAN as a promising growth area of the world, it provided much potential for economic engagement. India's diplomatic outreach to its eastern neighbors through the 'Look East' policy where economics was at the core paid off. India was able to improve its economic relations with the nations of ASEAN. In so far as India is concerned, less than four years from 1992, its two-way trade has more than doubled; in 1996-97, it stood at US\$ 6 billion and crossed the target of US\$ 10 billion in the year 2002. India's principal ASEAN trading partners are Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia. The main items of Indian exports comprise gems and jewellery, drugs and pharmaceuticals, electronic goods, meat and meat products, sugar, cotton yarn fabrics, wheat, spices and finished leather. India's imports from ASEAN constitute vegetable oils, electronic goods, newsprints, natural rubber, pearls and precious stones, and wood and wood products.<sup>1</sup> The bar diagram indicates how in the new millennium, ASEAN-India trade has continued to witness a surge both in terms of exports and imports. India's total trade volume with ASEAN has grown ten-fold since 1996-97 to end up close to US\$ 70 billion at the end of 2016.



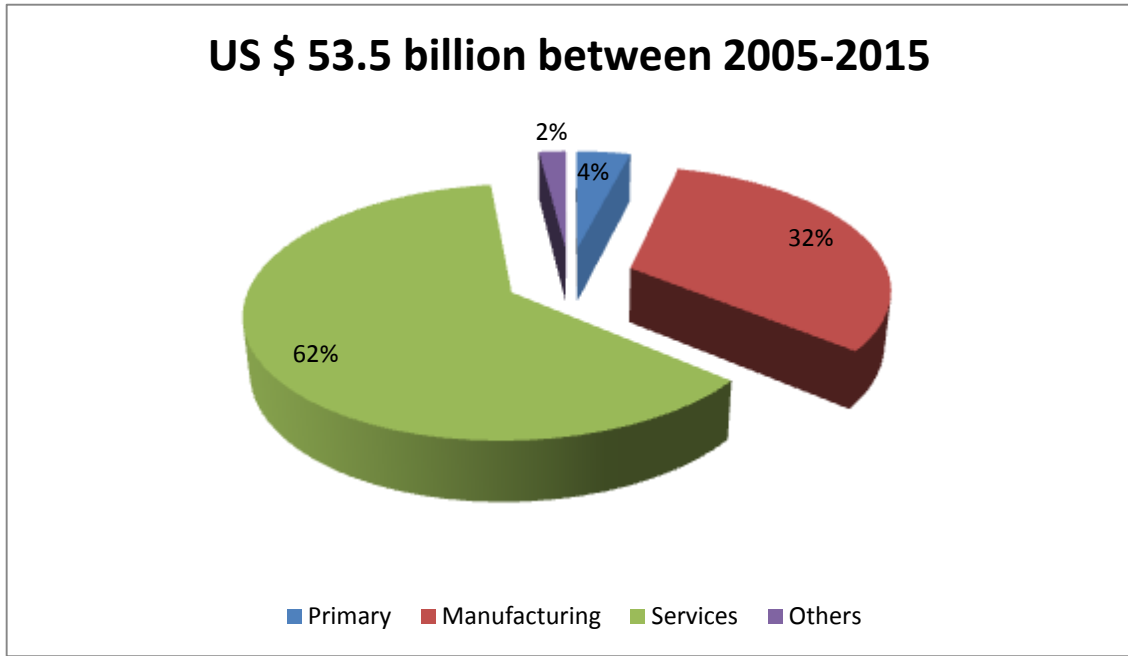
**Figure 1: ASEAN Trade in Goods with India, 2006-2016 (in US \$ billion)<sup>ii</sup>**

In terms of foreign direct investments, ASEAN states such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia – who are the top three ASEAN investors in India – have been investing in sectors such as power and oil refinery, telecom, electric equipment, IT, along with large investment flows also going into pharmaceuticals and biotechnology. ASEAN is a major investment destination for Indian companies. A significant proportion of Indian global outward FDI (OFDI) stock is in ASEAN. A majority of these flows go to services, primarily in banking and finance, information technologies (IT) and IT-enabled services (ITeS). Indian manufacturing OFDI in ASEAN is significant in metal and transport equipment industries. India has also been investing in the area of connectivity, physical as well as digital, through various sub-regional organisations such as the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation, BIMSTEC, along with establishing a developmental fund of US \$ 1 billion for the CLMV countries. The huge and growing middle class in Southeast Asia requires infrastructural support and thus, provides opportunity for India to invest into these developmental projects not only in terms of physical but also provide soft investments in the form of capacity and capability development. Further, the ASEAN-India free trade agreement enables Indian industries and exporters to tap into the ASEAN markets.<sup>iii</sup>



