

CHINA, USA AND INDIA IN THE STRAITS OF MALACCA: THE SIGNIFICANCE TOWARD JAPAN

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Abstract

China, USA and India have their own national interest in the Straits of Malacca, same like Japan. This paper will attempt to explain what is the significance of China, USA and India toward Japan in the strategic aspect.

It has two objectives: namely 1) to describe the China, USA and India policies toward the Straits of Malacca; 2) to discuss the the signification of USA, India and China Presence in the Straits of Malacca toward Japan. This study will use both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected from structured interviews involving ten informants in various professional fields that are directly involved in maritime security in the Straits of Malacca, China, USA and India. Secondary data was collected from literature reviews based on scientific publications, theses, journal articles, and online material, such as newspaper articles. Primary data was also obtained from professional respondents from abroad through electronic media such as email. The findings of this study show that, to protect its national interests, Japan need to have a strategic partnership with USA and India to counter China if China tried to control the straits.

Keywords: China, Defence, Japan; Straits of Malacca; String of Pearls.

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1.0 Introduction

Straits of Malacca is an important maritime route for trading since the 14th century started by the Malay Sultanate Kingdom such as Srivijaya, Aceh, Melaka and Johor also western trader like Portugese, Dutch and British (Evers &Gerke 2005, p4).According to Hashim (2008) eventhough Straits of Malacca regularly being used but it became the world famous route after 1960s when the oil tanker using the path. After that, a lot of tanker and container used this straits as a main route.Nowadays, more than sixty countries using the straits of Malacca as their main maritime route for their trading activities (Zhang 2007). But in this article, only three countries, namely China, USA and India will be discuss because they are the maritime power and had their own foreign policy toward the Straits of Malacca. China is the only communist country which is succeed gained economy development in the 21st century compared to other countries with the same ideology. USA and India are the good trade partner and always cooperate in security aspect.

1.1 China

China is essentially concerned with matters of regime survival, territorial integrity and stability in the country (Pehrson 2006, p4). After opening it's market in 1970s, China has shown the increasing of economy growth. After joined *World Trade Organization* (WTO) in 2001, the China's economy continue to boost. As a big country with a lot of natural resources and mankind, China has a potential to develop like western countries. Eventhough, the rapid development in the country makes China to find the additional resources from outside. China still depending on imported energy total as 80 per cent or 85 per cent for oil (Umaña 2012, p14). In 2009, China needed 8.3 million bb/d energy for development but the country only can produce 4.0 million bb/d. So that the country has imported 4.5 million bb/d energy from foreign resources (EIA 2010).The changing economy center from Japan to China has made that country became an important hub for trade and world connection (Ahn 2004, p24). This situation has encourage the investor to invest in the country.

The investment in China easier than before as the country adopted a new open door policy for foreign investor and allowed them to open the factory also an operation center. This rapid manufacturing has caused the demand for resources every year. An economy growth in 30 years

had brought China to a new level where the country has become a new powerful country in the world, not only in term of economy but also military (Patel 2009, p8). China has imported it resources from Angola, Sudan, Congo, Gabon, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Yemen, Oman, Indonesia, Brunei and Malaysia. However the increased for foreign resources had make China using the Straits of Malacca frequently. The dependency for the straits called as a *Malacca dilemma* by President of China, Hu Jintuo(Chen 2010, p2). This dependency is not a safe situation to China as if something happen to the straits like maritime threat or blockade, it will effect the manufacturing in the countries.

