



Delhi Policy Group

Advancing India's Rise as a Leading Power

DPG Conference Report, Vol. 4, Issue 1

Roundtable Discussion on India-Indonesia Relations: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Establishment of Full Diplomatic Ties

New Delhi | India | August 27, 2019



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**Roundtable Discussion on India-Indonesia
Relations: Commemorating the 70th
Anniversary of the Establishment of Full
Diplomatic Ties, August 27, 2019**

CONTENTS

Programme

INAUGURAL SESSION

*Welcome Address by Ambassador H.K. Singh, Director
General, Delhi Policy Group*

*Opening Remarks by H.E. Sidharto R. Suryodipuro,
Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia*

*Keynote Address by H.E. Vijay Thakur Singh, Secretary
(East), Ministry of External Affairs*

**SESSION 1: POLITICAL, DEFENSE AND SECURITY
ISSUES**

*Presentation by Rear Admiral (Navy) Dr. Amarulla Octavian,
Commandant of Staff and Command College, Indonesian
Navy*

*Abstract of Presentation by Shri Sudhir T. Devare, Former
Ambassador of India to Indonesia*

*Abstract of Presentation by Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar,
Center for Political Studies, Institute of Sciences of Indonesia,
and Former Foreign Policy Adviser to the President and Vice
President of Indonesia*

Presentation by Cmde. Lalit Kapur, Senior Fellow, DPG

*Abstract of Presentation by Prof. Shankari Sundararaman,
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*

SESSION 2: “TRADE AND ECONOMIC ISSUES”

*Presentation by Dr. Siswo Pramono, Head/Director General of
Policy Development and Analysis Agency of the Ministry of
Foreign Affairs of Indonesia*

Presentation by Dr. A. Didar Singh, Senior Fellow, DPG

*Presentation by Professor Prabir De, Professor, Research and
Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New
Delhi*

Paper by Amb. Biren Nanda, Senior Fellow, DPG

Bio Profiles



Embassy of the Republic
of Indonesia



Roundtable Discussion on India-Indonesia Relations: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Establishment of Full Diplomatic Ties

Organized by the Embassy of Indonesia and the Delhi Policy Group
Venue: Juniper Hall, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi
August 27, 2019

Programme

Monday, August 26, 2019

- 18.00 -19.30** Closed door discussion between speakers and eminent persons
Venue: The Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
- 19.30 PM Onwards** Welcome Dinner
Venue: The Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia

Tuesday, August 27, 2019

Venue: Juniper Hall

- 09.30 – 10.30 Registration
- 10.30 – 11.30 Inaugural Session**
- 10.30 – 10.40 Welcome Address by Ambassador H. K. Singh, Director General, Delhi Policy Group
[10 minutes]
- 10.40 – 10.50 Opening Remarks by H.E. Sidharto R. Suryodipuro, Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia
[10 minutes]
- 10.50 – 11.15 Keynote Address by H.E. Vijay Thakur Singh, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs
[25 minutes]
- 11:15 – 11:30 Q & A [15 minutes]
- 11.30 – 11.45 *Coffee/ Tea Break*

11.45 – 13.15

Session I: Political, Defense and Security Issues

Chairperson: Amb. H.K. Singh, Director General, Delhi Policy Group

[5 minutes]

Speakers: [10 minutes each]

1. Rear Admiral (Navy) Dr. Amarulla Octavian, Commandant of Staff and Command College, Indonesian Navy
2. Shri Sudhir T. Devare, Former Ambassador of India to Indonesia
3. Prof. Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Center for Political Studies, Institute of Sciences of Indonesia, and Former Foreign Policy Adviser to the President and Vice President of Indonesia
4. Cmde Lalit Kapur, Senior Fellow, DPG
5. Prof. Shankari Sundararaman, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

12.40 – 13.15

Q & A [35 minutes]

13.15 – 14.30

Lunch

14.30 – 16.00

Session II: Trade and Economic Issues

Chairperson: H.E. Sidharto R. Suryodipuro, Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia

[5 minutes]

Speakers: [10 minutes each]

1. Dr. Siswo Pramono, Head/Director General of Policy Development and Analysis Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia
2. Dr. A. Didar Singh, Senior Fellow, DPG
3. Professor Prabir De, Professor, Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi
4. Amb. Biren Nanda, Senior Fellow, DPG

15.25 – 16.00

Q & A [35 minutes]

16.00 – 16.30

Concluding Remarks

1. Ambassador H. K. Singh, Director General, Delhi Policy Group
2. H.E. Sidharto R. Suryodipuro, Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia

INAUGURAL SESSION

Welcome Address by Ambassador H.K. Singh, Director General, Delhi Policy Group

Amb. H.K. Singh began by looking back with enormous gratitude to the contributions of the founding fathers of India and Indonesia who liberated us from the clutches of imperial power. They raised the banner of Asian identity and resurgence even at a time when the two countries were struggling to become independent or were newly independent countries. They also had the vision to lay the foundations of Afro-Asian solidarity, take the issue of decolonisation to the entire world, and become stalwarts in leading the Non-Aligned Movement.

Today, India and Indonesia are two of Asia's largest democracies whose success provides a message for the rest of Asia and the world. India and Indonesia have a shared history, culture, civilizational values, respect for diversity among our nations, and these are the kind of attributes of open societies which we uphold, which are extremely important across Asia and across the rest of the world.

Next, Amb. Singh recalled that India and Indonesia are geographically satiated powers. The two countries do not claim any extra territorial rights and seek to protect only their own sovereign space, and integrity. He stressed the role India and Indonesia have played in upholding regional peace and stability in Asia. Amb. Singh also acknowledged that the two countries are lands of deep faith and worship, home to all religions of the world, and their people freely practice their beliefs, and that is again, an additional attribute of their openness as societies. India's 'Act East Policy', which the government of Prime Minister Modi has accelerated over the last five and a half years, is centred around ASEAN. And, obviously, as ASEAN's largest nation, Indonesia is the most important pillar of India's broader engagement in the Indo-Pacific region.

However, India and Indonesia are not merely Asian powers; they are Indian Ocean powers as well. Therefore, India and Indonesia do look to create a rules-based or an international law-based order in the Indo-Pacific, and the 'Shared Vision for Maritime Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific', which the leaders concluded last May. Amb. Singh further congratulated Indonesia for its leadership role in helping to formulate the 'ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific'. He acknowledged that it had been a long wait, but Indonesia had persevered, and had finally been successful. Therefore, I think India and Indonesia have a responsibility to reduce ASEAN's vulnerability to external pressures, to uphold ASEAN unity, and this is something which is being done, both in regional diplomacy and also through bilateral means. In the midst of intensifying geostrategic contestation, ASEAN's true centrality lies in upholding a multipolar, rules-based order. India hopes to work very closely with Indonesia to continue to pursue that vision.

The final element which Amb. Singh touched upon, is that to shape a stable future for the Indo-Pacific, we also need to accelerate the pace of security cooperation between India and Indonesia as maritime neighbours.

Opening Remarks by H.E. Sidharto R. Suryodipuro, Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia

Amb. Suryodipuro began his opening remarks by acknowledging the potential of the relationship between India and Indonesia as most important for both country's security and prosperity, and for the Indo-Pacific region as a whole. He thanked the participants and expressed gratitude to the DPG for co-organising the event. The Amb. hoped that the roundtable discussions would kick-off broader and more robust exchanges between the various societal elements of the two countries.

Seventy years is not a very long time in the history of international relations, but it is frequently enough to see societies and countries evolve, and the foundational changes happening within the international system. The Ambassador opined that the 70 years of relations have provided the two countries with some understanding of how India-Indonesia relations, linked by millennia of history and separated by centuries of colonialism, can work and progress as nation states. India and Indonesia have experienced a period of vision, ambition and optimism, particularly immediately after independence. Our countries and our leaders sought to change the region and the world, and all of this in the face of fierce superpower opposition. And it is rightly so, I believe, for we have the size and weight, even though at that time maybe not yet the means and the wherewithal.

The initial years of the relationship were characterised by indifference, which brought with it, a lazy tendency to simplify perceptions, and to confuse half truths with the whole. However, these periods served as experiences and India and Indonesia have benefitted significantly because of it. Ambassador Suryodipuro remarked that the relationship today was a matured relationship, inherent with mutual respect and admiration for the progress of the other. It is based on the understanding and the appreciation for each other's size and weight, geographic size, population size, economic size, progress in science and technology, and a broad range of progress that has been made, signified by changing geopolitical contexts and global economic rules and norms. This relationship is taking shape at a time when prosperity and security of India and Indonesia, as of the other nations, are increasingly linked, and depend upon oceans. It is a relationship signified in a more formal sense, by documents and status as comprehensive strategic partners, and in which we have agreed on a shared vision of maritime cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region.

In conclusion, Amb. Suryodipuro remarked that it is a relationship which continues to benefit tremendously from that familiarity based on millennia of relations. In the seventy years of modern history of relationship, this classical tie never ceased to exist and shall continue to be the strongest bond between Indians and Indonesians, said the Ambassador. This relationship has now evolved into a comprehensive strategic partnership and there is a desire to promote further development of a Track II Dialogue between the two two countries.

Keynote Address by H.E. Vijay Thakur Singh, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs

H.E. Vijay Thakur Singh began by outlining the cordial relationship that the South Block shares with Amb. Suryodipuro, the Ambassador of Indonesia to India. Commenting on Indonesia being the integral part of India's vision for the globe, the Secretary (East) outlined why the 70th anniversary was an important milestone in the relationship between the two countries. It marks a journey that the two countries have covered together over the last seventy years as independent nations, and nations which have been bound together by shared values and shared principles as democracies, as those who uphold the rule of law. This relationship has been preceded by many millennia of contact between our two countries, our civilizational contacts, where travellers, traders, monks and scholars, plied the oceans and influenced each other in ways which have left a strong imprint in each other's minds. This imprint is a part of current connects as well, because it is part of the citizens themselves.

In more recent times, India and Indonesia both have a shared history and a shared past even in the sense of having had a colonial past. The two countries have worked together, and the independence and struggle against colonial rulers was evident in very early days, when the leaders of the two countries, were in contact with each other. That is why when India became independent and adopted its Constitution, the first Chief Guest on India's first Republic Day, was President Sukarno of Indonesia. That marked the beginning of not only the relationship in that sense of the word, but also India's journey as a republic, and the witness was Indonesia.

As countries who are emerging, India and Indonesia were not only had a vision for themselves, but they had a broader vision of how to engage with the outside world. So you did have, very early on the Asian Relations Conference which was followed by the Bandung Conference, and the Bandung Conference was actually a new vision of the world at that time, because you spoke in terms of having a partnership which was based on non-alignment, and you actually looked at a freer world. So that is our history, in terms of how we looked at and how we arrived at where we are as two independent countries. But looking at seventy years, what happened in the seventy years, and where are we today, in terms of a relationship which has grown, definitely. Although not evenly, the relationship has grown into a new, comprehensive and strategic partnership, a culmination of a long association that India and Indonesia have had with each other. There is a new thrust in the relationship and a new political commitment to the relationship which happened as India moved from 'Look East' to 'Act East' which ultimately laid the firmer foundations of the relationship with Indonesia. Secretary (East) remarked that the relationship continues and was evident in Osaka, at the G-20 Summit, where Prime Minister Modi and President Jokowi, had a meeting, on the backdrop of the recently concluded elections in both countries. India and Indonesia thus have five firm years to further build the relationship. A relationship in which there is firm political commitment by both the countries' political leadership, and which has the vision to move forward. So, on the political side, there is firm commitment. As far as trade and investment is concerned, Indonesia is India's largest trading partner in the ASEAN countries with a figure of USD 21 billion. However, she put forth a target of USD 50 billion. She agreed that business associations and entities needed to be worked with, in order to achieve the target. Reaching that target would require a constant effort but there is a fertile ground where two countries can work together, because of the commonalities in terms of aspirations and goals. For example, Indonesia, is the largest country in the ASEAN, which is blessed with abundant resources. It is a country with a demographic

strength that it has on its own side. Similarly, India is the largest fastest growing economy in the world. There is a demographic dividend as well. There is also a committed leadership which is open and committed to ease of doing business, and can be witnessed in a gradual, forward placement of India in the ease of doing business scale.

In the defence and security sector, both countries have been engaging eagerly with each other, as is evident in the freshly concluded first naval exercise called the Samudra Shakti. This is in addition to the military exercise which has been going on for a while. Further, there is also an ongoing defence dialogue. India's Defence Minister was in Indonesia, as the two countries are looking at ways in which India and Indonesia can further strengthen their defence ties. In terms of security, there is a security dialogue ongoing, as also a policy dialogue, for which Dr. Siswo is the point person in Indonesia. So India and Indonesia collaborate on strategic issues, security issues and defence issues. And these are areas which are going to be continued to be looked at, as how to further strengthen them.

India and Indonesia had worked together to present a new vision of how to approach global affairs and global issues. They have collaborated to build a regional view of the region – the Indo-Pacific. Indonesia has a maritime fulcrum policy, in which they are looking at how the oceans and the waters would be their focus as a nation. And India, on its part, is very clear that as a maritime nation, India is looking at the oceans. India has always been a maritime nation, but with the enunciation of the Indo-Pacific, that policy approach towards the whole region has been clarified by Prime Minister Narendra Modi when he spoke at the Shangri La Dialogue in Singapore last year.

What is the vision of India on the Indo-Pacific? India's vision of an Indo-Pacific is that it is a broad geographical area which goes from the eastern coast of Africa to the west coast of the Pacific. It is a region in which India has interests, and in which India will engage intensely. The principles on which India would engage, would be respect for international law, including UNCLOS, respect for territorial integrity, as well as no threat of use of force in the conduct of relations. It is looking at the Indo-Pacific as an area in which there is Freedom of Navigation, and freedom of overflight, and where there is unimpeded flow of trade and goods. 50% of India's trade passes through the South China Sea. Any issues relating to maritime security, and unimpeded flow of trade are very important in India's vision of an Indo-Pacific. India looks at it as an open, inclusive region which is not limited to certain groups or countries. It is inclusive of all countries which are around the ocean, and countries that depend on the ocean, whether for trade or for outward reach. Similarly, Indonesia had its own vision, and it is because of the commonality and the similarities of approaches, even before the ASEAN came out with the Indo-Pacific Outlook, or even before India came out and enunciated its own vision of the Indo-Pacific, which was in Singapore, that India and Indonesia had concluded a "Shared Vision of Maritime Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific". The two countries are coordinating closely, so much so that even before broader visions are enunciated, there is a commonality of approach. Further, Secretary (East) commented on the "ASEAN's Outlook on the Indo-Pacific" and commended Indonesia's leadership role in outlining ASEAN's vision.

On the future of the relationship between the two countries, Secretary (East) enunciated that the starting point had to be ASEAN and subsequently Indonesia's natural leadership of ASEAN. For India, Indonesia will be a key pillar of its "Act East Policy" and a key partner in the Indo-Pacific. India will strive to work with Indonesia within the ASEAN and within IORA,

to see how we can look at maritime issues, relating to safety and security. The pathway ahead involves a move towards more intense political engagements. It also involves engagements on maritime issues. Recognising that Indonesia is our maritime neighbour, India would be working with Indonesia to see how can there be, within the close maritime neighbourhood, between the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and the Aceh province of Indonesia, more cooperation. Some trade delegations have gone, there has been contact between both the Andaman and Nicobar islands, as well as Sabang on how to engage. Some trade has begun. There is a Joint Taskforce which has been set up by both countries, and they would soon be meeting to see how to carry forward the agenda of looking at the connectivity between Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Sabang.

About working in closer coordination with Indonesia, Indonesia was the country which was a member of a group which is called Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Golden Triangle, which admitted India as a development partner. So, India has joined as a development partner for the IMT Golden Triangle. So that also shows India's regional engagement around the oceans with countries, and it was again Indonesia which took the lead in India becoming a development partner. Then, I would look at trade and economy. We already have a target for \$50 billion of trade between our two countries. There are constant discussions with Indonesia and there is an effort to broaden the trade basket, and to see how we can have trade and investments which even look at the future. Indonesia has a vision for itself as "Vision Indonesia 4" where they are looking at the Fourth industrial revolution, and we have "Smart India", we have "Digital India", and "Skill India". The relationship needs to be complemented by aligning the two visions at one level, where there are similarities to exchange best practices.

FINTECH is another area. India would look to working with Indonesia on that. India and Indonesia are working on a way in which the RuPay cards can be introduced in Indonesia. There is also a desire to have direct flights between Delhi and Jakarta and Delhi and Bali. Governments have already given the necessary clearances, and they've identified designated airlines. We would now need to see how we can push for greater air connectivity between India and Indonesia. The defence and security arena, joint ventures in defence production can be looked at. It's an area where India would be open to holding discussions with Indonesia about, to see how both can further intensify their defence engagements. Cooperation in space will also be looked at. India and Indonesia do already have some cooperation on how to expand and have more intense cooperation, that could be another focal area of our relationship, because space could help even in terms of an area where the two countries do have discussions, for instance, in terms of understanding weather patterns. And HADR is an area where we can work with Indonesia. This is a region which is prone to disasters, so having a firm pathway to how collaboration can happen during HADR, we can look at Indonesia, and the ASEAN countries, which is a focal area we can work on. But as a global outlook, Indonesia is a partner for us, and we have discussions with Indonesia on safety and security of the world, on issues related to terrorism. We have a dialogue which is ongoing in terms of, we had our External Affairs Minister going to Indonesia to have a discussion with some of the leading religious leaders. As multicultural, multi-ethnic, multireligious societies, there is a requirement for dialogue at various levels. And within that, there is a recognition that terrorism is a phenomenon which would require a global approach, and we have conversations with Indonesia on how we can work together in terms of security and a better understanding of the threats of terrorism.

**SESSION 1: POLITICAL,
DEFENSE AND SECURITY
ISSUES**

RADM Dr. Amarulla Octavian, S.T., M.Sc., D.E.S.D.
Commander, Naval Command and Staff College,
Indonesia Navy



Indonesia-India Relations:

Political, Defense and Security Perspectives

Commemorating the 70 Years of Indonesia-India Relation
New Delhi, India, 27 August 2019



SESKOAL
CENTER OF EXCELLENCE ON NAVAL AND MARITIME SCIENCE



RADM DR. Amarulla Octavian, S.T., M.Sc., D.E.S.D.



Education:

He graduated from Naval Academy in 1988 and was assigned onboard destroyer and frigates until 2002. Completing on the job training onboard French Helicopter Carrier Jeanne d'Arc in 1991-1992, he was specialized Anti Submarine Warfare Course in 1993. He was passed Collège Interarmées de Défense in French in 2006 and alumni of Combined Force Component Commander Flag Officer Course in U.S.A in 2014. He holds a doctorate degree on military sociology from University of Indonesia and a Master of Science degree on geopolitics from Université Paris 2 Panthéon-Assas, French.

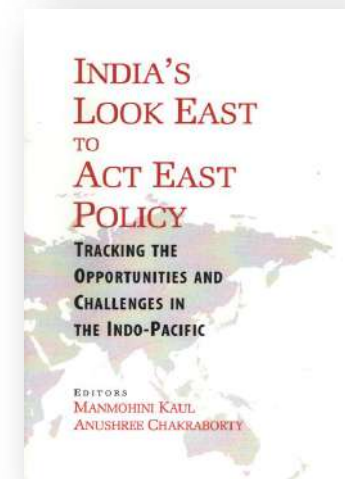
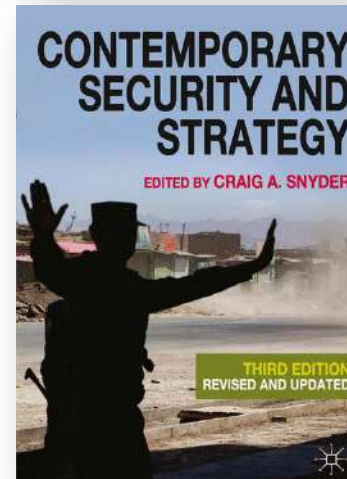
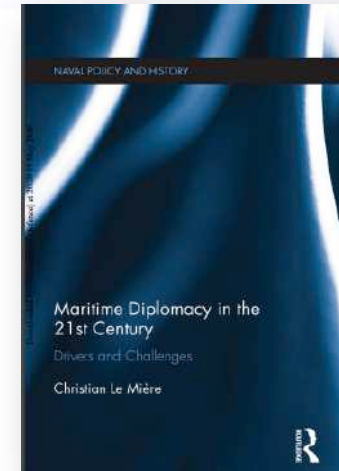
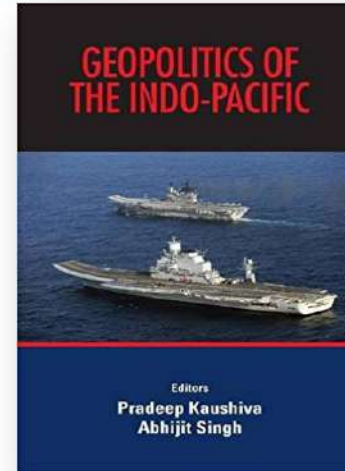
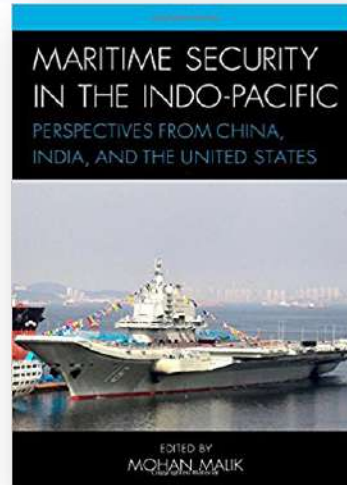
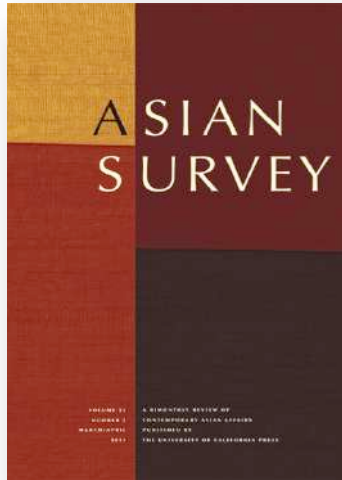
Experience:

The Admiral commanded Indonesian Naval Ships KRI Tjiptadi-881 and KRI Karel Satsuitubun-356. His other important afloat assignments include the appointment of Commander, Sangatta Naval Base and Commander, Fast Patrol Boat Squadron, Eastern Fleet Command. Ashore, he has been Commander, Center for Maritime Operations Training, Eastern Fleet Training Command and Aide-de-Camp to the sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia. After promotion to the Flag Rank he has been Commander, Sea Battle Group, Western Fleet Command, Chief of Staff, Western Fleet Command, and Dean of Defense Management Faculty, Indonesia Defense University prior to his current position.

