

CASS SERIES: NAVAL POLICY AND HISTORY

India's Naval Strategy and Asian Security

Edited by Anit Mukherjee
and C. Raja Mohan



India's Naval Strategy and Asian Security

**Edited by Anit Mukherjee and
C. Raja Mohan**

First published 2016
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2016 selection and editorial matter, Anit Mukherjee and C. Raja Mohan; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial matter, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mukherjee, Anit, 1972– editor. | Raja Mohan, C., editor.

Title: India's naval strategy and Asian security / edited by

Anit Mukherjee and C. Raja Mohan.

Description: New York, NY : Routledge, 2016. | Series: Cass series—naval policy and history | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2015023556 | ISBN 9781138950917 (hardback)

| ISBN 9781315668512 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: India. Indian Navy. | Sea-power—India. | India—Military policy. | National security—Indian Ocean Region. | Indian

Ocean—Strategic aspects. | Naval strategy.

Classification: LCC VA643 .I57 2016 | DDC 359/.030954—dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015023556>

ISBN: 978-1-138-95091-7 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-66851-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Baskerville

by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear

India's Naval Strategy and Asian Security

This book examines India's naval strategy within the context of Asian regional security.

Amidst the intensifying geopolitical contestation in the waters of Asia, this book investigates the growing strategic salience of the Indian Navy. Delhi's expanding economic and military strength has generated a widespread debate on India's prospects for shaping the balance of power in Asia. This volume provides much needed texture to the abstract debate on India's rise by focusing on the changing nature of India's maritime orientation, the recent evolution of its naval strategy and its emerging defence diplomacy. In tracing the drift of the Navy from the margins of Delhi's national security consciousness to a central position, analysing the tension between its maritime possibilities and the continentalist mindset, and in examining the gap between the growing external demands for its security contributions and internal ambivalence, this volume offers rare insights into India's strategic direction at a critical moment in the nation's evolution. By examining the internal and external dimensions of the Indian naval future, both of which are in dynamic flux, the essays here help a deeper understanding of India's changing international possibilities and its impact on Asian and global security.

This book will be of much interest to students of naval strategy, Asian politics, security studies and IR in general.

Anit Mukherjee is an Assistant Professor in the South Asia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

C. Raja Mohan is a Distinguished Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, India, and leads the Strategic Studies Initiative of the Foundation. He has published several books, including *Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific* (2013).

Cass Series: Naval Policy and History

Series Editor: Geoffrey Till

ISSN 1366-9478

This series consists primarily of original manuscripts by research scholars in the general area of naval policy and history, without national or chronological limitations. It will from time to time also include collections of important articles as well as reprints of classic works.

- 1 Austro-Hungarian Naval Policy, 1904-1914**
Milan N. Vego
- 2 Far-Flung Lines**
Studies in Imperial
Defence in Honour of
Donald Mackenzie Schurman
*Edited by Keith Neilson and
Greg Kennedy*
- 3 Maritime Strategy and
Continental Wars**
Rear Admiral Raja Menon
- 4 The Royal Navy and German
Naval Disarmament 1942-1947**
Chris Madsen
- 5 Naval Strategy and Operations
in Narrow Seas**
Milan N. Vego
- 6 The Pen and Ink Sailor**
Charles Middleton and the
King's Navy, 1778-1813
John E. Talbott
- 7 The Italian Navy and Fascist
Expansionism, 1935-1940**
Robert Mallett
- 8 The Merchant Marine
and International Affairs,
1850-1950**
Edited by Greg Kennedy
- 9 Naval Strategy in Northeast Asia**
Geo-strategic Goals, Policies
and Prospects
Duk-Ki Kim
- 10 Naval Policy and Strategy in the
Mediterranean Sea**
Past, Present and Future
Edited by John B. Hattendorf
- 11 Stalin's Ocean-going Fleet**
Soviet Naval Strategy and
Shipbuilding Programmes,
1935-1953
*Jürgen Rohwer and
Mikhail S. Monakov*
- 12 Imperial Defence, 1868-1887**
*Donald Mackenzie Schurman;
edited by John Beeler*

