International Conference
on
Changing Security Dynamic
in the Indo-Pacific

February 15-16, 2017
Hyderabad
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Changing Security Dynamic in the Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific construct has acquired greater salience in the recent past, as the locus of global economic power witnessed a shift towards the East. As Indian Prime Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, succinctly summed up: “….. the centre of gravity of global opportunities and challenges are shifting to the Pacific and Indian Ocean Region. The fortunes of nations in and around the two oceans are inter-linked. For this reason, the tides that bear hopes and bring challenges to the shores in India and the Pacific Islands are the same. That is why some call the region the Indo-Pacific Region.”

Earlier in 2007, Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, articulated the concept of Indo-Pacific in his speech to the Indian Parliament. Prime Minister Abe said: “We are now at a point at which the Confluence of the Two Seas is coming into being... The Pacific and the Indian Oceans are now bringing about a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity. A “broader Asia” that broke away geographical boundaries is now beginning to take on a distinct form.”

Hillary Clinton, former Secretary of State of the United States, also deployed the Indo-Pacific concept in an article for Foreign Policy magazine.

The Indo-Pacific today is witnessing two contradictory developments viz., growing economic integration coupled with increasing intensification of the territorial/maritime disputes. In some instances, the maritime disputes were resolved through dialogue and arbitration. The Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) adjudicated on the matter of Bay of Bengal Maritime Boundary between India and Bangladesh. In its ruling on July 08, 2014, the PCA ruled in favour of Bangladesh by awarding 19,467 sq. km. of the contentious 25,602 sq. km. sea area of the Bay of Bengal. India accepted the ruling and acted accordingly.

However, not all maritime disputes experienced similar trajectory. Many Southeast Asian countries have contested China’s nine-dash line and associated activities in the South China Sea. In 2013, the Philippines government submitted the South China Sea PCA. China declared that it would neither participate in the proceedings of the PCA nor accept its ruling. In July 2016, the PCA in its order made the following important observations: “There was no legal basis for China to claim historic rights to resources within the sea areas falling within the ‘nine-dash line’ ”; (2) “The Tribunal concluded that none of the Spratly Islands is capable of generating extended maritime zones….. the Tribunal found that it could declare that certain sea areas are within the exclusive economic zone of the Philippines.”; (3) “The Tribunal found that China had violated the Philippines’ sovereign rights in its exclusive economic zone by (a) interfering
with Philippine fishing and petroleum exploration, (b) constructing artificial islands and (c) failing to prevent Chinese fishermen from fishing in the zone.” China’s foreign ministry responded to the PCA ruling stating that “The People’s Republic of China solemnly declares that the award is null and void and has no binding force. China neither accepts nor recognizes it.” Given these developments, the possibility of implementing, at the moment, the PCA ruling on the South China Sea seems to be remote.

Important countries in the region have called on all the parties to abide by the PCA ruling. For instance, referring to the PCA ruling, Japan’s Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida stated: “As the Tribunal’s award is final and legally binding on the parties to the dispute under the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the parties to this case are required to comply with the award. Japan strongly expects that the parties’ compliance with this award will eventually lead to the peaceful settlement of disputes in the South China Sea.” The Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop called on “the Philippines and China to abide by the ruling, which is final and binding on both parties,” also noted that “adherence to international law is the foundation for peace, stability, and prosperity in East Asia, as it has for many years. This decision is an important test case for how the region can manage disputes peacefully.” Similarly, the United States also expressed its hope and expectation that both parties will comply with the Tribunal’s decision. The US statement also stated: “In today’s decision and in its decision from October of last year, the Tribunal unanimously found that the Philippines was acting within its rights under the Convention in initiating this arbitration.” Given the convergence of views between the three countries, it was not surprising that the Japan-United States-Australia Trilateral Strategic Dialogue joint statement (July 2016) referred to the necessity of abiding by the PCA ruling, upholding the ‘existing rules-based international order’ and eschewing ‘unilateral actions that could alter the status quo.” The Indian government, which had earlier abided by a PCA ruling in the Bay of Bengal, called on all parties to resolve all disputes through peaceful and supported “freedom of navigation and over-flight, and unimpeded commerce, based on the principles of international law, as reflected notably in the UNCLOS.”

Vietnam welcomed the Tribunal award and reaffirmed “its sovereignty over Hoang Sa (Paracel) and Truong Sa (Spratly) Archipelagoes.” Singapore, reflecting on its geopolitical context stated: “As a small state, we strongly support the maintenance of a rules-based order that upholds and protects the rights and privileges of all states.” However, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers meeting in Vientiane, Lao PDR, in July 2016 did not refer to the PCA ruling but reaffirmed the importance of the Declaration on the Conduct of
Parties in the South China Sea (DOC). This development, once again indicated that ASEAN has not been able to respond robustly to the emerging security challenges in the region.

While there are numerous regional organizations such as ASEAN, EAS, and SAARC, there is an absence of regional security architecture. Undoubtedly, the economic component in various regional organizations has witnessed significant progress. On the other hand, there seems to be reluctance or an inability to move forward on strengthening the security architecture. Further, there appears to be a lack of consensus on norms and international frameworks to address various security concerns. As a consequence, it appears, nation-states in the region are developing strategic partnerships to respond to security challenges.

The idea of partnerships among democratic countries such as India, Japan, the US, and Australia did not find much favour when it was articulated a few years ago. However, the changing security situation seems to have propelled the above democracies to explore new frameworks of cooperation.

On September 29, 2015, the inaugural U.S.-India-Japan Trilateral Ministerial was organised on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meeting in New York. India, Japan, and the US are robust democracies with vibrant economies. They share common values and are working towards a rule-based international order. There is a convergence of interests between the three countries in the larger Indo-Pacific region. The convergences include peaceful settlement of disputes, freedom of navigation and over-flight, unimpeded lawful commerce, strengthening of Asia-Pacific regional architecture based on ASEAN centrality and collaboration for quality regional connectivity. There is also growing convergence in the regional postures of the three countries viz., the US rebalance to Asia, Japan’s enhanced engagement of South and Southeast Asia and India’s Act East Policy.