He is the professor and researcher in the Indonesia Defense University, a resident lecturer in Indonesian Naval Technology College, and Indonesia Joint Command and Staff College. He is a visiting professor for U.S. Naval Postgraduates School, Japan National Defense Academy, etc.



References





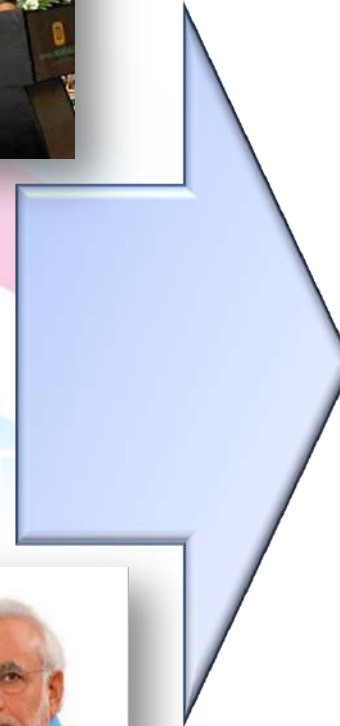
Background



The Initiative Five

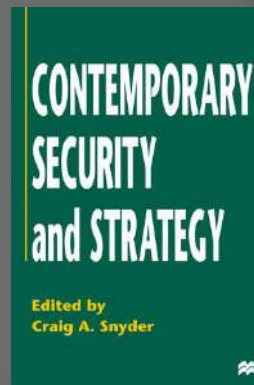
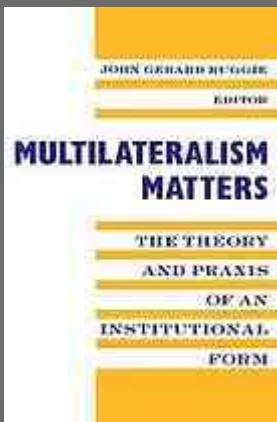
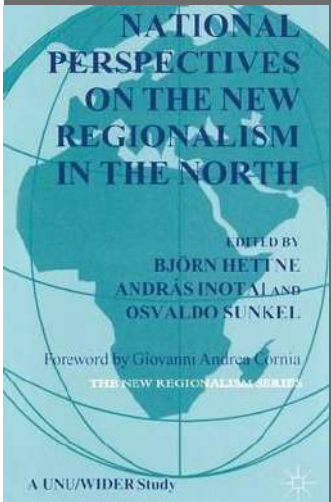
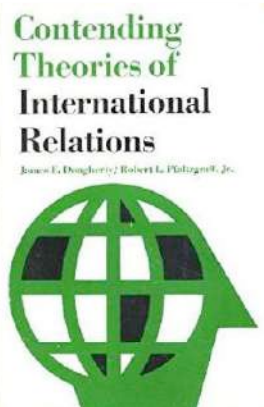
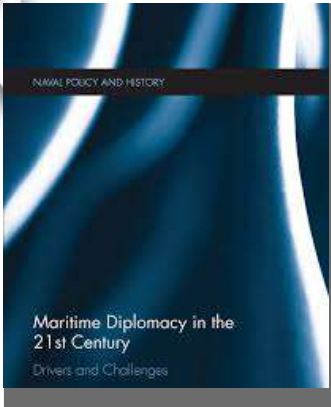


Geostrategy and Geopolitics





Academic Perspectives



Through **Maritime Diplomacy**, foreign policy needs to be dedicated and aimed at achieving national interests by observing the identity of a free and active foreign policy, the principle of independence, development-oriented, and prioritizing a rule-based approach.

“**New Regional Theory**” on regionalism development:

1. Support from regional major powers;
2. Level of interaction between both Indonesia-India within the region;
3. Mutual trust regional countries.



Indian Ocean's Strategic Environment Dynamics

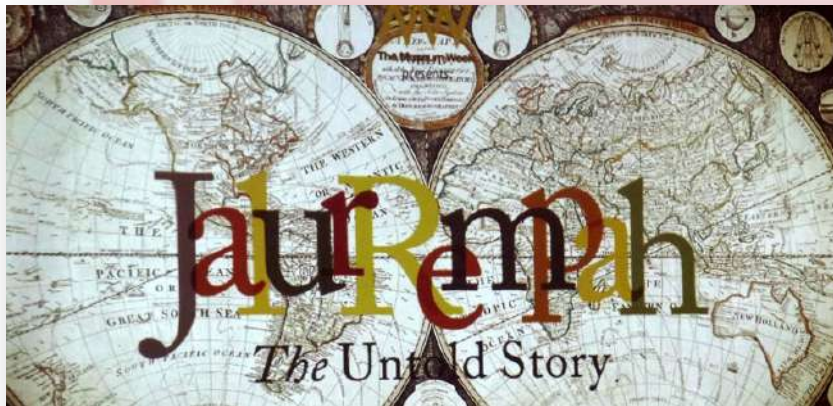




Indonesia's Interests

Indonesia is strategically located in the Indian Ocean Region, allowing to interact with countries within the region and beyond, including:

- South Asia
- The Middle East
- East Africa
- USA
- China
- Australia



Peluang Indonesia Terhadap Trust Fund untuk Membantu Negara-Negara IORA

1. Inisiatif bantuan penguatan kapasitas di bidang perikanan, pemetaan hidrografi, peringatan dini tsunami, mitigasi perubahan iklim di kawasan pesisir dan konservasi lingkungan laut;
2. Sumbangan Indonesia terhadap trust fund IORA juga akan menaikkan posisi tawar diantara negara-negara anggota IORA.

Sumber: Kemenko Bidang Kemaritiman
• Kemenko Bidang Kemaritiman
• @kemaritiman
• maritim.go.id
• Kemenkomaritim

Keuntungan Memiliki Pengaruh di IORA

1. Kepemimpinan Indonesia akan dikenal kembali diberbagai Negara IORA, khususnya Afrika;
2. Pengaruh Indonesia dapat digunakan untuk membuka akses pasar ke Afrika yang berpenduduk sekitar 1,2 miliar orang.

Bantuan Teknis Indonesia di Bidang Blue Economy IORA

1. **Budidaya Perairan dan Perikanan**
 - Pelatihan – Bungus dan Pangandaran
 - Pusat Observasi Samudera Hindia
 - Unit Bantuan Perikanan Bungus
 - Pertukaran keahlian dalam CFF (Terumbu Karang, Perikanan dan Ketahanan Pangan)
 - Investasi Indonesia dalam budidaya perikanan di negara anggota IORA dan wilayah penangkapan ikan.
2. **Pariwisata Laut**
 - Pengelolaan Taman Nasional
 - Pelatihan penyelaman
 - Petunjuk destinasi wisata
 - Pelatihan konservasi laut
3. **Bisnis/sektor swasta**
Investasi air minum/air tanah
4. **Energi Laut Terbarukan**
 - Tenaga listrik (arus, angin, ombak)
 - Konversi energi panas laut
 - Desalinasi air laut
5. **Infrastruktur Pelabuhan dan Perkapatan, sistem konektivitas dan logistik**
6. **Penambangan Laut Dalam**
 - Norma dan prinsip
 - Biodiversity Beyond National Jurisdiction
 - Penguatan kapasitas landas kontineral

Sumber: Kemenko Bidang Kemaritiman
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• Kemenkomaritim

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India's Interests





Major Powers' Interests



The U.S. Presidential Election has directly impact the dynamics of international relations on all fronts



China revived the Ancient Silk Road through two main axis:

Silk Road Economic Belt

+

21st Century Maritime Silk Road

=

Belt and Road Initiative

Australia is very supportive of IORA if it could implement practical engagements that are technical, practical and effective as well as target-oriented.



Indonesia-India Concept of Relations: Next 5 Years



**Indonesia and India:
Need to develop a concept of relations in Politics, Defense, Security to strengthen bilateral cooperation.**





Indonesia-India Concept of Relations: Next 5 Years

POLITICS

- Spearhead the rise of countries of IORA, Non-Aligned Movement, and India-ASEAN.
- Strengthening economic and strategic relations with ASEAN countries.
- Strengthening Jakarta-New Delhi relations in a Joint Working Group.



DEFENSE

- Improving the Port Blair (Nicobar-Andaman) - Sabang (Aceh).
- **Coordinated patrol** to **joint patrol**.
- Defense Industry Cooperation.



MARITIME SECURITY

- **Global Maritime Fulcrum Policy** ↔ **Act East Policy**
- Maritime Agency Forums (Navy, Coast Guard).
- New Initiatives on regional multilateral cooperation.





Conclusion

Cooperation between Indonesia-India is emphasized on enhancing bilateral relations for regional interests.

The improvement and strengthening is carried out through efforts to bring ASEAN and IORA closer to create the stability of Indian Ocean.

Security-based Partnership

Strengthening Maritime Cooperation





THANK YOU



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<http://seskoal.tnial.mil.id:8080/>

Abstract of Presentation by Amb. Sudhir Devare

Ambassador Sudhir Devare presented his views in the first session of the conference which focused upon the political, defense and security issues between India and Indonesia. He opened his presentation by remarking that as the two countries celebrate the 70th year of India-Indonesia Diplomatic Relations, they have come a full circle. Even before India became independent in 1946, at the First Independence Day function on Indonesia, in Jakarta, along with Indonesia's flag, they also flew India's flag. Apart from that, the two countries have civilizational contacts that go back thousands of years. In modern times, as there is a new Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, there is a shared maritime vision between the two countries and there are immense possibilities and potential to take the relationship further ahead. Amb. Devare opined that these were encouraging times for the two countries and that the two largest democracies of Asia offered unlimited opportunities. Additionally, both countries have also had elections recently and the two leaders have received massive mandates which offers unlimited opportunities.

There are still of course, forces of globalization, pluralism, nationalism and a multitude of challenges which aren't easy to tackle. Particularly, internal developments need to be looked at. Upon analysing the Indonesian voting patterns for instance, there emerges a pattern which depicts that President Jokowi received a massive vote in most parts but also particularly in areas which have minorities such as North Sumatra, West Kalimantan, Eastern parts of Indonesia, Bali, etc. India too is currently engaged in handling the long-pending political issues. Such issues do have domestic dimensions but of course they also have repercussions which go beyond the country and even beyond the region.

Amb. Devare highlighted two issues – bilateral and regional. With respect to the bilateral issue, Amb. Devare highlighted the maritime security dimension of it. President Jokowi's decision in 2014 to give highest priority to the maritime build-up of Indonesia and the 'Global Maritime Fulcrum' couldn't have come sooner. On India's part too, little attention has been paid to the maritime issues for a very long time. Concepts of SAGAR, SAGARMALA and maritime exercises, naval expansion among others are positive ideas which India needed for a very long time.

However, Indonesia and India need to work out very concrete plans of cooperation. They are thinking of co-production in defense area. Further, there are maritime exercises which need to be accelerated. There is unanimity amongst the two governments on this particular issue between India and Indonesia. Rapid progress on maritime cooperation and security is the need of the hour. It is also encouraging that Indonesia held the first summit of IORA couple of years ago.

Since its inception in 1997, IORA has not progressed much. Plans of actions need to be concretised. Blue economy is one area in which discussions are going on. However, whether enough funding is available within IORA is doubtful. Japan and India have a joint project, the AAGC, which will be for the Indian Ocean region as well as for Africa. The Indian Ocean countries need investment out of this as IORA will not progress unless there is a strong dose of financial health and political will from all countries.

The India-Indonesia defense cooperation agreement was signed in 2001 during PM Vajpayee's visit to Indonesia. Almost 20 years have passed since then. Indonesia had ratified it in 2008

and now there seems to be some progress in this as there is a regular dialogue between the defense ministers. This is a very promising area between Indonesia and India but again there is a need to do much more, so as to achieve progress which will be conducive to stability in the region.

On the regional level, the concept of the Indo-Pacific which elicited considerable debate and controversy even within ASEAN, has now finally been resolved through the leadership role which Indonesia has played in the issuing of the AOIP. Even before that, Indonesia had taken the lead in this. Their former foreign minister had proposed a treaty on the Indo-Pacific some years ago. Indonesia's reservations about some of the manifestations of the concept of Indo-Pacific which seems to focus on security and military issues whereas Indonesia preferred economic cooperation under this Indo-Pacific. The inclusive approach on Indo-Pacific is well taken and India also accepts that position. At the Shangri La Dialogue in Singapore last year, PM Modi also echoed the instrument when he talked of India's preference for an inclusive approach to the Indian Ocean and the Indo-Pacific. We have considerable common ground on the overall concept as well as the dynamics of the Indo-Pacific which, to my mind, can now be utilised in the evolving security architecture in the Indo-Pacific. For long, the Indo-Pacific has lagged due to the absence of a well-defined security architecture and there have been discussions on this topic for many years now. With the US-China trade rivalry, the situation in the region may even aggravate further. Two nations – India & Indonesia – which have the same broad approach and a similarity of views on this issue can come together in creating an outline of the security architecture in the Indo-Pacific which will be broadly acceptable to most powers in the region. This is one area which will also strengthen ASEAN's own belief in themselves. ASEAN is currently plagued with its own problem of unity or its centrality and this question can be addressed if there arises a situation in which the basic contours of Indo-Pacific are defined. India and Indonesia's views with respect to BRI are also fairly similar. We may have reservations but that doesn't suggest that we are confrontational in our approach to China. Amb. Devare concluded by stating that all these similarities need to be worked up in preparing our common approaches to peace and security in the region.

Abstract of Presentation by Prof. (Dr) Dewi Fortuna Anwar

Prof. Anwar broadened the discussions to include ASEAN in discussing India-Indonesia relations because there is a common approach. She framed her remarks on three issues – taking a historical overview to see where the two countries were, why they parted ways at a particular time and why they are now together again.

South East Asia is a “Hindunized” region and therefore it has had strong cultural links with India through the millennia. However, in modern times, relations have been informed by both domestic dynamics as well as the external dynamics. Although India had supported Indonesia in its struggle for independence, and there were similar roles that the two countries took throughout the 1950s and 60s, somewhere they lost their way. This was more due to domestic reasons than external relations between the two countries. Indonesia had a very fundamental regime change in the 1960s as from the Sukarno period of guided democracy, Indonesia welcomed the new order government where politics became more authoritarian. Indonesia’s economy was market-oriented while the Indian economy at that time remained more inward looking and more socialist. Hence, the trajectories of the two countries were different.

For more than 30 years, Indonesia’s foreign policy was narrowly focused in concentric circles. ASEAN became the cornerstone of Indonesia’s FP and the focus was more on the East-Asian region for geostrategic reasons – North-east Asia and South-east Asia. This was because China was seen then as the primary external threat to security and Japan, which was former occupying power, became a close economic partner. Japan became the primary source of foreign direct investment. Thus, interest towards India declined because, while Indonesia was still nominally non-aligned, in fact, it became a de-facto ally of the US as part of the Cold War because of its opposition to China. Indonesia gravitated and the regional-ASEAN 5 became very closely aligned (although not formally) with the US. India remained committed to NAM, and thus very aloof towards the United States. Thus, India and Indonesia had very different priorities at that time in terms of economic development and geo-strategic outlook. At the same time, India was never seen as a threat to South-East Asia. It was never a threatening power, its relations with the region was always based on trade, culture and civilizational linkages. Therefore, it was never really an urgent priority as well.

Changes only began to occur in the 1990s after the end of the Cold War because of developments in both internal as well as external dynamics. Indonesia froze diplomatic relations from 1967 onwards until 1990s. While India at that time also began to emerge from its self-imposed cocoon, the first time we began to be very interested in ASEAN was when the country gave impetus to relations through its ‘Look East Policy’. At that time, ASEAN as a whole, began to pay attention to India. India was invited to be a sectoral dialogue partner in 1992 and became a full dialogue partner in 1995. The ASEAN Regional Forum was first created in 1994 to accommodate countries that were not then full dialogue partners of ASEAN – mainly China, India and Russia. Thus, it became the first multilateral security dialogue forum. Therefore, India’s dynamism and the rise of China were the two main reasons for the change in attitude towards India.

For a long time, India was used as a cautionary tale, as to why democracy was not really beneficial for growth. Lee Kwan Yu and Mahathir have all argued that if the ASEAN followed India’s example, it would be stagnant rather than being the “tiger economies”. The ASEAN countries seemed to have it figured it right – they had a developmentalist economic system,

state authoritarianism and state-driven economic development. While the Indian economy was not offering a very attractive model at that time, it was very important that when India became a functioning capitalist economy, ASEAN and particularly Indonesia took notice. At the same time China also rose and offered economic opportunities. India came to be seen as a new centre for economic growth, promising vast market and also a new source of IT in following the footsteps of China. So, we showed greater interest towards India and particularly Indonesia probably more than any other ASEAN country because at the same time, Indonesia and ASEAN began to embrace China into the regional order both to ensure that China's interests are linked to regional prosperity and stability so that it would follow policy that would not be inimical to the interests of the region. However, suspicions with China remained then and it has continued to date.

When there was an effort to build the East Asia Summit in 2005, regionally it was only going to be the ASEAN + 3 countries. The ASEAN 10 and China, Japan and South Korea. However, Indonesia opposed to that as there was a fear that the three countries would not really be able to counterbalance China's influence. Hence, Indonesia has been instrumental in widening the footprint and the definition of East Asia by bringing in India, Australia and New Zealand. From the very beginning, there is this conscious effort to bring in India because India and China have their own dynamics and India is also big enough in size and population.

Indonesia and ASEAN have always been very interested in ensuring a multipolar regional order in which all the major powers – the great powers are accommodated but allowing none of them to exercise a hegemonic role because that won't be in the interest of smaller countries. In recent times, a bit of competition among them is good also for the smaller countries because then one can get some benefits from that competition. Increasingly, there is a convergence of interests between Indonesia and India and the increasing warmth between India and Indonesia is not simply based on interest. For Indonesia in particular, there is also a convergence in values.

As Indonesia transitioned into a democracy, its dual success in being both a functioning democracy and a dynamic economy become increasingly important for us. Within ASEAN, there is still a democracy deficit. Therefore, it is still important to Indonesia – both for the domestic and the external narrative – to explain why the new order government survived in Indonesia not simply based on coercive power but due to ideological and cultural underpinnings as well.

The fact that India survived as a unified country is precisely because it has a democracy. To be able to take it forward, its success in democracy now is not sufficient to deliver free and fair elections. Democracy is also expected to deliver good roads, hospitals and schools. Democracy is no longer just judged by the purely political angles, but also through economic development. An Indonesian democracy today has to work much harder. It has to deliver both in the political arena and in the social economic arenas. Hence, Indonesia looks at India as a partner. Moreover, in the maritime domain Indonesia has unilaterally declared itself as an archipelagic state in 1957 and has worked hard in the legal arena through the UNCLOS but in terms of real practice throughout the new order period, Indonesia was managed as a land-based country. So, control of land and the control of population was a priority rather than control of the maritime domain. Now, because of democratic functions, the military is no longer allowed to be involved in governance or it has to be internally oriented and secondly because of the geo-strategic, geo-economic challenges, Indonesia needs to pay more attention to the external domain and to the

future of the world in terms of maritime resources. Therefore, there is a need to pay greater attention to synergies with India.

There are now concerns about polarisation, and it is very important for us that we continue to have a multi-polar open and inclusive rules-based regional order. In this, with the “ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific”, which India has expressed support for, during the high-level dialogue is a platform which offered opportunities for mutual cooperation. The next stage should be for ASEAN to seek the formal endorsement of the partners within the EAS. She expressed hope that India would also express its formal support towards the AOIP. The next stage will be to work out the blueprint of future actions and discuss the practicalities of it. It will therefore be important to get the partnership with India in outlining the roles of EAS, IORA and various other regional mechanisms within ASEAN and as well as how is it going to work with this Indo-Pacific strategy with existing mechanisms like APEC, IORA and so on. What we don't want is to end it on paper only. The real hard work will be in the next few months. In conclusion, she stated that economic cooperation should not be seen only as important for delivering prosperity. It is also an important pillar for the development of regional understanding which would of course, ensure peace and stability.



