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on

Indo-Pacific and the Shangri La Dialogue 2018

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Abstract

Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his speech at the 2018 Shangri La Dialogue (Singapore) outlined India's vision for the Indo-Pacific. Placing India as one of the leading players of the region, he called for an open, free and rules based order in the Indo-Pacific, which is open to cooperation from all nations willing to follow international laws. He highlighted India's principled stand which is an inclusive Indo-Pacific region. He also emphasised the importance of the region within India's foreign policy, with respect to India's relations with African nations, the Gulf region, South Asia, ASEAN and Southeast Asia, China, Japan, South Korea and India's relations with countries of the Pacific, from Australia to the Americas. Prime Minister Modi's speech outlined India's goals for the region, which has the potential to change global economy; needs to address a number of security challenges and can steer the dialogue on climate change with contribution from the large number of island nations that have expertise on the issues.

The paper is an attempt to bring forth the concept of Indo-Pacific as it has emerged from the Shangri La Dialogue.

Introduction

The Indo-Pacific as a concept has gained prominence over the past decade and a half and while it was defined differently by nations, over the past year the core ideas of the Indo-Pacific have emerged to be very similar. India has maintained that, "a free, open, prosperous and inclusive Indo-Pacific region serves the long-term interests of all countries in the region and of the world at large." It is on these principles that India will engage in the Indo-Pacific region with all nations. In his keynote address¹ at the Shangri-La Dialogue on 01 June 2018, Prime Minister Narendra Modi elaborated these principles and put forth India's vision of the Indo-Pacific where the all countries work together for peace, prosperity, security and

stability. He also outlined the centrality and importance of ASEAN, by stating it is an anchor for a peaceful and stable Indo-Pacific.

In his address Prime Minister Modi stated, “The human-kind now looks to the Rising East, with the hope to see the promise that this 21st Century beholds for the whole world, because **the destiny of the world will be deeply influenced by the course of developments in the Indo-Pacific region.... To the East, the Malacca Strait and South China Sea connect India to the Pacific and to most of our major partners - ASEAN, Japan, Republic of Korea, China and the Americas.**” He stressed the commitment of India to the ASEAN-India Summit and the centrality of the ASEAN in India’s Act East Policy.

The views expressed by Prime Minister Modi were reciprocated by a majority of the countries that have interests in the Indo-Pacific region. As the dialogue came to an end, the concept of a free, open, inclusive Indo-Pacific has emerged as the fundamental foundation on which to build political, economic and security cooperation among the States.

Below is a brief look at the concept of the Indo-Pacific as it has emerged from the Shangri La Dialogue (2018). For better understanding the study has divided the countries into five sections.

Section One: India, the United States, China and Japan.

Country	India	The United States	China	Japan
	<p>In his speech Prime Minister Modi stated, “Oceans had an important place in Indian thinking since pre-Vedic times. Thousands of years ago, the Indus Valley Civilisation as well as Indian peninsula had maritime trade.”</p> <p>He pointed, “The Indian Ocean has shaped much of India’s history. It now holds the key to our future. The ocean carries 90% of India’s trade and our energy sources. It is also the life line of global commerce. The Indian Ocean connects regions of diverse cultures and different levels of peace and prosperity. It also now bears ships of major powers. Both raise concerns of stability and contest.”</p> <p>In defining the Indo-Pacific’s geographical extent he said, “To the East, the Malacca Strait and South China Sea</p>	<p>In his remarks² at the first plenary session of the dialogue process, Secretary of Defence Mr. James Mattis stated, that the dialogue provides, “...the best opportunity for senior officials to meet, share perspectives, and reinforce the significance of a free and open Indo-Pacific region.”</p> <p>He shared that, “the Trump administration’s view of the Indo-Pacific strategy espouses the shared principles that underpin a free and fair Indo-Pacific.”</p> <p>He further stated, “Standing shoulder to shoulder with India, ASEAN and our treaty allies and other partners, America seeks to build an Indo-Pacific where sovereignty and territorial integrity are safeguarded --the promise of freedom fulfilled and prosperity prevails for all.”</p>	<p>Lt. Gen. He Lei, vice president of the Academy of Military Science of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army (PLA) led the Chinese delegation to the dialogue. He said, ‘the steady and rapid economic development of the Asia-Pacific region is accompanied by the existence of many unstable and uncertain factors in the security sector. The important task currently facing the Asia-Pacific region is to re-examine the concept of international security since the end of the Cold War, re-evaluate the regional security architecture, and focus on fundamentally resolving security issues³</p> <p>‘He pointed out that China advocates a common,</p>	<p>Defence Minister Itsunori Onodera spoke at the second plenary session of the dialogue.¹⁰ Talking about the need to make a concerted effort to address the issue of North Korea he stated, “the Indo-Pacific region also has various risks of geo-political and geo-economic nature that we must address at the same time.” In identifying them he spoke about “natural disasters, which may be referred to as geo-physical risks, are one example of the security risks that need to be addressed by this region as a whole.”</p> <p>He remarked that, “To ensure regional stability and prosperity, we need a concerted approach across the region in addressing various security</p>