**Figure 2: Indian FDI Flows in ASEAN, 2012-2016<sup>iv</sup>** (Millions of dollars)

The graph in the above figure indicates India's FDI flows into ASEAN from 2012-2016. As seen from the figure, India's FDI into ASEAN from a high of US \$ 7.3 billion has continued to decline to about US \$ 1 billion in 2016. According to the ASEAN Investment Report 2017, such fluctuations in the trend of Indian FDI in ASEAN over recent years have affected the level of Indian OFDI stock held in the region, which declined from \$20.8 billion in 2010 to \$18.4 billion in 2015. The pie chart below indicates the percentage of India's total investment of US \$ 53.5 billion into the different industries in ASEAN from 2005 to 2015.



**Figure 3: Indian Overseas Investment Activities to ASEAN, by Industries, 2005-2015<sup>y</sup> (in percentage)**

The figure indicates that Indian FDI in the primary sector in ASEAN was about 4 per cent. Its investment activities are mainly in the extraction of crude petroleum and natural gas. Indian manufacturing investment activities in ASEAN are concentrated in technology-intensive industries and are about 32 percent of the OFDI. During 2005–2015, the medium-technology industry namely basic metals and fabricated metal products accounted for the largest share, followed by the high-technology industry such as motor vehicles and other transport equipment with a 34.3 per cent share. These two industries received about 72 per cent of Indian manufacturing OFDI flows to the region. In addition, Indian investment in pharmaceuticals has grown rapidly in recent years, particularly in 2015. Indian investment activities in services in ASEAN have expanded rapidly during 2005–2015 and were 62 percent of the total India OFDI. The bulk of these investments went to communication services, followed by construction, and transportation and storage. Professional services, scientific and technical activities, and IT and ITeS services are also significant and growing. The bilateral investment relationship between ASEAN and India is growing stronger. ASEAN is also major source of FDI to India with a total investment of US \$ 45 billion in cumulative FDI equity capital during 2010–2015, which represented 16 per cent of FDI flows in India. Singapore accounted for the lion’s share of FDI into India while most of the ASEAN companies are involved in India’s infrastructure development and other services industries.<sup>vi</sup>

According to Singapore Foreign Minister Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, the growth in economic relations has been possible due to the efforts made by both sides to understand each other’s economic capabilities. This relationship is based on the principles of equality, inclusivity as well as sustainability. Though the overall economic relations seem to be in

an upward trajectory there have been some major challenges that need to be addressed. For instance, the total trade volume needs to be increased as per capacity. Further, in terms of investments, more can be done. India's total Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) contribution in ASEAN from 2010-2016 has been 1.8% of the total FDI inflows of ASEAN and 2.6 per cent in ASEAN's total external trade.<sup>vii</sup> One major reason for this small percentage as raised by the foreign minister could be because India's investment in ASEAN is geographically concentrated, with most of the activity directed to few of the ASEAN states such as Singapore. Factors such as strong air connectivity with India, a business enabling environment, more stable taxation system, logistics and financial infrastructure, and the presence of a large Indian diaspora community have been the major drivers of Indian investment in Singapore. Further, the signing of the India-Singapore Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) in 2005 has provided added momentum to trade and investment relationship between Singapore and India. ASEAN nonetheless has remained an important destination for Indian OFDI. India was the 11th largest non-ASEAN investor in ASEAN between 2010 and 2016. Although Indian FDI flows to ASEAN are relatively small compared with those of Japan, the United States and China, many Indian firms continue to expand their presence with small OFDI projects, particularly in services activities. This also partly explains the relatively lower level of Indian FDI flows in ASEAN.<sup>viii</sup>