China's Maritime Energy Route



Map1

Source: USA Defense Department Yearly Report 2007

Map 1 show the China's maritime energy route flow from Middle East though Hindi Ocean, Straits of Malacca and South China Sea from arrival to home. The high demand for energy has made China to change it foreign policy and increased the security a long the International Maritime especially Straits of Malacca. In term of security, China had offered the military cooperation to littoral states of Straits of Malacca namely Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore (DoD 2007). Beside Straits of Malacca, China also used the the Straits of Sunda and Straits of Lombok to bring its VLCC (*Very Large Crude Carriers*). Having a great number of peoples, China's government needs to arrange the strategy in term of foods and employments so that the citizen will able to subsistence. The decreased of China's economy will affected a lot of

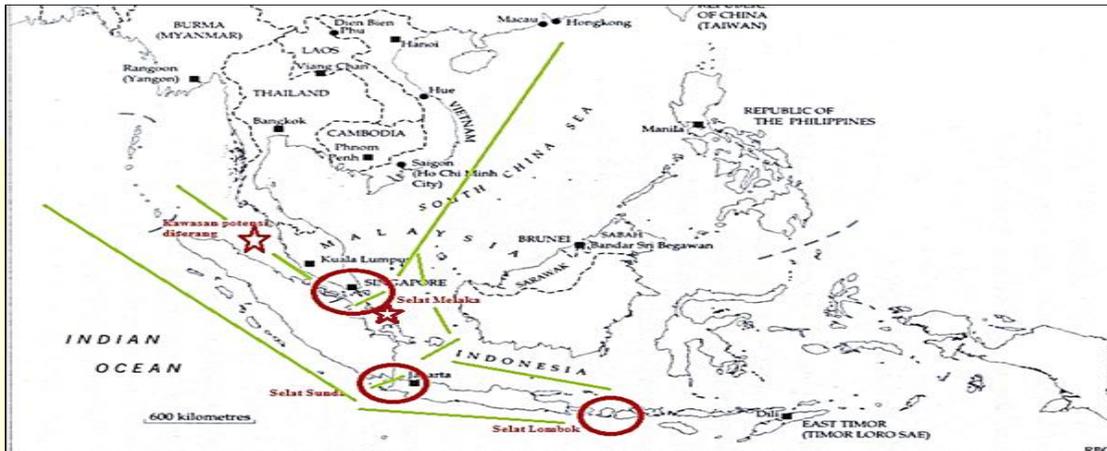
developing country because many companies had been investing and built factories in China. One of the attractive reason is the labor costs were cheaper. China's foreign policy has changing a lot to meet an adjustment with international systemic (Yu 2008, p1).

A dependency of foreign resources were not secure as the oil prices to keep changing. One of the initiative to loose dependency toward imported energy especially oil and gas were tried to get a concession from selected countries using Government Link Companies (GLCs) like Sinopec, PetroChina, Sinochem and CNOOC. For example, in 2002 *China National Offshore Oil Corporation* (CNOOC) got an oil concession and Repsol-YPF gas in Indonesia with the payment USD\$ 585 million (Mokhzani 2004). The investment in Indonesia will reduce the costs of transportation as Indonesia is nearer to China than the Middle East countries. According to Zhang (2006) oil's factor had change a lot of China's foreign policy as the demand for the energy are increasing. Beside that, China also cooperate with it's neighbour in built the piping's channel of energy. For example, China had collaborated with Kazakhstan to build a channel along 30, 088 km from Atyrau to Dushangzhi and from Atasu to Alashankou (Lai 2007). The similar collaboration had done with Kyrgyzstan since 2004. China also imported an oil from Myanmar. According to Fisher (2010) , China wants to build the piping channel from Myanmar across Indo- China so that it will easier to meet Straits of Malacca. The piping channel will be alternative route for China to secure it's energy supply (Cronim& Kaplan 2012, p12).

The maritime threats like robbery, piracy and terrorism were crime that always happenin the sea. That crimes will interrupted China's economy as the delay of energy will be occurred. After the attacked of *World Trade Center* (WTC) in September 11, 2001 most of the countries has increasing their security. Several spot areas had been patrolled. In 2006, *Lloyd of London* has listed Straits of Malacca as a risk area for terrorism (Weitz 2008, p96). China as a country which is regularly using this straits felt the responsible to contribute with the littoral states to patrol this area. The maritime threats were unexpected because the criminal using the sophisticated technology. In 2002, *MT nautical Kluang* (Malaysia) which bought the diesel was attacked near to Pulau Iyu (southern part of Straits of Malacca). The attacked were using the speed boat armed by knife and guns. In 2005, *Suhaila* Vessel which bought the chemical goods was attacked in