<p>connect India to the Pacific and to most of our major partners - ASEAN, Japan, Republic of Korea, China and the Americas.” He stated, “Our trade in the region is growing rapidly. And, a significant part of our overseas investments flow in this direction. ASEAN alone accounts for over 20%.”</p> <p>Stressing on the need for cooperation he remarked, “Our interests in the region are vast, and our engagement is deep. In the Indian Ocean region, our relationships are becoming stronger. We are also helping build economic capabilities and improve maritime security for our friends and partners. We promote collective security through forums like Indian Ocean Naval Symposium. We are advancing a comprehensive agenda of regional co-operation through Indian Ocean Rim Association. And, we also work with partners beyond the Indian Ocean Region to ensure that the global</p>	<p>In referring to the National Security Strategy and the National Defence Strategy documents, released by the Trump administration, Secretary Mattis stated, “Both strategies affirm the Indo Pacific as critical for America's continued stability, security, and prosperity. Americas Indo-Pacific strategy is a subset of our broader security strategy, codifying our principles as America continues to look West. In it we see deepening alliances and partnerships as a priority, ASEAN's centrality remains vital, and cooperation with China is welcome wherever possible.”</p> <p>Looking at the history he stated that President Thomas Jefferson had sought to establish America's presence in the Pacific Northwest with anticipation that the coastal regions would be America's gateways to the Pacific. America has been engaged with the</p>	<p>comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security concept, advocates new international relations based on cooperation and win-win, advocates partnership and non-alliance. China strives to build a safe, secure, shared, and win-win Asia Pacific. He believed that many of the security issues in the Asia-Pacific region are rooted in development and the solution is also development. China vigorously promotes common development and focuses on fundamentally solving security issues.”⁴</p> <p>‘He called on all countries in the Asia-Pacific to uphold the tradition of mutual respect, seeking common ground while reserving differences, and peaceful coexistence, and properly handle and resolve disputes through peaceful negotiations and</p>	<p>challenges, including those of maritime security and terrorism.</p> <p>The Indo-Pacific is increasingly becoming the centre of the global economy, and we hope to contribute to efforts to maintain it as a free, open, and rules-based “global commons,” that can bring wealth and prosperity to all countries in the region. Japan seeks to enhance a free and open Indo-Pacific as part of its regional strategy and we will do so with maximum regard and respect to ASEAN's centrality and unity so that it will help further the development of ASEAN, which is central to security in the Indo-Pacific.”</p>
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	<p>transit routes remain peaceful and free for all.... Sagar stands for Security and Growth for All in the Region and, that is the creed we follow to our East now even more vigorously through our Act East Policy by seeking to join India, especially her East and North-East, with our land and maritime partners to the east.”</p> <p>Highlighting some points on India’s relations with other countries of the region he remarked, “Our (India’s) ties with Japan – from economic to strategic – have been completely transformed. It is a partnership of great substance and purpose that is a cornerstone of India’s Act East Policy. There is a strong momentum in our cooperation with Republic of Korea. And, there is a fresh energy in our partnerships with Australia, as also New Zealand. With several of our partners, we meet in formats of three or more. More than three years ago, I landed at dawn in Fiji to start a successful new</p>	<p>region ever since.</p> <p>He made it clear that, “America is in the Indo-Pacific to stay. This is our priority theater, our interests, and the regions are inextricably intertwined. Our Indo-Pacific strategy makes significant security, economic, and development investments, ones that demonstrate our commitment to allies and partners in support of our vision of a safe, secure, prosperous, and free Indo-Pacific based on shared principles with those nations, large and small.”</p> <p>He further stated, the United States will “...respect... sovereignty and independence of every nation, no matter its size, and freedom for all nations wishing to transit international waters and airspace, in peaceful dispute resolution without coercion, in free, fair, and reciprocal trade and investment, and in adherence to international rules and norms that have provided</p>	<p>consultations.”⁵</p> <p>Sr. Col. Zhou Bo, director of the Security Cooperation Centre of China’s Central Military Commission (CMC) speaking on the session on Managing Competition In Regional Security Cooperation said, China advocates actively bilateral and multilateral security dialogues and cooperation, and promotes regional economic cooperation and security cooperation simultaneously. China’s vision for the existing Asia-Pacific security architecture supplements the existing mechanism. The core is cooperation rather than opposition.⁶ He hoped that ASEAN countries and countries outside the region can strengthen cooperation to jointly cope with various non-traditional security challenges in the region.⁷</p> <p>Sr. Col. Zhao Xiaozhuo, director of the Xiangshan</p>	
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<p>phase of engagement with Pacific Island Nations. The meetings of the Forum for India-Pacific Islands Cooperation, or FIPIC, have bridged the distance of geography through shared interests and action. Beyond East and Southeast Asia, our partnerships are strong and growing. It is a measure of our strategic autonomy that India's Strategic Partnership, with Russia, has matured to be special and privileged.... India's global strategic partnership with the United States has overcome the hesitations of history and continues to deepen across the extraordinary breadth of our relationship....an important pillar of this partnership is our shared vision of an open, stable, secure and prosperous Indo-Pacific Region. No other relationship of India has as many layers as our relations with China. India has a growing partnership with Africa, propelled through mechanisms such as India-</p>	<p>this region with relative peace and growing prosperity for the last decades.”</p> <p>He remarked that, “The U.S. strategy recognizes no one nation can or should dominate the Indo-Pacific.... As we look to that future, our Indo-Pacific strategy will bring to bear U.S. strengths and advantages, reinvigorating areas of underinvestment.”</p> <p>He highlighted some themes of the United States' strategy. They are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Expanding attention on the maritime space. The maritime commons is a global good, and sea lanes of communication are the arteries of economic vitality for all. Our vision is to preserve that vitality by helping our partners build up naval and law enforcement capabilities and capacities to improve monitoring and 	<p>Forum Secretariat, expressing his views in the session on Competition And Cooperation In The Indian Ocean Region said, the major powers all attach great importance to the Indian Ocean because of its important strategic position. It should be noted that the common interests between the major powers in the Indian Ocean far outweigh the differences, and therefore cooperation is the only strategic choice.⁸ In the Belt and Road Initiative put forward by China, the Indian Ocean is an important area for the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road".⁹</p>	
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	<p>Africa Forum Summits. At its core are cooperation based on Africa's requirements, and a history of warmth and mutual respect.”</p> <p>He stated that, India's growing engagements with the countries of the region are accompanied by growing economic and defence ties. India has the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreements with Singapore, Japan and South Korea. A Free Trade Agreements with ASEAN and Thailand and is actively participating in concluding the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement.</p> <p>On the defence aspect, he pointed out that, “India Armed Forces, especially our Navy, are building partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region for peace and security, as well as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. They train, exercise and conduct goodwill missions across the region.” The</p>	<p>protection of maritime orders and interests.</p> <p>(ii) Interoperability- We (the United States) recognize that a network of allies and partners is a force multiplier for peace. Therefore, we will ensure that our military is able to more easily integrate with others.” This applies to both hardware and software by promoting financing and sales of cutting-edge U.S. defense equipment to security partners at opening the aperture of U.S. professional military education for military non-commissioned officers from the Indo-Pacific militaries.</p> <p>(iii) Strengthening the rule of law, civil society, and transparent governance.... defense engagements reinforce this theme.”</p> <p>(iv) Private sector-led</p>		
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	<p>Indian navy is active in the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia</p> <p>He further stated that, “ASEAN can integrate the broader region. In many ways, ASEAN is already leading the process. In doing so, it has laid the foundation of the Indo-Pacific Region. The East Asia Summit and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership – two important initiatives of ASEAN – embrace this geography.”</p> <p>Elaborating on the concept of the Indo-Pacific, Prime Minister Modi stated, “The Indo-Pacific is a natural region. It is also home to a vast array of global opportunities and challenges.</p> <p>The ten countries of South East Asia connect the two great oceans in both the geographical and civilizational sense. Inclusiveness, openness and ASEAN centrality and unity,</p>	<p>economic development. The United States recognizes the region's need for greater investment, including in infrastructure. The United States is invigorating its development and finance institutions to enable it to be better, more responsive partners. U.S. agencies will work more closely with regional economic partners to provide end-to-end solutions that not only build tangible products, but also transfer experience and American know-how so growth is high value and high quality.”</p> <p>Stressing on the centrality of the ASEAN, he stated, ASEAN and the institutions it created, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus, and the East Asia Summit, as well as the Asia-</p>		
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	<p>therefore, lie at the heart of the new Indo-Pacific. India does not see the Indo-Pacific Region as a strategy or as a club of limited members. Nor as a grouping that seeks to dominate. And by no means do we consider it as directed against any country. India's vision for the Indo-Pacific Region is, therefore, a positive one.”</p> <p>He elaborated that the Indian vision of the Indo-Pacific has many elements. They are:</p> <p>(i) It stands for a free, open, inclusive region, which embraces us all in a common pursuit of progress and prosperity. It includes all nations in this geography as also others beyond who have a stake in it.</p> <p>(ii) Southeast Asia is at its centre. And, ASEAN has been and will be central to its future. That is the vision that will always guide India,</p>	<p>Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum, and trilateral and multilateral mechanisms of like-minded partners is central to the United States’ strategy of cooperation with all nations of the region. “We (the United States) continue to support ASEAN centrality in the regional security architecture, and seek to further empower it.”</p> <p>Central to the United States’ strategy is the strengthening its alliances and partnerships. Elaborating on this, Secretary Mattis said, “In Northeast Asia, the dynamic security environment continues to underscore the importance of our robust alliance and partner relationships. On the Korean Peninsula, we hold the line with our ally, supporting our diplomats who lead this effort.... we are focused on modernizing our alliance with both the Republic of Korea and Japan, transforming these critical alliances to meet the challenges of the 21st century.... In</p>		
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	<p>as we seek to cooperate for an architecture for peace and security in this region.</p> <p>(iii) We believe that our common prosperity and security require us to evolve, through dialogue, a common rules-based order for the region. And, it must equally apply to all individually as well as to the global commons. Such an order must believe in sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as equality of all nations, irrespective of size and strength. These rules and norms should be based on the consent of all, not on the power of the few. This must be based on faith in dialogue, and not dependence on force. It also means that when nations make international commitments, they</p>	<p>Southeast Asia, we have reinvigorated our longstanding alliances with the Philippines and Thailand while bolstering our enduring partnership with Singapore. At the same time, we are seeking to develop new partnerships with pivotal players across the region, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam, where we have made historic progress based on shared interest and mutual respect.... Australia remains one of our strongest allies....We are also revitalizing our defense partnership with New Zealand.... Our strategy also recognizes the importance of the Pacific Islands, America's gateway to the Indo-Pacific, and a region where we are stepping up our engagement.”</p> <p>“In South Asia we are strengthening our partnerships, particularly with India. The U.S. values the role India can play in regional and global security, and we view the U.S.-India relationship as a natural partnership between the world's</p>		
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	<p>must uphold them.</p> <p>(iv) We should all have equal access as a right under international law to the use of common spaces on sea and in the air that would require freedom of navigation, unimpeded commerce and peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with international law.</p> <p>(v) India stands for open and stable international trade regime. We (India) will also support rule-based, open, balanced and stable trade environment in the Indo-Pacific Region, which lifts up all nations on the tide of trade and investment.</p> <p>(vi) Connectivity is vital.... There are many connectivity initiatives in the region. If these have to succeed, we must not only build infrastructure,</p>	<p>two largest democracies, based on a convergence of strategic interests, shared values, and respect for a rule-based international order.”</p> <p>On China he said, “Our Indo-Pacific strategy informs our relationship with China. We are aware China will face an array of challenges and opportunities in coming years. We are prepared to support China's choices, if they promote long-term peace and prosperity for all in this dynamic region... China's policy in the South China Sea stands in stark contrast to the openness of our strategy.”</p> <p>He concluded by saying, “As a Pacific nation, the United States remains committed to building a shared destiny with this region. The U.S. offers strategic partnerships, not strategic dependence. Alongside our allies and partners, America remains committed to maintaining the region's security, its stability and its economic prosperity, a</p>		
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	<p>we must also build bridges of trust. And for that, these initiatives must be based on respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, consultation, good governance, transparency, viability and sustainability. They must empower nations, not place them under impossible debt burden. They must promote trade, not strategic competition.</p> <p>(vii) Competition is normal. But, contests must not turn into conflict; differences must not be allowed to become disputes.</p> <p>He concluded by stating that, India's "...friendships are not alliances of containment.... India's own engagement in the Indo-Pacific Region - from the shores of Africa to that of the Americas - will be inclusive."</p>	<p>view that transcends America's political transitions, and we'll continue to enjoy Washington's strong bipartisan support.... we will never ask our partners to surrender their sovereignty or intellectual property. We don't dream of domination."</p>		
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Section Two: Vietnam, Indonesia, Singapore and Philippines

