

# Competing Regional Constructions for Security in the Indian Ocean

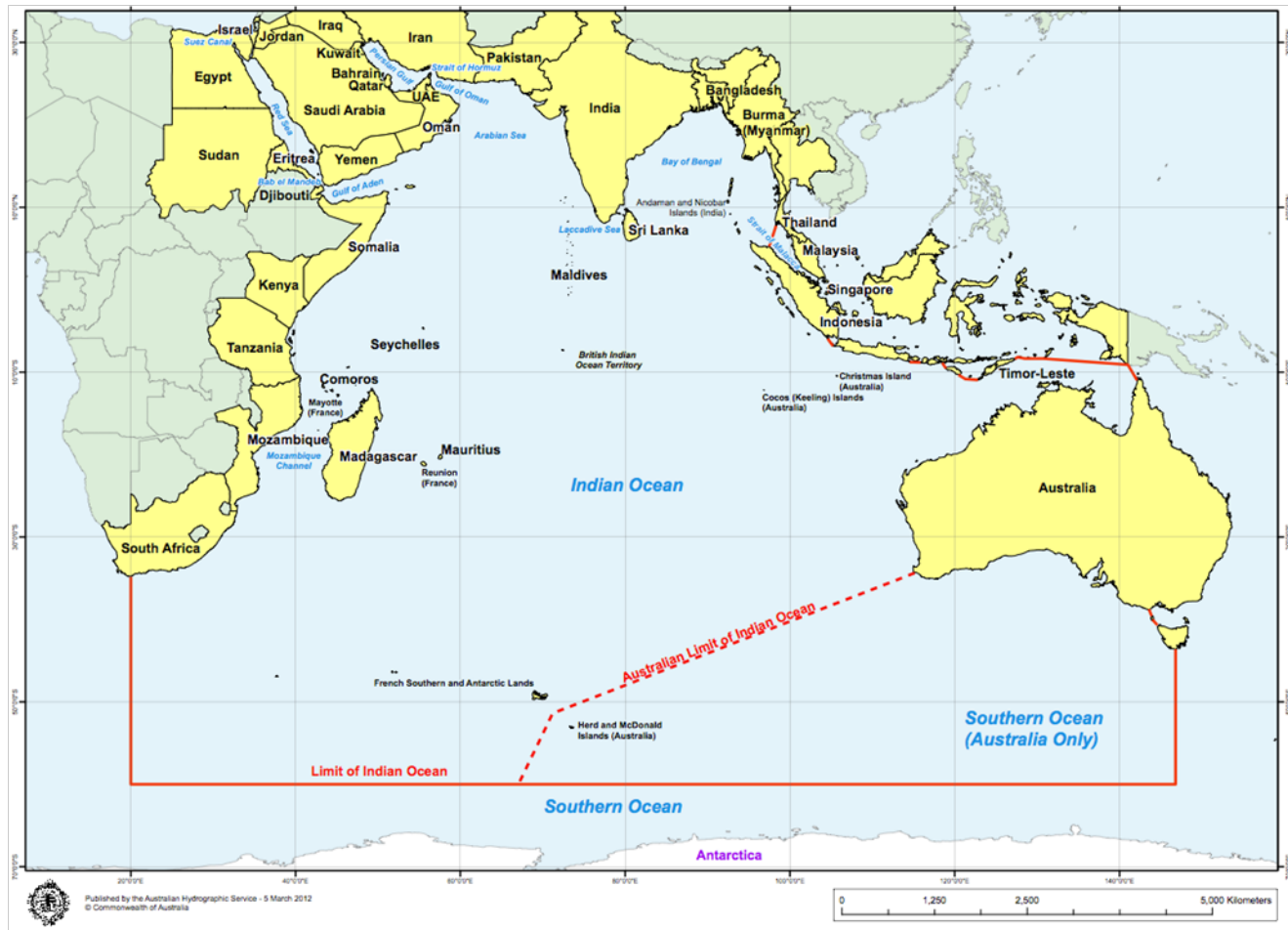
**Dennis Rumley, Timothy Doyle and Sanjay Chaturvedi**