East Aceh armed by AK47 rifle (Sabirin 2007, p141). These two examples shows that the lackness of security aspect in several area which were exposed by threats

China's Vessel Strategic route in Straits of Malacca



Energy resources route

Map 2

Souce: Modified from WWW.Middlebury.edu (2013)

Map 2 showing the main route for China's energy sources in Straits of Malacca. If the attack occurred in the northern part of Straits of Malacca (tagged star), China still can used the alternative straits (Sunda and Lombok). But, the vessel companies need to added costs and time. To make it effective, along the Straits of Malacca need to be patrol 24- hours so that the unwanted events do not occur. In 2002, sixteen attacked cases had been noted and it was decreased in 2005 with only twelve cases (Marine Department 2013).Eventhough the element of crime only 0.025 per cent but it included the lost of properties and lives. This maritime crimes has given an impact to the shipping industrial because the delay of goods (resources) will delay the manufacturing process. Not only that, the shipping insurance will be increasing too.

The strategic and military were the third factor that makes China worried. The Sino- American conflict will be the reason for the blockade and if the situation occur, the imported's energy from the Middle East will be affected (Blair, Chen &Hagt 2006). The close relation between USA and India will help USA to block the China's vessel because India having the navy bases in Andaman and Nicobar Island. However, China has no intention to be in conflict, only in case if it

really needed. The conflict will not benefit China at all as it will decreasing their rapid economy's growth. In term of economy, China, USA and India having a very good ties as a trading partners but in term of politics, these countries still suspicious each others. The Straits of Malacca's strategic location has attracted many countries to cooperate. In 2003, President Hu Jintao had given a statement that Japan, USA and India just want to control Straits of Malacca but using the new strategy to covered their motive.

Hu quoted as:

"It is no exaggeration to say that whoever controls the Strait of Malacca will also have a stranglehold on the energy route of China" - China Youth Daily, June 15, 2004

Source: Storey 2007

The president questioned if one country can use the security term as a reason to be in that straits, why China cannot use the same reason too. The Chinese government views the serious concerning the Indian presence in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. This is because the two islands were located near to the entrance to Straits of Malacca. To China, this situation has consider as a warning and their vessel will be subject to Indian Navy (Mokhzani 2004). Due to the situation, Chinese government had increasing their military strength especially navy referring to three aspects namely economy, maritime security and strategic (Hamzah 2008). As a user of maritime routes from African continent to Middle East, pass by Hindi Ocean to Straits of Malacca and straight to South China Sea, China had a concreted reason to enhanced it's navy as a security protection in patrolling operation. According to ReCAAP (2012), most of the pirates having their own speed boats with armed like rifle, M16, knife and cleaver. They were also capable in operating ships and enormities of martial arts. According to Atanassova- Cornelis (2010), the Japan's additional military assets has given other perspective to China. The suspicion toward Japan has increasing when Japan added the Self- Defence Forces (SDF) mission in the deep ocean. China thinks that Japan tried to get a good attention from other countries in the South East Asia. However, China was not showing any capability or interest to be a threat to the other countries.

In 2007, President Wen Jiabao claimed that other countries do not have to worry about the increasing defence budget as it is a normal process of every countries to change their old assets to the sophisticated assets. In 2004, India had claimed China’s maritime policy as a String of Pearls to refer the China’s strategy to expend their networking in Asia (Rehman 2010). This strategy started by incrisingthe access to airports and ports. But the attention is more to the maritime route where it will linking several msin straits such as Straits of Mandeb, Straits of Hormuz, Straits of Malacca and Straits of lombok. This strategy also including the placement of assets in the strategic places like Maldives, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Chinese government claimed this strategy was important to the country as to protect their national interest.