Therefore, there is need to push connectivity in terms of physical, digital, as well as people-to-people, which in turn would provide the basis for further propelling the economic relations with each of the ASEAN states. At the bilateral meetings prior to the Summit, the Indian Prime Minister and Myanmar's State Counselor talked about further strengthening of bilateral relations, that included the operationalisation of the Sittwe Port, the trilateral highway, and other cross border trade. In the meeting with Vietnam's Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc, both leaders talked about operationalisation of the US\$-100-million Line of Credit which involves manufacturing of off-shore patrol vessels including the need for tapping the full potential of bilateral trade and investment with the set target of US \$ 15 billion trade by 2020. President Duterte of Philippines expressed interest in cooperation with India in the pharmaceutical sector. Both leaders discussed the importance of Indian private companies such as GMR in airport development and other infrastructural development in the Philippines. In the meeting with the Thai Prime Minister Chan-o-cha, emphasis was laid on enhancing connectivity through sub-regional grouping such as the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation and the BIMSTEC. Further, both nations would seek proposals for greater cooperation in the area of tourism. While emphasising the role of the India diaspora in Singapore to help strengthen the relations both leaders discussed areas of cooperation in the field of IT and innovation. The Indian Prime Minister, with the aim of enhancing cooperation in civil aviation, invited Singapore airlines to start operations to other Indian cities especially Guwahati. This would be an important element in connecting Northeast India to the ASEAN region. In the bilateral meeting with the Sultan of Brunei, it was agreed that there would be enhanced cooperation in the health sector and IT. Brunei has also expressed its desire for greater Indian participation in the oil and gas sector.<sup>ix</sup>

The bilateral meetings indicate an understanding of India as well as ASEAN on the huge potential for economic growth in terms of trade, tourism, and many other fields. Further, efforts must be undertaken towards realizing these proposals for greater economic engagement between India and the ASEAN states without any delay.

### ***Security Factors***

ASEAN falls in India's immediate strategic sphere. The physical distance between the Andaman Islands and Indonesia is a mere 195 kms approximately along with the close maritime borders it shares with Myanmar and Thailand. Further, India shares a 1643-kilometer-long physical border with Myanmar. This marine and physical border that India shares with these three states makes India linked geo-strategically to Southeast Asia. Ever since the end of the Cold War and India's push to strengthening its ties with Southeast Asia, India's perspective of outstanding as well as emerging security concerns saw commonality shared by the ASEAN states as well. India as a result was invited to be a sectoral partner of ASEAN in 1992 and a full dialogue partner in 1995. The sectoral partnership was to promote trade, investment, and tourism relations, the dialogue partnership provided a broader agenda for cooperation, which included security, political, economic, and cultural areas of cooperation. In 1996, India became a member of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) aimed at confidence building, conflict resolution, and preventive diplomacy. India has been an active member of the ARF and has worked together with ASEAN in several areas including search and rescue, sea piracy and disaster relief.<sup>x</sup>

India has acceded to ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in October 2003, which further promotes regional peace and stability, along with becoming a part of ASEAN security dialogue initiatives such as the East Asia Summit established in 2005 and the ASEAN Defence Ministerial Meeting Plus established in 2010. India's accession to the various ASEAN led security dialogue initiatives has also been facilitated because both share the fundamental principles of non-interference, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and resolving disputes in a peaceful manner and in accordance with international law.

The establishment of India-ASEAN strategic partnership in 2012 has further enabled stronger cooperation in the area of security with ASEAN as well as with individual ASEAN states. Connectivity is an essential element for India and ASEAN to realise their commitment to ensuring security in the region. India and the ASEAN states are collaborating to ensure connectivity in terms of physical as well as digital, hard as well as soft. For instance, India is part of the Trilateral Highway with Myanmar and Thailand building land connectivity, which is to be extended to Lao PDR and Vietnam. India is also involved in developing ports, having significant defence exports to these nations, as well as being involved in drilling offshore oil in Vietnam.