In June 2015, the first trilateral dialogue involving India, Japan, and Australia was organised in New Delhi at the Secretary/Vice-Minister level. The Joint Statement on India and Japan Vision 2025 noted that the Japan-India-Australia Trilateral dialogue would “contribute to regional efforts to evolve an open, inclusive, stable and transparent economic, political and security architecture in the Indo-Pacific region.” This dialogue indicates that these countries are not merely passive players to the evolving security dynamic between an established power and an emerging power. Instead, it is indicative of the willingness of these democracies to shape power-relations to their advantage. On the other hand, there is also significant scope for improvement in the economic relations between the trilateral partners.
The emergence of these trilateral dialogues suggests that there is a convergence of interests between democracies in the Indo-Pacific region. These dialogues seek to supplement not supplant the existing regional organisations. The initiation of these discussions has been received positively among the publics of the countries concerned. It is important to note that Japan and India are members in these two dialogue frameworks. It is evident that the States have adopted the balance of power approach in addition to the institutional approach as a response to power asymmetries and the territorial/maritime disputes.

In the light of these developments, the proposed conference titled, Changing Security Dynamic in the Indo-Pacific, will examine the following themes:

**Understanding the Indo-Pacific Construct**
- Overview of Territorial/Maritime Disputes in Indo-Pacific
- Security Issues in Indo-Pacific – India’s Response
- Japan and Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy

**South China Sea Dispute**
- South China Sea Dispute and Arbitration – A Historical Overview and Implications for Indo-Pacific Security
- Response of Southeast Asian Countries and ASEAN
- Response of Major Powers – Next Steps

**Partnerships - Trilaterals and Quadrilateral**
- India’s Act East – Strengthening Partnership
- Japan’s Engagement of South and Southeast Asia
- US Rebalance – Challenges and Opportunities for Partnerships

**Indian Ocean: Emerging Security Challenges and Opportunities**
- Indian Ocean: New Players and New Alignments
- Regional Responses to Changing Security Dynamic in the Indian Ocean
- Non-Traditional Security Threats in Indian Ocean region

**Bay of Bengal – Sea of Peace**
- Resolving Maritime Disputes in Bay of Bengal – Success Stories
• Next steps in strengthening Bay of Bengal (including Andaman and Nicobar Island) security
• Emerging Bay of Bengal Regional Security Constructs

The Way Forward
• Regional Security Architecture – Frameworks of Security for a Better Future
• Pathways to Peace

End Notes


8 Arbitration between the Republic of the Philippines and the People’s Republic of China regarding the South China Sea (Final Award by the Arbitral Tribunal) available at http://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001204.html


**DR. RAJAT KATHURIA** is Director and Chief Executive at Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER), New Delhi. He has over 20 years experience in teaching and 15 years experience in economic policy, besides research interests on a range of issues relating to regulation and competition policy. He has taught undergraduate economics at the University of Maryland and is currently on leave from the International Management Institute (IMI), New Delhi where he teaches Managerial Economics and International Trade. He has worked with the World Bank, Washington DC as a Consultant and carried out project assignments for a number of international organizations, including ILO, UNCTAD, LirneAsia, World Bank and ADB. He has published in international and national journals, besides in popular magazines and newspapers. He is founder member of Broadband Society for Universal Access and served on the Board of Delhi Management Association. He currently is an independent director on the Microfinance Institutions Network (MFIN) and on several government committees. He is also on the research advisory council of SBI. He has an undergraduate degree in Economics from St. Stephens College, a Masters from Delhi School of Economics and a Ph.D. degree from the University of Maryland, College Park.

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**SHRI SHAKTI SINHA** is the Director at the Nehru Memorial Museum & Library (Teen Murti), New Delhi. He is also a Distinguished Fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies Sri Lanka. He has a Master’s in Public Policy from George Mason University, and a Master’s in Indian and Chinese history from Delhi University. He was a member of the Indian Administrative Service from 1979 to 2013, when he took voluntary retirement. He has held positions at different levels at the Union, State and District levels, including as private secretary/ joint secretary to prime minister (Vajpayee), head of Delhi’s power utility, principal finance secretary in Delhi provincial government, chief secretary of the Andaman government and others. Internationally, he headed the United Nation’s governance & development team in Afghanistan (2006-09) coordinating donor support to the Afghan government, and was earlier Senior Advisor to Executive Director on the Board of the World Bank (2000-2004).

Mr Sinha has worked at think tanks in India (Director, India Foundation; Director, South Asian Institute for Strategic Affairs; Visiting Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation) and Singapore (Institute of South Asian Studies) and written many book chapters, working papers, briefs, columns etc on political economy & governance of India, Indian foreign policy & strategic affairs, Chinese economy and politics, and on Afghanistan, for global and Indian publications.
PROF. SRIKANTH KONDAPALLI is Professor in Chinese Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). He is Chairman of the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies (SIS), JNU thrice from 2008-10, 2012-14 and 2016-18. He is educated in Chinese studies in India and China with a Ph.D. in Chinese Studies. He learnt Chinese language at Beijing Language & Culture University and was a post-Doctoral Visiting Fellow at People’s University, Beijing from 1996-98. He was a Visiting Professor at National Chengchi University, Taipei in 2004, a Visiting Fellow at China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, Beijing in May 2007, an Honorary Professor at Shandong University, Jinan in 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015 and 2016; at Jilin University, Changchun in 2014 and at Yunnan University of Finance and Economics, Kunming in 2016, a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at People’s University since 2014 and a Fellow at Salzburg Global Seminar in 2010. He wrote two books (China’s Military: The PLA in Transition in 1999 & China’s Naval Power in 2001), two monographs, co-edited four volumes (Asian Security & China in 2004; China and its Neighbours in 2010; China’s Military and India in 2012 and China and the BRICS: Setting up a Different Kitchen in 2016) and a number of articles in journals and edited volumes – all on China. He received the K. Subramanyam Award in 2010 for Excellence in Research in Strategic and Security Studies.