- 13 **Technology and Naval Combat in the Twentieth Century and Beyond**
Edited by Phillips Payson O'Brien
- 14 **The Royal Navy and Nuclear Weapons**
Richard Moore
- 15 **The Royal Navy and the Capital Ship in the Interwar Period**
An Operational Perspective
Joseph Moretz
- 16 **Chinese Grand Strategy and Maritime Power**
Thomas M. Kane
- 17 **Britain's Anti-submarine Capability, 1919–1939**
George Franklin
- 18 **Britain, France and the Naval Arms Trade in the Baltic, 1919–1939**
Grand Strategy and Failure
Donald Stoker
- 19 **Naval Mutinies of the Twentieth Century**
An International Perspective
Edited by Christopher Bell and Bruce Elleman
- 20 **The Road to Oran**
Anglo-French Naval Relations, September 1939–July 1940
David Brown
- 21 **The Secret War against Sweden**
US and British Submarine Deception and Political Control in the 1980s
Ola Tunander
- 22 **Royal Navy Strategy in the Far East, 1919–1939**
Planning for a War against Japan
Andrew Field
- 23 **Seapower**
A Guide for the Twenty-first Century
Geoffrey Till
- 24 **Britain's Economic Blockade of Germany, 1914–1919**
Eric W. Osborne
- 25 **A Life of Admiral of the Fleet Andrew Cunningham**
A Twentieth-Century Naval Leader
Michael Simpson
- 26 **Navies in Northern Waters, 1721–2000**
Edited by Rolf Hobson and Tom Kristiansen
- 27 **German Naval Strategy, 1856–1888**
Forerunners to Tirpitz
David Olivier
- 28 **British Naval Strategy East of Suez, 1900–2000**
Influences and Actions
Edited by Greg Kennedy
- 29 **The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Navy in the Baltic, 1921–1940**
Gunnar Aselius
- 30 **The Royal Navy, 1930–1990**
Innovation and Defence
Edited by Richard Harding
- 31 **The Royal Navy and Maritime Power in the Twentieth Century**
Edited by Ian Speller

- 32 Dreadnought Gunnery and the Battle of Jutland**
The Question of Fire Control
John Brooks
- 33 Greek Naval Strategy and Policy, 1910–1919**
Zisis Fotakis
- 34 Naval Blockades and Seapower**
Strategies and Counter-Strategies, 1805–2005
Edited by Bruce A. Elleman and Sarah C.M. Paine
- 35 The Pacific Campaign in World War II**
From Pearl Harbor to Guadalcanal
William Bruce Johnson
- 36 Anti-Submarine Warfare in World War I**
British Naval Aviation and the Defeat of the U-Boats
John J. Abbatiello
- 37 The Royal Navy and Anti-Submarine Warfare, 1944–49**
Malcolm Llewellyn-Jones
- 38 The Development of British Naval Thinking**
Essays in Memory of Bryan Ranft
Edited by Geoffrey Till
- 39 Educating the Royal Navy**
Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Education for Officers
H.W. Dickinson
- 40 Chinese Naval Strategy in the 21st Century**
The Turn to Mahan
James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara
- 41 Naval Coalition Warfare**
From the Napoleonic War to Operation Iraqi Freedom
Edited by Bruce A. Elleman and S.C.M. Paine
- 42 Operational Warfare at Sea**
Theory and Practice
Milan Vego
- 43 Naval Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Operations**
Stability from the Sea
Edited by James J. Wirtz and Jeffrey A. Larsen
- 44 Indian Naval Strategy in the 21st Century**
James R. Holmes, Andrew C. Winner and Toshi Yoshihara
- 45 Seapower**
A Guide for the Twenty-First Century (Second Edition)
Geoffrey Till
- 46 Naval Power and Expeditionary Warfare**
Peripheral Campaigns and New Theatres of Naval Warfare
Edited by Bruce Elleman and S.C.M. Paine
- 47 Sea Power and the Asia-Pacific**
The Triumph of Neptune
Edited by Geoffrey Till and Patrick Bratton
- 48 Maritime Private Security**
Market Responses to Piracy, Terrorism and Waterborne Security Risks in the 21st Century
Edited by Claude Berube and Patrick Cullen