DELHI POLICY GROUP

Advancing India's Rise as a Leading Power

INDIA INDONESIA MARITIME SECURITY COOPERATION

PRESENTATION FOR INDIA INDONESIA ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION BY
CMDE LALIT KAPUR (RETD),
SENIOR FELLOW

NEW DELHI, AUGUST 27, 2019



STRUCTURE

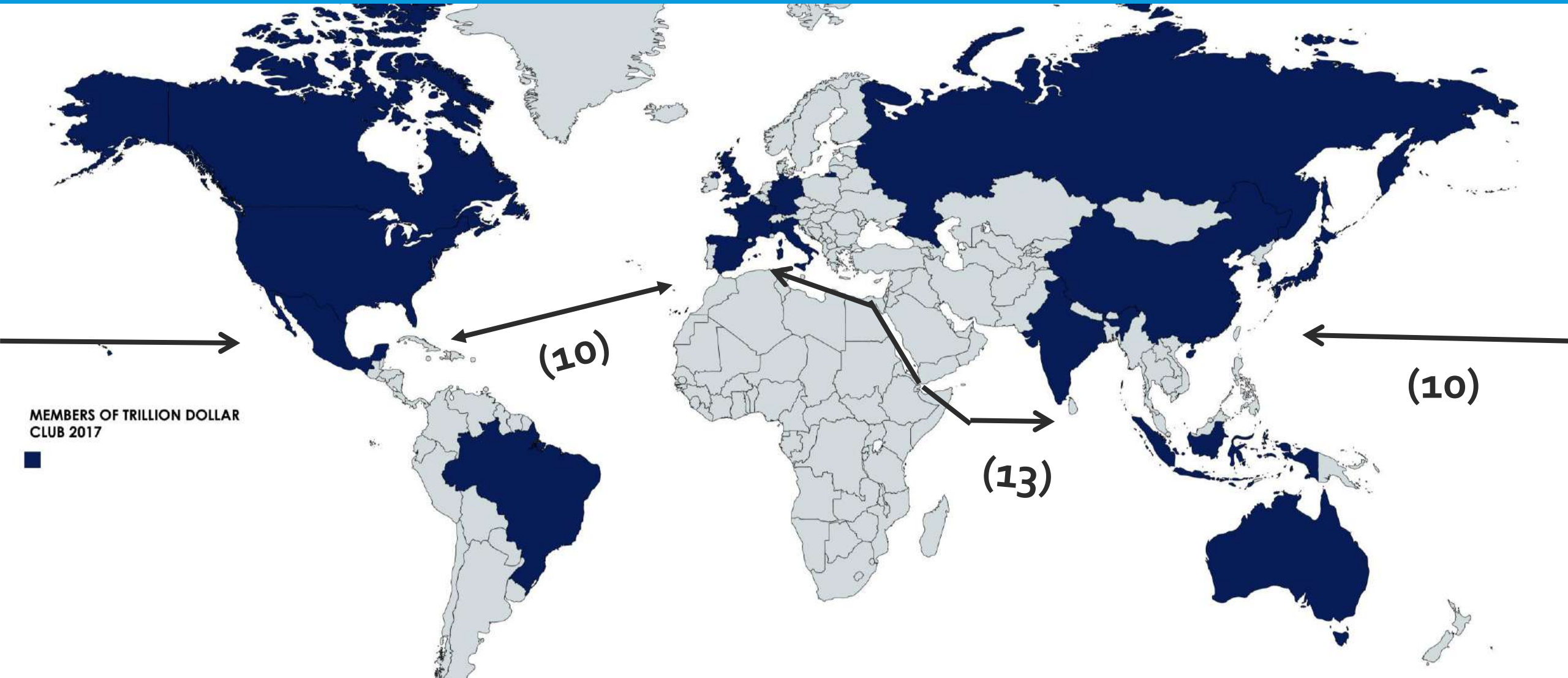
1. Regional Trends
2. Security Challenges and Mechanisms
3. Leadership Commitments
4. Where we Stand
5. The Way Ahead



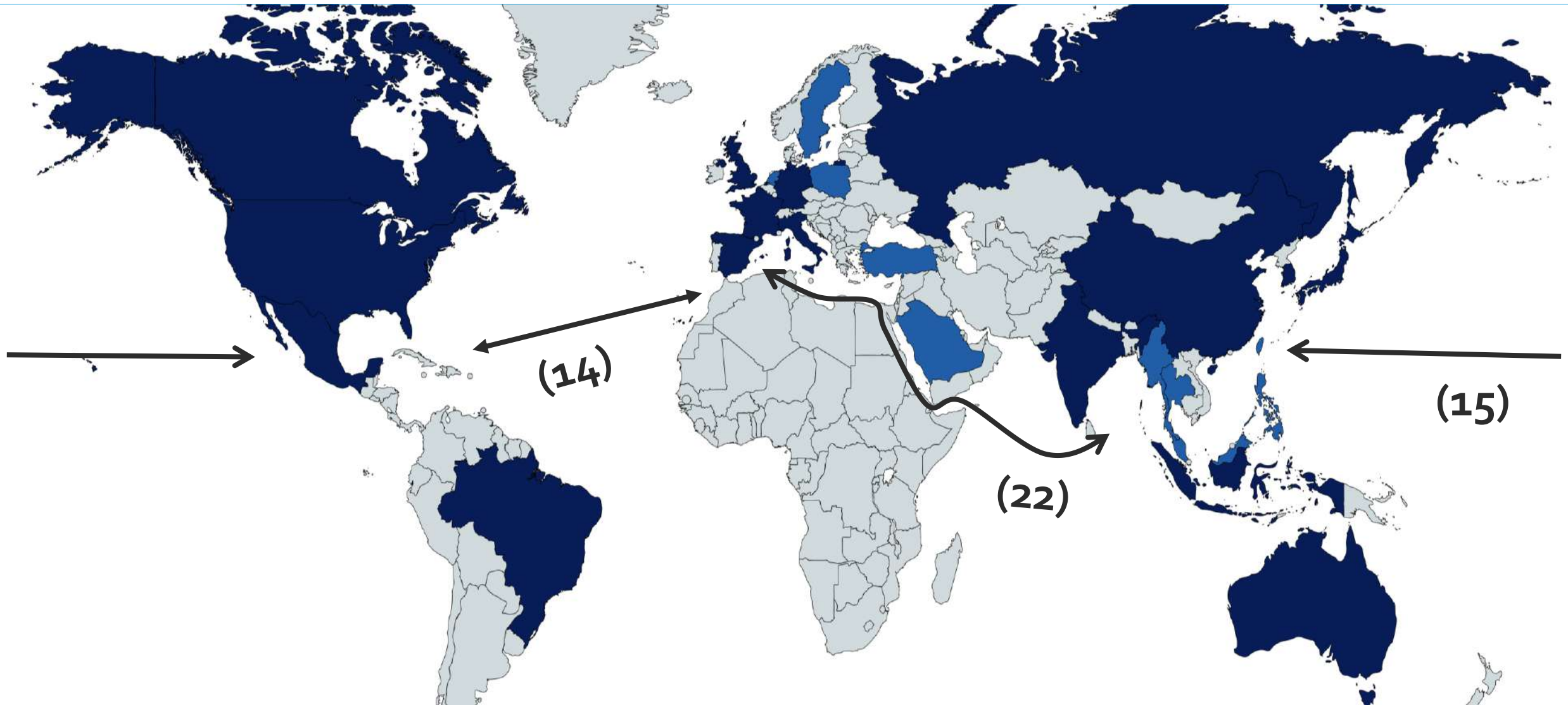
REGIONAL TRENDS

1. Globalisation and shift of economic power to Asia continues to gather pace
 - World merchandise trade \$ 19.48 trillion (\$ 17.73 trillion). Service trade \$ 5.8 trillion.
 - Share of World GDP by continent Asia 36.2%, North America 28%, Europe 25%. Asia growing fastest.
2. Increased dependence on maritime connectivity & security

TRILLION DOLLAR CLUB 2017 (16)



PROJECTED TRILLION DOLLAR CLUB 2033 (25)





REGIONAL TRENDS

1. Globalisation and shift of economic power to Asia continues to gather pace
2. Increased dependence on maritime connectivity & security
3. Growing Great Power Competition
4. India and Indonesia's economic strength increasing
5. Coercive challenges gathering pace

SECURITY CHALLENGES AND MECHANISMS

- Nature of security challenges
- Security Mechanisms – strengths and limitations
 - East China Sea – Hub and Spokes Alliance
 - South China Sea – ASEAN centric
 - Indian Ocean



LEADERSHIP COMMITMENTS

SHARED VISION OF MARITIME COOPERATION IN THE INDO PACIFIC MAY 30, 2018

- Promoting Maritime Safety and Security
 - Strengthening existing security architecture anchored in ASEAN led mechanisms
 - Establishing open, inclusive and transparent cooperation
 - Strengthening bilateral CORPATs and commencement of regular bilateral exercises
 - Enhancing information sharing related to Indo Pacific maritime security
 - Boundary delimitation in accordance with international law including UNCLOS
 - Enhancing strategic technical cooperation on maritime security including better maritime awareness
 - Cooperation in hydrography and marine cartography
 - Capacity building for maritime safety , including SAR and pollution control
 - Enhancing Coast Guard cooperation
 - Enhancing cooperation for a safe and secure Indian Ocean within IORA framework

WHERE WE STAND

TACKLING COMMON MARITIME CHALLENGES

- Requirements.
- Dialogue mechanisms at strategic and tactical levels are functional for humanitarian and governance challenges
- Defence cooperation agreement has been signed
- Beginning in domain awareness structures
- Symbolic joint response structures such as CORPAT exist
- Joint exercises have commenced
- Training cooperation is ongoing



THE WAY AHEAD

- Discuss and cooperate tackling coercive challenges.
- Strengthen domain awareness structures.
- Make CORPAT more effective. Consider individual patrols.
- Enhance scope and frequency of joint exercises
- Assume greater responsibility for regional maritime security



**END OF
PRESENTATION**

Abstract of Presentation by Prof. Shankari Sundararaman

Prof. Sundararaman stated that in a commemorative conference, the focus should be to take stock of the achievements and future potential – where India and Indonesia were and where they have currently reached. There is a need to look at where India and Indonesia started in terms of this relationship and the factors that are going to take the two countries forward. If we go back 70 years, it was not just the relations over two millennia that we've had in the past, but even during the colonial period, these two regions had been integrated up until 1867. The crown colonies in Southeast Asia were established separately from the Indian empire only as late as 1867.

Looking at the region itself, during the colonial period and post-colonial period, until 1962, there seems to have been a robust interaction between India and Indonesia followed by 30 years of indifference. The question of the indifference has to be identified from the structural changes that the region itself faced. It is not just in the context of bilateralism but in the fact that the region itself was going through diverse changes at this point, particularly since 1945. Up until 1991, the entire southeast Asian region has during one time or the other been through a phase of conflict and it is this context of conflict that also separated India from Indonesia.

There is a need to take stock of the situation through a unit-level analysis. The first indicator of this unit level analysis would be as early as 1962 after the Sino-India war from where Indonesia and India start to look at each other differently. The commonalities that bound them together during the nationalistic phase start to diverge at that time. From 1962, one of the clearest indicators is when in the aftermath of the Sino-Indian war, India no longer looked at China as an anti-imperialist power but the Indonesians continued to view China for a while as an anti-imperialist power. Even during 1967-90 when Indonesia cut off its diplomatic relations with China, it didn't seem to have an effect on bringing these two countries closer together even though there was a convergence of our views particularly with relations to our big neighbour. It did not seem to have any impact on their bilateral ties and that's rooted very much in the fact that both countries tended to look inwards. The Indonesians from 1965 onwards moved into an open market economy, driven by compulsions that come with the formations of the ASEAN in 1967, and eventually between 1967-91 due to the manner in which the Cold War shaped the region itself. From 1991, when India's Look East policy started, the context of an improved relationship not just with Indonesia but also with the rest of the region is what triggered the focus both at the bilateral as well as the multilateral level. The question of bilateralism and multilateralism in the context of the ASEAN states is actually taking India forward in moving at both these levels. Both the context of bilateralism and the multilateralism go hand-in-hand. In that context, the significant indicators for which India has to move forward with Indonesia in terms of its bilateral relations are as follows:

1. The remarkable transition that Indonesia has made in terms of its own democratic consolidation, this itself brings out what we see as a shared common value/ approach towards how we look at politics in the region. A country that was in 1999 being spoken of as a potential candidate for balkanisation, today in 2019, twenty years later is spoken of as one of the most consolidated democracies in Southeast Asia. This itself warrants a very important factor because from 2004 onwards, there have been four successful transitions of power to a directly elected President. For India, that is a huge common political factor upon which both countries need to push their relations forward.

2. There is the question of Indonesia's strengthened cooperation with many states in the region at the multilateral level and at the level of bilateralism. While Indonesia has ASEAN as the cornerstone of its foreign policy, it also made an effort to look beyond the ASEAN at countries with which it needs to have factored in a strong bilateral relationship. As a result of this, India's prominence becomes that much more relevant. This is going to be something that needs to be focused upon in the context of a long-term approach to how bilateralism is developed with Indonesia.
3. The entire manner in which Indonesia itself is shaping the dialogue of the ASEAN is worthy of appreciation. ASEAN has always been a credible factor of Indonesia's foreign policy while Indonesia is building its relations with countries other than the ASEAN, it's also moving ASEAN in a particular direction. From 2003 onwards, there has been a systematic effort by Indonesia towards community building, focusing on ASEAN's charter and pushing ASEAN towards a more democratic approach and more recently how Indonesia has sought to develop an 'ASEAN's Outlook for the Indo-Pacific'.

At the political level, these are the indicators which are going to be very relevant in terms of how the India-ASEAN bilateral relationship moves forward.

On the comprehensive strategic partnership, when we speak in terms of either a strategic partnership which had identified four elements on which we would broaden our interactions, the question of enhancing this into a Comprehensive Economic Partnership also speaks towards a particular focus on enhancing levels of bilateral trade. There have been clear discussions in the morning that this bilateral trade is expected to increase to about 50 billion USD. However, the ground realities on which this assertion is based need to be looked at.

1. In 2014, there were talks about USD 45 billion being the target for bilateral trade by 2015. If we actually take a look at the 2015 target, it was supposed to be USD 25 billion. However, it is 2019 and even the USD 25 billion is not a reality. It requires a real critical analysis to understand where are the gaps and how should the two countries be moving forward on this issue.
2. In an earlier dialogue, the Indonesian scholars said that in current times, the trade acted as the bridge for the cultural relations that spread to the region. Today the same lack of understanding in terms of business cultures is proving an impediment in terms of how trade moves forward. So, it is very important to understand whether this kind of issue actually exists and how it is going to be bridged in the context of India-Indonesia's bilateral relations.
3. How is Indonesia looked at, particularly in terms of its role as a member of ASEAN? And where do we see Indonesia pushing the context of ASEAN centrality? Many people have referred to the shared maritime vision as well to PM Modi's speech at Shangri La. If the two are taken into consideration, one of the factors that India has repeatedly asserted is the context of India looking at it purely from an ASEAN centrality focus and that Indo-Pacific and challenges to the Indo-Pacific will have the notion of what ASEAN centrality is all about. The relevance of Indonesia, particularly in this context, is important because the concept of Indo-Pacific was raised long ago when the former Indonesian Foreign Minister spoke in terms of an 'Indo-Pacific Treaty

of Friendship and Cooperation'. It is very interesting that this context is going to be extremely relevant because two things are expressed here – the first was the question of the rules-based order and the second was the question of the normative order that continues from the Second World War onwards. Indonesia and India share the context of having to safeguard this normative order and thus building bilateral ties which will focus on this normative order and then continue to impact the regional members with this entire focus is going to be one of the critical aspects.

4. In terms of the centrality of ASEAN, the debate on ASEAN centrality needs to be looked at from a dual perspective. There is a centrality of ASEAN which comes from within ASEAN itself because the entire framework under which the ARF was formed was on the basis of the regional order that come into being in the aftermath of the cold war, ASEAN's relevance, and wanting to be in the context as the pivot in any kind of institutional mechanisms in the area, drove the ASEAN principles to be formulated across multilateral mechanisms in the region from 1991 onwards.

SESSION 2: TRADE AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

**ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON INDIA – INDONESIA RELATIONS:
COMMEMORATING THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
FULL DIPLOMATIC TIES**

ASEAN OUTLOOK ON THE INDO-PACIFIC AND NEW GLOBAL LANDSCAPE

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Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Indonesia

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(this document shall not be multiplied since part of it represent work in progress in BPPK)*

ASEAN OUTLOOK ON THE INDO-PACIFIC

KEY ELEMENTS

- **Single Geostrategic Theatre**
- **Region of Cooperation, NOT Rivalry**
- **Region of Development and Prosperity for All**
- **Maritime domain and perspective**

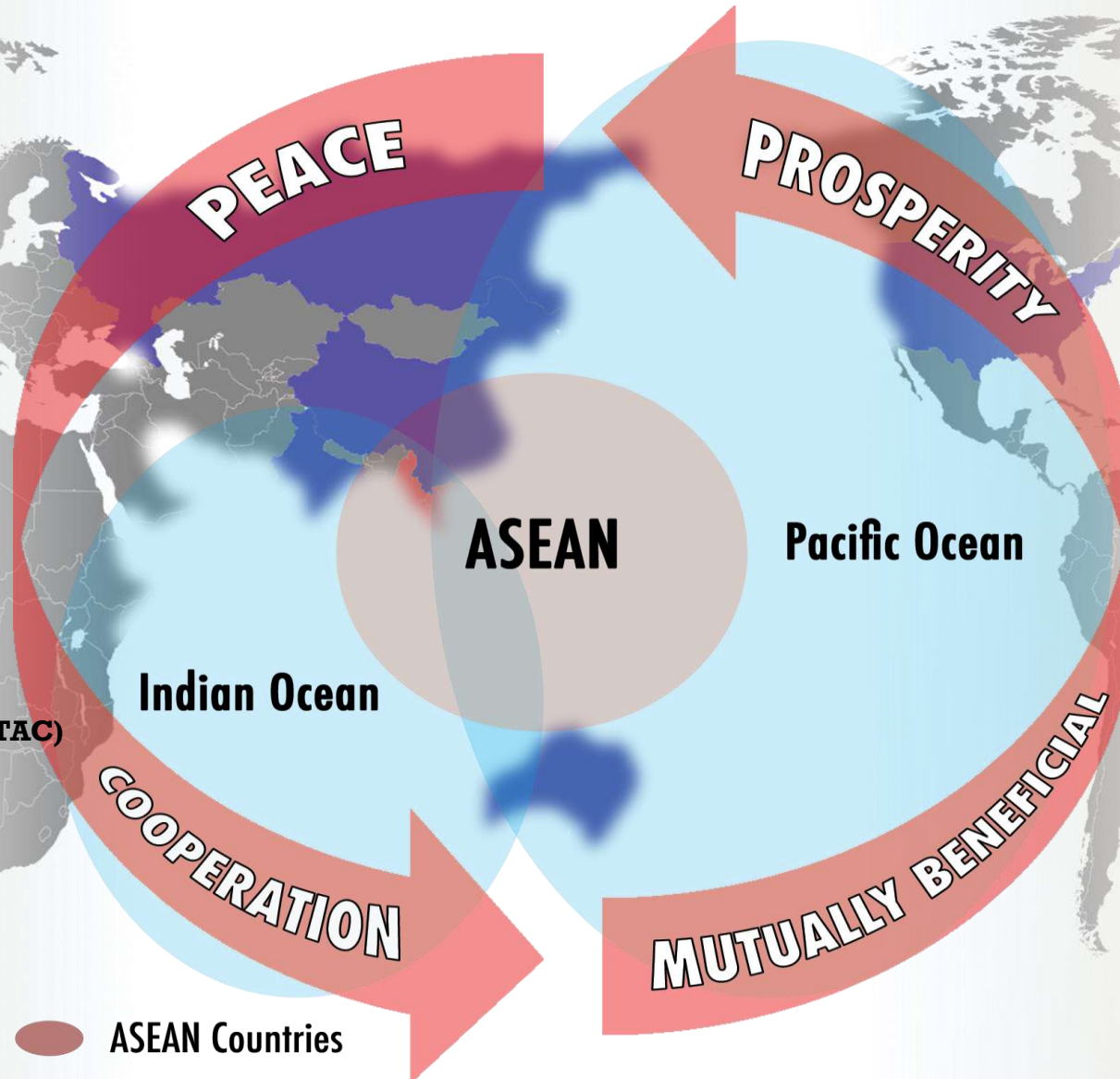
PRINCIPLES

- **Openness**
- **Inclusivity**
- **Transparency**
- **Respect for international law**
- **ASEAN Centrality**
- **Mutual respect, trust, and benefit**
- **Respect for sovereignty**
- **EAS Bali Principles (2011)**
- **Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)**

OBJECTIVES

- **Promoting a new outlook of cooperation**
- **Creating an enabling environment for peace, stability and prosperity**
- **Strengthening the existing ASEAN-Led Mechanism (EAS)**
- **Developing priorities that are important for all**

- ASEAN Countries
- EAS Participating Countries



MARITIME COOPERATION

- **Political-Security**
- **Socio-Economic**
- **Environment**
- **Technical Cooperation**

CONNECTIVITY

- **Developing Public-Private Partnership on Connectivity in Indo-Pacific region**
- **Building synergies with other countries and sub-regional framework on connectivity in Indo-Pacific region**
- **Connecting the Connectivities**

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS)

- **Developing Indo-Pacific agenda for achieving the SDGs**
- **The alignment of regional development agenda with the SDGs.**

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

- **Ensuring open and fair economic system;**
- **Increased business interaction;**