Country	Vietnam	Indonesia	Singapore	Philippines
	<p>General Ngo Xuan Lich, Minister of National Defence brought forward Vietnam's views to the dialogue. In his speech¹¹ he stated, "We are witnessing the great power shift towards Asia-Pacific with the Indo-Pacific Strategy, Belt and Road Initiative and a series of country groupings in the region, all of which announce the aim for peace and stability."</p> <p>He stated, "all security architecture and mechanisms must be in line with international laws, the fundamental principles of the UN Charter, and recognise the Code of Conduct (COC) and regional commitments, which are the foundation and the political consensus of all parties for common interest; building mutual trust by conducting consultation, information exchange, high-level visits and promoting joint activities</p>	<p>General (Retd) Ryamizard Ryacudu, Minister of Defence, Indonesia in his speech¹² stated, "the strategic maritime access of the Indo-Pacific region starts from the South China Sea in the north, then moves to the waters of Natuna, then moves to the Malacca Strait, moves south to the Strait of Sunda and then to the Indian Ocean. The security development of this constant maritime access leads to the development of the Indo-Pacific geopolitical and geostrategic current trends."</p> <p>Speaking on the threats he remarked, "Based on Indonesia's perspective in the region, the threat is not about conventional war or the open war among nations, the so-called non-factual threat...focus needs to be to address our factual threat, which is terrorism and radicalism, separatism, insurgency, natural disasters</p>	<p>Dr Ng Eng Hen, Minister for Defence, Singapore in his speech¹³ said, "To say that the Asia-Pacific region is undergoing a tremendous change is to state the obvious. As with other regions, countries here are subject to global trends, but the impact has been amplified because the main protagonists – the United States, China, India amongst them – hold inordinate influence for Asia.... All of us would agree that it is in our collective interest to preserve a system that has lifted millions in Asia from poverty."</p> <p>He stated, "The US-China relationship is the most important bilateral relationship for the Asia-Pacific, but the state of relations among Northeast Asian states is also of critical importance for stability."</p>	<p>Indo-Pacific was not part of the speech presented.</p> <p>For the moment Philippines has not made any statement on their Indo-Pacific policy.</p>