- 49 Twenty-First Century Seapower**
Cooperation and Conflict at
Sea
*Edited by Peter Dutton,
Robert S. Ross and Øystein Tunsjø*
- 50 Navies of South-East Asia**
A Comparative Study
James Goldrick and Jack McCaffrie
- 51 Seapower**
A Guide for the Twenty-First
Century (Third Edition)
Geoffrey Till
- 52 Naval Modernisation in South-
East Asia**
Nature, Causes and
Consequences
*Edited by Geoffrey Till and
Jane Chan*
- 53 Empire, Technology and
Seapower**
Royal Navy Crisis in the Age of
Palmerston
Howard J. Fuller
- 54 Maritime Diplomacy in the
21st Century**
Christian LeMiere
- 55 Maritime Strategy and Sea
Control**
Theory and Practice
Milan Vego
- 56 India's Naval Strategy and Asian
Security**
*Edited by Anit Mukherjee and
C. Raja Mohan*

Figures

5.1	Organisational chart of ANC	96
8.1	China's oil consumption vs production	148
8.2	Indian land-based maritime air strike coverage in the IOR	154
8.3	Value of India's total commodity exports	155
8.4	Chinese land-based maritime air strike coverage in the SCS	157

Tables

5.1	The Andaman and Nicobar Islands	87
5.2	Land availability and usage in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands	89
5.3	Geographical location of military assets	94
5.4	Service wise military assets of the ANC	95
5.5	List of Commanders-in-Chief, ANC	98
8.1	Fleet dispositions of newly inducted PLAN major surface vessels	149
8.2	PLAN's IOR port calls	151
8.3	PLAN's Gulf of Aden counter-piracy deployments	152
8.4	India's maritime security-related CSBMs with key Asia-Pacific powers other than China	158
8.5	Comparing maritime security-related CSBMs established by China and India with IOR littoral states	160
8A.1	Major Sino-Indian CSBMs	163
8A.2	India's maritime security-related CSBMs with key Asia-Pacific powers other than China	164
8A.3	India's maritime security-related CSBMs with other Indian Ocean littoral states	166
8A.4	China's maritime security-related CSBMs with Indian Ocean littoral states other than India	168
10.1	The depth and scope of naval cooperation	195
10.2	Bilateral naval cooperation between India and South East Asian countries	197

Contributors

Sam Bateman retired from the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) as a Commodore and is now a Professorial Research Fellow at the Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security (ANCORS) at the University of Wollongong in Australia, and an Adviser to the Maritime Security Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. His naval service included four ship commands ranging from a patrol boat to guided-missile destroyer. He has written extensively on defence and maritime issues in Australia, the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean, and was awarded his PhD from the University of NSW in 2001 for a dissertation on 'The Strategic and Political Aspects of the Law of the Sea in East Asian Seas'. He is a widely respected regional maritime security expert and regularly provides comments for Australian and international media. Co-authored reports for the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) include *Our Western Front: Australia and the Indian Ocean* (2010), *Staying the Course: Australia and Maritime Security in the South Pacific* (2011), *Making Waves: Australian Ocean Development Assistance* (2012) and *Terms of Engagement – Australia's Regional Defence Diplomacy* (2013). He has also co-authored policy papers for RSIS including *ASEAN and the Indian Ocean* (2011). His co-edited books include *Maritime Challenges and Priorities in Asia – Implications for Regional Security* (Routledge, 2012). His current research interests include regional maritime security, piracy and maritime terrorism, oceans policy, the strategic and political implications of the Law of the Sea, and maritime cooperation and confidence-building.

Koh Swee Lean Collin is an Associate Research Fellow at the Maritime Security Programme, part of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies which is a constituent unit of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. He primarily researches on naval affairs in the Indo-Pacific, focusing on South East Asia, and generally issues related to naval technologies, naval modernisation, naval arms control and the offence-defence theory. Collin has published a number of op-eds, policy and academic journal articles

as well as chapters for edited volumes covering his research areas. He has also taught various professional military education and training courses with the Singapore Armed Forces Training Institute. Besides research and teaching, Collin contributes his perspectives to various local and international media outlets, including *BBC*, *Bloomberg*, *Channel News Asia*, *Reuters* and *The Straits Times*. As part of his doctoral research work, Collin is in the process of compiling a database consisting of up to 18 selected countries in the Indo-Pacific, comprising information related to their naval forces development and structures, national policy discourses, confidence-building and cooperative measures, as well as incidences of the threat and use of force at sea.