PROF. G.V.C. NAIDU is Professor and Chairperson of the Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He specializes in the affairs of the Indo-Pacific region, including maritime issues, Indian Ocean security and cooperation, the Indian Navy, East Asian security, India’s relations with East Asia, etc. His visiting appointments include Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore; Japan Foundation Visiting Professor at the Daito Bunka University, Japan; Visiting Fellow at the East-West Center, Honolulu; and Visiting Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Visiting Professor at Gakushuin University, Tokyo, Visiting Professor at National Chengchi University, Taipei, etc. He has to his credit five books, five monographs and a large number of articles, chapters in books, and research papers published in India and abroad. His most recent publications include two books: Building Confidence in East Asia: Maritime Conflicts, Interdependence and Asian Identity Thinking (Palgrave, 2015) (edited with Kazuhiko Togo) and India and China in the Emerging Dynamics of East Asia (Springer 2015) (edited with Mumin Chen).
MR. HIDEKI ASARI is a career diplomat with extensive experience in the planning and execution of foreign policies. He has been involved in a wide range of diplomatic negotiations, both bilateral and multilateral, and has held positions such as Counsel for Trade Negotiations in the International Legal Affairs Bureau (2004-2005), Director of the Oceania Division in charge of Australia, New Zealand and Pacific island countries (2005-2007), and Cabinet Counsellor in the Office of the Diplomatic Affairs in the Prime Minister’s Office (2007-2009). His overseas posts include Seoul (2001-2003) and Washington DC (2009-2011). Before assuming his current role in New Delhi in July 2016, he was Minister (Public Diplomacy and Media) at the Embassy of Japan in London and was responsible for public relations and media affairs, and was interviewed by BBC and Sky News on various occasions. He also served for nearly two years (2011 to 2013) as Deputy Director-General (COO) of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), a leading Japanese think-tank on foreign and security policy. His teaching experience includes lecturing at the Graduate School, School of Law, at Waseda University (International Law) (2003-2005) and acting as supervisor for the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF) Staff College thesis course (2011-2013).

Hideki Asari joined the foreign service in 1986 after graduating from Waseda University in Tokyo. He also earned an M.A. from the University of Oxford.

ADVISOR ARUN PRAKASH (RETD.) served as India’s 20th Naval Chief and Chairman Chiefs of Staff Committee, retiring in end-2006. Commissioned into the Executive Branch, he specialized in aviation and during a career spanning over 40 years, commanded four warships including the aircraft-carrier Viraat, a ship-borne fighter squadron and a naval air station. In flag rank, he commanded the Eastern Fleet, the National Defence Academy and the Western Naval Command. He was the first C-in-C of the Andaman & Nicobar Joint Command. He served in NHQ as head of the navy’s Aviation and Personnel branches and as Vice Chief of the Naval Staff. During his tenure as Chief, the navy saw many initiatives being launched in the fields of doctrine, strategy, foreign maritime cooperation and indigenization. The 2004 tsunami saw the navy earn plaudits for mounting a swift relief operation, spanning India’s eastern seaboard, as well as Sri Lanka, Maldives and Indonesia.

A graduate of the Indian Air Force (IAF) Test Pilots School, the Defence Services Staff College and the US Naval War College, he was awarded the Vir Chakra for gallantry while serving on deputation with an IAF ground-attack squadron during the 1971 War.

Post-retirement, he served two terms as a member of the National Security Advisory Board and was Chairman of the National Maritime Foundation. He was a member of the 2000 Arun Singh Task Force as well as the 2011 Naresh Chandra Committee; bodies set up to recommend national security reforms. He has published a compendium of speeches and writings titled: From the Crow’s Nest. He currently occupies a Distinguished Chair in the Indian Naval War College and is a Distinguished Fellow of the Delhi Policy Group.
~~DR. LOWELL BAUTISTA~~ is Senior Lecturer, School of Law and Staff Member, Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security (ANCORS), University of Wollongong, Australia. Dr. Bautista is recognized for his expertise on the Law of the Sea especially in the area of territorial and maritime boundary issues in the South China Sea. He is a lawyer with over ten years of experience in legal and policy research, litigation and consultancy. He holds Bachelor of Arts in Political Science (cum laude) and Bachelor of Laws degrees from the University of the Philippines, a Master of Laws (Marine and Environmental Law) degree from Dalhousie University in Canada, and a Doctor of Philosophy in law from the University of Wollongong. His areas of research include territorial and maritime boundary issues in the Asia-Pacific, the South China Sea, Philippine maritime and territorial issues, maritime piracy and terrorism, international humanitarian law, underwater cultural heritage, and international environmental law, on which topics he has also published. Dr. Bautista has participated in numerous research and consultancies, as well as in the preparation of submissions, opinions, and reports for government department and agencies in Australia and in the Philippines, as well as for regional and international organizations. On numerous occasions, Dr. Bautista has provided confidential advice and opinions on matters pertaining to offshore oil and gas resources, the law of the sea, the South China Sea, maritime boundary delimitation, and public international law to the Philippine Government, and to private companies in the Philippines and Australia.

