

Indo-Pacific Connectivity: Toward Competition or Cooperation?

Angel Damayanti

Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

The initiative to connect countries that lie between Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean into an integrated and interconnected Indo-Pacific has been realized. Both regions, that cover East Asian, Southeast Asian and South Asian countries, are having significant economic growth as well as socio-political dynamic. On one hand, the initiative brings about opportunities of cooperation to decrease poverty and to combat common enemies such as terrorism and transnational organized crimes at sea. On the other hand, the rise of material powers in terms of economic and military leads countries in the region to the deepening of mistrust and tension. This paper will analyze whether the connectivity of Indo-Pacific will bring benefits to all parties in a pattern of cooperation or on contrary toward competition that ends in tension. With the concept of modern and post-modern naval countries and using the methodology of policy analysis the article tries to elaborate the defence strategy of major powers in the region particularly the United States, China, Indonesia and India. This paper will also analyze the role of regional organization, in particular the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) in the process of connectivity. By looking at its success story in maintaining the stability in Southeast Asian region, this article argues that ASEAN can play a central role in maintaining the stability in Indo-Pacific region with some remarks.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific region, ASEAN, post-modern navies, defence strategy.

Introduction

The ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) was just launched in June 2019 as a guide for Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)'s engagement in Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean regions or so-called Indo-Pacific region. Through the AOIP, ASEAN as a collaborative organization of countries in Southeast Asia region, has shown its positive outlook towards the idea of connectivity in Indo-Pacific. This effort is certainly carried out by promoting dialogue and cooperation as well as shared common interests to enhance economic growth and the welfare of countries in the region. Furthermore, by looking at the history of its establishment and its success story so far in maintaining stability and security in Southeast Asia and East Asia region, ASEAN believes that it is able to play its central and strategic role in the Indo-Pacific.

One of the important elements that ties countries in the Indo-Pacific region is the existence of the sea with all of its resources that connects the entire region from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. This refers to Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, Cambodia, East Timor, China, Japan, South and North Korea, the United States, Australia, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Fiji. In relation to the maritime issue, Professor of Indonesian Sea Law, Hasjim Djalal emphasized the existence of Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean to be the present and future oceans of humankind. (Djalal 2016)

The sea has always been the main focus for human life as well as in the context of international relations. Historically, the contribution of the sea to human development can be seen from at least four interrelated and interdependent attributes. The sea is important because of its resources, its use as a means of transportation and trade, its role as a means of exchanging information and its geopolitics position as a source of strength and power (Till 2018, Dahuri, 2016, Simangunsong, 2015). This role is even more significant now as the sea is seen as a symbol of globalization for goods to be distributed, sold and consumed throughout the world.

The Indo-Pacific concept itself was strategically used by the Australian government in its 2013 Defense White Paper to refer to China and its relationship with the United States (US), India, Japan, Korea, and Indonesia. The idea also refers to Asian countries bordering the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific Ocean, including the ten ASEAN member states located in the middle of the two oceans. The 2013 Australian defense white paper explains about the increasingly influential engagement of China in the region as its economic and military capacity increased significantly. On the one hand, the presence of China with its economic strength can be a positive contribution to the connectivity among countries in the region. However, on the other hand, the Chinese military power particularly its People's Liberation Army Navy (PLA Navy) might increase the risk of regional threat and peace instability.

Methodology and Operational Concept

This article uses a qualitative research methodology in which its findings are not obtained through statistical data procedures or other forms of calculation. (Mills & Birks, 2014) The qualitative approach is chosen since an explorative and descriptive research are more appropriate to be conducted using such research designs. Although this study uses a number of statistical data to show the economic improvement and weaponry strength of a number of countries in the Indo-Pacific region, these statistics are only used as supporting data to analyze the policies issued by these countries. In addition, the statistical data is mostly produced from processed data that already exists. Thus, the main findings in this study are not in the form of statistical data but analysis of the existing statistical data.