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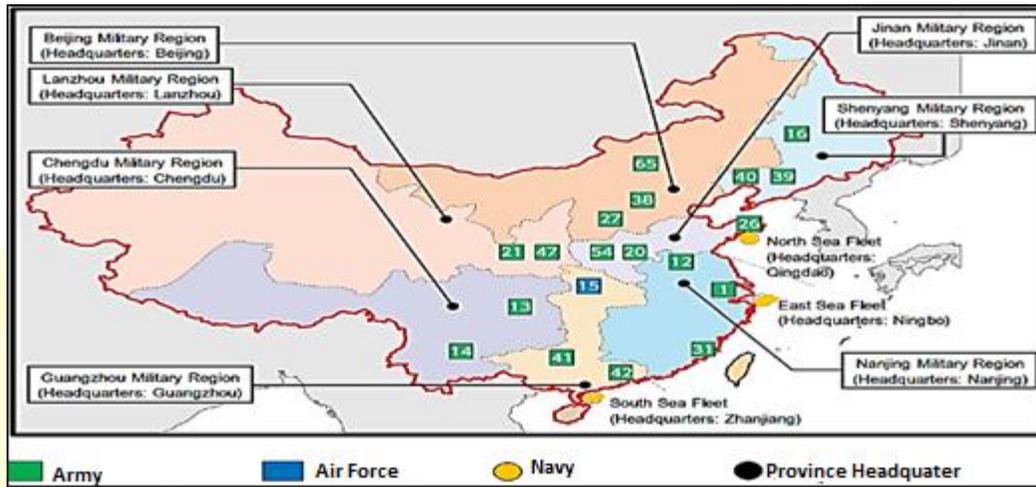


Map

Souce:Modified from Google map (2013)

Map 3 showing the area which were included in the String of Pearls Strategy. Even though India and USA’s navy bases were around the China’s maritime energy route but that’s not the reason for China to withdraw from guarded it own national interest. China had depending to maritime route about 80 per cent. For the strategic perspective, this strategy will increased the diplomatic relation between China and it trading partners because the presence of Chinese’s navy will decrease the terrorism attack toward vessel.

China Defense Strategic location



Map 4

Source: Modified from *Digest* 2013

Map 4 shows that China’s Defense strategic location in every zone. Until 2012, China had 1.6 million army and 8, 2000 tanks; 405 jet fighters (Sukhoi) and 2580 fighter for airforce. For navy, China had 10, 000 members, 970 warships, 80 destroyers and 60 submarines. The navy had three huge bases in Qindao (Northern), Ningbo (East) and Zhanjiang (South). As a country which is increasing military assets, missile became one of the important weapons. For example, the attacked from Beijing will seize 14,000km that is overbear the distance to Australia. The nearest distance of the missile is 1,750km which is able to destroy the neighbouring countries.

1.2 USA

September 11, 2001 has given a new shift in the international systemic. After World Trade Centre (WTC) had being a subject to be destroyed, it showed that the terrorist will attack anybody and wherever if they felt it needed. After the tragedy, USA has designed a new security strategy which is to promote the “War on Terror”. This strategy had expended to the Asia Pacific and Straits of Malacca as a focus because the straits had being used by most of countries. The main factor that USA interested in this region based on two reasons – to expend the economy cooperation and China’s military modernization (Simon 2011 & Logan 2013).

From the maritime security aspect, Straits of Malacca is a area which is not only rich with natural resources but the port for the vessel to berth. USA tried to carry the responsibility to ensure the international trade will not interrupted by any maritime threats or crimes (Johnson 2009). Statistic from 2001 to 2010 showing that 666,179 vessels were used this straits (Marine Department 2013). The concerns over terrorist attacks in the main route has increasing especially in the Straits of Malacca and Straits of Singapore (Acharya 2007). Geographically, these two area covered by the small islands which are became the places to the terrorist's escape. Beside that, Al- Qaeda had a link with *kumpulan Jemaah Islamiah* (JI) in Indonesia and *Abu sayyafin* Filipina. This situation has reinforced the notion that the possibility that the straits will be a target of terrorist is high. More than that, if the terrorist groups blockade the Straits of Malacca and Singapore, the alternative route- Straits of Lombok, Sunda and makassar will be use but the shipping company will have to expend more for additional costs (Ho 2007, Chalk 2008).