A paper delivered to an international conference, “Internationales  
Wissenschaftsforum” Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, on Power  
Politics and Maritime Governance in the Indian Ocean, 2 July 2012

**Table 1 Competing Indian Ocean Regional Security Constructions: Polarising Perspectives**

| <b><u>Indian Ocean Region</u></b> | <b><u>Indo-Pacific Region</u></b> |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| diplomacy                         | traditional security              |
| optimists                         | pessimists                        |
| soft power                        | hard power                        |
| regionalists                      | nationalists                      |
| foreign affairs departments       | defence departments/consultants   |
| liberal political parties         | conservative political parties    |
| liberal think tanks               | conservative think tanks          |
| liberal commentators              | conservative commentators         |

# Australian Government Definition of IOR

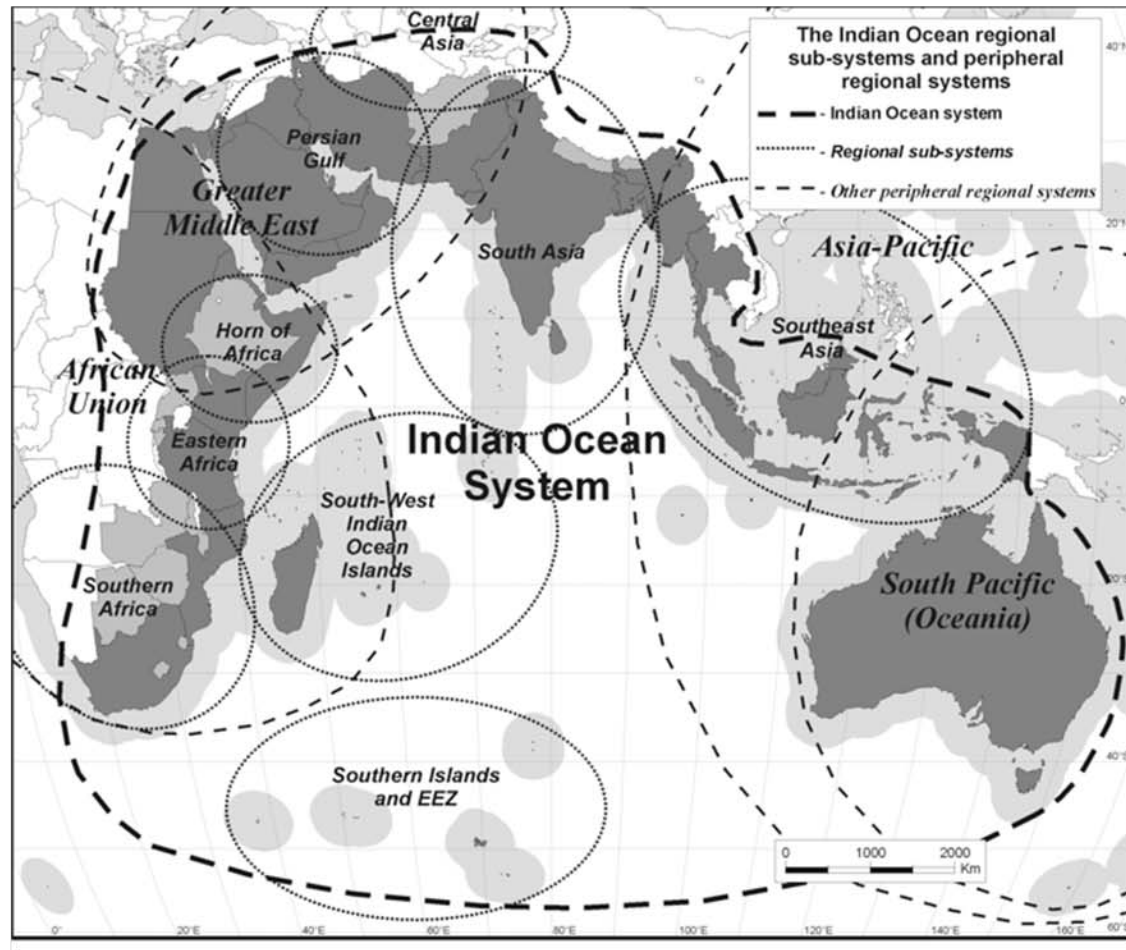


# Table 2 The Indian Ocean Region

| Indian Ocean Rim States |                      | Other Coastal States of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf | Indian Ocean Land-Locked States |
|-------------------------|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Australia               | Mozambique           | Bahrain  | Afghanistan                     |
| Bangladesh              | Oman                 | Egypt  | Bhutan                          |
| Burma (Myanmar)         | Pakistan             | Eritrea  | Botswana                        |
| Comoros                 | Seychelles           | Iraq   | Burundi                         |
| Djibouti                | Singapore            | Israel   | Ethiopia                        |
| France*                 | Somalia              | Jordan   | Lesotho                         |
| Kenya                   | South Africa         | Kuwait   | Malawi                          |