Furthermore, this article uses policy analysis in its discussion. Policy analysis is a process of analysis in which researchers identify and evaluate various alternative policies or programs made by the government that aim to reduce or solve social and economic problems or other physical problems. According to Dunn (2016), policy analysis is partly descriptive which relies on traditional social science disciplines to describe and explain the causes and consequences of policies and normative which refers to value judgements about what ought to be. By this method, analysts must sift through and evaluate a large volume of available quantitative and qualitative data, make difficult choices among source of information, select appropriate methods and techniques and employ effective strategies for communication the results of analysis through oral briefing and documents.

This article is mainly discussed by figuring out and analyzing the white papers of defense and maritime policy from countries located in the two Oceans region, especially China, the United States, India and several ASEAN countries mainly Indonesia. From these defense white papers, the research will elaborate the interests of the above-mentioned countries towards the Indo-Pacific and their mutual concern which was resulted from such diverse interests. The discussion relates to the use of sea and the mechanisms proposed by ASEAN that must be put in place to regulate these common interests and mutual concerns.

This research also analyzes whether ASEAN, as a regional organization in the Southeast Asia region, is able to play a central and strategic role in the Indo-Pacific connectivity amidst efforts to consolidate and unite ASEAN member states themselves who currently often have different interests. Therefore, this research is intended to provide an analysis of the Indo-Pacific collaboration and connectivity efforts driven by ASEAN by looking at the existing policies and evidence. In addition to providing an in-depth study of the relationship between ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific, this research is also expected to deliver recommendations for ASEAN and its member states in responding to developments in the Indo Pacific region.

With regards to the dynamic in Indo Pacific region that relates to the existence of sea power, this article uses sea power categories of Geoffrey Till (2018) based on the capability of coastal states in maintaining the security of the seas in the region and developing their naval power. In his book, *Sea Power*, Till (2018) divides the sea power of the states into three categories, namely pre-modern, modern and post-modern countries. Pre-modern countries are generally regarded as weak and failed states due to poor governance, many corrupt practices, lack of law enforcement and communal conflicts that frequently occurred to hamper economic and social growth in the country. With such conditions, the sea power of pre-modern countries is considered weak and they need to put a lot of efforts to show the existence of their sea power.

Modern countries are those who choose to carry out policies to protect their economic interests and develop their power in an effort to maintain their land and sea territorial sovereignty in the spirit of competition and zero-sum game. The change in the international system from bipolar to multipolar after the Cold War increasingly encouraged the creation of economic and political competition. A multipolar system in which there is a distribution of power between countries causes complexity and uncertainty in relations between countries. As a result, countries compete for prosperity that encourages an increase in military power. For this reason, their sea power is directed at at least four objectives, namely (1) nuclear deterrence and defense against ballistic missiles from other countries, (2) control of the sea to ensure that the sea in their territory is free from threats, both from state and non-state actors, (3) more narrowly concept of maritime power projections, (4) specific and bilateral sea security arrangements (Till, 2018)

Post-modern countries, by contrast, are formed by and to follow economic developments in the era of globalization. These countries will naturally work together to achieve an open, internationally system and are characterized by a spirit of interdependence and mutual benefit. As such, globalization has pushed post-modern countries to "look outside" in economic, political and military terms. That is, the policies taken by these countries are no longer focused merely on their national interests but mainly on regional and international interests. For such reason, these countries are open in terms of economic cooperation with other countries, as well as acting inclusive and avoiding competition, especially in terms of sea regulation. Like modern countries, post-modern countries also place sea security at their center of attention. However, unlike modern countries which are more focused on the issue of sovereignty, post-modern countries secure sea lanes cooperatively and collectively as it plays an important role in world trade and utilized by all countries.

Results and Discussion

Rory Medcalf (2014), Director of the National Security College, Australian National University, defines contemporary Indo-Pacific as an economic and security connection between countries in the Western Pacific region and the Indian Ocean region that creates accordingly a strategic system. Such system is geographically expanding and reaching China and India whose economy grow rapidly in the last two decades (Brewster, 2016). In addition, based on China and India's defense white papers and maritime policies, both states have transformed their policies into an "outward looking" policy to pursue not only the interests of their own but also the common interests of countries in the region. Both countries also continue to increase their military power in line with their economic growth and maritime development. That is why, the so-called Indo-Pacific concept is now not only connecting the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific through the Southeast Asia region, but also takes an interest in the issue of China and India's active involvement in the region.

