APPENDIX F

The Indian Ocean Region: Security, Stability and Sustainability in the 21st Century

Edited by Dennis Rumley Professor of Indian Ocean Studies University of Western Australia

Principal contributors: David Brewster, Sanjay Chaturvedi, Timothy Doyle, Amitabh Mattoo, Dennis Rumley, Swaran Singh, Ric Smith and Siddarth Varadarajan

Australia India Institute Task Force on Indian Ocean Security October 2012

The views, findings and recommendations of this Report are the edited product of the collective deliberation of an independent group of analysts and policy-makers constituting the Indian Ocean Task Force at a Roundtable held in Fremantle, Western Australia, on 4th and 5th May 2012. The Report does not necessarily represent the views of the Australia-India Institute, its Faculty or its Administration. Nor does it represent the views of any one of the individuals or institutions with which those involved are affiliated. All statements of fact, expressions of opinion as well as recommendations contained in the Report are to be read bearing in mind that all contributors do not necessarily agree on every detail.

CONTENTS

I. Task Force Aims	4
II. Executive summary of the report	6
III. The changing security dynamics of the Indian Ocean region	14
1. Security as a multidimensional concept	14
The emergence of a new security agenda	15
Constructing security	18
Geopolitically-constructed security threats	18
Threats and legitimate interests	20
2. The changing geopolitical significance of the Indian Ocean region	22
The Indian Ocean as a routeway	22
The Indian Ocean as the neglected ocean	23
21 st century reassessment of the Indian Ocean region	25
The changing geopolitical environment	26 27
Current regional security arrangements and forums	21
3. Regional options for Indian Ocean security	30
Competing regional security constructions	30
The Indian Ocean region	31
The Eastern Indian Ocean	33
The Indo-Pacific region	34
The United States and the Indo-Pacific	35
Towards a more inclusive regional security construction	37
Conclusion and implications	37
IV. Security challenges in the Indian Ocean region	39
1. Traditional security and military conflict	39
Traditional military security	39
Regional nuclear proliferation	42
State "success"	43
Contested spaces in the Indian Ocean region	46
2. Human security	48
Freedom and democracy in the Indian Ocean region	49
Democratisation and state stability	51
Displaced persons and asylum seekers in the Indian Ocean region	54
People trafficking	55
3. Economic and resources security	57
The global South	57
Energy security and insecurity in the Indian Ocean region	59
Resources competition and energy security	62
Economic insecurity and civil strife	63
4. Maritime security	66
Indian Ocean energy chokepoints	67
The stability of the Indian Ocean region as an energy routeway	68
The Indian Ocean as a nuclear ocean	70
Attacks on energy shipping in the Indian Ocean	71
Maritime jurisdiction and maritime boundary disputes	73
Unresolved maritime and terrestrial boundaries	74
Resolving maritime boundary disputes	75
Approaches to maritime security policy	77
Towards a cooperative maritime security policy framework	78
5. Environmental security	81
Food	83

Water Nuclear waste Climate change Fisheries	86 88 91 92
V. India and Australia in Indo-Pacific security	96
The shifting balance of power in the Indo-Pacific	96
Developing the Australia-India security relationship	98
Australia's challenge in navigating relations with India and China in the Indo-Pacific	112
The idea of the Indo-Pacific region: its impact on Australia and India	114
Conclusion	118
VI Canalusians, policy and passauch implications	100
VI. Conclusions: policy and research implications	120
Overview	120
A regional security regime	121
Geopolitical significance of the Indian Ocean region	122
Multidimensional nature of security	122 122
Traditional security and military conflict	
Human security	125
Economic and resources security	126
Towards a new Indo-Pacific maritime security regime	127
Environmental security	128
Conclusion: a 21 st century regional security paradigm for the Indian Ocean	130
Acknowledgment	131
Appendix – Fremantle roundtable participants	132
Bibliography	133

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	The Indian Ocean regional sub-systems
Figure 2	Essential elements of multidimensional security
Figure 3	Some contradictory impacts of globalization on security
Figure 4	Indian Ocean regional security arrangements
Figure 5	Comparison among three competing regional constructions
Figure 6	The 51 states of the Indian Ocean Region
Figure 7	The USPACOM
Figure 8	Conflicts within and between states 1945-2005
Figure 9	Traditional security indicators in the Indian Ocean Region
Figure 10	The failed state index: Indian Ocean states 2008
Figure 11	Indian Ocean pearls, diamonds and nuggets
Figure 12	The freedom rating 2009: the Indian Ocean Region
Figure 13	Democracy and stability in Arab Spring states
Figure 14	Indian Ocean states: total refugees by country of origin
Figure 15	Indian Ocean states: total refugees, returned IDPs, stateless persons
	and population of concern end-2010

I. Task force aims

In May 2011, the Australia India Institute (AII) of the University of Melbourne set up a Task Force on Indian Ocean Security to bring together experts from Australia and India to debate and report on policy directions that both states might consider for the future enhancement of regional security. Apart from regular communication among Task Force members, preliminary meetings were also held in Melbourne and Kolkata in 2011. This report represents the edited outcome of the final Task Force meeting held in Fremantle, Western Australia in May 2012.

The AII Task Force on Indian Ocean Security had four principal aims:

- To discuss the geopolitics of the Indian Ocean region (IOR), its changing significance, the various perspectives of regional states and the IOR's relationships with other regions as part of a broad context for an analysis of security issues.
- 2. To analyse the numerous security challenges of the IOR, including major non-traditional security issues such as fishing and food security; global warming and environmental issues, population and migration; access to undersea energy resources; and differences and similarities in Indian and Australian perspectives. Furthermore, to discuss issues related to sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) security along the long Indo-Pacific littoral, with particular focus on Indian and Australian perspectives on SLOC security between the Red Sea and the South China Sea.
- To consider the roles of India and Australia in Indo-Pacific security, including a discussion of Indian and Australian perspectives on their future roles in Indo-Pacific security.
- 4. To evaluate various policy and research implications and options, including a

consideration of common security interests; alternative regional security structures for the IOR and/or the Indo-Pacific (for example, expansion of IOR-ARC, concerts of powers;, single issues coalitions etc); and the degree to which these would fit with Indian and Australian strategic perspectives.