September 11 had given a big effect in the world security even though it was happen in USA (Tarpley 2008). The world society have alerted that some group tried to pass a new laws but using the ferocity to shows their existence. They were not realized that their actions had caused the destroyed of properties and lives. USA has tried to promote cooperation to prevent the terrorism. In 2004, USA has proposed *Regional Maritime Security Initiatives* (RMSI) to enhance the maritime security in the Asia Pasific and Straits of Malacca (Schiffer 2006, Stryken 2007). RMSI were contain of five elements which are to share information about terrorism; to response to the terrorist reports; to increase the ability of nany in the deep ocean; to increase the ability of coast guard and to enhance the cooperation of every agencies and ministries (Weitz 2008).

Comparing to Japan, the presence of USA in the South East Asia was not fully accepted by all the countries especially Malaysia and Indonesia (in term of Straits of Malacca). This is because USA has a tendency to cooperate in military (Simon 2011). In it proposal, USA tried to promote the element of military to enhance the maritime security in the Straits of Malacca. This element will be conducted by the navy. The rasional behind this proposal was the terrorist groups had using weapons and experted with the technology. Person (2006) believes that the abilities of navy will counter that terrorists. Unfortunately, the proposal was rejected by Malaysia and Indonesia (Percival 2005, Vavro 2008). Both countries worried that the sovereignty of Straits of

Malacca will be ended and this area will be a war field in the future. Singapore as a littoral states of Straits of Malacca has agreed with the USA's proposal and assumed that the aids as to decrease the burdens. Malaysia and Indonesia lastly were agreed with the proposal but cloused, the aids from USA only included the joint exercises and information exchange (Storey 2005, Tan 2005). USA under President Bush claimed that USA presence in South East Asia only for security reason such as to prevent piracy and terrorism (Atanassova- Cornelis 2010). President Obama has continued Bush's policy where he also proposed multilateral cooperation to maintain peaceful in this area.

Beside the maritime security of Straits of Malacca, the other reason that USA presence in the South East Asian region is about China. USA want to balance the China's influence (Dillon & Tkacik 2005, Hathaway 2012). The increasing of China's wings will make the unstable situation in this region. More than that, the China's military modernization will cause the weapon race and the possibility of war (Clapper 2013). USA also do not China to conquer and became the main player in this region. This situation may reduce USA's influence as a unipolar power in the South East Asia (Keating 2012). Japan has supporting USA's presence in this region because that country will oversee the maritime stability here. According to Tanaka (2007), Japan is a country which responsible to USA's Presence in the South East Asia.

China's energy policy had given several economy and geostrategy effect to USA (USCC 2004, p. 252). In the long term, the increasing of energy demand will caused the rapid development in the country and boosting the economy. USA has to watch over it's national interest in this Asia region because this region contains of a huge market for USA's manufactured. USA also gained some recouces from this region too. USA has established *Trans- Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership* to promotion the free market, participated by nine countries (Cyr 2013, p2).

To meet the needs, USA worried that China will use a shortcut to get energy like having an agreement with Iran. The assumption that China will transfer the military technology and sell the weapons to the country was high. USA try to counter with introduced new policy- *Pivot to Asia* to balancing China's military power. Under President Obama, he focused on military aspect and diplomacy especially in Asia PasificPasifik (Emmers 2012, p1). Straits of Malacca became one

of the strategic area which is being spotted in this area. Due to get support, the cooperation with several countries like Japan and Singapore were enhanced (Campbell & Andrews 2013). One of the reason in this policy is to control China from become the world power (Alexander 2012). USA felt the dilemma of China's String of Pearls policy as the policy will threaten its strategic interest in Asia Region (Engdahl 2013). China already built the maritime linkage route from Middle East to South China Sea to protect its national interest and security.