	<p>among military and enhancing civilian and military coordination.”</p> <p>He further remarked, “All parties, especially major powers, need to act responsibly to shoulder the responsibility in the joint effort for peace, stability, cooperation and development of the region. Particularly, they need to be self-controlled, refrain from the use of force or threatening the use of force, and avoid unilateral activities that could complicate the situation, to effectively implement, expand and diversify regional and trans-regional dialogue, defend security politics and economic cooperation mechanisms, continue to promote the sharing of information and experience in crisis prevention and management, sharing practical cooperation.”</p> <p>Speaking on the centrality of ASEAN, he said, “ASEAN is a model of cooperation and</p>	<p>and environmental calamity, border disputes, natural-resource poaching, pandemic diseases and the trafficking of illicit drugs, intelligence and cyber warfare.”</p> <p>He elaborated on the need to cooperate with each other to counter terrorism both at land and sea. He elaborated on the steps that have been taken by Indonesia with the other countries of the region on the same. He remarked that, “It is timely for us to recalibrate our security architecture and our security order with a new one, with a more humanitarian orientation, in an open and transparent manner.” He pointed to the centrality of the ASEAN in security architecture of the region and the need to implement the actions of the platform for results.</p> <p>In concluding he stated that, “the need to recalibrate the security architecture of the Indo-Pacific region is an urgency that needs to be</p>		
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	<p>integration for medium and small nations which is playing an increasingly important, positive and central role in the common efforts of shaping security architecture and maintaining peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific.... The main focus of ASEAN is to enhance the security and related capability conduct, confidence-building, preventative diplomacy and cooperation for conflict resolution, together with other countries, to establish a sustainable security order.”</p>	<p>realised or materialised so that we can navigate every threat and challenge in the region appropriately, correctly and proportionately.”</p>		
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Section Three: Russia, France and Republic of Korea