India and individual ASEAN states over the decades have been involved in multiple regional and sub-regional platforms, which in a way have helped strengthen their cooperation in the realm of security. Bilaterally India has been enhancing its security and

defence cooperation with the ASEAN states such as the India-Singapore Strategic partnership established on November 24, 2015, to mark fifty years of the relationship. Further, in September 2016 when the Indian Prime Minister visited Vietnam, its strategic partnership with Hanoi was upgraded to a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership and under that rubric defence and maritime cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region was discussed. In January 2018, there was the National Security Advisor level talk between India and Indonesia to enhance and establish regular mechanism for security cooperation. At the bilateral meeting with President Duterte on January 25, 2018, important discussions were held on countering terrorism and especially on how to deal with urban terrorism. Both leaders also shared concerns about proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and about international networks and linkages involved in such proliferation activities. Further, with the Prime Minister of Thailand, discussions were undertaken on greater cooperation in defence and maritime security, in terms of enhancing regular ship visits and exercises, and cooperation in coastal surveillance through radar systems and offshore vessels.<sup>xi</sup>

The commemorative summit itself saw deliberations on the threat of terrorism, boosting maritime security cooperation and enhancing connectivity, which was agreed upon by all the participating members. At the summit, the leaders agreed to work collectively in combating the menace of terrorism as well as countering radicalization. The ASEAN states of Malaysia and Indonesia shared their own experience and legislation introduced in their countries in order to address the soft and hard aspects of countering terrorism. Both nations through their successful programmes and legislations have been able to reduce the radicalization of their youths. Further, through enhancing maritime cooperation there would be greater possibility towards addressing both traditional and non-traditional security challenges including humanitarian disaster relief, security cooperation and freedom of navigation.<sup>xii</sup> India has been a strong supporter of ASEAN centrality, and accepts the positive role that ASEAN plays in the regional security architecture. In future, to play a larger role in the Indo-Pacific region, the growing strategic synergy between India and ASEAN would remain integral for the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

### ***Socio- Cultural Factors***

India and ASEAN has continued to build their ties on the civilisational linkages as evident in the two tableaux presented by the Ministry of External Affairs at the 2018 Republic Day celebrations. The strong and sustained cultural ties have provided the bedrock for building the platform for the present and new emerging areas of cooperation. Today, the socio-cultural cooperation between India and ASEAN includes human resource development, science and technology (S&T), people-to-people contacts, education, health and pharmaceuticals, transport and infrastructure, small and medium enterprises (SMEs), tourism, information and communication technology (ICT), agriculture, food security, biodiversity, climate change, disaster management, energy and Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI).<sup>xiii</sup>

As mentioned by Prime Minister Modi, the ancient Indian epic *Ramayana* remains a shared legacy between the Indian subcontinent and ASEAN, along with the distinctive



connections established by Buddhism and Islam through many centuries.<sup>xiv</sup> ASEAN and India have been actively involved in various capacity building projects, and recognise the important role played by the Indian diaspora settled in the region, as well as the ASEAN nations being a common tourist destination for Indians. India has been actively involved in the restoration of historical monuments in Cambodia, Myanmar, Lao PDR and Vietnam. In the second International Conference on ASEAN-India Cultural and Civilisational Links on January 20, 2017 in Jakarta, there was emphasis on the need to further strengthen the existing cooperation between ASEAN and India, and identify feasible policy options to overcome the challenges to ASEAN-India strategic partnership through people-to-people connectivity and cultural relations.<sup>xv</sup> There is also a need to put due focus on inter-cultural linkages as they are critical to connect and bridge differences, and underscore the promotion of the cultural diversity of ASEAN and India. Vongthep Arthakaivalvatee, Deputy Secretary-General for ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community highlighted the importance of intercultural dialogue with emphasis on the long-lasting cultural threads that bind the region.<sup>xvi</sup>

The need to come closer to each other has been felt from both the leaderships in India and ASEAN alike. The significance of socio-cultural ties in India-ASEAN relations is very much evident given the fact that 2019 has been proposed to be declared the year of ASEAN-India Year of Tourism by Prime Minister Modi, at the ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit. Further, it has been proposed to set up tangible and non-tangible cultural heritage circuits to further promote tourism. The proposed Buddhist Tourism circuit could be important as it would attract tourist and pilgrims between the regions. With socio-cultural linkages as the foundation, as time progressed, India's relations with the nations of ASEAN has continued to evolve represented today by a partnership for progress and prosperity that is sustainable.

These three elements are part of the broad India-ASEAN relations have continued to grow; henceforth broadening the relationship into new areas. The successful completion of 25 years of ASEAN-India Dialogue Partnership brought all the ten heads of ASEAN to New Delhi to be part of the ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit on January 25, 2018, while also joining as chief guests at India's Republic Day celebration on January 26, 2018.