| India                   | Sri Lanka            | Qatar  | Nepal                           |
| Indonesia               | Tanzania             | Saudi Arabia   | Rwanda                          |
| Iran                    | Thailand             | Sudan  | Swaziland                       |
| Madagascar              | Timor-Leste          |  | Uganda                          |
| Malaysia                | United Arab Emirates |  | Zambia                          |
| Maldives                |                      |  | Zimbabwe                        |
| Mauritius               | United Kingdom*      |  |                                 |
|                         | Yemen                |  |                                 |

(\* For France and United Kingdom: because of their island territories)

# Figure 1 The Indian Ocean Sub-Systems



# Figure 2 The USPACOM



**Table 3    Towards an Australian Indian Ocean Policy**

(Source: Bateman and Bergin 2010, pp. 46-61)

1. Australia to increase its strategic presence in the IOR
2. Need for greater regional cooperation and dialogue using IOR-ARC on areas of common interest, including disaster management, scientific research, SLOCS, illegal trafficking, fisheries and offshore infrastructure security
3. Need for a new IFIOR; need for India and Australia EIO dialogue
4. Enhance bilateral relations with India, Indonesia, South Africa and France
5. Greater energy cooperation
6. Australia should host a future Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS)
7. Promote greater and better maritime information exchange
8. Need for greater study on maritime policing and patrol
9. More regular air and surface patrols needed around Cocos Islands
10. Develop broad principles of ocean management
11. Undertake an audit of current marine research in IO
12. WA Government should establish a portfolio of IOR affairs
13. Increase ADF presence along west coast of Australia
14. Create a new IO Studies Centre at a WA University