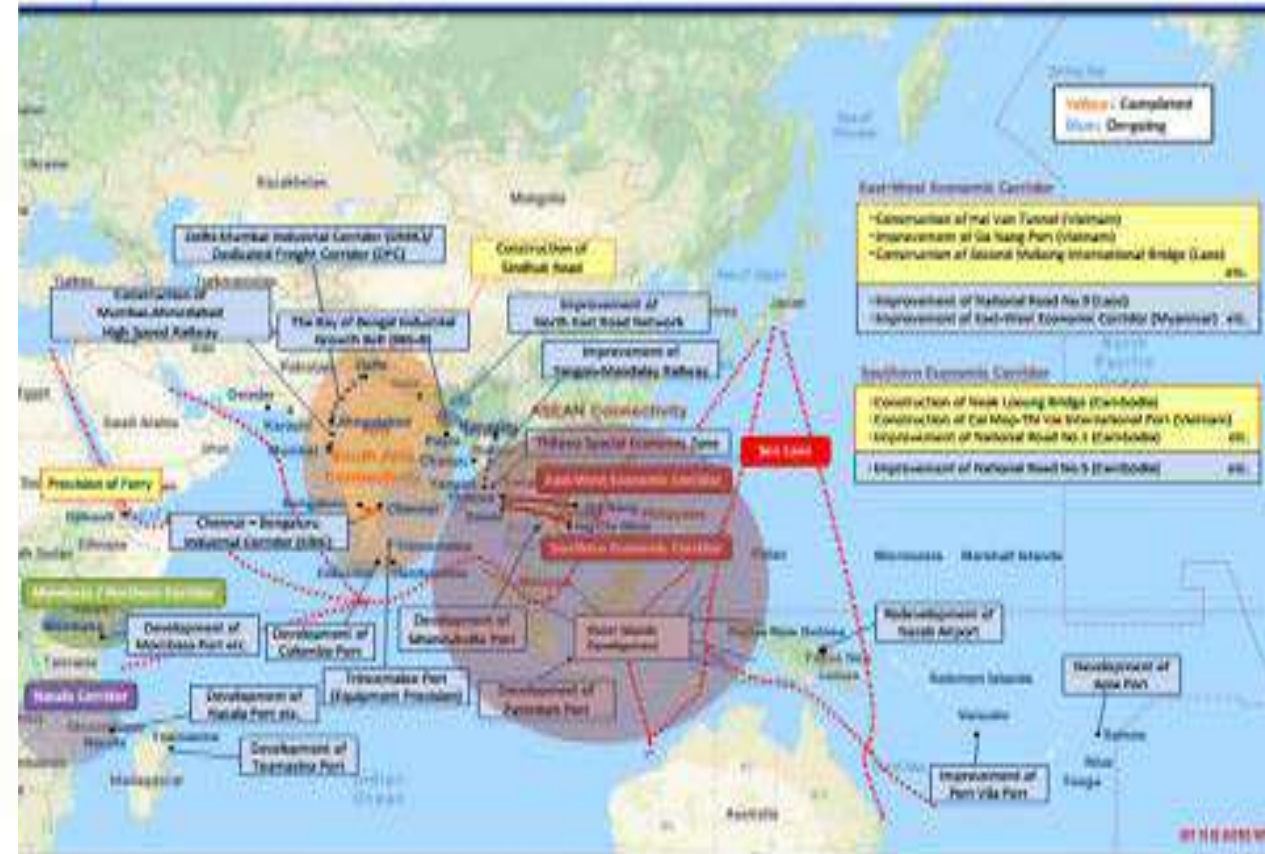
WAY FORWARD

POTENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC SYNERGY

CHINA'S BRI CONNECTIVITY INITIATIVE WITH GEOPOLITICAL IMPLICATIONS



JAPAN'S FOIPS COMPETING FOR CONNECTIVITY MARKET WITH CHINA'S BRI



NEW GLOBAL ACTORS, NEW MERCANTILISM

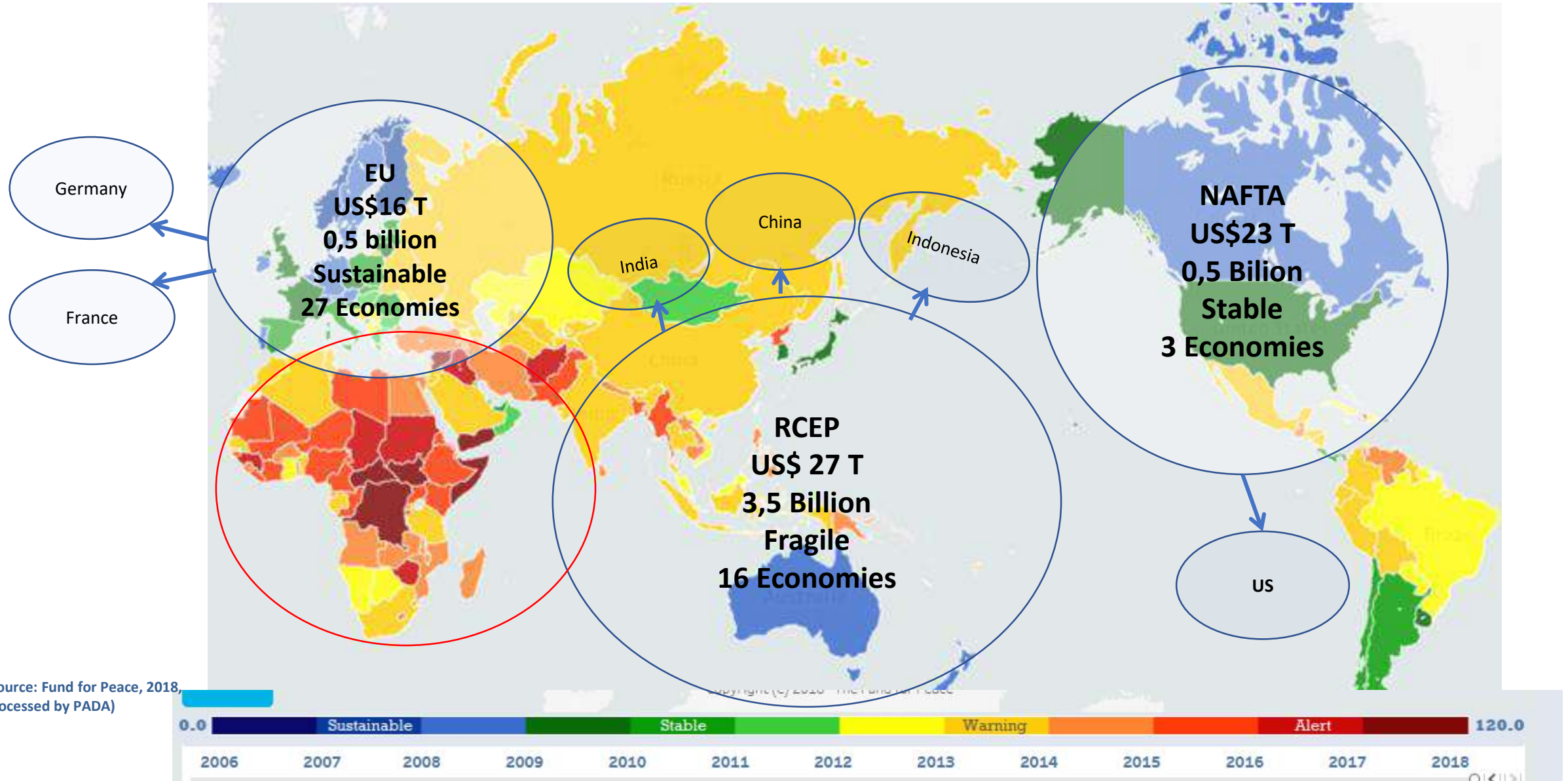
Of the World's top 100 economic revenue collectors, 29 are states, 71 are corporates



<https://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/of-the-worlds-top-100-economic-entities-29-are-states-71-are-corporates/>

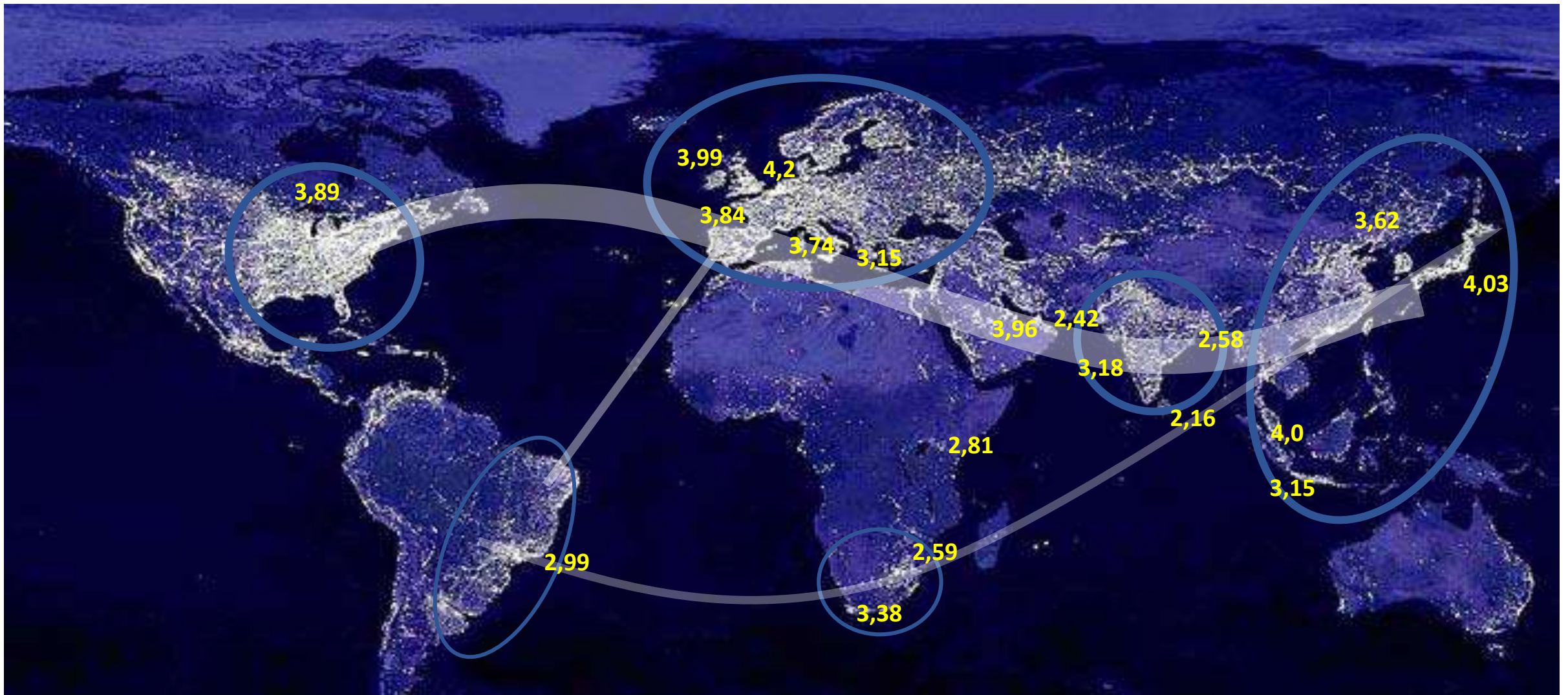
Country/Corporation	Revenue (US\$ bn)	Country/Corporation	Revenue (US\$ bn)
1 United States	3363	51 General Electric (US)	140
2 China	2465	52 CSCEC (CN)	139
3 Japan	1696	53 AmerisourceBergen (US)	136
4 Germany	1507	54 Agricultural Bank of China (CN)	133
5 France	1288	55 Verizon (US)	132
6 United Kingdom	996	56 Chevron (US)	131
7 Italy	843	57 E.ON (DE)	130
8 Brazil	632	58 AXA (FR)	129
9 Canada	595	59 Indonesia	129
10 Walmart (US)	482	60 Finland	128
11 Spain	461	61 Allianz (DE)	123
12 Australia	421	62 Bank of China (CN)	122
13 State Grid (CN)	330	63 Honda Motor (JP)	121
14 Netherlands	323	64 Cargill (US)	120
15 South Korea	304	65 Japan Post Holdings (JP)	119
16 China Nat. Petroleum (CN)	299	66 Costco (US)	116
17 Sinopec Group (CN)	294	67 Argentina	116
18 Royal Dutch Shell (NL/GB)	272	68 BNP Paribas (FR)	112
19 Sweden	248	69 Fannie Mae (US)	111
20 Exxon Mobil (US)	246	70 Ping An Insurance (CN)	110
21 Volkswagen (DE)	237	71 Kroger (US)	109
22 Toyota Motor (JP)	237	72 Société Générale (FR)	108
23 Apple (US)	234	73 Amazon.com (US)	107
24 Belgium	232	74 China Mobile Comm. (CN)	106
25 BP (GB)	226	75 SAIC Motor (CN)	105
26 Mexico	224	76 Walgreens Boots Alliance (US)	104
27 Switzerland	216	77 HP (US)	103
28 Berkshire Hathaway (US)	211	78 Assicurazioni Generali (IT)	103
29 India	200	79 Cardinal Health (US)	103
30 Norway	200	80 BMW (DE)	102
31 McKesson (US)	192	81 Express Scripts Holding (US)	102
32 Russia	187	82 Nissan Motor (JP)	102
33 Austria	187	83 China Life Insurance (CN)	101
34 Turkey	184	84 J.P. Morgan Chase (US)	101
35 Samsung Electronics (KR)	177	85 Koch Industries (US)	100
36 Glencore (CH/JE)	170	86 Gazprom (RU)	99
37 ICBC (CN)	167	87 China Railway Eng. (CN)	99
38 Daimler (DE)	166	88 Petrobras (BR)	97
39 UnitedHealth Group (US)	157	89 Schwarz Group (DE)	97
40 Denmark	157	90 Trafigura Group (NL/SG)	97
41 EXOR Group (IT/NL)	154	91 Nippon Telegraph and Tel. (JP)	96
42 CVS Health (US)	153	92 Boeing (US)	96
43 General Motors (US)	152	93 Venezuela	96
44 Vitol (NL/CH)	152	94 China Railway Constr. (CN)	95
45 Ford Motor (US)	151	95 Microsoft (US)	94
46 China Constr. Bank (CN)	150	96 Bank of America Corp. (US)	93
47 Saudi Arabia	150	97 ENI (IT)	93
48 AT&T (US)	147	98 Greece	93
49 Total (FR)	143	99 Nestlé (CH)	92
50 Hon Hai Precision Ind. (TW)	141	100 Wells Fargo (US)	90

THE STORY OF 3 PILLARS + 1



(Source: Fund for Peace, 2018, processed by PADA)

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Logistics Performance Index 2018 by World Bank

Indicators: customs, infrastructures, international shipments, logistics competence, tracking and tracing, timeliness

I. Background and rationale

- Dynamics, geopolitical shifts
- ASEAN Interest : To lead the shaping of economic and security architecture

II. ASEAN Outlook in the Indo-Pacific

- Asia Pacific + Indian Ocean Region = Integrated Region
- Region of Dialogue and Cooperation, not rivalries
- Maritime Domain/Perspective

III. Objectives

- Outlook to guide cooperation
- Enabling environment
- Exploring + implementing cooperation

IV. Principles

- ASEAN Centrality, International Law, Sovereignty
- UN Charter, UNCLOS, ASEAN Charter, EAS/Bali Principles 2011, TAC

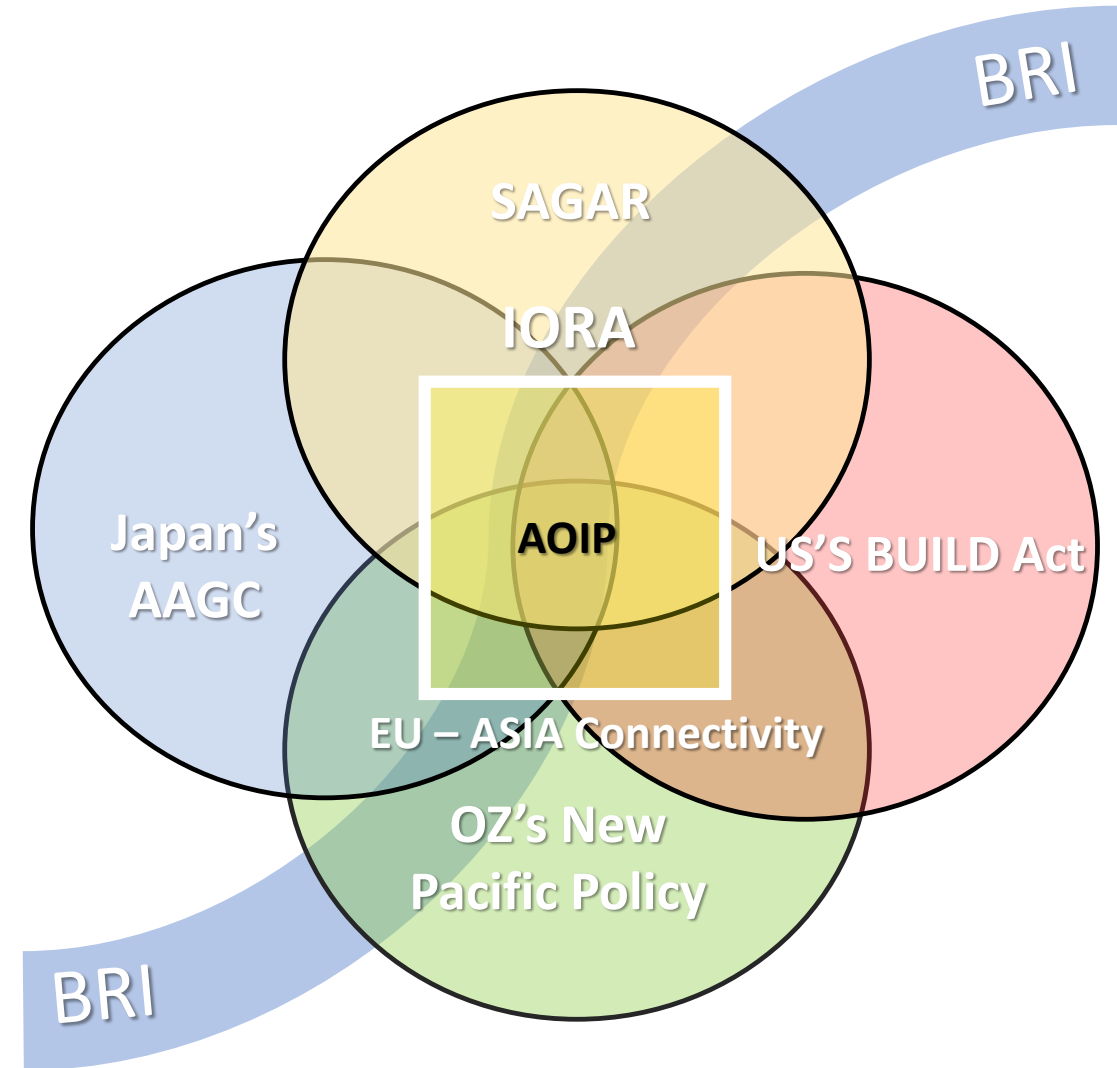
V. Areas of Cooperation

- Maritime cooperation
- Connectivity
- SDGs
- Economics and other possible cooperation

VI. Mechanism

- EAS, ASEAN + 1, ARF, ADMM+

Seeking for Commonalities



Thank You

Roundtable Discussion on India-Indonesia Relations: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Ties

Session II: Trade and Economic Issues

*A Didar Singh, Sr Fellow DPG
Habitat Centre*

Trade

- Indonesia has emerged as the largest trading partner of India in the ASEAN region for 2018-19.
- Bilateral trade between India and Indonesia stands at **21,119.54 million USD** in 2018-19, an increase of 3.51 % from the previous fiscal.
- Exports have increased by 33.10 % in 2018-19 to **USD 5,275.60 million** (17th largest export destination)
- Imports have increased in 2018-19 to **USD 15,843.94 million**.
- India is the second largest buyer of coal and crude palm oil from Indonesia and imports minerals, rubber, pulp and paper and hydrocarbons reserves.
- India exports refined petroleum products, commercial vehicles, telecommunication equipment, agriculture commodities, bovine meat, steel products and plastics to Indonesia.