~~DR. V. BALAKISTA REDDY~~, Professor of International Law and Registrar, Coordinator M.K Nayambar SAARC Law Center and Head, Center for Air and Space Law, NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad. Dr. Reddy obtained his LL.M in International Law from Osmania University and M. Phil. and Ph.D. in International Air and Space Law from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. He has more than 15 years of Teaching and Research experience. An internationally recognized expert in Air and Space Law, Dr. Reddy presented papers on “Aerospace Technologies and Problems of Third World Countries” and “The Application of Satellite Technologies in Civil Aviation: Emerging Legal Issues” at the UNISPACE-III conference held at Vienna, Austria. He also participated and presented a paper on International Trade Law and Developing Countries at the UNITAR/WTO Workshop on International Trade at UN Headquarters, New York. Besides, above UN Conferences, he has also participated and presented papers in many National and International conference and workshops. A prolific writer, Dr. Reddy has contributed extensively to various national and international journals on different facets of International law. His books on, (1) Air Law and Policy in India (2) Recent Trends in International Space Law and Policy and (3) Emerging Trends in Air and Space Law, (4) Space Law and Contemporary Issues have won international acclaim. He is Visiting Faculty to many Universities in India and abroad. At present, he is engaged in various prestigious projects and assignments, which include the WTO and India: Issues and Challenges, Drafting of Model Space Legislation for India and Sensitization Programme on WTO/GATS and Globalization of Legal Profession: Opportunities and Challenges for Indian Legal Fraternity.
**MS. RUKMANI GUPTA** is a New Delhi based geopolitical analyst working on defence and security issues in Asia. She is a Senior Analyst for Asia-Pacific on the IHS Jane’s Military Capabilities Desk as well as the Associate Editor of India Quarterly published by the Indian Council of World Affairs.

Ms. Gupta previously worked as an Associate Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi from July 2010 to October 2013, where her research focused on China’s internal and external security challenges. Prior to this, Ms Gupta was a Research Fellow at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, coordinating the China research programme. She holds an MPhil in Chinese Studies and MA in International Relations from the School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. As a recipient of the China-India government scholarship she has undertaken language training at Liaoning Normal University, Dalian and the Beijing Language and Culture University, Beijing.

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**DR. DINH THI HIEN LUONG** (a.k.a Julia Luong DINH) is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Foreign Policy and Strategic Studies, the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam since January 2000. Ms Dinh got her BA from the Institute of International Relations (Vietnam) in 1999 and MA from the Universiti Malaya (Malaysia) and the Universiti Autonoma de Madrid (Spain) in 2005. She has recently accomplished her Ph.D. project on “Ideational Leadership in Chinese Foreign Policy in the 21st century: ‘Harmonious world’ policy under Hu Jintao 2002-2012” under the supervision of Associate Professor Jingdong YUAN at the University of Sydney (Australia). Her research background and interests are Chinese foreign policy, international relation theory and practice in East Asia.
DR. M. MAYILVAGANAN, PhD is an Associate Professor in International Strategic and Security Studies programme (ISSSP) at National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore. Previously he was a Visiting Senior Lecturer at Department of International and Strategic Studies, University of Malaya, based at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia where he taught South Asia in International Relations, Modern Warfare and International Politics. His other past positions include Associate Fellow at Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi (2006-2009) specializing Sri Lanka in particular and South Asia in general; Research Associate in the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi (2003), specialized on Kashmir issues.

Dr Mayil’s research interests include strategic and security issues of India’s neighbourhood (particularly Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Bhutan), Indo-Pacific region, China, Japan and the US foreign policy. He has published several articles and commentaries on a variety of topics related to Asia. He has also participated in various international and national seminars and given lectures at various institutes, besides appearing for various print and visual media interviews. He holds a doctorate from the school of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

PROF. KOUSAR J. AZAM, Professor Emeritus Department of Political Science, Osmania University, (retd.) has been till recently Honorary Advisor, Programmes and Development, at the Osmania University Center for International Programmes - OUCIP - at Osmania University Hyderabad, India. She has had a distinguished career with several national recognitions, international awards, academic assignments and teaching responsibilities in India and abroad. A recipient of Research Associate ship at the Department of Political Science at Birmingham University-UK (1974), Post-doctoral Ford -ACDIS Fellowship (1990) (with a travel grant from Fulbright) and Senior Fulbright Fellowship (1994-95) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Rockefeller Foundation IFUSS Fellowship (1999) and a Fulbright Visiting Specialist Award under a special programme (2005) at the University of Iowa. She served as the Director, Southern Regional Center of the Indian Council of Social Science Research from 2001-2003, and was a Member of Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission from 2003-2005, and till recently Advisor Programmes and Development, Osmania University Center for International Programmes-OUCIP 2006-2016.

Prof. Kousar has taught / lectured at several centers of higher learning including those at New York, Kathmandu, Mauritius, Colombo, Moscow, Houston, Beirut, Brindisi (Italy), Leiden (Amsterdam), Niteroi (Brazil), Oxford University (UK), Nanzan University at Nagoya, and at Tokyo Women’s University. Apart from several articles in national and international journals, her publications include a book on National Integration in India (1980), and several edited volumes, latest being India in World Affairs (2016). She was awarded Professor Emeritus fellowship by the UGC to work on a project on Ethnicity in South Asia. She can be reached at kousarjabeen@yahoo.com
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Rao is the founder Editor of Indian Ocean Survey, a biannual international journal, now being published by the Routledge, UK. He published over forty research articles in Indian and foreign journals.

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Radhakrishnan had pursued his Masters and MPhil from the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi and presently he is working on his doctoral research on the ‘Political Communication as Soft Power: Role of Media in India’s Foreign Policy’ from the Pune University, Pune. He has co-authored a book, co-edited two books, contributed articles in journals and many web based articles, apart from the occasional brief comments in the newspapers. He has also presented papers in national and international conferences.