Timothy D. Hoyt is a Professor of Strategy and Policy, and the John Nicholas Brown Chair of Counterterrorism at the US Naval War College. He joined the Naval War College in 2002, and was Co-Director of the Indian Ocean Regional Studies Group there from 2009 to 2012. Professor Hoyt taught previously at the Georgetown University's Security Studies Program from 1998 to 2002. He received a PhD in International Relations and Strategic Studies from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. Professor Hoyt is the author of *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy: India, Iraq and Israel* (Routledge, 2007), as well as over 50 articles and book chapters on subjects including strategy, grand strategy, terrorism, irregular warfare, nuclear proliferation, warfare in the developing world and South Asian security.

Tomoko Kiyota was most recently a Resident Sasakawa Peace Foundation Fellow at Pacific Forum CSIS, Hawaii. She was awarded a PhD in security studies from the Graduate School of International Cooperation Studies, Takushoku University, Tokyo in March 2015. She taught post-graduate students at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations, Manipal University, Karnataka. Kiyota was also a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi and a Research Intern at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi. She has working experience at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Embassy of Japan in New Delhi as a Political Analyst. While she explored India's arms development in her doctoral programme, Kiyota published several book chapters, commentaries and articles on India–Japan relations, US–India–Japan relations and Japanese national security. Her recent publications include: 'Love and Hate: India's Anti-Americanism and its Impact on Japan–India Relations', in Shihoko Goto, ed., *The Rebalance within Asia: The Evolution of Japan–India Relations* (2014); 'Japan's South China Sea Conundrum', in Pradeep Kaushiva and Abhijit Singh, eds, *Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific* (2014) and 'Shinzo Abe's Struggle in the Indian Ocean Region', *Asia Pacific Bulletin*, No. 290, November 2014.

C. Raja Mohan is a Distinguished Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi, and heads its strategic studies programme. He is a Visiting Research Professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He is a Non-resident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC. He earlier taught at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. Prof. Mohan was a Senior Research Associate at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi. He served three terms on India's National Security Advisory Board. His books include: *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy* (2003); *Impossible Allies: Nuclear India, United States and the Global Nuclear Order* (2006) and *Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific* (2013).

Anit Mukherjee is an Assistant Professor in the South Asia Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. He joined RSIS after a postdoctorate at the Centre for the Advanced Study of India (CASI), University of Pennsylvania and a PhD from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University. From 2010 to 2012 he was a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. While in the doctoral programme he also worked at the Brookings Institutions and was a Summer Associate at RAND Corporation. He has published in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* (Asia), *RUSI Journal*, *India Review*, *The Caravan* and *Indian Express*, among others. Formerly, he was a Major in the Indian Army and is an alumnus of India's National Defence Academy (NDA), Khadakwasla.

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan is a Senior Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi. Dr Rajagopalan joined ORF after an almost five-year stint at the National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS), Government of India (2003–2007), where she was an Assistant Director. Prior to joining the NSCS, she was a Research Officer at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. She was also a Visiting Professor at the Graduate Institute of International Politics, National Chung Hsing University, Taichung, Taiwan in early 2012. She is the author of three books: *The Dragon's Fire: Chinese Military Strategy and its Implications for Asia* (2009); *Uncertain Eagle: US Military Strategy in Asia* (2009); and *Clashing Titans: Military Strategy and Insecurity Among Asian Great Powers* (2012). Her research articles have appeared in edited volumes, and in *India Review*, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, *The National Interest*, *Air and Space Power Journal*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, *Strategic Analysis* and the *Journal of Strategic Studies*. She has also published in newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times* and *Economic Times*.