Investment

- As per Indonesian authorities, Indian investment in Indonesia is USD 995.18 million in 2215 projects during 2000-2018 (Sept). But as most investments come through Singapore and other gateways, the quantum of investment could be much more (\$15bn).
- Indian companies have made significant investments in infrastructure, power, textiles, steel, automotive, mining, banking and consumer goods sectors.
- **Prominent Indian companies** such as Tata Power, Reliance, Adani, L&T, GMR, GVK, Trimex, Videocon, Punj Lloyd, CG Power, Madhucon, Spice, Indo Rama, Aditya Birla, JK Industries, Jindal Stainless Steel, ESSAR, Ispat, Tata Motors, Mahindra, TVS, Bajaj, Royal Enfield, Minda, Godrej, Wipro, Balmer & Lawrie, SBI and Bank of India have established fully-owned subsidiaries/joint ventures in Indonesia.
- Indonesia's investment in India is USD 629.16 million for the period of April 2000-March 2019
- **Indonesian companies in India:** PT. Sumber Mitra Jaya, Bukaka company, Bank International Indonesia (BII), CP Prima, Garuda Foods



- National Capital
- Major Cities

Azimuthal Equal-Area Projection

0 800 Kilometer
0 800 Miles

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Basic Stats – India and Indonesia

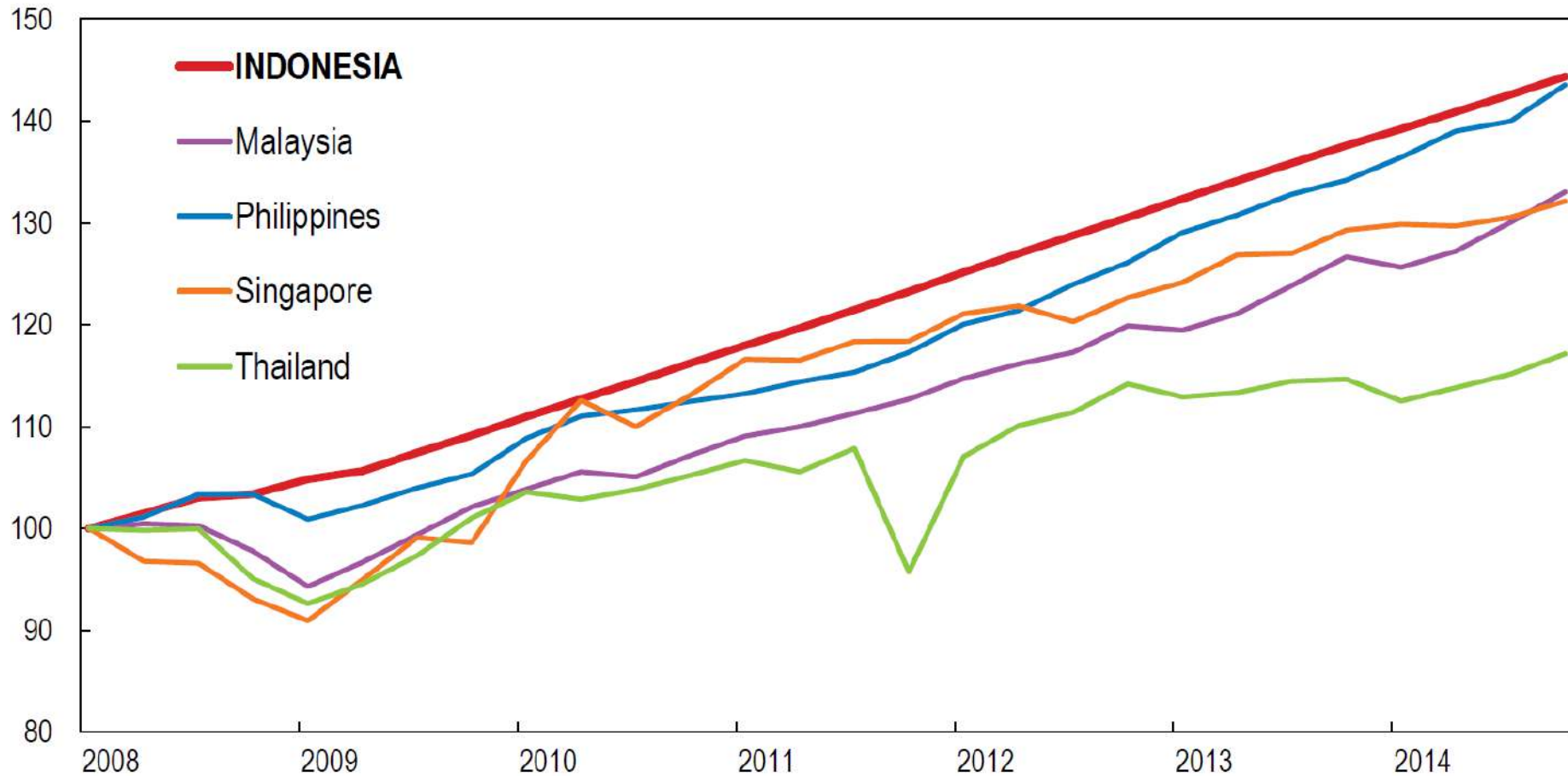
Country	India	Indonesia
Area	3.2mn sqKm	1.9mn sqKm
Population	1.2bn	270mn
GDP	7%	5.25%
PercapitaPPP	\$7200	\$11,900
Poverty	21.90%	9.28%

Source: CIA FactBook



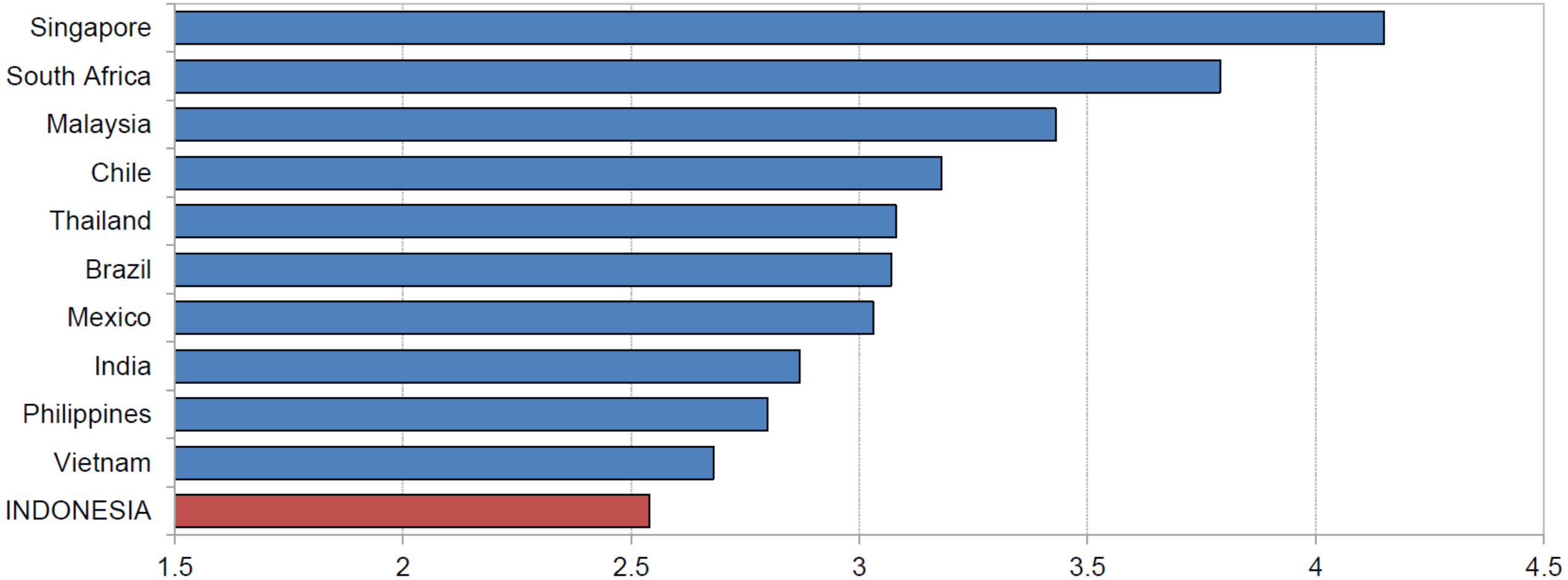
Indonesia has enjoyed strong and stable growth

Real GDP growth in selected ASEAN countries
Index, 2008 Q1 = 100



Logistics performance index, 2014

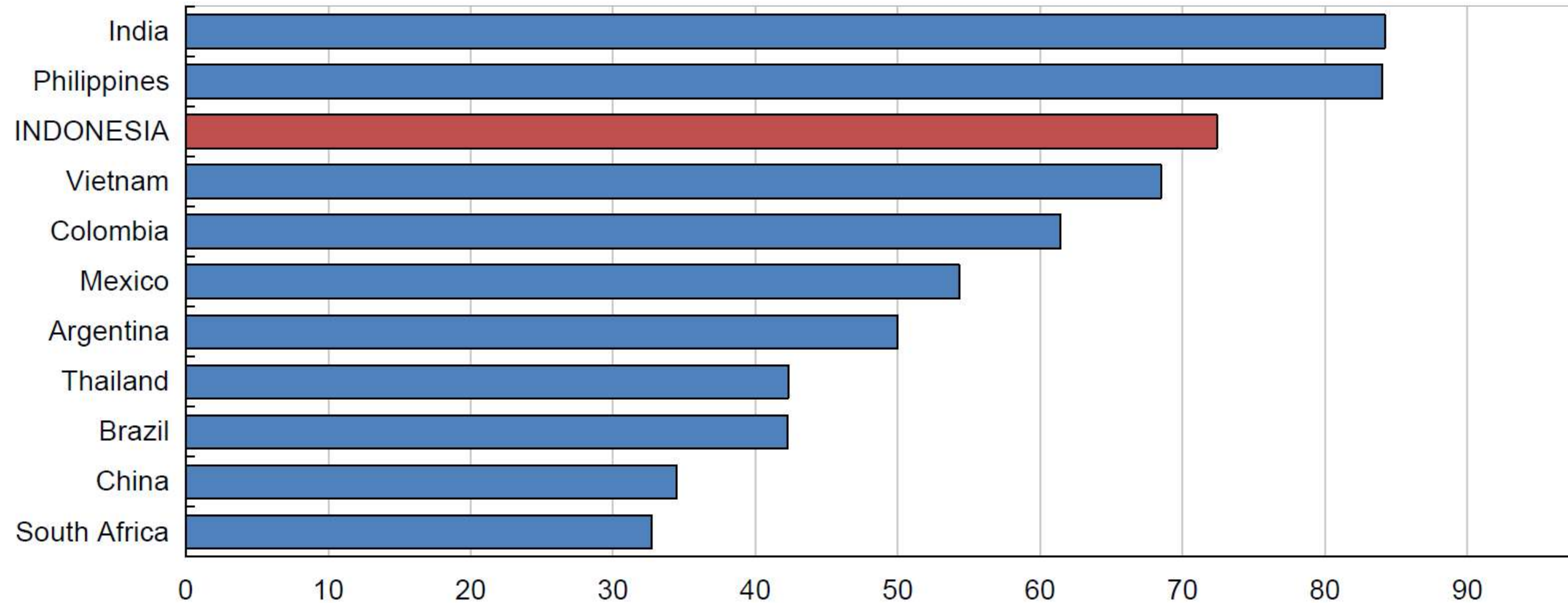
Quality of trade- and transport-related infrastructure (1=low to 5=high)



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators.

Labour market informality

% of non-agricultural employment



Source: ILO.



Key short-term challenges

Support the economic recovery by a sounder macroeconomic framework:

- Reduce inflation further
- Cut the public deficit and debt further
- Improve the business climate
- Reduce bad loans

Targets and Recommendations

- EPG – 50/50 i.e. trade amounting to US\$ 50 billion and two-way investment of US\$ 50 billion by 2025
- In recent meeting, Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Joko Widodo have set \$50 billion target for bilateral trade over the next six years (15% growth) along with the ‘New Comprehensive Strategic Partnership’.
- **Recommendations:**
 - Finalise bilateral Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA)
 - Other and Existing platforms for dialogue be activated and energized
 - Activate ‘Invest India’ and ‘Invest in Remarkable Indonesia’
 - Joint programmes of KADIN and FICCI/CII
 - Think Tanks collaboration
 - Priority sectors: infrastructure, renewable energy, maritime industry, agriculture, creative industry, healthcare, eCommerce and entrepreneurship.

India-Indonesia Partnership @70



India-Indonesia Economic Relations: *Identifying the Potentials for Future Cooperation*

Prabir De

ASEAN-India Centre, RIS

Delhi Policy Group (DPG) – Embassy of Indonesia
Roundtable on India-Indonesia Relations

27 August 2019, New Delhi

What makes India (IND)-Indonesia (IDN) relation so unique?

- Maritime nations, sharing borders
- Deep cultural and civilizational links
- Sharing 1/5th of world population; 21.30% of world population (2018)
- Fastest growing economies, together share 10% of world GDP in PPP (2018)
- Common challenge - large geography, rising regional disparity (provinces/states : 34 – Indonesia; 28 – India)
- Partners in global progress and south-south cooperation : UN, NAM, G20, G77
- Active regional partnership: ASEAN, EAS, IORA, a.o.
- India partner in IMT-GT
- India's Act East Policy and SAGAR; Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum => Indo-Pacific

Economic Size (2018): India and Indonesia

	India	Indonesia
GDP (current US\$)	2.26	0.93
GDP, PPP (current international \$)	8.70	3.03
GDP per capita (current US\$)	1709.59	3570.29
Population	1.32	0.26

Source: WDI

Ocean Prowess

- Indonesia as the largest archipelagic State in the world, and fulcrum that connects the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean
- India's vast command in Indian Ocean
- Guiding chapter: "Shared Vision on Maritime Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific between India and Indonesia" , issued in May 2018
- Good beginning - Joint Task Force to undertake projects for port related infrastructure in and around Sabang.
- The two countries with two oceans represent a combined maritime region which is important for global maritime trade and commerce

	India	Indonesia
Coastline	7,500	108,000 km
Islands	1380	17,504
Maritime areas including EEZ*	2.00 million sq. km	6.4 million sq. km

*Approximate
Source: Author

Indonesia drives ASEAN-India trade

- Indonesia is the largest trading partner of India in ASEAN.
- Bilateral trade has increased from US\$ 4 billion in 2005-06 to US\$ 20 billion in 2017-18.
- Target is to achieve US\$ 50 billion by 2025
- India imports coal and crude palm oil, minerals, rubber, pulp and paper, hydrocarbons, etc.
- India exports refined petroleum products, commercial vehicles, telecom equipment, agriculture commodities, bovine meat, steel products and plastics to Indonesia.

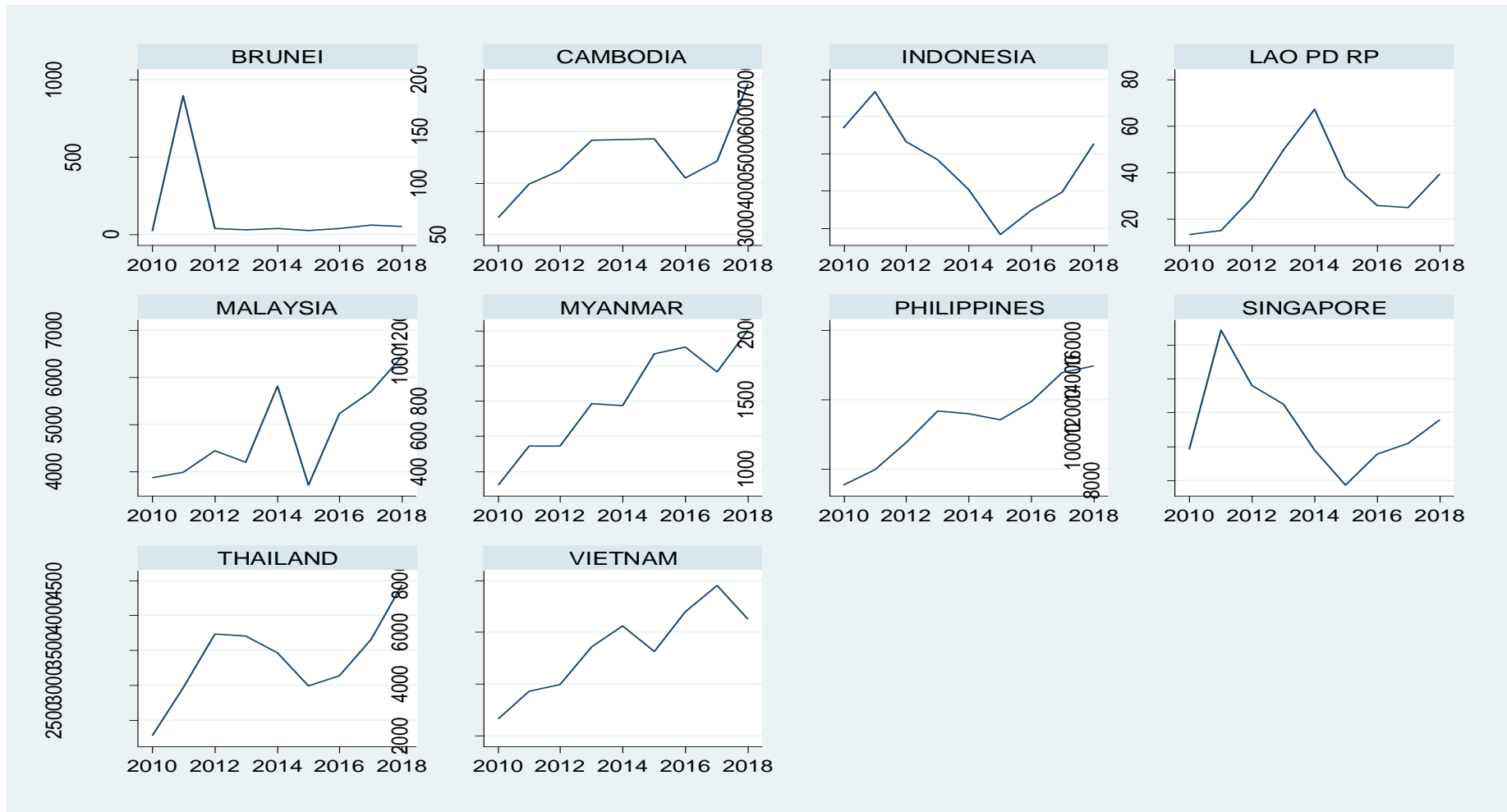
India's trade with Indonesia (US\$ million)

	2014-2015	2015-2016	2016-2017	2017-2018	2018-2019
EXPORT	4,043.32	2,819.49	3,488.12	3,963.77	5,275.60
%Growth		-30.27	23.71	13.64	33.1
%Share	1.3	1.07	1.26	1.31	1.6
IMPORT	15,004.64	13,131.93	13,427.99	16,438.80	15,849.67
%Growth		-12.48	2.25	22.42	-3.58
%Share	3.35	3.45	3.49	3.53	3.08
TOTAL TRADE	19,047.96	15,951.42	16,916.11	20,402.57	21,125.27
%Growth		-16.26	6.05	20.61	3.54
%Share	2.51	2.48	2.56	2.65	2.5
TRADE BALANCE	-10,961.32	10,312.44	-9,939.87	12,475.03	10,574.07

Source: EXIM Databank

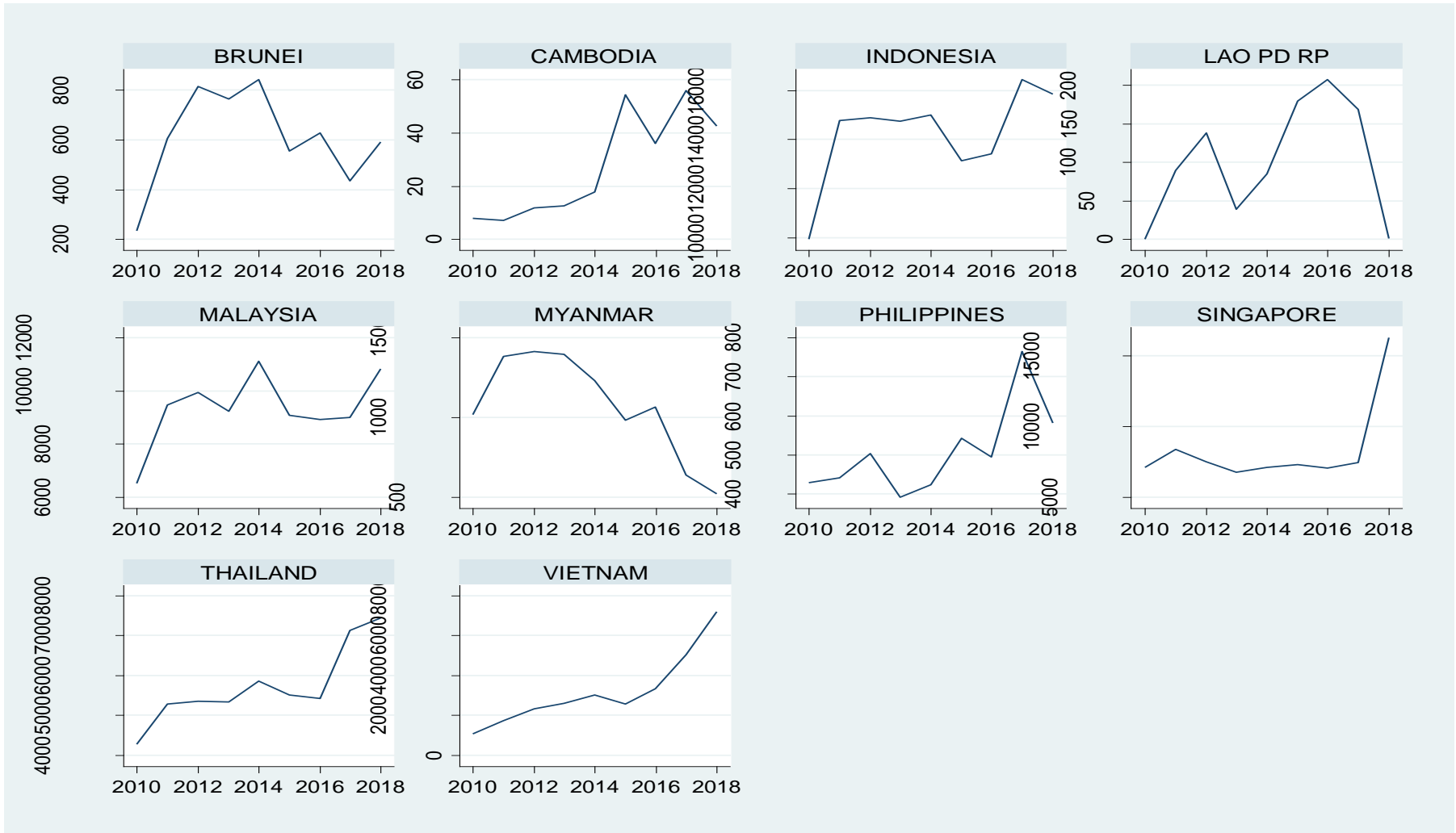
Source: Based on EXIM Databank

India's exports to ASEAN recorded highest in 2018-19, increased to all ASEAN countries except Vietnam