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DR. RONALD HUISKEN is an adjunct Associate Professor with the Strategic & Defence Studies Centre (SDSC), Australian National University and edits the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP)'s annual regional security outlook. He joined SDSC as a Senior Fellow in 2001, after nearly 20 years in government with the departments of Defence, Foreign Affairs & Trade, and Prime Minister and Cabinet. His research interests are focussed on US security policies, the security order in East Asia, non-proliferation and arms control, and China’s foreign and security policies. Prior to his career in government, he worked at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (1968-76), the University of Malaya (1970-72), the UN Department of Disarmament Affairs (1979-81). In 1995-96, he was a member of the secretariat for the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. His publications include Arms Uncontrolled, (with Frank Barnaby, 1975); The Origin of the Strategic Cruise Missile, (1981); The Road to War on Iraq (2003); Rising China: Power and Reassurance (ed., 2009); Introducing China: The world’s oldest major power charts its next comeback (2010)

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DR. JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN served in the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) for 16 years. After resigning from IAS in 1996 to build a reform movement, he served in several capacities – as a Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA), and as member of National Advisory Council, Second Administrative Reforms Commission and Vigilance Advisory Council. He is the General Secretary of Foundation for Democratic Reforms. As a civil servant, he acquired a formidable reputation in the erstwhile State of Andhra Pradesh and is known for his contributions to agriculture, irrigation, hitech city development, and economic restructuring and youth rehabilitation projects in the state.

As an advocate of governance reform, Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan, in the above roles, launched several significant and durable initiatives to make ethical and rational politics sustainable, enhance transparency and accountability, liberate cooperatives from bureaucratic clutches, empower local governments and stakeholders, improve delivery of education and health care, and ensure speedy and efficient justice.

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DR. MOHAN GURUSWAMY has over three decades of experience in government, industry and academia. He was educated at Osmania University, Hyderabad; John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; and Graduate School of Business, Stanford University. He was financial advisor to the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) Government. Prolific writer and TV commentator, he is actively involved in Track II diplomacy and other social sector initiatives. He has to his a credit number of books and publications. He writes for major newspapers and periodicals in India and abroad.
Japan and Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy
Hideki Asari

The “inward-lookingness” of the major powers or “liberal democracies in disarray” may be oft quoted clichés recently. While one should resist the temptation of oversimplification, it is true that the strategic environment in the Indo-Pacific is vested with challenges—the attempts to unilaterally change the status quo in South China Sea and East China Sea, the North Korea’s nuclear threat and international terrorism, just to name a few examples.

In this challenging strategic environment, two countries should take leads—they are Japan and India. The United States will continue to play a vital and important role in the Indo-Pacific, and recent signs from the United States of its commitment to this region are reassuring. At the same time, it is important for major powers such as Japan and India to even more proactively contribute to peace, stability and the rule of law.

Prime Minister Abe last year put forward his foreign policy initiative the “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy”. Japan and India share broad strategic direction of improving regional connectivity to enhance prosperity and of augmenting maritime security and the rule of law. Two countries are already engaged in dialogues at strategic level as well as practical cooperation including bilateral and trilateral exercises involving Japan’s Maritime Self Defence Force and Indian Navy. The two countries are also working on connectivity in India, and between India and its vicinity.

Japan values a reliable partner and that is India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A New Foreign Policy Strategy: “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy”</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Proactive Contribution to Peace” based on the principle of international cooperation</td>
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Based on the accomplishments of the Abe Administration, Japan intends to further improve and expand these diplomatic concepts

“Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy”
A key for stability and prosperity of the international community is dynamism that is created by combining “Two Continents”: Asia that is rapidly growing and Africa that possess huge potential of growth; and “Two Oceans”: Free and open Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean
⇒ broaden the horizon of Japanese foreign policy by envisioning the above as an overarching, comprehensive concept

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Africa</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full of potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• population around 1.1 billion (15% of global population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⇒ around 2.5 billion in 2050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• account for 30,000,000㎢ (22% of global area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• high economic growth rate (4.3% on average (2002-2013))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• rich in natural resources and promising markets</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

⇒ progressing as a “developing continent” whereas still challenged by poverties and terrorism etc.

Japan will provide nation-building support in the area of development as well as politics and governance, in a way that respects the ownership of African countries, and not by forcing on or intervening in them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase of awareness of confidence, responsibility and leadership, as well as democracy, rule of law and market economy taking root in South East and South Asian countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⇒ Currently expanding its success to Africa and bring out the potential of Africa as a “global main player” through a free and open Indo-Pacific</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Japan will expand infrastructure development, trade and investment, and enhance business environment and human development from East Asia as a starting-point, to the Middle East and Africa.

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

Lowell Bautista

The final award of the Arbitral Tribunal in the case filed by the Philippines against China over the South China Sea (SCS) was an overwhelming legal and moral victory for the Philippines. The arbitral tribunal categorically declared that China’s nine-dash line claim finds no basis in international law and incompatible with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). However, China’s defiance of the ruling and refusal to honor and implement the award pose a serious challenge to Manila’s victory.

This presentation will examine the arbitration case and the award of the arbitral tribunal in the case filed by the Philippines against China over the SCS. The presentation will provide a concise summary of the competing territorial and maritime jurisdictional claims over the SCS highlighting recent developments. It will examine the case and the award in greater detail discussing its factual antecedents and the specific reliefs sought by the Philippines. The presentation will conclude with an evaluation and analysis of the arbitral award in the context of its potential implications to the management of conflict and resolution of the sovereignty disputes in the SCS, as well as address legal and practical issues with respect to the award.