There are two main reasons why China and India, as well as ASEAN member-states are becoming increasingly active in their relationship with other countries in Indo-Pacific region, namely: (1) the strategic role of seas in the region particularly for Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) and sea-based trade route, and (2) the high number of threats in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean regions posed by both state and non-state actors due to its natural resources including fisheries as well as oil and gas reserves. As a result of globalization, Indian Ocean through the Malacca Strait to South China Sea plays an important role for transportation and connectivity as well as sea-based trading systems. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) confirmed that in 2016 around 30% of the world's sea-based trade and nearly 60% of global liquid oil and natural gas (LNG) products sailed from the Strait of Hormuz, the Indian Ocean and leading to the Malacca Strait to the South China Sea. Oil products are sent to East Asian countries in which about 80 percent of China's oil imports, around 90 percent of South Korea's oil imports and 90 percent of Japan's oil imports brought from the Middle East and/or Africa crossing the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean.

A report from the US Energy Information Administration (USEIA, 2014) also confirms that more than 15 million barrels oil per day flow from the Persian Gulf, through the Indian Ocean, Malacca Strait and South China Sea, to Asian countries and the United States. According to the report, the amount of 15 million barrels per day has increased significantly in the last two decades. In 1993, according to the US Naval Analysis Center, around 7 million barrels of oil and petroleum products, which were equivalent to 20% of the world's sea oil trade, passed through the Strait of

Malacca. This strait also plays an important role as it is the main entrance and the shortest sea route from the Persian Gulf to East Asian countries.

Not only the sea is vital for its role in sea-based trading systems, but it is also important for its natural resources for the benefit of all humanity. Indo-Pacific waters, which include the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, specifically the Malacca Strait, the East and South China Seas have an abundant supply of fisheries and other aquatic products as well as oil and gas reserves. On one hand, the sea gives many advantages particularly for littoral states in which its marine products support the economic development of the states. On the other hand, the marine wealth attracts transnational crimes occur at sea. Such transnational crime is committed by non-state actors who not only transcend national boundaries but also have a global impact. Michael Fredholm (2018) distinguishes transnational crimes from terrorist groups by their motivation. The former is motivated by profit and the later by ideology. However, both groups may use almost the same method to finance their organizations, which are carried out intensively, targeted to the public and directed globally, such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, money laundering, human trafficking, and piracy at sea.

Terrorist attacks at sea is a relatively new issue in Southeast Asian countries as the state's leaders of these countries have to deal with radical groups and terrorists working at sea currently. This is true as in the case in Sulu Island, the Philippines and in Sulawesi Island, Indonesia in 2016. Sea-piracy is also a problem for coastal states like Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As reported by the International Maritime Bureau of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC-IMB), piracy attacks in the Malacca Strait, Singapore, Indonesian and Malaysian coastal nearly 36% of all piracy attacks in all the world's oceans. The ICC-IMB reported that the number of piracy crimes in the Malacca Strait of Singapore, the coastal waters of Indonesia and Malaysia has reached nearly 700 attacks in 2007-2014 (ICC, 2010 & 2014). Pirate attacks also a concern for Indian Ocean as there were 26 attacks in 2013, 34 attacks in 2014, 24 attacks in 2015, 17 attacks in 2016 and 15 attacks in 2017 (ICC, 2017).

To ensure the safety of sea-based trade routes and to protect the supply of petroleum and other marine products from the threat of organized transnational crime as above-mentioned, the Indo-Pacific countries accordingly increase their naval power. Along with their economic growth, several countries in the region have also changed their maritime strategy, modernized their naval power and increased their military budget. The perspective transformation of the Indian Navy's defense strategy and policy in 2015 confirms this. The maritime policy that changed from "Freedom to use the Seas" to "Ensuring Secure Seas" adopted a holistic approach from Indian naval and coast guard forces which mainly carried out as the Indian government perceived an increase in the source, type and intensity of threats mixed between traditional and non-traditional threats. To this end, the Indian government directs their naval power to develop into a balanced multi-dimensional force, combining the use of ships, submarines and aircraft with special satellites and information systems (Indian Navy, 2015).