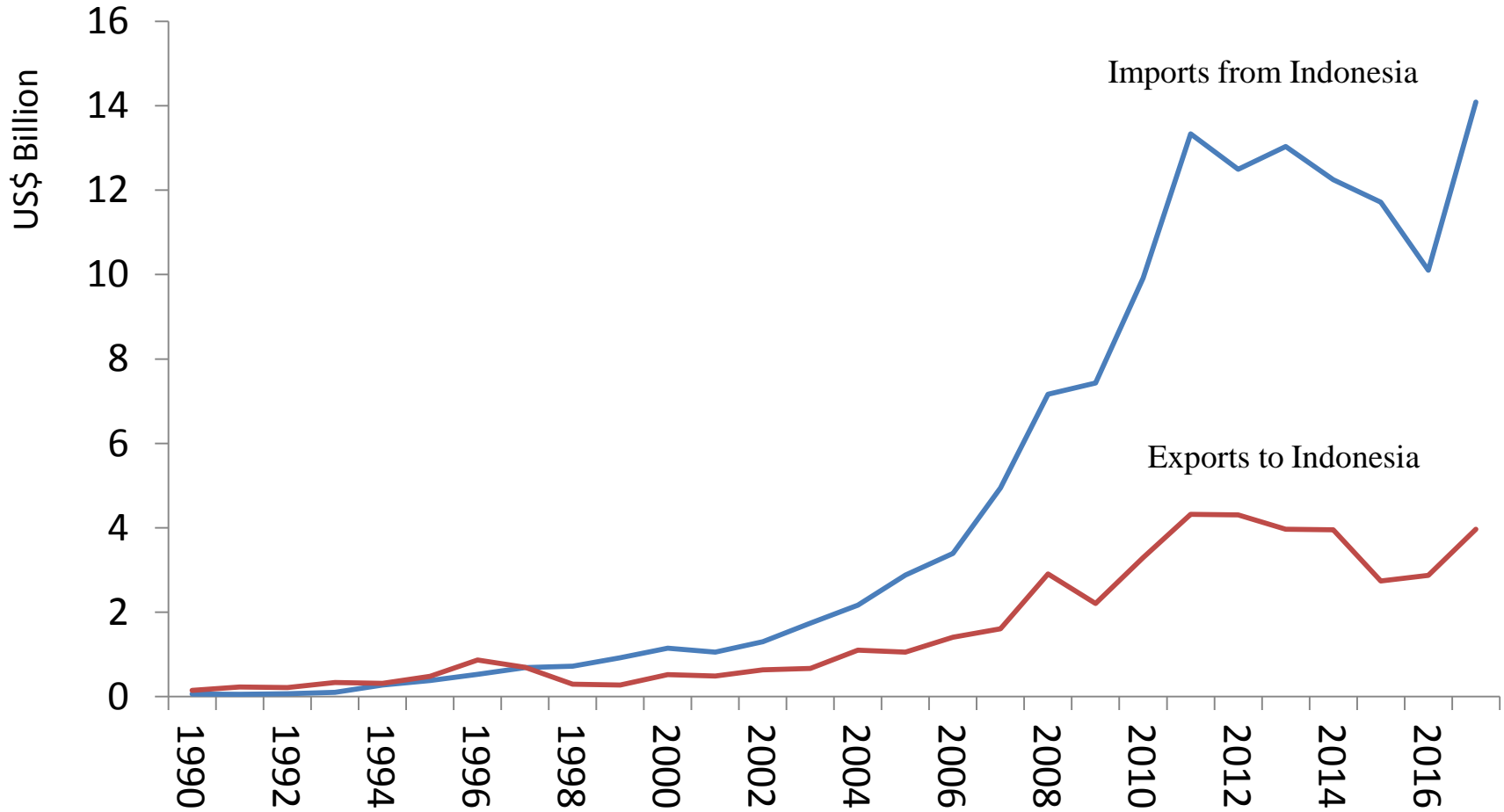


Source: Export-Import Databank, Department of Commerce

India's imports from ASEAN also increased strongly in 2018-19, with falling imports from half of ASEAN countries and rising for rest half



Trends in India's Trade with Indonesia – rising trade deficit



Source: DOTS, IMF

India's major exports to Indonesia (US\$ Million)

Sl. No.	HS Code	Commodity	2017-2018
1	2902	Cyclic Hydrocarbons	238.85
2	1202	Ground-Nuts, Not Roasted Or Otherwise Cooked, Whether Or Not Shelled Or Broken	233.26
3	8704	Motor Vehicles For The Transport Of Goods	203.31
4	8703	Motr Cars And Othr Motr Vhcls Fr Trnsprt Of Persons(Excl Of 8702)Incl Rcng Cars Etc	187.59
5	2710	Petroleum Oilsand Oils Obtnd Frm Bitmns Mnrlther Than Crude Prpn Nes;Cntng70% Or Moreby Weight Of These Oils	183.81
6	7207	Semi-Finished Products Of Iron Or Non- Alloy Steel	181.59
7	7219	Flt-Rlld Prdcts Of Stainless Stl Of Wdth>=600 Mm	127.1
8	5201	Cotton, Not Carded Or Combed	115.19
9	202	Meat Of Bovine Animals, Frozen	95.5
10	8708	Parts And Accessories Of The Motor Vehicles Of Headings 8701 To 8705	88.92
11	3204	Syntc Orgnc Colrng Matr W/N Chmcly Dfnd	81.06
12	7202	Ferro-Alloys	78.79
13	3808	Insctcds,Rdntcds,Fngcds,Hrbcds,Antsproutngprdcts And Plntgrwth Rgltrs-Dsinfctnts Etc In Pckngs/As Artcls (Slphr-Trtd Bn	60.8
14	7210	Flt-Rlld Prdcts Of Iron/Non-Aloy Steel Of Wdth >=600 Mm,Clad,Platd/Coatd	59.74
15	4011	New Pneumatic Tyres, Of Rubber	52.61

Source: EXIM Bank Databank

India's major imports from Indonesia (US\$ million)

Sl. No.	HS Code	Commodity	2017-2018
1	2701	Coal Briquettes Ovoids And Similar Solid Fuels Manufactured From Coal	6218.68
2	1511	Palm Oil And Its Fractions, Whether Or Not Refined,	4934.22
3	2603	Copper Ores And Concentrates	724.17
4	4001	Natrl Rubr Balata Guttapercha Etc And Smlr Natrl Gums	479.14
5	3823	Indstrl Monocarboxylic Fatty Acids Acid Oils from Refining Industrial Fatty Alcohol	366.96
6	7408	Copper Wire	178.27
7	4802	Uncodtd Papr And Paprbord For Wrtnng,Prntng Orgrphic	156.07
8	8001	Unwrought Tin	146.13
9	7108	Gold(Incl Gold Pltd Wth Pltnm)Unwrought Or In Semi Mnfctrd Forms/In Pwdr Form	134.32
10	7202	Ferro-Alloys	129.84
11	4703	Chemical Wood Pulp, Soda Or Sulphate, Other Than Dissolving Grades	122.57
12	8708	Parts And Accessories Of The Motor Vehicles Of Headings 8701 To 8705	98.19
13	1513	Coconut (Copra), Palm Kernel Or Babassu Oil And Fractions	79.86
14	8905	Light-Vssls,Fire-Floats,Dredgers,Floating Othr	76.13
15	3002	Humn,Anml And Othr Bld Fr Mdcnl Use;	74.94

Source: EXIM Bank Databank

Rising value chains between ASEAN and India in recent years, particularly Singapore

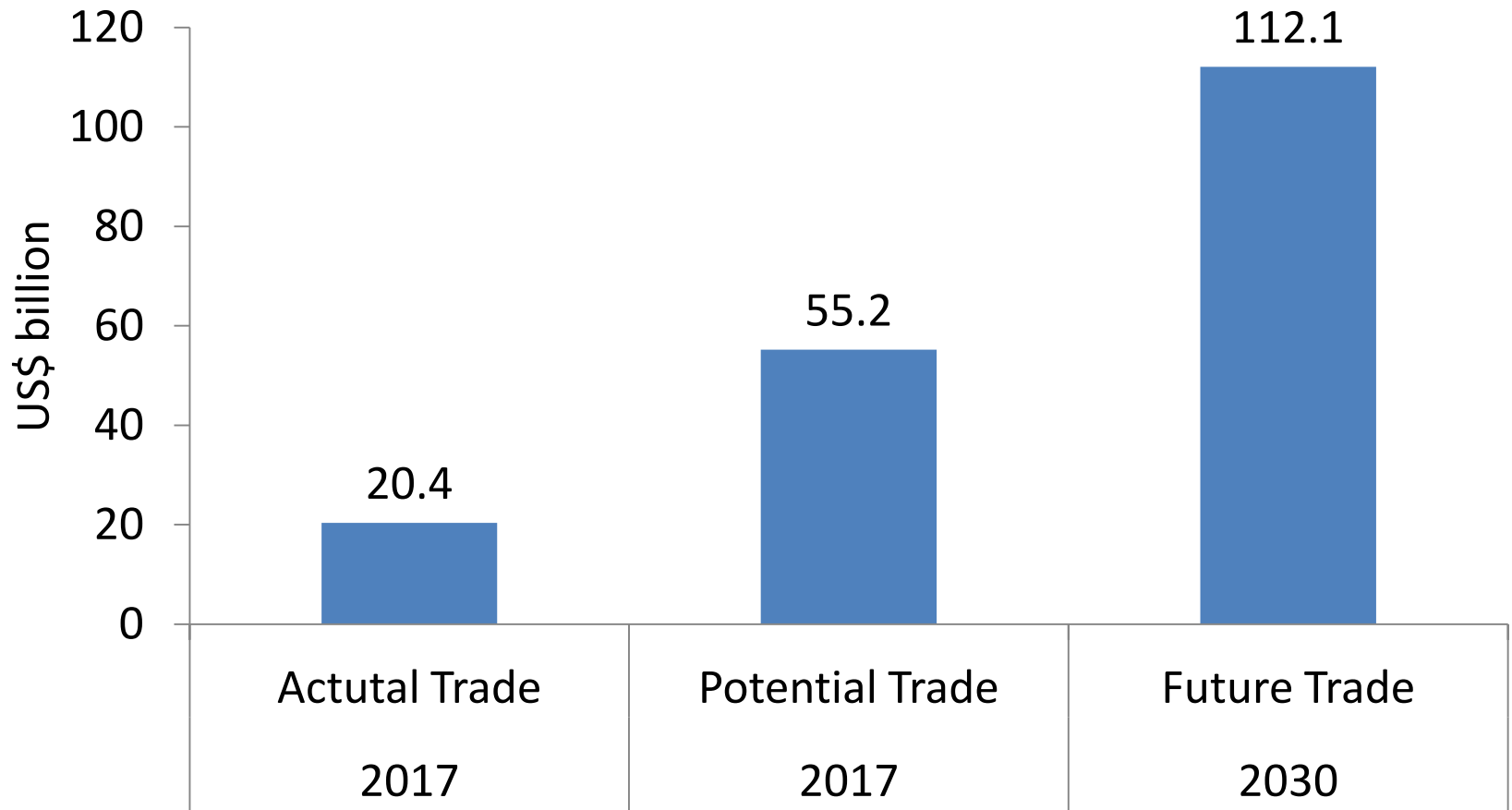
India's Trade in Parts and Components and Processed Goods with ASEAN, 2018

Country/ Region	Export (US\$ million)	Export share* (%)	Import (US\$ million)	Import share* (%)	Total trade (US\$ million)	Total trade share* (%)
Brunei	30.82	0.12	1.78	0.00	32.60	0.05
Cambodia	83.38	0.31	8.26	0.02	91.64	0.14
Indonesia	3290.62	12.32	8803.88	23.53	12094.49	18.86
Lao PDR	19.66	0.07	16.20	0.04	35.86	0.06
Malaysia	5511.36	20.64	6985.80	18.67	12497.16	19.49
Myanmar	813.38	3.05	156.11	0.42	969.49	1.51
Philippines	982.35	3.68	382.65	1.02	1364.99	2.13
Singapore	8557.60	32.05	10078.66	26.94	18636.27	29.07
Thailand	3226.36	12.08	6587.19	17.61	9813.55	15.31
Vietnam	4184.51	15.67	4393.04	11.74	8577.54	13.38

*Share in India's export to, import from and total trade with ASEAN, as applicable

Source: Calculated based on WITS

India has high unrealised trade with Indonesia;
trade potential likely to be US\$ 112.1 billion in 2030



Based on Gravity estimates

Source: Author

Indonesia - an important destination of Indian investments in ASEAN

- Indonesia hosts India's first FDI abroad
- During 2008-2016, India's FDI to Indonesia was US\$ 912 million.
- India's FDI inflow from Indonesia is negligible, except 2010
- Indonesian companies invested in India: Garuda Food (Food Processing); CP Prima (Food Processing); PT Sumber Jaya Mitra (Infrastructure); Bank Indonesia International (Banking); PT Bukaka Teknk Utama (Airport Infrastructure); etc.
- Indian companies invested in Indonesia: Mittal, Tata, Birla, L&T, Essar, Coal India, BHEL, SAIL, a.o

Bilateral FDI Flow

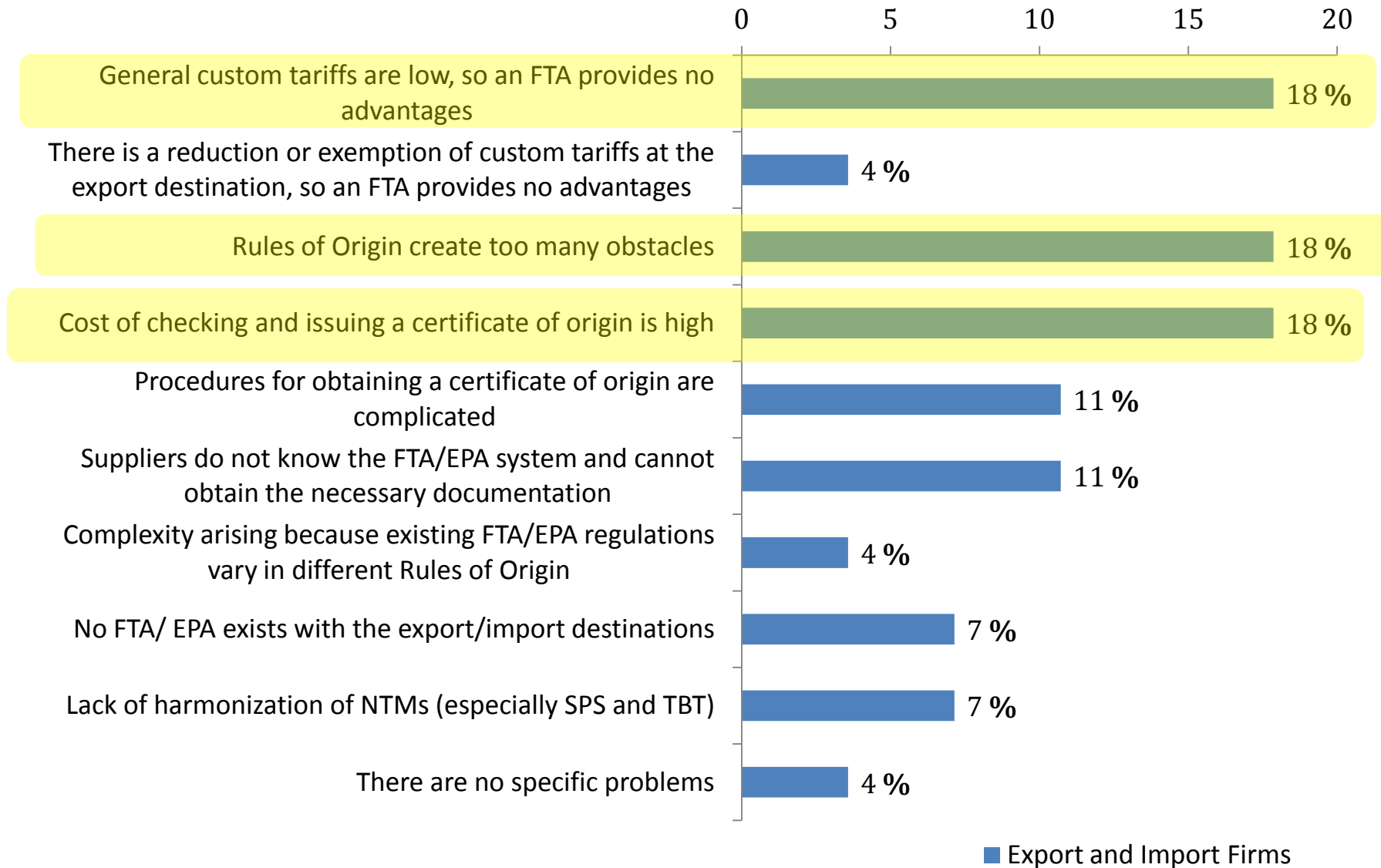
	India's FDI in Indonesia	Indonesia's FDI in India
	(US\$ million)	
2008	40.31	*
2009	55.03	*
2010	257.8	432.58
2011	104.16	0.02
2012	96.23	0.08
2013	47.88	0.04
2014	164.3	9.87
2015	101.9	1.14
2016	43.99	1.62
Total	911.6	445.35

Sources: DIPP and RBI

Rising services and goods trade between India and Indonesia, facing high trade restrictions

- Tourism – Over 500,000 Indians visit Indonesia annually for tourism
- Rising Indian professionals in Indonesia in IT, education, health care, telecom, etc.
- Growing transportation services – shipping and logistics
- High trade barriers - lack of MRA, NTMs, a.o.
- Low/negligible direct air and shipping services – both passenger and cargo
- India is planning impose 5% extra tax (safeguard duty) on vegetable imports from Indonesia and other countries
- Certification of standards delayed by Indonesia authority, affected the shipment of Suzuki cars from India (e.g. Artiga SUV)

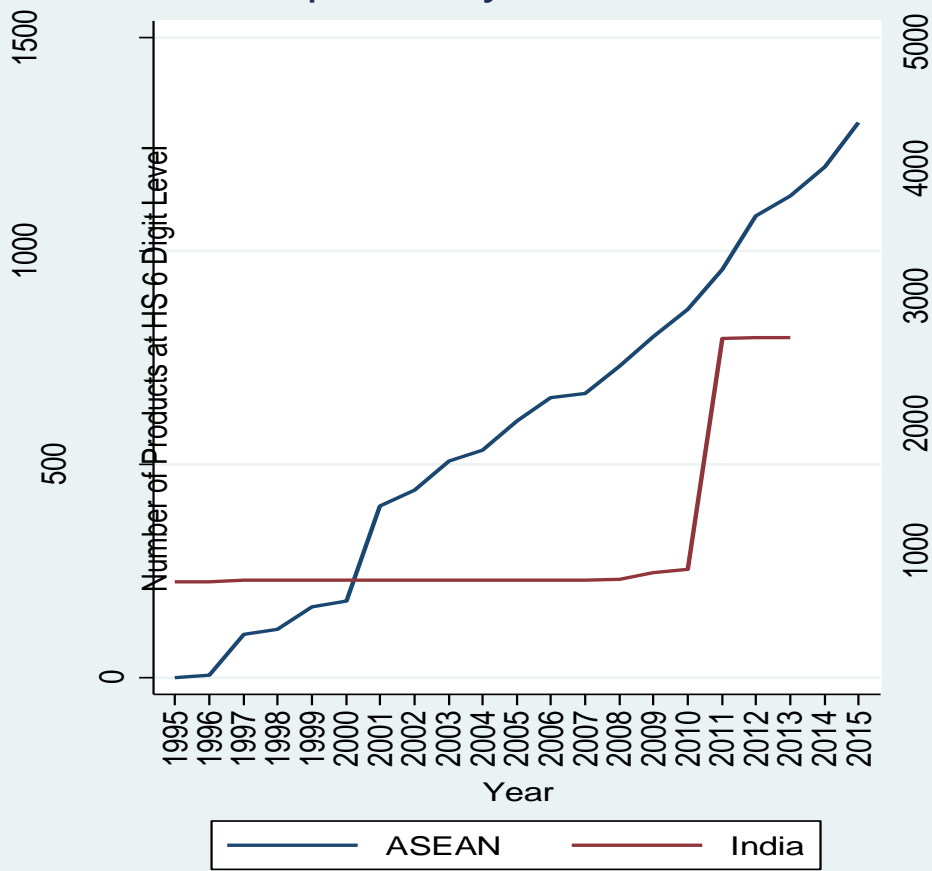
Experiences in utilizing ASEAN-India FTA