### **The Retreat: India-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation and Security**

Prior to the formal Summit, for the very first time a retreat amongst India and the ten ASEAN heads of States and government was held on the theme aimed at strengthening ties in the area of maritime security and cooperation. This has emerged as a major outcome of the Summit and provides the way forward in further cementing the relations, as it has communality of interests and concerns shared between India and the rest of the ASEAN states in their territorial waters.

The shift in the concept of security due to the changing nature of threat including the tactics being adopted, where the adversary is no more restricted to State but rather non-State actors, has changed the relationship in the international system amongst States. This has also brought about a change in the overall understanding of maritime security, as it represents vast and uncharted waters which pose a challenge to regional as well as

global security. Further, the international economy has also become more and more dependent on seaborne communications, and as the land-based resources continue to get depleted, the focus shifts to offshore hydrocarbons as well as the prospects for deep-sea resources exploration. This increasing need for resources in order to fuel the development prospects of individual states has also pushed for increasing the protection of a country's territorial waters and EEZs. The development of new technologies and growing interdependence between marine resources and overland lifestyle have further magnified the scope of maritime security, covering issues which concern mankind in general, such as natural disasters, illegal and excessive fishing, environmental security, preservation of marine resources and ecology.<sup>xvii</sup>

India being a maritime nation located at the centre of the Indian Ocean with a coastline of over 7500 km and after the declaration of an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 200 nautical miles, has to address the safety and security of its total maritime area of over two million sq kms. Thus, there is the need for India to cooperate with its neighbours for ensuring its economic and strategic well-being. India has developed a strong maritime interest and is advocating the development of open and free use of the seas while emphasising the need for safeguarding freedom of navigation, which is critical for the entire region's economic growth and prosperity.<sup>xviii</sup>

The increasing incidents of terrorist attack in Southeast Asia in the aftermath of 9/11 revealed the vulnerabilities faced by the region from the dangers of radical extremism. Further, India's own experience of the 26/11 terrorist attack in Mumbai where the terrorists launched their attack from the sea indicated the dangers faced by a porous sea boundary. Further, over the last decade, the area of the Bay of Bengal, the Andaman Sea, the Malacca Straits and the maritime region surrounding Indonesia have witnessed increasing number of incidents relating to narco-terrorism, piracy, and poaching. These problems involve armed conflict of low intensity, threaten the safety of the sea lanes of communication and vitiate the environment of collective and responsive exploitation of marine resources.<sup>xix</sup>

Given the increasing need to secure India's maritime space, the theme of Maritime Security and Cooperation was discussed at the retreat held for India-ASEAN leaders at the Summit. At the retreat, the PM and the ASEAN leaders sought to focus on creating a mechanism for maritime cooperation which would focus on addressing maritime cooperation in both the areas of traditional and non-traditional security challenges. Thus, both parties shared the need for expanding defence and security cooperation while continuing to engage in the existing areas of counter-terrorism, illegal transfer of drugs, piracy, and other challenges to maritime security. India emphasised the fact that maritime connectivity required urgent modernisation in order to deal with the current geopolitical realities. The proposed Indo-ASEAN maritime transport agreement is one such mechanism in order for India to expand its connectivity with the ASEAN states. The early conclusion of the proposed Agreement would help eliminate barriers hindering maritime transport and establish regional transport framework with the objective of maritime transport facilitation between India and South-East Asia and beyond.<sup>xx</sup>

The growing threat from non-state entities provided another common platform for India and ASEAN to further strengthen security cooperation against traditional and non-traditional threats in their marine space. This form of India-ASEAN cooperation would require cooperation in order to not only counter threats but more importantly initiate processes which would help strengthen each other's respective capabilities in order to develop resilience to withstand internal and external security challenges.<sup>xxi</sup>

### **Outcomes of the ASEAN- India Commemorative Summit: The Delhi Declaration**

The 10 heads of ASEAN states along with Prime Minister Narendra Modi brought out the **Delhi Declaration** at the end of the ASEAN India Commemorative Summit, which was held on the theme of "*Shared Values, Common Destiny*".