Likewise, as written in the Chinese Defense White Paper in 2019, the Chinese Government realizes that threats to its maritime are likely to come from both state and non-state actors. As China perceived the US has significantly increased its defense expenditure and accordingly undermined global strategic stability, it gradually shifted the focus of the PLA Navy from "offshore waters defense" to a combination of "offshore waters defense" and "open seas protection". In addition, with the strengthening of US military alliances with its Asia Pacific counterparts, China has seen the region to become a focus of major country competition, bringing uncertainties to regional security. Therefore, Chinese authorities emphasizes its naval power on "combat readiness and military training in real combat conditions." In line with its economic growth over the past two decades, Chinese authorities have also enabled its PLA Navy to build a combined, multi-functional, flexible and efficient naval combat structure. By saying this, the Chinese PLA Navy has continued to improve its capabilities for prevention and counterattack strategies, maritime maneuvers, joint operations at sea, comprehensive defense and comprehensive support (China's National Defense, 2019).

Nevertheless, the modernization of Chinese PLA Navy and a drastic increase in military spending despite the reasons for safeguarding its national sovereignty, people security and territorial integrity, have also triggered similar reactions from neighboring countries that feel threatened. Although the country has confirmed its growing strength for peaceful purposes coupled with developing friendly cooperation, the lack of regulation of naval power in the region and the absence of mechanism to oversee the development of naval powers in Indo-Pacific region are of the concerns. As argued by realist scholars of international relations, the weak position of a country's military

power increases the perception of threats that subsequently leads to security dilemmas and military competition. (Myers, 2019; Till, 2019; Damayanti, 2017) In turn, military competition triggers military alliances between large and medium powers, and most likely increases tensions between countries. This is to confirm that Japan, Vietnam and the Philippines have conducted joint military exercises with the US while the overlapping claims in the East and South China Seas remain problematic with China.

Similarly, to continue the US Rebalancing Strategy and/or to expand the US Pivot in Asia Pacific, in 2017 the US called for a “free and open Indo-Pacific” policy (The US Department of Defense, 2018). By this strategy, the US perceived the region as a great potential area for economic cooperation to gain benefit from that particular cooperation and at the same time to expand the alliances and partnerships with Indo-Pacific countries as it has seen China posed a threat economically and militarily to the regional stability and security. It is therefore strengthening the quadrilateral partnership with Japan, Australia, and India, through which the US welcomes India to be a leading global power and stronger strategic and defense partner on one hand and support the strong leadership of Japan on the other hand. Through the “free and open Indo-pacific”, the US also continues to support ASEAN centrality in the regional security architecture and seeks to further empower it. As the US has enjoyed the constructive engagement with ASEAN and its mechanisms in the region (The US Department of Defense, 2019).

After being appointed in 2014, the Indonesian President, Jokowi was determined to make Indonesia as an advanced, strong, prosperous and sovereign maritime country so that it could become a Global Maritime Fulcrum and to be capable of spreading wealth, justice and peace in a sustainable manner not only for the Indonesian people, but also for the entire nation global citizens. The Indonesian Global Maritime Fulcrum policy focuses on the five pillars namely to rebuild the Indonesia's maritime culture, to preserve and manage marine resources, develop marine infrastructure and connectivity, to enhance maritime diplomacy and to develop its maritime defense power (Dahuri, 2016). The development of maritime defense power is vital as Indonesia is a very open archipelago with a number of unresolved border issues and nearly 100 outer islets that need priority management. (Indonesian DOD, 2015) With a limited budget to safeguard such a great maritime territory, Indonesia applies a collaborative way for the improvement of all of its forces mainly the naval power and modernization of its main defense system tools.

As far as the defense white paper is concerned, we might say that all Indo-Pacific countries, mainly the major powers such as China, India, the US and Indonesia have common yet conflicting and conflicting but common interests with regards to maritime issues across the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The importance and vulnerabilities of Indo-Pacific maritime coupled with its management are of their interests. Some of these countries are concerned with the secure and safety navigation as well as sea-based trading system coupled with sea-border issues. The rest focusses on the organized transnational crimes that work at sea such as maritime terrorism, illegal trafficking and illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing. Despite their differences, almost all states believe that cooperation and joint arrangements are needed to overcome the existing problems and threats that occur at sea.