Major Powers and the South China Sea Disputes – Policies, Motivations and Limitations

Rukmani Gupta

Major powers active in Asia – the United States (US), Japan and India – have all stated an interest in maintaining the “freedom of navigation” through the South China Sea. Apart from exhorting claimants to arrive at a negotiated settlement and maintain the status quo, the efforts of these powers have largely focused on capacity building among smaller claimants. The US in particular has been vocal in condemning China’s seemingly expansionist claims and unprecedented building activity in the region. To this end, the US has undertaken ‘freedom of navigation patrols’ near disputed maritime features. Japan, under the Abe administration, has significantly expanded its military relations with much of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam and Philippines. India’s emphasis on ‘Act East’ has similarly reinvigorated its ties with many claimant states. This paper examines and assesses the efficacy of the diplomatic and military policies of these major powers as related to the South China Sea disputes. It is posited that rather than an ideal of “freedom of navigation”, the common motivation for these nations is the threat of expanding Chinese naval reach and its possible implications for national and regional security. Furthermore, the
ability of these powers to influence dispute resolution is limited due to the nature of their engagement with claimant states as well as the fear of conflict escalation among claimants themselves.

**South China Sea Dispute - Response of ASEAN**

M. Mayilvaganan

The events following the recent verdict of the permanent court of arbitration on claims of the Philippines in the South China Sea (SCS) has not only demonstrated Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) dilemma but also reflected the lack of unanimity among its member countries. ASEAN’s inability to respond to the territorial disputes in the SCS in an affirmative manner and particularly, its watered-down joint statement at the end of its 49th ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting in Laos preferring to avoid reference to the court ruling against China are a case in point. Interestingly, the ASEAN coexisted traditionally with the US approach as many within it considered the latter as a stabilizing force. However, with the newly elected US president Donald Trump’s censure on its allies’ failure to pay enough for US protection and his inward looking policy have raised concern among many littoral states. Similarly, Beijing upping the ante in SCS part of its larger game plan—including ignoring the court’s decree—and its growing clout over the region has put ASEAN to the test. Should China’s military buildup and its attempts to rewrite the rule book including its yearning to have power over the sea lines of communication—through which about $5 trillion trade passes annually—increase, undoubtedly it will heightened far reaching implications for the region and worldwide.

By and large, the big question is that how does the 10 member bloc going to balance their own strategic interests as well as the unity of the bloc when the SCS emerging as a potential flashpoint. Particularly, it is imperative to examine how ASEAN is going to behave and will it be able to defend its centrality and credibility. Unless ASEAN manages to finalize a fair code of conduct in the SCS with China, its continuity and legacy would be in the challenge even may risk losing its very raison d’etre.

**India’s Act East - Strengthening Partnerships**

Sanjay Pulipaka

India has scaled-up its Look East policy into an Act East policy. The Act East policy builds on earlier frameworks by expanding the geographic nodes of engagement, a more forthright articulation on security issues, and robust engagement through cultural frameworks.

India is engaging with diverse countries including the distant Pacific islands under the rubric of the Forum
for India Pacific Islands Cooperation (FIPIC). While working for a more multipolar world order, India is building expanded partnerships with various democratic countries as well. India has been scaling up its engagement with the ASEAN-associated regional frameworks. In the immediate neighbourhood, India has given impetus to alternative frameworks, such as, the Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal (BBIN) and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC).

India’s trade with the larger East Asian region has witnessed a substantive increase in the past two decades. For instance, India’s trade with the ASEAN today stands at 76.53 billion dollars (2014-2015). Investments from the ASEAN accounted for 12.5% of total investment flows into India since 2000. India’s economic relations with Japan, Korea and China have also witnessed an upward trend in the past two decades.

Given the long historical association with Southeast Asian and East Asian countries, India is now deploying Buddhist cultural frameworks as well as renewed engagement with the Indian diaspora. The proposed presentation will reflect on the above issues.

**Japan moving Southward: Japan’s Policy towards South and Southeast Asia**

Tsutomu Kikuchi

Japan has been struggling to become a more relevant, reliable, and trustworthy security and economic partner in Asia and the world to sustain and enhance the rule-based regional order.

First, the alliance with the United States continues to be the bedrock of Japan’s foreign policy. For the last few years Japan has taken the initiatives to strengthen the alliance. Japan’s activism reflects, among others, its concerns about the US security commitment to Japan and the region. The US security commitments are indispensable for the defense of Japan and regional stability. However, given the divided politics in Washington and inward-looking attitude of the US public against foreign engagement, Japan needs some new policy measures to firmly engage the US in Japan’s and regional security. Japan, for the first time in the post-war era, is seriously considering how Japan can make the US government and people believe that Japan is a trustworthy ally for the US.

Second, Japan has been strengthening economic and security relations with “the rest of Asia,” as was shown in Japan’s active engagements with the countries in South and Southeast Asia such as India, Australia and ASEAN countries. Japan is moving southward. Japan’s active engagement is meant both to diversify—and complement—Japan’s alliance with the US.

Why are these countries so important for Japan? Contrary to conventional views, the future of Asia will
largely depend upon how “the rest of Asia” will respond to the emerging challenges. The policies of the “rest of Asia” will have grave impacts on the future of Asia.

Japan is looking beyond the alliance. Bilateral, trilateral and multilateral economic and security engagement with “the rest of Asia” will become more prominent in the years to come.

**Indian Ocean: New Players and New Alignments**

Seshadri Vasan

The term Indo Pacific as opposed to Asia Pacific appears to have caught the imagination of the strategic community. While on one hand it brings out the shift of the Centre of Gravity (CG) to the Indo pacific, it also demands on the other hand a greater focus by the IORA countries led by India for recalibration of responses in the region based on developments due to the presence of new player.

Despite calls for maintaining Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (ZOP) including the most recent one from the Galle dialogue in 2015 by the National Security Advisor of India in Sri Lanka, there is very little likelihood of any one heeding to this call due to the economic and strategic importance of Indian Ocean to the new players. The power play between India and Pakistan which saw the complete defeat of the Pakistan forces in 1971 and blockade supported by major missile attacks against Pakistan Navy and infrastructure and decisive action in Bay of Bengal resulted in the creation of a new nation Bangladesh. The unfolding events in the last 45 years since the last major naval war is indicative of the renewed interest of new players notably China who have major stakes in the Indian Ocean due to the trade interests from Asia to Africa and beyond. China will indeed be the new lead player in the Indian Ocean with enormous economic and strategic interests.