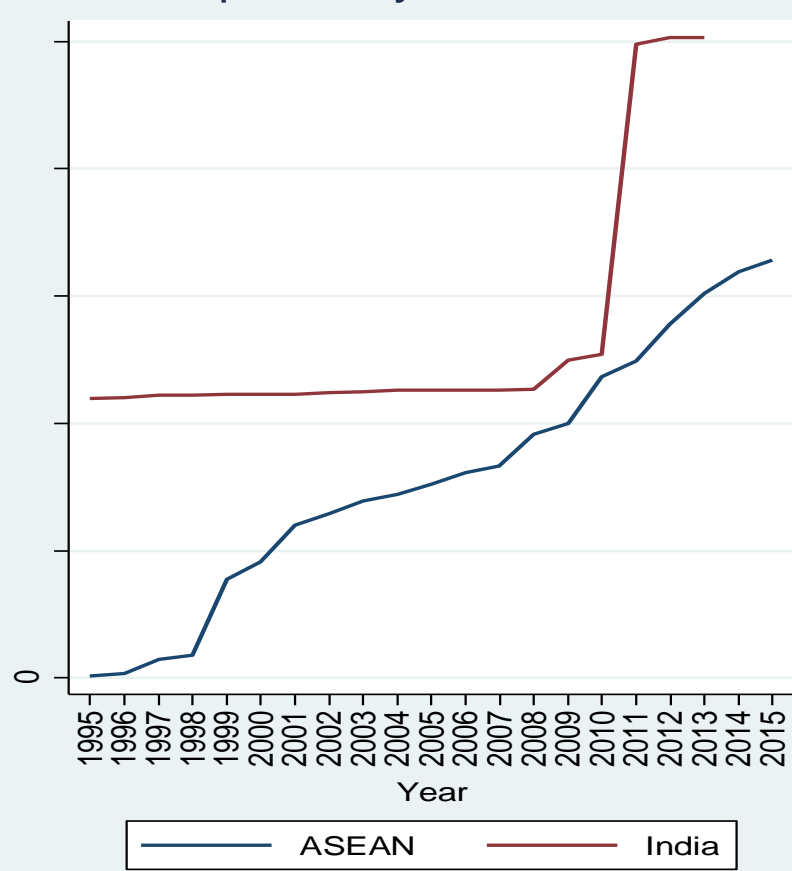
Source: ASEAN-India NTM Report 2019, AIC

Trends of NTMs imposed by ASEAN on India and India on ASEAN (at HS 6-digit level)

SPS Imposed by India and ASEAN



TBT Imposed by India and ASEAN



Source: ASEAN-India NTM Report 2019, AIC

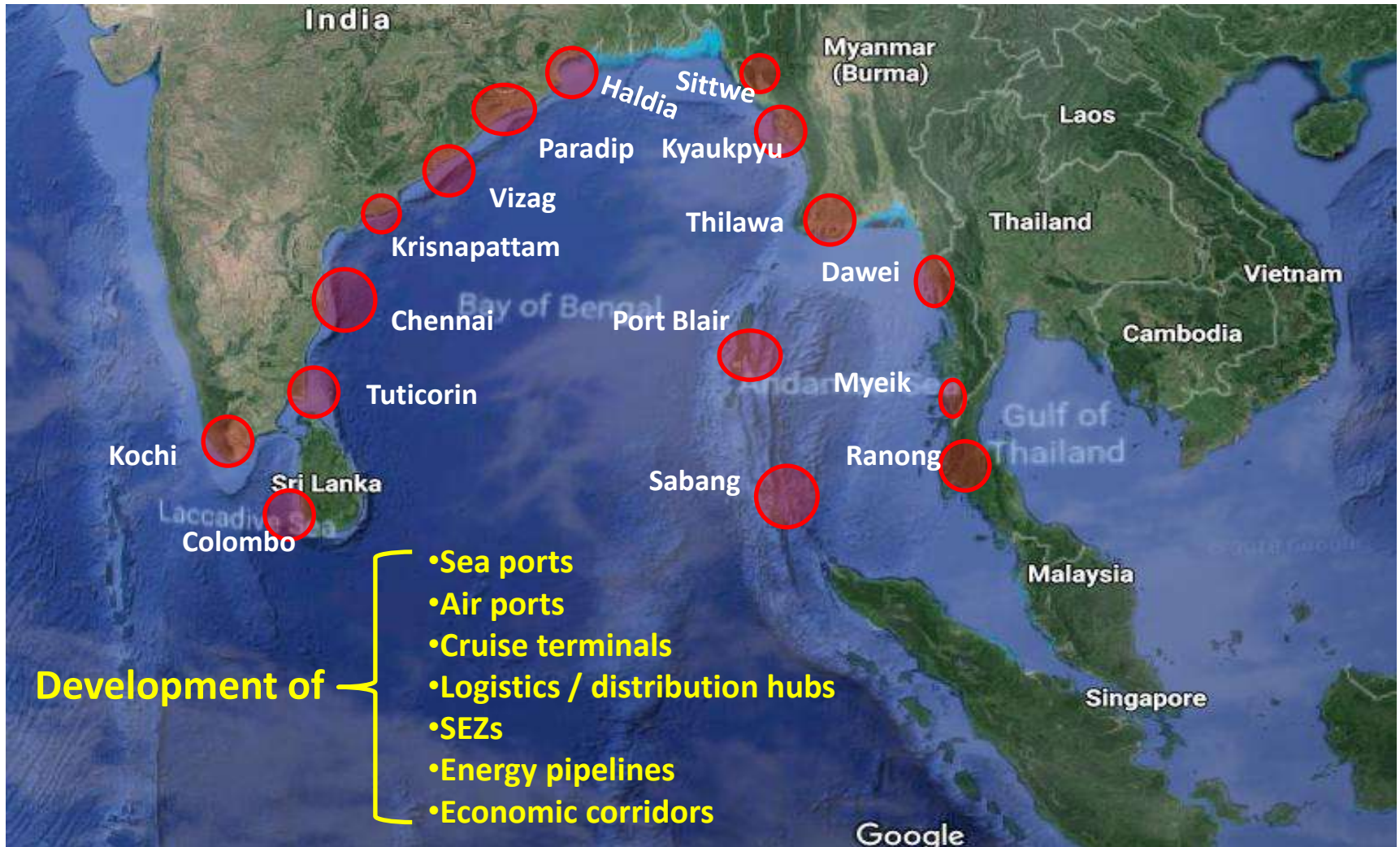
Sector-wise NTMs (at HS 6 Digit Level)

Sector	ASEAN imposing NTMs on India										India imposing NTMs on ASEAN
	Brunei	Indonesia	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Myanmar	Malaysia	Philippines	Singapore	Thailand	Vietnam	
Live Animals											
Vegetable Products											
Fats & Oil											
Processed Food											
Minerals Products											
Chemical Products											
Rubber & Plastic											
Leather Products											
Wood											
Paper											
Textile											
Footwear											
Base Metals											
Machinery & Electrical											
Transport Equipment											

Source: ASEAN-India
NTM Report 2019, AIC

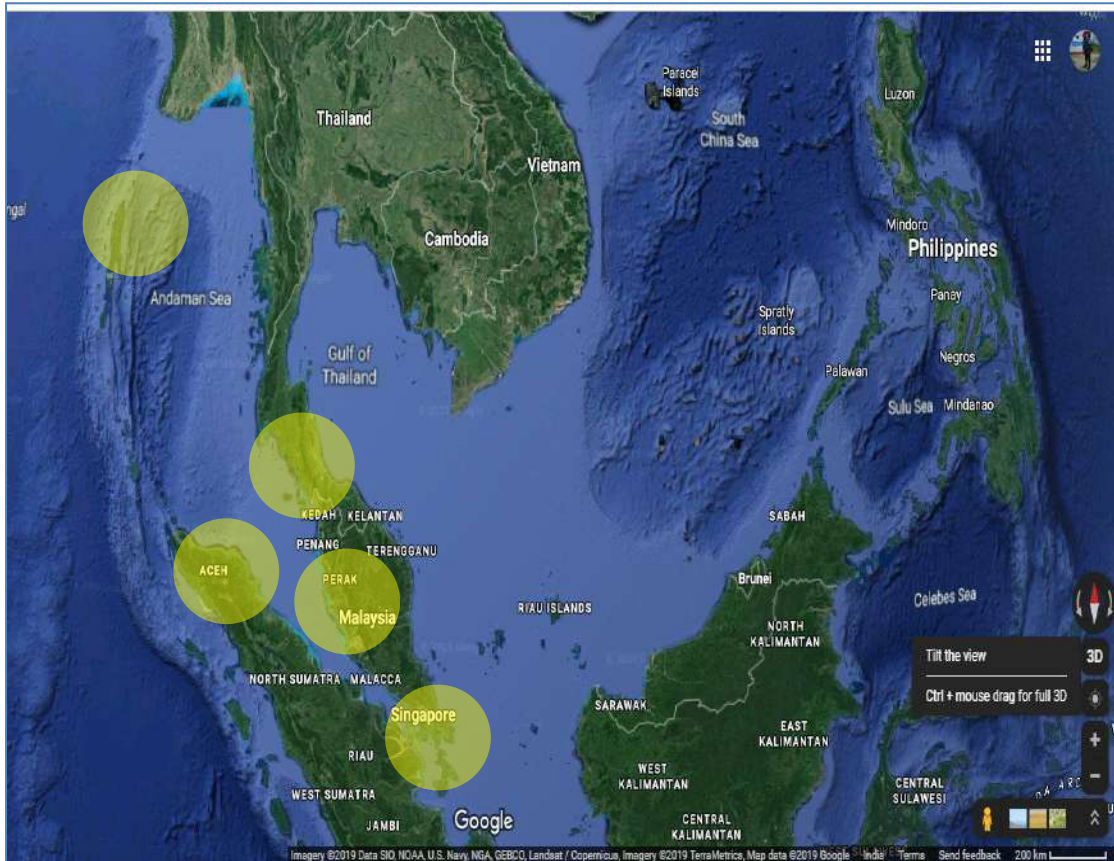
	0 - 75		75 - 150		150 - 300		300 & above
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Bay of Bengal: Most happening place in Asia-Pacific / Indo-Pacific



Source: Prabir De

Unlocking tourism potentials



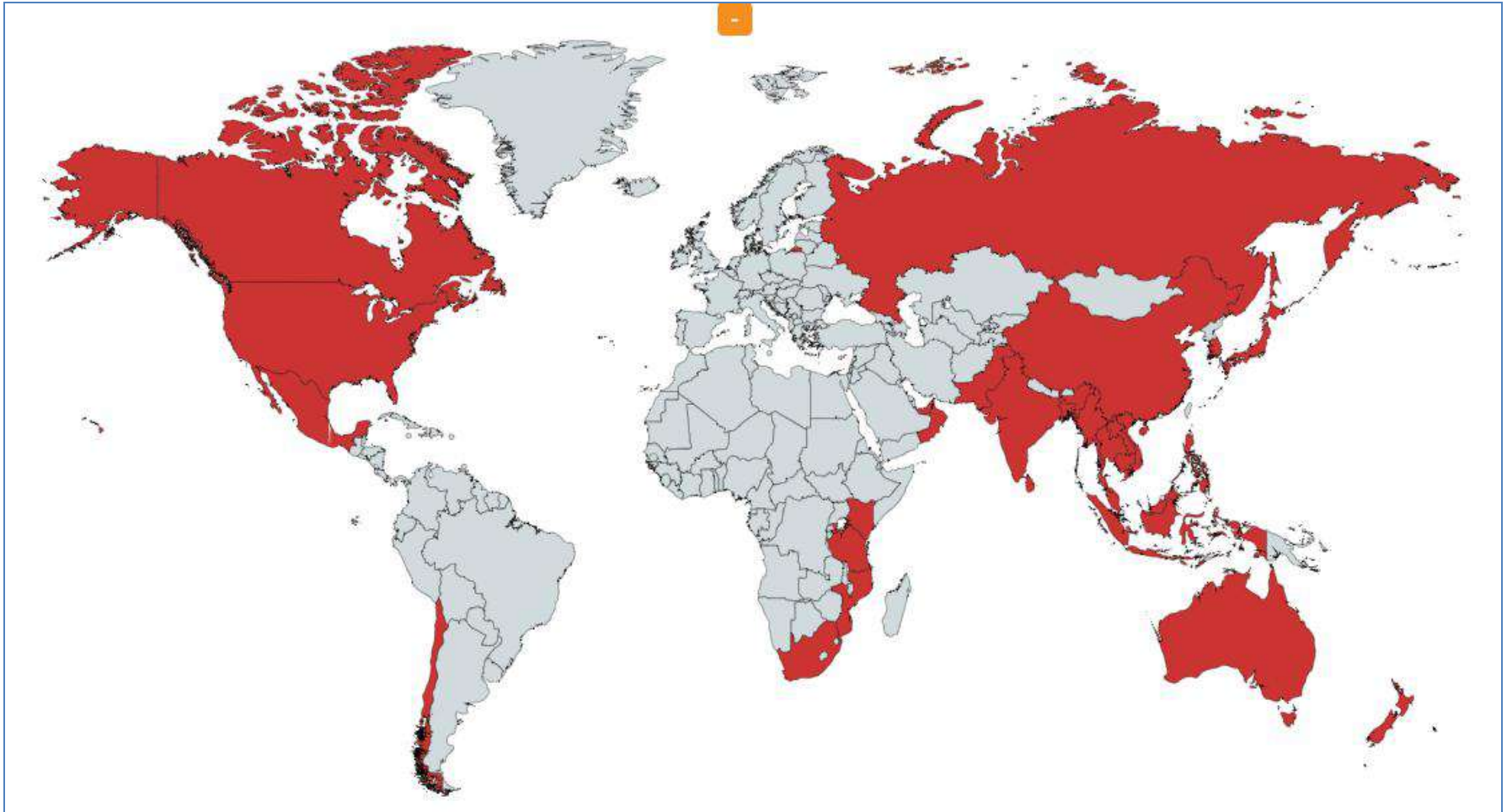
- Opening of flights between Port Blair, Penang, Phuket, Jakarta, Bali, etc.
- Ferry service between Port Blair and Sabang and other parts of Indonesia
- Cruise tourism
- Investment opportunities in RoRo and cruise terminals, hotels, etc

Trilateral Highway



Larger the groups, bigger the welfare

Indo-Pacific



CGE Simulation scenarios

Scenario	Members
Indo-Pacific 1	USA, Japan, India, and Australia FTA
Indo-Pacific 2	Indo-Pacific 1 + South Asia + Southeast Asia
Indo-Pacific 3	CPTPP+ India+ Korea + China
Indo-Pacific 4	Indo-Pacific 1 + ASEAN + New Zealand + Bangladesh + Sri Lanka + Pakistan + China + Korea + Kenya + Oman + Tanzania + Mozambique + South Africa + Mauritius + Russia + Chile + Mexico + Canada

Welfare goes up with Indo-Pacific

A Comparative Welfare Analysis (US\$ Billion)

	Only Tariff Elimination	Tariff Elimination Plus Trade Facilitation
	Indo-Pacific 1	
World	5.174	120.563
Indo-Pacific Members	14.181	217.846
Non-Members	-9.007	-97.282
	Indo-Pacific 2	
World	11.134	285.828
Indo-Pacific Members	26.866	464.807
Non-Members	-15.731	-178.978
	Indo-Pacific 3	
World	18.535	328.95
Indo-Pacific Members	39.615	486.488
Non-Members	-21.079	-157.537
	Indo-Pacific 4	
World	26.104	866.745
Indo-Pacific Members	48.121	1116.814
Non-Members	-22.017	-250.068

Unlocking trade potentials

- Conduct trade in local currency: Rupee – Rupiah trade
- Completion of Bilateral CECA (?)
- Indonesia to implement ASEAN-India services and investment agreement
- Map priorities of different connectivity frameworks; Identify specific areas of cooperation and develop projects for implementation
 - Islands connectivity; tourism, etc.
- Foster dialogues, exchange of good practices, capacity building activities, research / policy studies
- Cooperation between countries in customs: sharing of information; interoperability of customs single windows ; dispute settlement
- Adopt a paperless trading system - Indian offers its success stories
 - Can they sign UNESCAP paperless trade agreement?
- Training and capacity building: Customs IT solution, supply chain
- Activation of TIR systems in India and Indonesia

Unlocking investment potentials

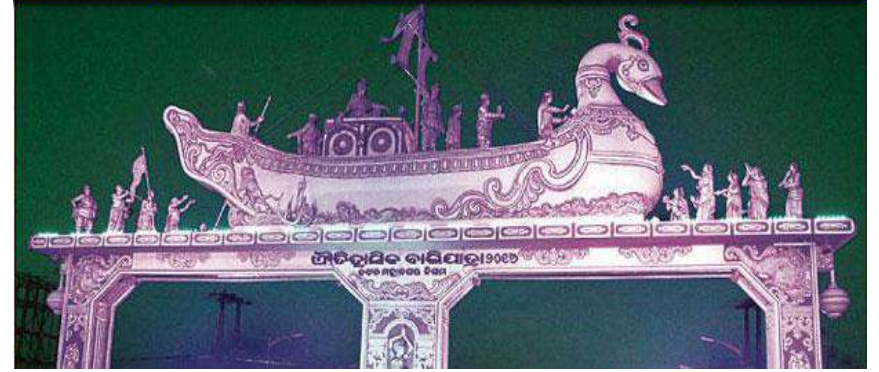
- Identify markets having global and regional value chains potentials
- Activate India-Indonesia CEO Forum and India-Indonesia Infrastructure Forum
- Ratification of ASEAN-India investment agreement in Indonesia
- Promote Indian investment in IT, railways, airports, ports and shipping, outer space, marine utilities, telecom, automobiles, hotels, health services, education, textile, etc. in Indonesia
- Promote Indonesian investment in packaging, food processing, logistics, construction, tourism, etc.
- Faster dispute settlement arrangements
- More trade fairs at state/province level, network between chambers of commerce, information sharing, visits of investors, etc.
- Direct transportation services between the two countries

Concluding Remarks

1. Conduct joint study on 3Cs with particular focus on Bay of Bengal and Indo-Pacific between India and Indonesia
2. Conduct joint projects on Blue economy, FINTEC, Industry 4.0, a.o.
3. Introduce Quick Impact Projects in social sector, tourism, education
4. MRAs between regulatory authorities in goods and services
5. Regular meetings of Working Group on Trade and Investment (WGTI) and Working Group on Trade Facilitation and Resolution (WGTFR)
6. Form an industry group with national chambers on India-Indonesia connectivity
7. India-Indonesia-Japan trilateral dialogue on connectivity in Indo-Pacific (other members may be invited)
8. Indonesia may be inducted as an observer in BIMSTEC
9. Set up Indonesia-India Centre (IIC) at DPG and India-Indonesia Centre (IIC) in CSIS
10. Set-up and activate India-Indonesia Think-Tank Network
11. Involvement of states , provinces and more multi-level dialogues between India and Indonesia
12. Promote B2B cooperation with



ଆଜିଠାରୁ କଟକରେ ଐତିହାସିକ ବାଲିଯାତ୍ରା ଆରମ୍ଭ



Thank you

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Presentation on Trade and Economic Issues – by Biren Nanda Senior Fellow DPG

ASEAN is at the center of the Regional Architecture in East Asia, and Indonesia is at the heart of the ASEAN. Under Prime Minister Modi, India has pursued its “Act East” policy with renewed vigor and has actively sought to strengthen strategic linkages with ASEAN countries. Strengthening our Strategic Partnership with Indonesia is therefore, a key objective of India’s “Act East” policy.

What can we do to strengthen our Strategic Partnership with Indonesia?

Indonesia is already the second largest trading partner of India in the ASEAN. Bilateral Trade has increased from US\$ 6.9 billion in 2007-08 to US\$ 20 billion in 2013-14. It subsequently declined to US \$ 15.9 billion in 2015-16, before recovering to US\$ 21.1 billion in 2018-19. India is the largest buyer of crude palm oil and imports coal, minerals, rubber pulp, paper and hydrocarbons from Indonesia.

India’s Strategic Partnership with Indonesia must, in order to be effective, be underpinned by strong economic relations. We can advance our interests and give further heft to the Strategic Partnership in a number of ways:

First, **High Level Engagement** should remain the most important building block for our economic ties. Strategic communication is the key to success in building a robust economic partnership. We must endeavor to have annual meetings of our leaders, either at bilateral summits or on the sidelines of major multilateral meetings. We must also make strenuous efforts to broaden our engagement at the Ministerial level.

Second, Indonesia is an immediate neighbor and the distance between the Andaman and Nicobar Islands from the northern tip of Sumatra is only 90 nautical miles. This proximity can give rise to opportunities for business potential in shipping, ports, tourism and the development of the blue economy.

Third, Indonesia straddles the most significant Sea-lanes connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The Malacca, Lombok and Sunda straits are vital choke points for global shipping sailing from Asian and African ports to the Far East and the Americas. India too enjoys a strategic location in the Indian Ocean and at the mouth of the Malacca Straits. The two countries could therefore consider working on a freight and logistic corridor that could promote transport efficiencies, security, port development, physical and digital and financial connectivity and industrial growth. We should explore ways in which we can work together to promote regional projects that enhance connectivity and acts as nodes of growth.

Fourth, Indonesia with 250 million people is a pluralistic and democratic country, which believes in the motto “unity amidst diversity”. With the world’s largest Islamic population, it upholds a moderate, tolerant and syncretic vision of Islam. The commitment to democracy and the rule of law that the two countries share creates a favorable environment for businesses in both countries and should provide a conducive environment for growing economic relations.

Fifth, Indonesia is the largest economy in the ASEAN with a GDP exceeding a trillion US dollars (1.002 trillion US dollars) and is on the path of self-sustained growth. The country is enormously rich in natural resources – coal, coking coal, gold, copper and crude oil- and commodities

like palm oil. India has been a major importer of coal and palm oil from Indonesia. There is therefore considerable untapped potential for increase in bilateral trade.

Sixth, Indonesia has been a significant recipient of FDI from India (US \$ 10 billion) and has a growing modern industry producing a range of products from textiles and electronics to automobiles. Indian companies have made Indonesia a major investment destination in a number of industries including steel, textiles, resources, automotive, mining machinery, banking, IT and consumer goods. Indonesian companies have made investments amounting to US \$ 626 million in India since 2000. Based on synergies and complementarities businesses of both countries can explore new opportunities to enhance two-way investment.