Based on the explanation in their defense white papers, it can be concluded that these countries are modern countries who remain focused on national security, territorial integrity and sovereignty. But they most likely are also moving towards the post-modern states as explained by Geoffrey Till (2018). Having said that, a proper mechanism to administer their interests on sea management is needed to avoid uncertainty and instability. Moreover, as clearly mentioned in their defense white papers, they have to deal with traditional and non-traditional threats coming from both state and non-state actors that provoke countries to have multi-dimensional, comprehensive and flexible sea power. Such condition in turn can be perceived a threat to one another. Therefore, a joint, inclusive, and comprehensive maritime arrangement and mechanism is needed.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as one of regional associations in Indo-Pacific region has a great opportunity to facilitate both major powers and its member states' interest in maritime issues. Since its establishment in 1967, ASEAN has proven that it was able to promote regional peace, prosperity and stability, particularly in Southeast and East Asia region. In the case of South China Sea overlapping claims for instance, ASEAN prevailed to bring China to sign the Declaration on the South China Sea in 1992 and then followed by the 2002 Declaration on the Conduct (DOC) of Parties on the South China Sea and the 2017 Framework of the Code of Conduct

(COC). All declarations urged all state parties to apply a peaceful resolution of jurisdictional dispute, without resorting to force and the exercise of self-restraint. Moreover, all agreements also provide opportunities for mutual cooperation in maritime safety, marine environmental protection, search and rescue operation, action against transnational crimes and the implementation of the principles of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation as the basis for a Code of Conduct for the South China Sea overlapping claims.

ASEAN has become a primary driving force in maintaining regional peace, prosperity, security and stability through several mechanisms where all members can have dialogue and consultation on political and security issues in a way to confidence building measures and preventive diplomacy. The mechanisms include the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting (AMM), ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), ASEAN Maritime Forum (AMF) and ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC). In addition, there are also ASEAN-led mechanisms namely ASEAN +3 (China, Japan, South Korea), ASEAN +6 (China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, India), ADMM Plus with Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, Russia and the US, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) including ASF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Maritime Security (ISM-MS), ARF Inter-Sessional Meeting on Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime (ISM CT-TC) and Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF).

By using the above-mentioned forums, ASEAN has built a comprehensive and inclusive way to enhance maritime connectivity and cooperation among the ASEAN countries and its counter-partners. Some of the maritime cooperation are information sharing, technological cooperation, exchange of visits of related authorities, capacity building, infrastructure and equipment upgrading, seafarers' training, marine-science research, marine environment protection, eco-tourism promotion, disaster relief, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing countermeasures, and security at sea and ports improvement. Nonetheless, ASEAN remains had to deal with some internal issues and fix the problems such as: (1) the duplication of maritime-related forums which posed a coordination challenge in the organization itself with overlap multiple platforms, (2) ASEAN is likely to find difficulties in placing priorities and strengthening its unity and centrality in responding the major powers' interests. It is more challenging as ASEAN keep the principle of "non-interference" that might weaken the ASEAN-led mechanism when all ASEAN member-states were having conflicting interests with regards to their relationship with major powers, (3) with so many ASEAN and ASEAN-led forums organized every year, domestic problems might occur in terms of internal coordination, limited human resources, lack of capacity, and the change of political regime. (Damayanti, 2019)

Conclusion

The diverse interests of countries which lie along the Indian and Pacific Oceans perform a common and shared interest although some of them are conflicting. Joint arrangement and mechanism from countries in the Indo-Pacific region are accordingly needed to prevent competition that leads to security dilemma and instability in the region. ASEAN as a regional organization in Southeast Asia has been able to demonstrate its expertise through various mechanisms to manage conflicts and maintain security and stability in the region as well as to enhance the economic development. Therefore, the organization has the potential to become a driving force that governs these common interests. However, ASEAN itself needs more time to be able to prove its centrality and unity in order to play a more effective role in Indo-Pacific connectivity. One important thing to note is that without a joint regulatory mechanism, competition from countries in the Indo-Pacific will be more prominent than the cooperation that leaders say they wish to create.