The US military forces which are stationed in Bahrain and Middle East have traditionally been the guarantors of energy/trade security as USA depended on the Middle East for its energy demands for decades. The proclamation of the Carter’s doctrine had everything to do with energy security and ensuring there was unimpeded movement of the most vital energy products to the world’s super power. However, with the discovery of Shale gas and oil, USA has become energy independent but does not want to withdraw from the area. This has not resulted in reduction of its presence in the region. It has augmented its maritime military power in the region and will continue to be relevant in the coming decades. The West Arabian Sea will witness intense activity due to the asymmetric threats to safety of seaborne commercial trade energy products along the Sea Lines of Communication that are used by some ten thousand ships annually.

US Naval forces have spearheaded the anti-piracy missions by tasking the Combined Maritime Force in the north Arabian Sea. Other European powers which are beset with problems of slowing economies have
their presence alongside US forces. The dominant new player to watch out for is China which has set its sights quite high and is leveraging its economic strength to provide it with options for future particularly in the immediate neighbourhood of India. China has not hesitated to invest heavily in its mega projects such as the Maritime Silk Road and the One Belt One Road initiative. India which has not joined these initiatives is weary of the advances being made in its traditional backyard. There are concerns of poaching in its time-tested areas of influence. The building of a military base in Djibouti is clearly illustrative of the military intentions of PLA Navy in the Indian Ocean. China nurtures both economic and military ambitions in India’s neighbourhood which has resulted in a power play of sorts

The paper seeks to examine the balance of power structure in the Indian Ocean with the entry of China and other old and new players. There are interesting and challenging prospects for new alignment that will shape the destiny of Indian Ocean the study of which merit attention. It will also examine the challenges faced by India in many areas including economics, strategy, neighbourhood relations and military preparedness.

Regional Responses to Changing Security Dynamic in the Indian Ocean

Saranya Sircar

The world is witnessing a power-shift, and the Indo-Pacific region is gaining greater prominence. The countries in the Indo-Pacific region have been adjusting their foreign policies accordingly. Some of the bigger countries have been working to strengthen the multi-polarity in the region. The countries in the Indian Ocean region have been adopting a balancing, hedging as well as bandwagoning strategies. Countries such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have adopted hedging strategies, given their geographic proximity to India. These countries have been seeking economic engagement on favourable terms from China, India and other sources as well. Similarly, the Indian Ocean island state, Maldives seems to be adopting a hedging strategy, with a distinctive bias towards China. The East African littoral states have acquired greater prominence in the recent past. The leaders of India, Japan and China have visited these countries to scale-up the engagement. The presence of the French territory of Reunion Island is also assuming greater importance. In the western end of the Indo-Pacific – the Gulf States – have been recalibrating their foreign policies in accordance with the changing regional and global power dynamic. The proposed presentation will unpack the above themes in the Indo-Pacific region.
Non-Traditional Maritime Security Threats in Indian Ocean

A. Subramanyam Raju

There is a strong linkage between human development and the seas. Historically man has depended on the seas for his economic and social well-being. Sea provides unlimited repository of food (fish), natural resources, fastest, cheapest and safest means to transport bulk goods. Maritime has become dominant factor in global affairs.

About 100,000 ships travel through Indian Ocean each year carrying one-third of the world’s bulk cargo, half of the container traffic and seventy per cent of the global traffic of petroleum products. Coastal shipping has become an important means of moving goods across the Indian Ocean region. Catching fish has become not only as a source of food but also as a source of income for many countries in Indian Ocean. Coastal tourism contributes income and provides employment in coastal areas.

The Indian Ocean region is home for global terrorism, drugs and arms trafficking. The Golden Crescent on one side of India and the Golden Triangle on the other provide financial support for terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and Jemmiah Islamiah. Hence, the areas such as the Horn of Africa, the Bay of Bengal and the Malacca Strait need to protect them otherwise they would become ungoverned areas.

Most of the maritime threats have transnational dimension and it is essential for greater cooperation between neighbours on maritime security. Such cooperation may include measures such as joint naval patrolling, controlling of smuggling and pirate activities, and strengthening communication networks. Understanding of the maritime issues facing by the littoral states of the Indian Ocean is essential to establish and promote transnational, maritime and cooperative mechanisms to mitigate maritime security concerns. The littoral states must develop interoperability (doctrines, procedures, organizational and logistic systems and operational processes) to identify areas of cooperation, which may be agreed to them. The paper focuses on various maritime threats such as maritime terrorism, piracy, environmental threats, impact of rise of sea level on littoral states etc.

Next Steps in Strengthening Bay of Bengal Security

Kanneganti Ramesh Babu

21st Century belongs to Indo-Pacific waters. Next Steps in strengthening Bay of Bengal (including Andaman & Nicobar Islands) security is the focus of my presentation. This theme can be best understood with reference to the following famous quotes: “To be secure on the land, we must be supreme at sea” - Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. One must observe what Admiral A.T. Mahan rightly pointed out in 1890: “Whoever
controls the Indian Ocean will dominate Asia. In the 21st century, the destiny of the world would be decided on its waters”. It is pertinent to note the remarks made by the former Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee made the following statement on India’s strategic priorities in November 2003: “the strategic frontiers of today’s India, grown in international stature, have expanded well beyond confines of South Asia. Our security environment, ranging from Persian Gulf to Straits of Malacca across the Indian Ocean, includes Central Asia and Afghanistan, China, and South- East Asia. Our strategic thinking has also to extend to these horizons.” The six littoral states including Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia have their outlet in this region. These states have been associated with the Bay of Bengal since ages.