Seventh, we must work together to support the East Asian Security Architecture and its economic constructs. The two countries must prioritize their economic ties and approach them from a strategic perspective. We must also be conscious of the reality that political and security issues intersect with the economic pillar of the regional architecture. For example at what point does a fisheries dispute transform into a maritime dispute? What is the impact of the reclamation and occupation of islands in the high seas on rights of access to resources around these features? Can India partner Indonesia in exploiting the potential of marine, hydrocarbon and mineral resources in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea?

Eighth, we should continue to actively support the activities and agenda of the IORA – in particular its economic component. Indonesia and India can work on promoting trade and investment facilitation, fisheries management,

the blue economy and tourism, - all of which have been identified as priority areas by members of the IORA.

Ninth, we must identify common interests and strengthen cooperation in multilateral Forums like the United Nations, its economic agencies and international financial institutions. For example we can continue to work for the reform in the governance structure of international financial institutions.

Tenth, since assuming power in October 2014, President Joko Widodo has carried forward his promise of transforming Indonesia into a “Global Maritime Fulcrum,” a policy designed to strengthen maritime security, expand the canvas of regional diplomacy to cover the entire region of the Indo-Pacific, and project Indonesia as a respected regional maritime power in East Asia. He has assigned high priority to this initiative in recognition of the fact that Indonesia is the world’s largest archipelagic state and must reap the full advantages of being a maritime nation. Seen from an Indonesian perspective, this entails development of maritime infrastructure, inter-island connectivity, building of an indigenous defense industry and upgrading of the Defense Forces – particularly the Navy. These policies open up a new potential for defense industrial and economic cooperation between India and Indonesia.

Eleventh, a major outcome of the Modi - Widodo summit held in Jakarta in May 2018 was the “Shared Vision on Maritime Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific.” This shared vision derives from the synergies between India’s ‘Act East’ policy, India’s vision of SAGAR (ie Security and Growth for all in the Region), and President Widodo’s “Global Maritime Fulcrum” policy. The two sides recognized that both countries are strategically located maritime powers, with India occupying a central position in the Indo-Pacific and

Indonesia acting as the fulcrum connecting the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The two leaders committed themselves to upholding international law, UNCLOS and the freedom of global commons, which are essential for the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity of the region.

India and Indonesia also established a “Joint Task Force” to develop port infrastructure in and around Sabang island, off Sumatra, and agreed to cooperate in building connectivity between India’s Andaman Islands and the Aceh province of Indonesia. The investment in port infrastructure will likely be made by private Indian companies .

Strong economic ties are essential and underpin the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between India and Indonesia. Strengthening economic relations between the two countries was therefore, a major objective of the visit. It was resolved to target a bilateral trade volume of US \$ 50 billion by 2025. Both leaders made a pitch for an increase in two-way investments between the two countries. MOUs were signed to promote bilateral cooperation and opportunities in the pharmaceuticals, healthcare and railway sectors.

Twelfth, efforts must be made to conclude a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement between the two countries. The negotiations on the bilateral CECA between India and Indonesia have stalled. It is important that these negotiations are restarted and are brought to a successful conclusion considering the trade potential between the two countries. There are a range of non tariff barriers faced by exporters in both countries that need to be addressed without further delay. Eliminating these barriers could be a win win situation for both countries. We must also explore ways of

working together and searching for common ground on the RCEP, even though our respective negotiating positions may at present appear to be somewhat distant from each other. On both the bilateral CECA and the RCEP, we must approach the negotiations from a strategic perspective. However, we must call out those countries, which continue to use non-tariff barriers to deny market access. Such behavior distorts international trade and diminishes confidence in trade liberalization.

Thirteen, we need to reenergize and reactivate existing platforms like the Joint Commission, the Trade Ministers Forum and the Energy Forum to kick start the economic dialogue at the strategic level. Similarly we also need to restart the dialogue in other economic areas like agriculture and marine and fisheries.

Fourteen, in the spirit of promoting South-South cooperation in our bilateral interactions we must we must continue to stress Science and Technology cooperation and assistance in human resource development under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program in order to strengthen our respective technical capacities and contribute to our economic development and growth as emerging economies. India for its part is committed to enhancing the Space cooperation between the Indonesia Space Agency LAPAN and ISRO under which India operates two ground Stations in Biak in eastern Indonesia and launches satellites for LAPAN. India has also contributed to capacity building in Indonesia in IT and Vocational Training under the ITEC program.

Last, there are **many common challenges** where we need to create habits of working together because by their very nature these cannot be tackled by one country. As two of the largest countries in Asia with a shared

civilizational heritage, India and Indonesia have a special responsibility to take the lead and show the way. Global Financial Governance, Global warming and the management of natural disasters are three areas where we can coordinate positions, exchange information on policy initiatives, and learn from each other's best practices.

India and Indonesia can work together for the realization of the core objectives of emerging economies in the G20 including: (1) global economic growth and stability, (2) stable financial markets and global trading regimes, (3) employment generation, (4) the creation of next generation infrastructure (including digital infrastructure), (5) ensuring access to clean and affordable energy and (6) cooperation against black money.

Bio Profiles



Embassy of the Republic
of Indonesia

Roundtable Discussion on India-Indonesia Relations: Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the Establishment of Full Diplomatic Ties

August 27, 2019

Profile*



Ambassador Hemant Krishan Singh, Director General, DPG

Ambassador Hemant Krishan Singh served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1974-2010 and is a distinguished former career diplomat with extensive experience of geo-strategic and geo-economic issues as well as multilateral institutions which underpin international law and commerce.

He has been India's longest serving Ambassador to Japan (2006-2010), Ambassador to Indonesia and Timor Leste (2003-2006), Ambassador to Colombia, Ecuador and Costa Rica (1999-2002), and India's Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN in Geneva (1995-1999). He has held several significant assignments during his career, dealing with the United States, West Europe and the European Union and India's immediate neighbours. Ambassador Singh has contributed to the forging of the India-Japan strategic and global partnership, the intensification of India's relations with Indonesia and ASEAN, the evolution of India's revitalised Look East Policy and the shaping of India's policy towards key neighbours and strategic partners.

From 2011-2016, Ambassador Singh was Professor for Strategic Studies at ICRIER, a leading think tank in New Delhi. In June 2016, Ambassador Singh assumed responsibilities as Director General, Delhi Policy Group, which is among India's oldest independent think tanks focused on strategic issues of critical national interest. He has been associated with several public policy initiatives and Track II / Track 1.5 strategic dialogues involving major think tanks of India, US, Russia, Japan and Asia. He has written and worked extensively on the ongoing transformation of India's foreign policy and relations with the United States and Japan and their growing convergences in shaping Asia's emerging economic and security architecture.

An alumnus of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, where he studied (1967-72) and later taught (1972-74), Ambassador Singh holds an M.A. degree from the University of Delhi. His varied interests include civilisation and culture, the natural environment and sports.

*Arranged according to the speaking order in each session



H.E. Sidharto Suryodipuro, Ambassador of Indonesia to India

Sidharto Suryodipuro presented his credentials to the President of India, the Honourable Mr. Ram Nath Kovind, on 23rd August 2017. He was sworn in by President Joko Widodo as Indonesia's ambassador to India on 18 May 2017.

Prior to that, he served as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of Indonesia in Washington DC between 2014 and 2017.

As Director for Intra-Regional Cooperation in Asia Pacific and Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2010-14), he managed the policy development and implementation of Indonesia's participation in or engagement with regional organizations in Asia Pacific and Africa and the Indian and Pacific Oceans, on a broad range of political, economic and development issues. These organizations included Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Pacific Islands Forum, Pacific Islands Development Forum, Melanesian Spearhead Group, Indian Ocean Rim Association, Asia-Africa, Asia Middle East Dialogue, Asian Cooperation Dialogue, and Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

As Deputy Senior Official of Indonesia in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), he led the team in 2014 that laid the foundation for Indonesia's strategy for and chairmanship of the Association in 2015-17.

During Indonesia's APEC host year in 2013, he helped direct policy development of APEC Indonesia 2013 and chaired APEC's drafting of the Bali Summit outcome documents.

His other overseas assignment included Indonesia's Mission to the United Nations in New York in 1996-2000 and during Indonesia's term in the UN Security Council in 2007-08. Another overseas assignment was to Indonesia's Embassy in Canberra, where he was charged with bilateral economic and development matters (2004-06).

In the period between 2000 and 2004, Suryodipuro managed the desk and then sub-directorate of ASEAN political-security issues. His paper/article, "ASEAN: The Challenge of Integration,

Cohesion, and Maritime Cooperation" (The Indonesian Quarterly, 2002), contributed to the conceptual framework for Indonesia to pursue an ASEAN maritime agenda, including the establishment of the ASEAN Maritime Forum.

Earlier, in 1993-1996, he served in the Office of the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, including as assistant to the Head of the Office of the Chairman of NAM.

He studied International Relations at Universitas Parahyangan in Bandung (1991) and USChina relations at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey (with distinction, 2003). He was awarded the Fulbright Scholarship in 2002.

He is married to Dewi Ratna Suryodipuro and they are blessed with three sons (Rimba, 22, Samudera, 21, and Ray, 12).



H.E. Vijay Thakur Singh, Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs

Ambassador Vijay Thakur Singh is the Secretary (East) for the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. She has had a distinguished career in the foreign service since she joined it in the year 1985. She has previously been the Heads of Mission in Ireland (2016-18) and Singapore (2013-16). She has been the Deputy Chief of Mission for India in Spain (2006-07).

She has held positions as the Joint Secretary of the National Security Council Secretariat (2012-13) as well as the Joint Secretary cum Social Secretary to the President of India (2007-12). She has a Masters in Economics.



**RADM Dr. Amarulla Octavian, ST, MSC, DESD
Commander, Indonesia Naval Command and Staff College**

Amarulla Octavian was born in Surabaya on October 24, 1965. He is married and has three sons. He graduated from Naval Academy in 1988 and was an assigned onboard destroyer and frigates until 2002. He commanded KRI Tjiptadi (KK-881) in 2003 and KRI Karel Satsuitubun (FGD-356) in 2006. His other important afloat assignments include the appointment of Commander, 2nd Division Escorta Squadron and Commander, Fast Patrol Boat Squadron, Eastern Fleet Command in 2007.

Completing on the job training onboard French Helicopter Carrier Jeanne d'arc in 1991-92, he has specialized in Anti-Submarine Warfare Course in 1993. He has attended the Royal Australian Navy Maritime Studies Period in 1995, and Good Governance and Conflict Training Course in Den Haag in 2002. He has also passed Naval Command and Staff College in 2003 and College Interarmees de Defense in French in 2006. He is the alumni of Combined Force Maritime Component Commander Flag Officer Course in 2014 and Transnational Security Cooperation Course in 2017 – both in Hawaii, USA.

Ashore, he has been the Commander, Centre for Maritime Operations Training, Eastern Fleet Training Command in 2003, Commander, Sangatta Naval Base in 2004 and Aide-de-Camp to the sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2009-12. After promotion to the Flag

Rank he has been Commander, Sea Battle Group, Western Fleet Command in 2013, Chief of Staff, Western Fleet Command in 2014, and Dean of Defense Management Faculty, Indonesia Defense University in 2016 prior to his current position.

He is the professor and researcher for the Indonesia Defense University. He is also a lecturer for Indonesia Air Force Staff and Command College, Indonesia Joint Staff and Command College and University of Indonesia. He is a visiting professor for Naval Postgraduates School in 2016, Japan National Defense Academy in 2017, Rumania “Carol I” National Defence University in 2017 and PLA National Defence University in 2018.

He regularly gives presentation and speeches in a number of national and international symposiums, workshops, seminars and working groups. He is the chairman of the 2017 and 2018 Indonesia International Defense Science Seminar. He holds a bachelor degree from Indonesia Naval Technology College in 2001, Master of Science degree from Universite Paris 2 Pantheon-Assas in 2006 and doctorate degree on military sociology from Indonesia University in 2013. Rear Admiral Octavian was awarded 7 stars and 11 medals of honour. He is the author of several articles, books, and international journals.



Amb. Sudhir T. Devare, Former Ambassador of India to Indonesia

Ambassador Sudhir Devare served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1964–2001. He retired in 2001 as the Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. As a Secretary, Amb. Devare was closely associated with the evolution and the implementation of India’s ‘Look East’ policy. He has served as a Member in the National Security Advisory Board from 2001 to 2003 and was the Director General of ICWA from 2009-12. Currently, he is the Chairman of Research Advisory Council at the RIS.

He has been the Ambassador of India to South Korea (1985-89), first Ambassador to Ukraine with concurrent accreditation to Georgia and Armenia (1992-94) and Ambassador to Indonesia (1994-98). He has also served as the Joint Secretary (Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Myanmar) from 1980-82 and has served in India’s missions abroad in Moscow, Washington and Sikkim.

Amb. Devare has a long list of publications which includes a book titled, ‘India and Southeast Asia: Towards a Security Convergence’ published in 2006.



Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Ph.D., Research Professor, Research Center for Politics-Indonesian Institute of Sciences (P2P-LIPI), The Habibie Center

Dewi Fortuna Anwar straddles the world of academia, political activism and government. She is a Research Professor at the Center for Political Studies-Indonesian Institute of Sciences (P2PLIPI), and Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of The Habibie Center (THC) based in Jakarta. Dewi was the Kippenberger Visiting Chair at the Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand from 1 October to 30 November, 2018 and a Distinguished Visiting Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore from 1 August 2017 to 31 July 2018. From 2010 to 2017 Dewi served as a Deputy Secretary to the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia (For Political Affairs, October 2010-May 2015; For Government Policy Support, May 2010-February 2017). Dewi was Deputy Chairman for Social Sciences and Humanities-LIPI from 2001 to 2010, and Chairman of the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights-THC from 2010 to 2018. She served as Assistant Minister of State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in 1998-99 during the Habibie Presidency. Dewi was a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at CSEAS, Kyoto University in 2010 and a Distinguished Visiting Professor at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University in 2007. She is a member of the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (AIPI) since 2015. She has written widely on Indonesia's democratization, foreign policy, as well as on ASEAN regional political and security issues. Dewi sits and has sat in a number of national and international advisory boards. She is currently a member of the Governing Board of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and a Board Member of Shift Project based in New York. She served as a member of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission (WMDC) in 2004-2008, and a member of the UN Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in 2008-2012. Dewi was an APSA Congressional Fellow at the U.S. Congress in 1990/1991. She obtained her PhD from Monash University, Melbourne in 1990, while her M.A. and B.A. (Hons) were from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London in 1982 and 1981 respectively.



Cmde. Lalit Kapur (Retd.), Senior Fellow, DPG

An alumnus of the Doon School, Dehradun and the National Defence Academy, Cmde Lalit Kapur is a veteran with over 35 years of commissioned service in the Indian Navy. He has served on a wide variety of Western and Russian origin ships, been a member of the Fifth Indian Scientific Expedition to Antarctica (during which he pioneered a technique for survey of the Ice Shelf in the vicinity of Dakshin Gangotri); been India Defence Attaché at Muscat 1999-2002 and held a wide variety of seagoing assignments. He has served in the Defence Intelligence Agency as its first Deputy Assistant Chief of Integrated Defence Staff (Defence Protocol and Foreign Liaison), where he was responsible for overseeing all foreign defence representatives in India, all Indian defence representatives abroad and military intelligence cooperation with friendly foreign countries; the Strategic Forces Command where he was responsible for strategic communications and the sea vector, and at Headquarters Offshore Defence Advisory Group, Mumbai, where he was responsible for all its operations. He has over 12 years of tri-service experience, 8 years of diplomatic experience and has achieved a 'Distinguished' grading in every course he has attended since 1980. The Commodore holds a Bachelors Degree in Science from Jawaharlal Nehru University as well as two Masters Degrees (both with Distinction); one in Defence Studies from Madras University and the other in Management Studies from Osmania University. He also holds an M Phil degree from Mumbai University. A prolific reader, his interests include International Relations, human resource development and military history. He writes professionally and has numerous published articles to his credit.



Prof. Shankari Sundararaman, Professor, JNU, New Delhi

Professor Shankari Sundararaman is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and current Chairperson at the Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. She joined the Jawaharlal Nehru University in 2003. Prior to this she worked as a Research Officer and Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) from 1996 to 2003. She was a Visiting Fellow at the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy (APCD) at the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra from May to July 2005, where she worked on the trilateral relations between India, Indonesia and Australia. She was also a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta in 2006-2007, as a recipient of the ASIA Fellows award, funded by the Ford Foundation. Professor Sundararaman has also been part of several track II initiatives with Southeast Asia and Australia. She has several publications in journal articles, chapters in books as well as a book titled Cambodia: The Lost Decades.



Siswo Pramono, Head/Director General of Policy Development and Analysis Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia

Dr. Siswo Pramono, LL.M. is the Director General/Head of The Policy Development and Analysis Agency, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. He attained Ph.D degree from the Australian National University, and LL.M degree from Monash University, Australia. Dr. Pramono completed his professional diplomatic training in the diplomatic schools of Indonesian Foreign Ministry, Jakarta, and Clingendael Institute of International Relations, The Netherlands. As a career diplomat, he served in various Indonesian diplomatic missions abroad, including The Indonesian Embassies in The Netherlands and Germany.



Dr. A Didar Singh, Senior Fellow, DPG

Dr. Alwyn Didar Singh, author and former civil servant (IAS from 1976 - 2011) served as Secretary to Government of India (2009-11) and was Secretary General (2012-17) of India's largest apex business chamber, FICCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry). He is associated with DPG as Senior Fellow, Delhi Policy Group (DPG) from March 2018.

Dr. Singh has been a member of the Global Agenda Council on Migration (2011-15) of the World Economic Forum (WEF). He also served as a Member on the India-Indonesia Eminent Persons Group (EPG) nominated by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India (2016-17). Dr Singh functions as Chair of the Diaspora group of KNOMAD (Knowledge Network on Migration), World Bank and in 2017 was named as Global Fellow at IC2 Institute of the University of Texas at Austin, USA. He has served on the International Working Group on Financing Pandemics Preparedness (IWG) established by the World Bank and is presently member of the ILOs 'Global Commission on the Future of Work'.

Dr Singh has been conferred an Award for his service to the Indian Diaspora by GOPIO International (Global Organization of People of Indian Origin). He was named as Distinguished Alumnus of St. Stephen's College in 2012 and in July 2014 was awarded an Honorary Doctorate (DUniv) by the University of Birmingham, UK.

Dr. Singh is an expert in e-Commerce, Trade and Migration issues and has authored several studies for international agencies, including the World Bank, International Trade Centre, World Health Organization, and South Centre, Geneva as well as the Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

Dr. Singh holds a Bachelors and a Masters from St. Stephens College, University of Delhi; a Masters in Development Administration from

Birmingham University, UK; and a PhD on the Policy and Administration of e-Commerce (Panjab University, 2006). Dr. Singh has authored four books and several publications and has delivered talks and lectures at over 30 Institutions and countries around the world.



Dr. Prabir De, Professor, Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi

Dr. Prabir De is a Professor at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), New Delhi, and also Head of the ASEAN-India Centre (AIC), RIS. Dr De works in the field of international economics and has research interests in international trade and development. He was a Visiting Fellow of the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE-JETRO), Japan; Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), Tokyo; and Visiting Senior Fellow of United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), Bangkok. He has been conducting policy research for the Government of India and several national and international organisations. Dr. De has a Ph.D. in Economics from the Jadavpur University, Kolkata. He has contributed several research papers in international journals and written books on trade and development. His recent edited books include *Celebrating the Third Decade and Beyond: New Challenges to ASEAN – India Economic Partnership* (Routledge, 2018); *Myanmar's Integration with the World: Challenges and Policy Options* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); and *Twenty Years of BIMSTEC: Promoting Regional Cooperation and Integration in the Bay of Bengal Region* (BIMSTEC Secretariat, 2018). He is also Editor of *South Asia Economic Journal* and the Founding Editor of the *Journal of Asian Economic Integration*, both published by Sage.



Ambassador Biren Nanda, Senior Fellow, DPG

Ambassador Biren Nanda served in the Indian Foreign Service from 1978 to 2015 and is a distinguished former career diplomat with extensive experience of working in East Asia.

He has been India's High Commissioner to Australia (2012-2015); Ambassador to Indonesia, Timor Leste and the ASEAN (2008-12); India's Deputy Chief of Mission in Tokyo (2000-2004) and Consul General in Shanghai (1996-2000). Ambassador Nanda has also served in Indian Missions in Beijing, Washington DC and Singapore. He spent a total of ten years in China during his three terms as a diplomat in that country. His entire career as a diplomat was spent in East Asia with the sole exception of his Washington posting.

During 2004-2008 Ambassador Nanda was posted in the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi as Joint Secretary (South) and was responsible for India's relations with Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

Ambassador Nanda contributed to the strengthening of the strategic partnership between India and Indonesia, the strengthening and diversification of India's relations with Australia and helped reinvigorate India's Look East Policy and the intensification of India's ties with ASEAN and Pacific countries.

Ambassador Nanda retired from the Indian Foreign Service in January 2015. He has since participated in a number of Track 2 dialogues involving major Think Tanks of Japan, Australia and China.

In July 2016, he joined the Delhi Policy Group as a Senior Fellow. The Delhi Policy Group is amongst India's oldest independent think tanks focused on strategic issues of critical national interest.

He is currently the co-Chair of the India-Indonesia Eminent Persons Group which is to draw up a Vision Statement 2025 for the Strategic Partnership between the two countries.

An alumnus of the St Stephen's College, New Delhi, (1971-74) Ambassador Nanda holds an MA degree from the Delhi School of Economics (1974-76). His interests include travel, listening to Indian Classical Music and reading.

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