References

- Brewster, David (Ed), 2016. *Indo-Pacific Maritime Security: Challenges and Cooperation*, National Security College, Australian National University.
- Dahuri, Rokhmin. 2016. *Menuju Indonesia Sebagai Poros Maritim Dunia*, Bogor, Roda Bahari.
- Damayanti, Angel. 2019. "Indo-Pacific Maritime Cooperation: ASEAN Mechanisms on Security Towards Global Maritime Governance," *Jurnal Global Strategis* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2019, accessed through <https://e-journal.unair.ac.id/JGS/article/view/10636>
- Damayanti, Angel. 2017. "Regional Maritime Cooperation in Maintaining Maritime Security and Stability: A Test Case for ASEAN Unity and Centrality," *Jurnal of ASEAN Studies*, Vol. 5 No. 2, accessed through <http://journal.binus.ac.id/index.php/jas/article/view/1888>.
- Djalal, Hasjim. 2016 "Toward Indo-Pacific Maritime Cooperation," <http://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2016/09/06/toward-indo-pacific-maritime-cooperation.html>
- Dunn, William N., 2016. *Public Policy Analysis*, Fifth Edition, Routledge, Oxon.
- Fredholm, Michael. 2018. *Transnational Organized Crime and Jihadist Terrorism*, Routledge, Oxon.
- ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships. 2007 Annual Report
- ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships. 2010 Annual Report
- ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships. 2014 Annual Report
- ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships. 2017 Annual Report
- Indian Navy, Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy in Naval Strategis Publication (NSPR) 1.2, 2015, accessed from https://www.indiannavy.nic.in/sites/default/files/Indian_Maritime_Security_Strategy_Document_25Jan16.pdf
- Medcalf, Rory. 2014. "In Defence of the Indo-Pacific: Australia's New Strategic Map," in *Australian Journal of International Affairs* Volume 68, 2014 - Issue 4.
- Mills, Jane, Birks, Melanie. 2014, "Introducing Qualitative Research" in *Qualitative Methodology: A Practical Guide*. Sage, London.
- Myers, David J. 2019. *Regional Hegemons: Threat Perception and Strategic Response*, Routledge, New York.
- Patton, Carl V., Sawicki, David S., Clark Jennifer J. 2013. *Basic Methods of Policy Analysis and Planning*, Third Edition, Pearson, Boston.
- Simangunsong, Bonar. 2015. *Laut, Masa Depan Indonesia*, Gematama, Jakarta.
- The Indonesia Department of Defence, Indonesian Defence White Paper, 20 November 2015
- The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, China's National Defence in the New Era, July 2019, accessed from <http://www.andrewerickson.com/2019/07/full-text-of-defence-white-paper-chinas-national-defence-in-the-new-era-english-chinese-versions/>
- The US Department of Defence, Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships and Promoting A Networked Region, 1 June 2019, accessed from <https://media.defence.gov/2019/Jul/01/2002152311/-1/-1/1/DEPARTMENT-OF-DEFENCE-INDO-PACIFIC-STRATEGY-REPORT-2019.PDF>
- The US Department of Defence, Summary of the 2018 National Defence Strategy of The United States of America: Sharpening the American Military's Competitive Edge, accessed from <https://dod.defence.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defence-Strategy-Summary.pdf>
- The Australian Department of Defence, Defence White Paper 2013: Defending Australia and Its National Interest accessed from http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/2013/docs/WP_2013_web.pdf
- Till, Geoffrey. 2019. "Naval Development and International Stability in the Indian Ocean Region," in Basrur, Rajesh, Mukherjee, Anit and Paul, TV. (Eds), *India-China Maritime Competition: The Security Dilemma at Sea*, Routledge, NY
- Till, Geoffrey. 2018. *Seapower, A Guide for the Twenty First Century, Fourth Edition*, Routledge, Oxon.