Iskander Rehman recently took up the post of Postdoctoral Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He is also a Non-resident Fellow in the South Asia Center at the Atlantic Council. Prior to joining the Council, Dr Rehman was a Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA), where he focused on Asian defence issues and emerging security challenges in the Indo-Pacific. From July 2012 to July 2013, he was a Stanton Fellow in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr Rehman has also held predoctoral fellowships at the German Marshall Fund, in Washington, DC, as well as at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) and the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), both in New Delhi. He has published a number of think tank reports, and his work has featured in the *Naval War College Review*, *Asian Security*, the *Indian Express*, *The Economist*, *The National Interest* and the *Financial Times*, among others. He holds a doctorate in political science, with distinction and a specialisation in Asian studies, as well as a master's degree in political science and a master's degree in comparative politics, from the Institute of Political Sciences in Paris (also known as Sciences Po).

Abhijit Singh is a Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) in New Delhi and specialises in maritime security. His current research focus is on the Indo-Pacific Region, wherein he has been exploring potential security frameworks. Commissioned in the Executive Branch of the Indian Navy in July 1994, he is a specialist in Gunnery and Weapons Systems and has served on board front-line naval ships. Prior to joining the IDSA in August 2013, Cdr Abhijit was a Research Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation (NMF), New Delhi, where he wrote extensively on littoral security in the Indian Ocean Region. Co-editor of two books – *Indian Ocean Challenges: a Quest for Cooperative Solutions* (2013) and *Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific* (2014), he has authored papers on the Pakistan Navy and the Iranian Navy and also assisted the late Vice Admiral GM Hiranandani (Retd) in the authorship of the third volume of Indian Naval History, *Transition to Guardianship*, released in December 2010. His articles and commentaries are regularly published in the *World Politics Review*, *The Diplomat* and the *CSIS Pacific Forum*.

Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto is Indonesian Presidential PhD Scholar with the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs at the Australian National University (ANU). Before joining the ANU, Andi was an Associate Research Fellow with the Maritime Security Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore and a Researcher with the International Relations Department at the University of Indonesia. His research focuses on maritime security in the Indo-Pacific and Indonesian defence policy. In April–May 2014,

he was attached with the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) in Canberra as the inaugural Indonesian Visiting Fellow to research on Australia–Indonesia maritime security cooperation, which was published in November 2014. He also co-authored a chapter in an edited book by Christopher Roberts, Leonard Sebastian and Derry Habir, *Indonesia's Ascent: Power, Leadership, and the Regional Order* (2015). Andi's publications have also appeared in *India Review*, the *Strait Times*, *The Australian*, the *Jakarta Post* and the *Global Times (China)*, among others.

Acknowledgements

This book symbolises the continuous cooperation and partnership between the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore. It owes its origins to a joint conference held in Delhi during February 2014. We would therefore like to begin by thanking both our institutions for their support.

We would also like to thank all the contributing authors for their cooperation and for putting up with our constant demands. Despite their busy commitments and travels they were prompt in their responses. Rajesh Basrur helped us in conceptually thinking through the issues and sharpening our approach. Darshana Baruah was invaluable in organising the conference and also provided critical editorial support in preparing the manuscript. This book would not have been possible without the guidance and support of our colleagues at Routledge. We would especially like to thank Geoffrey Till, Andrew Humphrys, Hannah Ferguson and others who worked on the manuscript. Finally, we would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their critical appreciation which helped us in developing this book. We accept full responsibility for shortcomings and welcome critical feedback.

Abbreviations

A2/AD	Anti-Access/Area Denial
ADIZ	Air Defence Identification Zone
ADMM-Plus	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus
AMF	ASEAN Maritime Forum
ANC	Andaman and Nicobar Command
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASCM	Anti-Ship Cruise Missile
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASUW	Anti-Surface Warfare
ASW	Anti-Submarine Warfare
ATV	Advanced Technology Vessel
BIMSTEC	Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
C4ISR	Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
CINCAN	Commander in Chief Andaman and Nicobar Command
CNS	Chief of Naval Staff
CSBM	confidence and security-building measure
DRDO	Defence Research and Development Organisation
EAMF	Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum
EAS	East Asia Summit
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ENC	Eastern Naval Command
FAC	Fast Attack Crafts
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOB	forward operating base
HACGA	Heads of Asian Coast Guard Agencies
HADR	Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief
HDW	Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft
IFC	Information Fusion Centre
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
IORA	Indian Ocean Rim Association