Country	Russia	France	Republic of Korea
	<p>There was no representative at the dialogue panels.</p> <p>Nonetheless, Russian Foreign Minister Mr. Sergey Lavrov in various statements last year (2017) has spoken about the Asia-Pacific region.</p> <p>In his remarks at the Vivekananda International Foundation in December</p>	<p>In her speech¹⁶, the Minister for the Armed Forces of France, Ms. Florence Parly said, “I am also delighted to be here because this region for us, too, is home. It is good to remember that France has nine million square kilometres of exclusive economic zone in the Indo-Pacific area, 1.5 million citizens in our five overseas territories, 200,000 expatriates, different sets of permanent military forces and vital economic interests in the region.”</p>	<p>Indo-Pacific was not part of the speech presented.</p> <p>Nonetheless, in his keynote address¹⁷ at the Fullerton Forum 2018 (January), Mr. Song Young-moo Minister of National Defence, Republic of Korea stated, “...would like to emphasize the importance of proactive efforts and cooperation of</p>

2017 he stated, **“Strengthening Indian-Russian cooperation can help find fair and durable solutions to numerous challenges in the Asia-Pacific region. We believe that sustainable security architecture in the Asia-Pacific region cannot be achieved through closed block arrangements and is only possible on an open-ended collective basis building upon the principles of indivisible security, rule of international law, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-use of force or threat of force. We are glad that India not only shares our approach but is also an active partner in the discussions of regional architecture which have been launched in the framework of the East Asia Summits, the place of regular dialogue mechanism was established in Jakarta at the headquarters of ASEAN on the strategic development issues of the region.”**¹⁴

In the press release by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after Minister Lavrov’s participation in the ASEAN-Russia ministerial meeting, the EAS meeting and the 24th session of the ASEAN Regional Forum on Security stated, **“Russia regards the East Asia Summit as a key mechanism for building in the APR an**

“Seen from a French angle, we see three overarching security challenges in the region. Firstly, I would mention nuclear proliferation.... The second challenge I see is the respect of international maritime law. Everyone knows that some of the waterways are crucial for the economic security of a number of states in the region; they are actually essential for the economic security of many states outside the region too. Their importance to individual states does not give these states a right to bypass international maritime law.... The third challenge I see is terrorism. Terror has struck France and Europe repeatedly over the last few years and has not spared the Indo-Pacific.”

“We (France) play an active role in operations against illegal trafficking, and we have made a particular effort in the establishment of a network of maritime surveillance. We pursue a remarkable cooperation with Australia and New Zealand in the South Pacific, in relation to the United States and the Quad group, in consultation with small island states like Fiji, PNG and Tonga, in the framework of the South Pacific Defence Ministers’ Meeting.”

Raising the issues of **climate change** she pointed that, **“Its security consequences could be huge. In the Indo-Pacific, the risks are significant that**

every country in the region for maritime security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. **The borderless ocean requires cooperation;** all nations must manage its value and work together to resolve problems.” He further stated, **“90% of global trade occurs through maritime transportation,** which shows that all countries in the world are closely connected via ocean. In specific, 40% of the world’s population live in the Asia-Pacific. The same region also makes up 52% of world GDP and 47% of world commerce. As the very centre of the global economy, we must guarantee freedom of navigation in the region. However, **without resolving causes of conflict such as maritime territorial disputes, crimes, acts of terrorism in ports, and pollution at sea, it is difficult to ensure freedom of navigation.”**

	<p>open and comprehensive system of interstate relations based on the rule of international law, mutual trust, equality and indivisibility of security principles, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, and non-use or threat of force.” It further stated, “The ASEAN Regional Forum on security (ARF) that includes the ten ASEAN members, their dialogue partners and some other countries is one of the pillars of the emerging security and cooperation architecture in the Asia Pacific Region and plays an important role in practical interaction for maintaining peace and stability.”¹⁵</p>	<p>some countries could disappear in a few decades because of the sea level rising. Ever more frequent extreme weather events will create new security vulnerabilities. France is seeking to work with all the countries of the Indo-Pacific on an innovative approach to reduce the impact of climate change by anticipating the risk and setting up preventive measures.”</p> <p>She concluded by saying, “...we have started to build a very strong Indo-Pacific partnership. It is based on our fantastic relationships with Australia and India. With New Delhi and Canberra, we have a community of vision, a security partnership and a commitment to multilateralism.” She also mentioned the close bond France shares with Japan and ASEAN. France “...embrace the important regional institutions such as ASEAN, whose centrality is a key dual strategic parameter, and bodies like the ASEAN Defence Ministers’ Meeting, with which France is hoping to increase its cooperation. As a maritime-security provider, France is also willing to join as soon as possible the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy in Asia.”</p>	
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Section Four: Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Island Forum

Country	Australia	New Zealand	Pacific Island Forum
	<p>In her remarks¹⁸, Senator the Hon Marise Payne, Minister for Defence of Australia stated, “a key role in establishing norms</p>	<p>The New Zealand Minister for Defence, Mr. Ron Mark made the following comments in his speech¹⁹. “New Zealand has a critical interest in</p>	<p>There were no representatives at the dialogue panels from the Pacific islands.</p>