- Towards strengthening their economic engagement India and ASEAN reiterated their commitment for the full and timely implementation of the Plan of Action (2016-2020). The members sought the swift conclusion of a 'modern, comprehensive, high quality, and mutually beneficial Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). However, they did not identify the pathway towards resolving the bottlenecks that continue to stall the process.<sup>xxii</sup> Both sides agreed towards strengthening aviation and maritime transport while committed to enhancing trade, tourism and investment. Continue to enhance cooperation for gaining food and energy security, especially promoting the development of renewable energy technology, they further stressed on cooperation in the areas of science and technology and peaceful exploration of outer space and its research and development.<sup>xxiii</sup> They also stressed the need to strengthen cooperation in the health sector, environmental management and climate change, promoting biodiversity conservation, and implementing the ASEAN Community Vision 2025, while decreasing the development gap.<sup>xxiv</sup>
- In the area of strategic cooperation, both India and ASEAN reaffirmed their commitment to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) for common regional and security issues as well as protection of marine resources, maritime trade routes and transport. They also stressed on the need to counter maritime challenges jointly, while strengthening the joint platforms for countering terrorist groups and organisations, countering the misuse of the internet and the social media, addressing terrorism financing, terrorist recruitment, and a host of other issues.
- In terms of socio-cultural cooperation leaders from both sides stressed the need to build platforms for further strengthening the understanding of their common historical and civilizational linkages. Emphasis on collaboration towards restoring cultural and historical symbols and structures which are of mutual interest, while also promoting cultural tourism. They also called for exchange programmes from all segments of society, including youth and farmers. They felt strongly about setting up of English Language Centers and technical and economic cooperative institutions, and availability of scholarships in various strata and levels, research as well as vocational.<sup>xxv</sup> Further, India and ASEAN sought better coordination within

the established mechanisms in strengthening cooperation in disaster management and humanitarian assistance.<sup>xxvi</sup>

## Conclusion

It can be said that the Delhi Declaration of the Summit emphasised the need for greater political, security, economic, commercial and cultural cooperation between the two sides. The presence of ten ASEAN leaders in New Delhi cannot be seen merely as an exercise of commemorating the completion of 25 years of India-ASEAN relations, but the joint effort of both India and ASEAN to understand the challenges and bottlenecks, while strengthening areas of cooperation and bringing further dynamism into the existing relations. The emphasis on strengthening India-ASEAN maritime security and cooperation provides much scope for future collaboration and renewal of India's security arrangements with ASEAN. The region of the Indo-Pacific is important for the security and economic prosperity of India and its extended neighbourhood. The concept of SAGAR which stands for 'Security and Growth for All in the Region', spelled out by the Indian Prime Minister in 2016 applies to the region of the Indo-Pacific with ASEAN being its gateway. Given the shared commonality of interest in the maritime domain along with the mutual trust that prevails between India and ASEAN, it provides avenues of cooperation for mutual gains. Thus, the India-ASEAN resort to facilitating cooperation in their maritime space can become the new catalyst that could further push India-ASEAN relations in the years ahead; thereby cementing the ties while enabling the possibility of new areas of cooperation within the region and beyond.

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*Disclaimer: The views expressed are that of the Researcher and not of the Council.*

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup>Ganganath Jha, *India and Southeast Asia: Introspection for Future Partnership*, (Anamika Publishers & Distributors Ltd: Delhi, 2010), p.47-48.

<sup>ii</sup>"ASEAN Trade in Goods (in US \$)", *ASEAN stats*, <https://data.aseanstats.org/trade.php>, accessed on February 19, 2018.

<sup>iii</sup>"India ASEAN Trade and Investment Relations: Opportunities and Challenges", *The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India*, July 2016, <http://www.assochem.org/upload/docs/ASEAN-STUDY.pdf>, accessed on February 19, 2018.

<sup>iv</sup> "ASEAN Investment Report 2017: Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Zones in ASEAN", *The ASEAN Secretariat*, [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/unctad\\_asean\\_air2017d1.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/unctad_asean_air2017d1.pdf), accessed on March 21, 2018.

<sup>v</sup> Reserve Bank of India, See: [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/unctad\\_asean\\_air2017d1.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/unctad_asean_air2017d1.pdf), accessed on March 21, 2018.

<sup>vi</sup> Ibid.