So, the next steps in security of the Bay of Bengal region has to focus on the following flash points.

1. Sea lines of communication
2. The Chinese penetration into the Bay of Bengal rim.
3. Protection of ANC
5. Maritime piracy & terrorism
6. Drug trafficking
7. Arms trafficking
8. Human Trafficking
9. Chinese naval built up in the Bay of Bengal Rim and increased military activities of china in coco islands.
10. Safe passage of Ships at Malacca straits.

A safe and secure Bay of Bengal Rim is a prerequisite to peace and prosperity of Asia and beyond.

**Bay of Bengal in the Indo-Pacific Security Calculus**

V. Srilatha

The Bay of Bengal is becoming a key zone of economic and strategic intersection in the Indo-Pacific. It’s the largest bay in the world surrounded by six littoral countries: Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. As the Bay of Bengal region is endowed with rich natural resources including oil and gas reserves and marine products. China’s economic and political influence in the Bay of Bengal has been the single-most important factor in growing strategic competition in the region. Though China’s aspirations are primarily expressed in economic terms by sponsoring the development of overland connections between southern China and the Bay, the development of maritime infrastructure through its ‘Maritime Silk Route’ (MSR) initiative necessitated a collective desire for security and stability in the region.
As Bangladesh and Myanmar have become crucial entry points to non-littoral states in the Bay of Bengal for development, connectivity and strategic purposes, the countries in the Bay of Bengal region have been articulating the ‘Bay of Bengal Vision’ which has a strategic connotations. In September 2014, Japan announced its ‘BIG-B’ initiative that involved developing Bangladesh as a ‘lynchpin of the Indo-Pacific’ and a ‘node and hub’ of the regional economy. India’s recent BIMSTEC outreach summit could be a potential game-changer for the concerned countries quest for prosperity as ‘extended neighbourhood’ would rightly become a part of the ‘immediate neighbourhood’. Whereas Sri Lanka has laid out an agenda for both sub-regional — between Sri Lanka and south Indian states — and trans-regional economic integration among the South and South East Asian nations bordering the Bay of Bengal littoral.

Thus the paper ‘Bay of Bengal In the Indo-Pacific Security Calculus’ tries to analyse the prospects for the region to become a new locus for economic development in Asia and the strategic scramble to develop infrastructure and connectivity around the Bay of Bengal.

**Emerging Contours of Indo-Pacific Security: Prospects for Peace and Stability**

G.V.C. Naidu

Regions are imaginary constructions premised on certain shared common traits, hence, they are dynamic in nature. While subregions tended to be under focus for a long time, in the recent past the discourse is shifting to the larger regions since they help to better comprehend rapidly shifting political and economic developments and their implications in a broader perspective. In this context, the Indo-Pacific as the geostrategic and geoeconomic concept, though relatively of recent origin, is fast gaining salience as the new, and probably more appropriate framework that not merely reflects the current realities but also as a tool for analysis to understand the emerging dynamics. In many ways, the Indo-Pacific captures the growing interface and interdependence between the West Pacific and the Indian Ocean and growing attention to the maritime sphere. The Indo-Pacific as a reference point offers huge upside in a region that is fraught with uncertainty. The region otherwise is marked by peaceful environment devoid of a major war notwithstanding occasional minor conflicts and tensions. The other most noticeable developments are the rise of new power centres and consequently the power transition, the non-traditional security threats emerging as major challenges, continued economic vibrancy and growing economic interdependence, and limited institutionalisation. Hence, greater dialogue among great powers, creation of pan-Indo-Pacific multilateral frameworks, tangible cooperation to address non-conventional security challenges, building a stable regional balance of power, and intensified regional economic interactions will go a long way in ensuring peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific.
Regional Security Architecture – Frameworks of Security for a Better Future

Ronald Huisken

In the Indo Pacific region the addition of multilateral forums to the instruments available to states to manage their security interests lagged behind developments in Europe. And, unlike Europe, when they did emerge it was under the leadership of the smaller states in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), not the major powers. Unfortunately, although the security outlook in the region has darkened considerably over the ensuing decades, the processes that were created have plateaued rather than grown in effectiveness and importance. This paper will look into why this happened and consider whether timely and realistic remedies can be identified or whether the states of the region should consider a different course.

U.S. Response to China in East Asia: The “Pivot,” AirSea Battle and the Third Offset Strategy

Richard A. Bitzinger

China’s emergence as an economic, geopolitical, and perhaps even cultural great power has been undeniable. Its military rise has been equally indisputable, even if the implications of this military build-up are still open to debate. Beijing has, for at least a decade and a half, invested considerable resources, in terms of both money and human capital, into building up its armed forces – and it is paying off. The PLA is a much more capable force, relative to its neighbors, than it was twenty years ago. This modernized and revitalized military force is being matched by (or perhaps this modernization process has even enabled) a new assertiveness, obstinacy, and obduracy in international affairs. Washington’s response to a rising China can be basically summed up in “the pivot back to Asia.” Overall, the pivot constitutes a significant, even consequential, realignment of US global power. After a decade-long preoccupation with fighting ground-based counter-insurgency wars in the Middle East, the US military now planned to emphasize air- and sea-based operations in an “arc extending from the Western Pacific and East Asia into the Indian Ocean region and South Asia.” The pivot is significant because it symbolizes Washington’s renewed focus on China and its growing concern over the growth of Chinese military power in the Asia-Pacific. The strategic pivot is not merely a diplomatic and economic reengagement with Asia – it is a decidedly military effort by the US to counterbalance Beijing’s growing strength and influence in the region. In this regard, therefore, the pivot must be viewed through the lens of the Pentagon’s nascent AirSea Battle (ASB) concept, an ambitious war-fighting model.
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