<p>of behaviour (in the region) was indeed played by ASEAN.”</p> <p>In welcoming the remarks by Secretary Mattis, she said, “It is in all our interests that the United States remains actively engaged in the region to ensure that peace, security and stability continues to benefit all....(Australia) acknowledge that a prosperous China, constructively engaged in global affairs, is a good thing. It is not possible to address global challenges such as North Korea or climate change without China’s involvement.”</p> <p>“... (an) important consideration is that strategic competition has to be bound by principles and rules.... Changes to the rules based order must evolve through open discussion and be agreed as broadly as possible, if those changes are to support the continuation of development and growth.” She stressed, “we benefit most from a regional order where the rights of all sovereign nations are protected and encouraged.”</p> <p>Speaking on Australia’s approach to the Indo-Pacific, she stated, “Australia’s approach to the Indo-Pacific also</p>	<p>peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and a particular strategic interest in our Pacific neighbourhood.”</p> <p>Speaking on the updated Defence Policy of New Zealand that will be released shortly he said, “New Zealand’s Defence policy statement will reinforce the priority placed on the New Zealand Defence Force’s ability to deliver a range of operational effects in New Zealand immediate neighbourhood, stretching from the South Pole to the Equator. New Zealand is a Pacific nation, and the New Zealand Government places substantial importance on our ability to work with our Pacific partners.</p> <p>The policy statement will also reiterate New Zealand’s long-standing commitment to contributing to peace and security in the Asia-Pacific and further afield.”</p> <p>In his speech he proposed propose five principles to manage regional security competition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “First, adherence to and promotion of the international rules-based order. In the maritime domain, the adoption and application of “CUES” – the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea... Especially in the congested waters of the Asia-Pacific. • Increasingly complex and challenging security environment, more engagement and 	<p>Nonetheless, in her opening remarks²⁰ at the Biketawa Plus Security Declaration Workshop in Suva, Fiji. Meg Taylor DBE, Secretary General, Pacific Islands Forum said, “...the region is becoming increasingly crowded and complex. We are seeing the growing interest in our region from both traditional and non-traditional partners, including civil society and private donors. Some view the arrival of non-traditional partners into the region as a security risk. Others see this as an opportunity for Pacific Islands Countries to benefit from new relationships. Some argue that this interest by non-traditional partners is fueling a renewed interest by our traditional partners in our region. Secondly, we are seeing shifts in global power and the erosion of multilateralism. Some observers have predicted that China will surpass the US as the world’s largest economy by 2032. Some view BREXIT and the US withdrawal from TPP and its reversion to protectionist policies around some sectors of its economy as the gradual erosion of multilateralism as we</p>
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<p>involves engaging with nations small and large, both bilaterally and in smaller groupings, to strengthen the cohesion of nations that share our vision for the region. Our Trilateral Strategic Dialogue with the United States and Japan is well established and we're also always open to new opportunities to work with other close partners. We continue to recognise and welcome ASEAN's central role in providing regional leadership."</p>	<p>cooperation, not less is the key to avoiding duplication, miscalculation, and misunderstanding. New Zealand established the South West Pacific Heads of Maritime Forces Meeting in 2017, as endorsed by the South Pacific Defence Ministers' Meeting. This brought together representatives from Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Tonga, Australia, France, Cook Islands, Niue, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Zealand maritime forces to facilitate cooperation and coordination on maritime security in the South Pacific.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage countries and organisations to identify their strengths and champion areas of niche expertise. • Inclusivity. This is not only about membership, but it is importantly about valuing and promoting a diversity of perspectives and enabling a range of voices to be heard. • Need to turn our attention to geostrategic, environmental and technological changes now, and think carefully about how they may redefine future security cooperation." 	<p>know it."</p> <p>He added, "It is important therefore that Pacific Island Countries are able to independently and collectively navigate through these current and future challenges. Since the establishment of the Pacific Islands Forum in 1971, our Leaders have continuously discussed the importance of maintaining and enhancing regional security and stability."</p> <p>He stressed that, the island nations need to build their own national security polices which would help "...build the foundation for determining and pursuing our collective or regional security interests in a more coherent and cohesive manner." He also viewed the "... development of Member specific national security policies as the building blocks to securing our Blue Pacific and maintaining a region of peace, security and stability."</p>
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Section Five: Canada, United Kingdom, the Gulf States and South Africa

Country	Canada	The United Kingdom	The Gulf States	South Africa
	<p>In his speech²¹ at the dialogue, Minister of National Defence, Mr. Harjit S. Sajjan speaking with respect to North Korea and the escalation of nuclear development said, “Looking to the future, Canada will continue to wield a defence presence in the Asia-Pacific region to encourage peace and security. This includes the deployment of two frigates and a supply ship to the region, one of which is operating in Southeast Asia as we speak.”</p>	<p>Mr. Gavin Williamson, Secretary of State for Defence, United Kingdom in his speech²² said “We (the United Kingdom) are very keen to work together with friends and partners on a more strategic and multinational approach to the Indian and Pacific oceans region, focusing on security, stability and just as importantly on environmental sustainability.”</p>	<p>Indo-Pacific was not discussed in the speech by Khalid Bin Mohammed Al Attiyah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister Of State for Defense Affairs, Qatar.</p> <p>The other Gulf States were not represented on the panels.</p>	<p>There were no representatives at the dialogue panels.</p> <p>At the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) 17th Meeting of the Council of Ministers (18 October 2017)²³, Ms. Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation stated, “IORA – uniting the peoples of Africa, Asia, Australasia and the Middle East through enhanced co-operation for peace, stability and sustainable development. This theme encompasses our view that the Indian Ocean Region should be characterised as a region of peace, stability and development within which to pursue the goal of promoting socio-economic cooperation for the wellbeing and development of the countries and peoples of the Indian</p>