<sup>vii</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore, 'Transcript of Keynote Address By Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Vivian Balakrishnan at the ASEAN-India Pravasi Bharatiya Divas Opening Plenary, Sunday, January 7, 2018,

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<sup>viii</sup>“ASEAN Investment Report 2017: Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Zones in ASEAN”, *The ASEAN Secretariat*, [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/unctad\\_asean\\_air2017d1.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/unctad_asean_air2017d1.pdf), accessed on March 21, 2018.

<sup>ix</sup>“Transcript of Media Briefing by Secretary (East) on ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit (January 25, 2018)”, *Ministry of External Affairs*, January 26, 2018, <http://www.mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/29392/Transcript+of+Media+Briefing+by+Secretary+East+on+ASEANIndia+Commemorative+Summit+January+25+2018>, accessed on March 21, 2018.

<sup>x</sup>Ganganath Jha, *India and Southeast Asia: Introspection for Future Partnership*, (Anamika Publishers & Distributors Ltd: Delhi, 2010), p.46-47.

<sup>xi</sup>“Transcript of Media Briefing by Secretary (East) on ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit (January 25, 2018)”, *Ministry of External Affairs*, January 26, 2018, <http://www.mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/29392/Transcript+of+Media+Briefing+by+Secretary+East+on+ASEANIndia+Commemorative+Summit+January+25+2018>, accessed on March 21, 2018.

<sup>xii</sup>“Transcript of Media Briefing on ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit (January 26, 2018)”, *Ministry of External Affairs*, [http://mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl%2F29399%2FTranscript\\_of\\_Media\\_Briefing\\_on\\_ASEANIndia\\_Commemorative\\_Summit\\_January\\_26\\_2018](http://mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl%2F29399%2FTranscript_of_Media_Briefing_on_ASEANIndia_Commemorative_Summit_January_26_2018), accessed on March 21, 2018.

<sup>xiii</sup>“Overview – ASEAN India Dialogue”, *Ministry of External Affairs*, Government of India, February 2017, <http://asean.org/storage/2012/05/Overview-ASEAN-India-as-of-February-2017r4CL.pdf> accessed on February 15, 2018

<sup>xiv</sup>Opening remarks by the PM at the Plenary Session of the INDIA- ASEAN Commemorative Summit (January 25, 2018), *Ministry of External Affairs*, Government of India, [http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29390/Opening\\_remarks\\_by\\_the\\_PM\\_at\\_the\\_Plenary\\_Session\\_of\\_the\\_INDIA\\_ASEAN\\_Commemorative\\_Summit\\_January\\_25\\_2018](http://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29390/Opening_remarks_by_the_PM_at_the_Plenary_Session_of_the_INDIA_ASEAN_Commemorative_Summit_January_25_2018) accessed on February 20, 2018

<sup>xv</sup>“ASEAN, India to boost cultural cooperation and linkages”, *Official ASEAN Website*, January 20, 2017, <http://asean.org/asean-india-to-boost-cultural-cooperation-and-linkages/> accessed on February 15, 2018

<sup>xvi</sup>“ASEAN, India to boost cultural cooperation and linkages”, *Official ASEAN Website*, January 20, 2017, <http://asean.org/asean-india-to-boost-cultural-cooperation-and-linkages/> accessed on February 15, 2018

<sup>xvii</sup>Vibhanshu Shekhar, “India’s Maritime Security and ASEAN: Issues of Narcoterrorism , Piracy and Poaching”, in P V Rao (edi), *India and ASEAN: Partners at Summit*, (Knowledge World: New Delhi, 2008), p. 195-196.

<sup>xviii</sup>*ibid*, p. 197.

<sup>xix</sup>*ibid*.

<sup>xx</sup>Dipanjay Roy Chaudhury, “India, ASEAN leaders agree to boost maritime cooperation”, *The Economic Times*, January 28, 2018, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/india-asean-leaders-agree-to-boost-maritime-cooperation/articleshow/62654982.cms>, accessed on February 12, 2018.

<sup>xxi</sup>Lt Gen Y M Bammi (Retd), *India and South East Asia: The Security Cooperation*, (Gyan Publishing House: New Delhi, 2006), p. 211-216.

<sup>xxii</sup>Delhi Declaration of the ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit to mark the 25th Anniversary of ASEAN-India Dialogue Relations, Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Prime Minister's Office, January 25, 2018, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=175908> accessed on January 26, 2018

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xxiii Ibid

xxiv Ibid

xxv Ibid

xxvi Ibid