# Figure 3 The Indo-Pacific Region (Auslin 2010, p. 7)

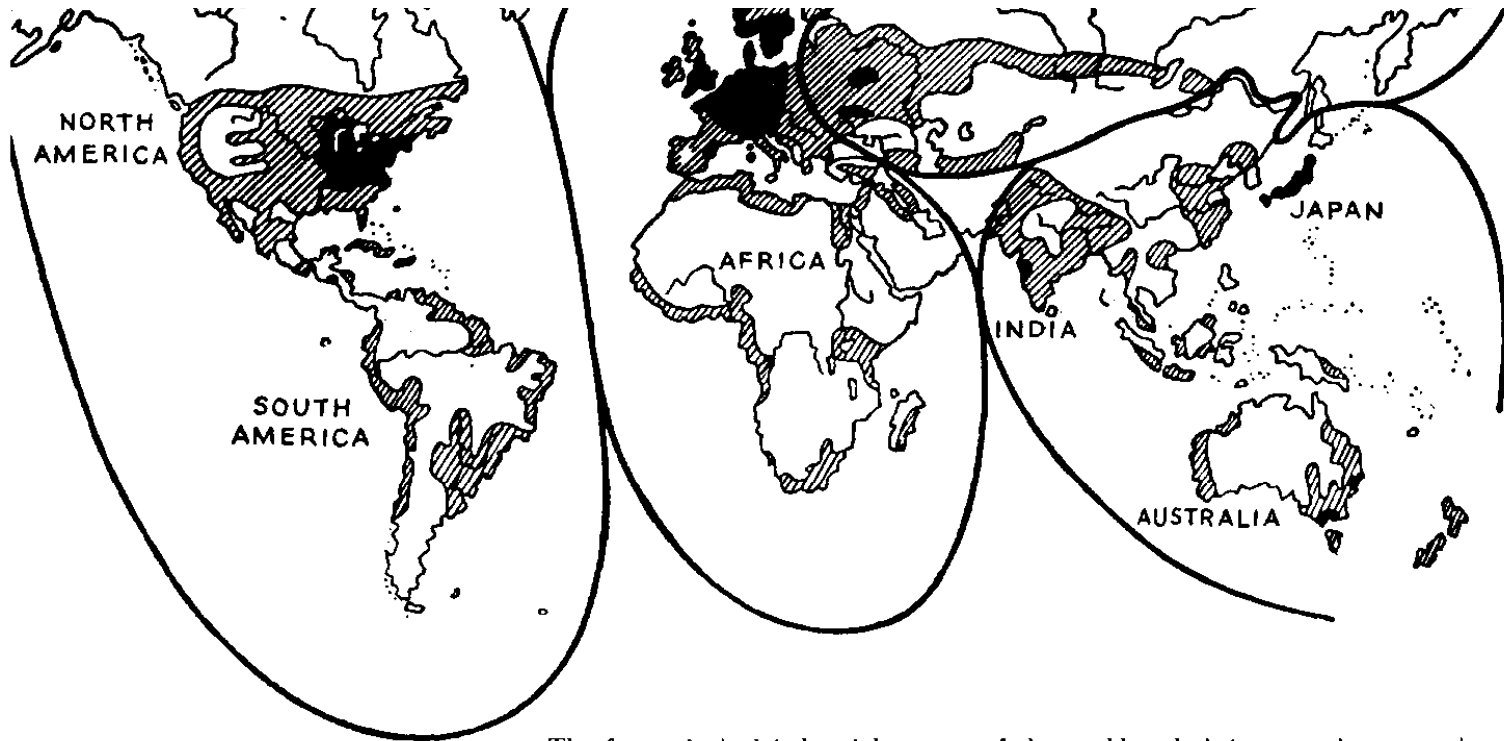




# Figure 4 The Indo-Pacific Biogeographical Region



## Figure 5 Global Pan Regions of 1930s



**MAP I.**

The four principal industrial centers of the world and their respective natural spheres of interest (*Grossraumwirtschaften*) are indicated in black. Food and raw material producing areas essential to world economy are shaded. The blank spaces indicate undeveloped territories, as well as those that are, at least for the present, of little consequence in international commercial relations. All values are indicated in Reichsmarks.

FIG. 1a

Figure 6 Panikkar's "Steel Ring" 1945



**Table 1 States with Indian Ocean Maritime Energy Security Interests**

|                     | EIDS | ENES | ESCPS |
|---------------------|------|------|-------|
| 1. Australia*+      |      | X    |       |
| 2. China** @        | X    |      |       |
| 3. Egypt** +        |      |      | X     |
| 4. France**+        | X    |      |       |
| 5. Germany          | X    |      |       |
| 6. India*@ +        | X    |      |       |
| 7. Indonesia*@+     |      | X    | X     |
| 8. Iran*+           |      | X    | X     |
| 9. Iraq             |      | X    | X     |
| 10. Italy           | X    |      |       |
| 11. Japan**@+       | X    |      |       |
| 12. Kuwait+         |      | X    | X     |
| 13. Malaysia*@+     |      |      | X     |
| 14. Oman*+          |      |      | X     |
| 15. Qatar+          |      | X    | X     |
| 16. Saudi Arabia+   |      | X    | X     |
| 17. Singapore*@+    | X    |      | X     |
| 18. South Africa**+ |      |      | X     |
| 19. South Korea@    | X    |      |       |
| 20. UAE*+           |      | X    | X     |
| 21. UK**            |      |      |       |
| 22. USA             | X    |      |       |
| 23. Yemen* +        |      |      | X     |

EIDS - energy-import dependent state

ENES - energy niche economy state

ESCPS - energy security choke point state

\*IOR-ARC member

\*\* IOR-ARC dialogue partner

@ ReCAAP cooperation group

+ IONS participant