				Ocean Rim. ... Three priorities will be pursued, namely: (i) Maritime Safety and Security in the region, including prioritising the establishment of the Working Group on Maritime Safety and Security; (ii) improving resilience and responses for disaster risk management, including prioritising the implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding on Search and Rescue; and (iii) sustainable and responsible fisheries management and development, including dealing with the important issue of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing.”
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Section five: Sri Lanka, Mauritius, Maldives, Madagascar and Seychelles

Country	Sri Lanka	Mauritius	Maldives	Madagascar	Seychelles
	Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne, Secretary of Defence, Sri Lanka in his speech ²⁴ stated, Strategic importance of the Indian Ocean	There were no representatives at the dialogue panels. Mauritius as a State in the Indian Ocean Rim has maintained that all	There were no representatives at the dialogue panels. At a recent meeting between the Foreign Ministers of Maldives	There were no representatives at the dialogue panels. In the India-Madagascar Joint	In her speech at the dialogue ²⁶ , Ms. Macsuzy Mondon, Designated Minister and Minister for Local Government and Home Affairs, Seychelles stated, The oceans are

<p>region depends on its major sea lanes of communication which act as catalysts for connectivity among resource rich and resource seeking nations. Hence, it is vital that maritime boundaries and resources are secured in the region and it is preferred such protection should emerge from within the region rather than external sources.</p> <p>He also raised the issues of transnational organised crimes that manifest through drug smuggling, human trafficking, terrorism, piracy and so on which are all interrelated and</p>	<p>nations need to work together to enhance capacity to address issues of maritime security. They have along with island nations have laid stress on the need to work together to address issues of illegal and over fishing and development of sustainable blue economy.</p>	<p>and Japan, the two ministers shared the view that they will “strengthen their cooperation in maritime security under the free and open Indo-Pacific Strategy....”</p>	<p>Statement released during the State Visit of President of India to Madagascar (March 14-15, 2018), it was stated that, “the significant role of Madagascar as well as its strategic importance and the role of India in the maintenance of peace and stability in the Indian Ocean region. They stressed the need to remain engaged on regional and international issues of mutual interest such as maritime security and safety, including the fight against piracy, illegal</p>	<p>both lynchpins of global economy and key components of international security...The blue economy concept summaries the importance of the seas to global economy as a second living domain of the world while its sister concept of maritime security undercross the importance of securing the maritime domain from all the maritime threats be they of accidental, natural or illicit nature.</p> <p>She further stated that the Indian Ocean Region faces many challenges that need it be addressed through a common approach and strategy in building regional communication and creating contusive environment for more cooperation worldwide. She pointed to the</p>
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<p>sponsored by violent non-state actors that to destabilise the region for their own benefits.</p> <p>He stated that, the diverse challenges in the Indian Ocean provide an opportunity for collaboration, to find solutions not in isolation but in cooperation. He stressed that the region needs to take a serious look at some of the existing multilateral mechanisms to ensure that the India Ocean region issues are looked through a holistic strategy. He called for a strong maritime governance mechanism in accordance with the accepted rules and</p>			<p>fishing and other illegal activities, cooperation between their coast guards and their naval forces as mentioned in the Memorandum of Understanding in the field of defense signed by India and Madagascar.”²⁵</p>	<p>menace of over fishing, illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing and stressed that it was a cause of concern for small nations that depend on these resources. She stated that climate change and environmental degradation poses serious challenges to sustainable economic development.</p> <p>Talking about ocean pollution she said, “The need to adopt and strengthen national capabilities to deal with the environmental risks including the risk of oil spills or deliberate discharge at sea and have proper mechanisms in place for the segregation of litter, plastic pollution and other forms of solid and liquid waste.”</p> <p>She stressed on the need for more maritime</p>
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<p>regulations.</p> <p>Referring to Prime Minister Modi's speech he also reiterated that the endeavour should be to build an all inclusive strategy without excluding anyone and he emphasised on this point. He stressed only such a mechanism will ensure freedom of navigation, adherence to rules based order in the Indian Ocean region.</p> <p>In conclusion, he felt that the trust deficit was a challenge for the peaceful cooperation among states and non-state actors which needs to be overcome. He stressed that there is need for more research and track II platforms.</p>				<p>domain awareness to protect the seas.</p> <p>She also raised issues of diverse non-traditional threats ranging from natural disasters to drug trafficking, piracy, terrorism to environmental disaster offer space for cooperation among nations.</p> <p>She spoke of the regional organisations such as the Indian Ocean naval Symposium, where states coordinate to address maritime security challenges.</p> <p>She concluded by stating that maritime security was an important component of sustainable development.</p>
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Conclusion

With his speech at the Shangri la dialogue, Prime Minister Modi, ensured that India is not only willing to steer the concept but it has a clear definition and vision for the Indo-Pacific region. His speech has clarified that this vision is laid on an inclusive approach to Indo-Pacific region, with a focus on the centrality of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as the foundation of regional stability and prosperity. The speech stressed the need for cooperation and inclusive role of all nations, while emphasising that countries need to adhere to a rules-based order in the region, positioned around sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Indo-Pacific policy as laid out at the Shangri La dialogue by Prime Minister Modi was based on cooperation for peace, prosperity and security for all in the region.

The United States position on the Indo-Pacific as outlined by Secretary Mattis focused on security aspects and spoke of American strategic interest in the Indo-Pacific. With reference to the National Defence Strategy and National Security Strategy document, he stated, “Both strategies affirm the Indo Pacific as critical for America’s continued stability, security, and prosperity. Americas Indo-Pacific strategy is a subset of our broader security strategy, codifying our principles as America continues to look west.” Nonetheless, like India, the United States has also placed the ASEAN at the centre of the regional security architecture.

The ASEAN also echoed the sentiments expressed by Prime Minister Modi in his speech to ensure that Indo-Pacific is free and open. However, it highlighted that there is a need to build regional security mechanism and stressed that all countries, especially major powers, need to act responsibly in the joint effort for peace, stability, cooperation and development of the region.

Australia and New Zealand have highlighted the strategic competition in the region. They stressed on a regional order where the rights of all sovereign nations are protected for a peaceful region. Japan and South Korea on the other hand have highlighted the economic potential of the region for all nations. Japan has reiterated India’s stand on the need for an open, free and inclusive Indo-Pacific region, in which all nations abide by international laws and regulations.

The island nations of the Indo-Pacific, such as Seychelles, have laid stress on the need to address environmental concerns of the water ways and the development of a robust but sustainable blue economy. Over fishing, illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing not only have an impact on the economies of the island nations but also damaging the maritime ecology and deplete native fish populations. Thus, for these nations maritime security also involves issues of climate change.

As can be noted, the Indo-Pacific is a region with complex issues of security, economic development and the environment. However, all nations have noted that cooperation lies at the very centre of addressing the various challenges. India’s vision of a free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific region is shared by most nations. This is the common

building block on which the nations can build partnerships to realise the true potential of the region while ensuring it remains peaceful and secure.

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

Endnotes:

¹ The full text of the speech made by Prime Minister Modi is available at <http://www.mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29943/Prime+Ministers+Keynote+Address+at+Shangri+La+Dialogue+June+01+2018>

² Full text of the remarks made by Secretary of Defence Mattis are available at <https://www.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript-View/Article/1538599/remarks-by-secretary-mattis-at-plenary-session-of-the-2018-shangri-la-dialogue/>

³ Wang Lili and Chen Yao, "Chinese military experts expound "China plan" at Shangri-La Dialogue," http://eng.mod.gov.cn/news/2018-06/04/content_4816035.htm, Accessed on 12 June 2018.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Full text of the speech by Minister Itsunori Onodera is available at http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/exc/iiss/pdf/17th_speech_e.pdf

¹¹ Text of the Speech by General Ngo Xuan Lich has been taken from <https://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/resources>

¹² Text of the speech by General (ret'd) Ryamizard Ryacudu has been taken from <https://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/resources>

¹³ Text of the speech by Dr. Ng Eng Hen has been taken from <https://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/resources>

¹⁴ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, "Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks at the Vivekananda International Foundation New Delhi, December 11, 2017," Accessed on 14 June 2018.

¹⁵ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, "Comment by the Information and Press Department on Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's participation in the Russia-ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, the EAS Foreign Ministers' Meeting, and the 24th Session of the ASEAN Regional Forum on Security," http://www.mid.ru/en/atr/-/asset_publisher/ovP3hQoCPRg5/content/id/2832394, Accessed on 14 June 2018.

¹⁶ Text of speech has been taken from <https://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/resources>

¹⁷ The text of the keynote address has been taken from <https://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/archive/fullerton-forum-2018-f2e5/keynote-address-de87>

¹⁸ Full text of the remarks by Minister Payne are available at <https://www.minister.defence.gov.au/minister/marise-payne/speeches/minister-defence-17th-iiss-asia-security-summit-shangri-la-dialogue>

¹⁹ Full text of the speech by Mr. Mark is available at <https://beehive.govt.nz/speech/minister-defence-speech-shangri-la-dialogue-singapore>

²⁰ Full text of the opening remarks by Hon. Kubuabola is available at <https://www.forumsec.org/opening-remarks-by-the-hon-ratu-inoke-kubuabola-minister-of-defence-and-national-security-fiji-at-the-biketawa-plus-workshop-suva/>

²¹ Full text of the speech of Minister Sajjan is available at <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/news/2018/06/shangri-la-dialogue-from-the-honourable-harjit-s-sajjan-minister-of-national-defence--de-escalating-the-north-korean-crisis.html>

²² The text of the speech of Mr. Williamson has been taken from <https://www.iiss.org/en/events/shangri-la-dialogue/resources>

²³ Department of International Relations and Cooperation, Government of South Africa, "Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) 17th Meeting of the Council of Ministers, 18 October 2017, Durban, South Africa Country Statement and Opening Remarks by Minister Nkoana-Mashabane," <http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2017/mash1018.htm>, Accessed on 19 June 2018

²⁴ Audio recording of the speech is available at <https://www.iiss.org/events/shangri-la-dialogue/shangri-la-dialogue-2018>. Transcript of the speech used is the authors own.

²⁵ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, "India-Madagascar Joint Statement during the State Visit of President to Madagascar (March 14-15, 2018)", <http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/29666/IndiaMadagascar+Joint+Statement+during+the+State+Visit+of+President+to+Madagascar+March+14+15+2018>, Accessed on 20 June 2018.

²⁶ Audio recording of the speech is available at <https://www.iiss.org/events/shangri-la-dialogue/shangri-la-dialogue-2018>. Transcript of the speech used is the authors own.