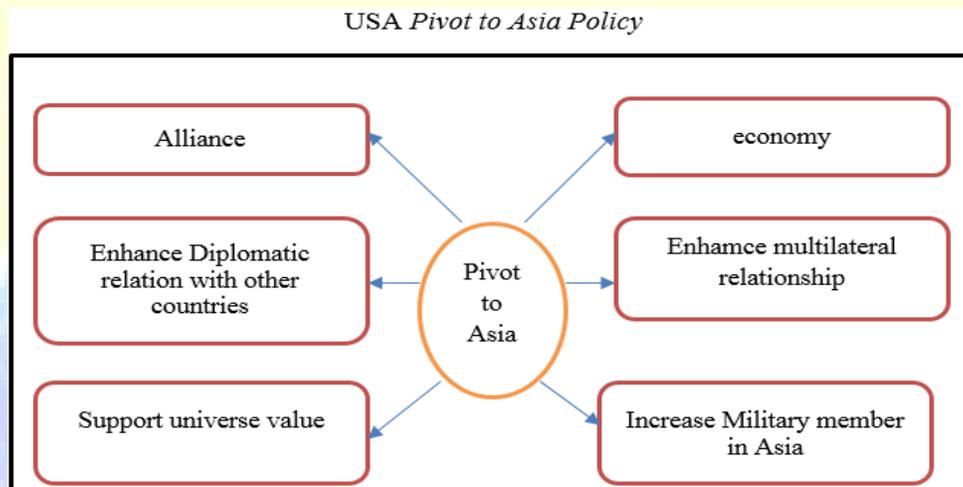


Figure 1
Source: Modified from Morse (2012, p2)

Figure 1 shows 6 six essences in Pivot to Asia Policy which has introduced in 2011 and practiced in 2012 contain of security, economy and diplomatic elements (Sutter 2013, p11). Firstly, USA started the diplomatic relationship with Japan, Philippine, Singapore and India. USA has a military base in that countries. More than that, USA tried to find a solution to have a better diplomatic ties with China. Second, USA want to enhance the diplomatic ties with new potential power like India and Indonesia as these both countries shall be an alliance one day. Third, USA has promoted human right and democracy ideology in China and Myanmar to avoid the communist ideology from spreading to other countries. Fourth is from economy aspect. USA tried to expand the trade and investment in South East Asia's countries because this region has a big market.

For this purpose, USA really need to have a bilateral or multilateral economic's cooperation with countries from this region. To gain the purposed, USA has focusing *Trans-Pacific Partnership* (TPP) as free market element to promote. Fifth is increasing the multilateral

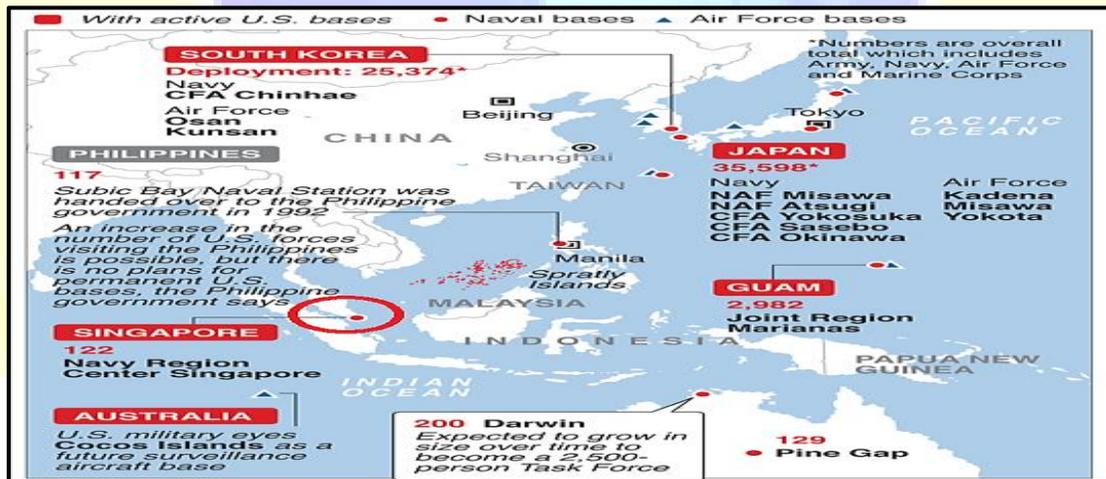
cooperation with institutions like ASEAN as it also will promoting a good image to the members. Lastly, USA wants to accumulate it military in this South East Asia region as it will balancing the China’s military power. China has become a new actor after the Cold War era. According to Agnew (2012), one of the reasons USA shifted it assets to Asia because of China factor. USA viewed China as a country that manipulated currency, counterfeiting and involving in cyber war. Strategically, China shows the tendency to be a new super power in Asia. Commander of USS George Washington, Mark C. Montgomery quoted as:

“The ‘pivot’ has led to “an increase in surface combatant presence here in the Western Pacific... so these [US] ships are spread throughout those areas. Having more ships gives us more presence. It allows us to have a greater force. The ‘pivot’ is “gaining strength”.

(Source: Global Research 2013)

This statement looks like a warning from USA to China so that China will think twice before taking any steps.

USA Military bases in South East Asia



Map 6

Source: Modified from BBC 2013

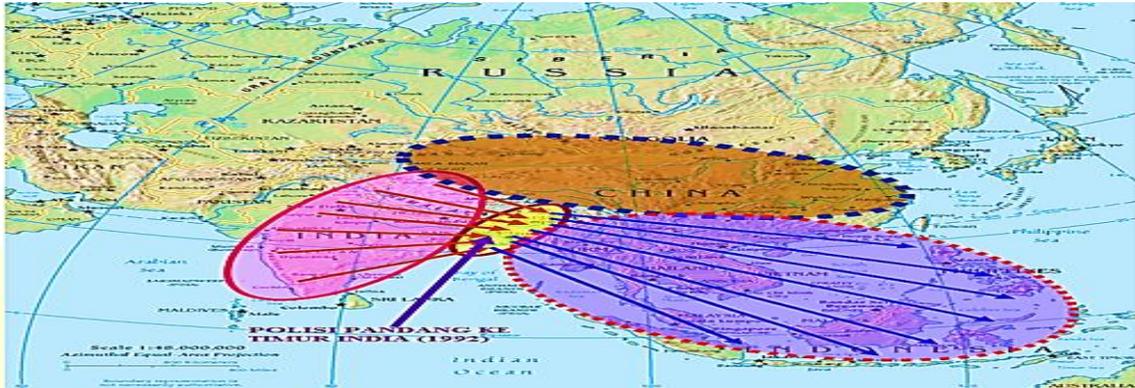
Map 6 shows the USA military bases in South East Asia. Based on a map, USA has a base in Singapore, the closer military base to Straits of Malacca. From the base, USA can patrol the

China's espionage activities. USA already located its assets in strategic location. For example, in Singapore base, USA has placed four *Littoral Combat Ships* (LCS) for any possibility. Beside that USA had a bases in Thailand, Philippine, Japan, Guam and Australia. If President Bush has treated China as rival, President Clinton assumed China as a good trading partner. President Obama viewed China as country that need to be attention but not a enemy that need to contest (Chari 2013).

1.3 India

India is a country in the South Asia with the large population and market. The India's economy development had connected with the trade activities using maritime route. A lot of its goods has being exported to South East Asia and East Asia countries, consist of 40 per cent using Straits of Malacca (Umaña 2012, p 14). Because of the trade reason, India felt that it need to cooperate with littoral states of Straits of Malacca to patrol that straits from maritime crime. Hillary Clinton said that India is one of three countries that will be the economy power in the future beside China and Indonesia because the huge market and number of labors (Morse 2012). In *Pivot Policy to Asia*, USA has drew a bilateral cooperation to enhance India's Potential.

India had launched *Look East policy* in 1992 as a guideline for its foreign policy. That policy had reached economy and strategic factors (Ghoshal 2007). For the economy factor, India as a big country with a huge populations need to find an alternative way to enhanced the economy development so that it will balance with the national development. The new investment should be injected in the country. The government of India has planned to broaden its wings to the South East Asia because that region had a lot of natural resources and huge market. This policy therefore had tighten the relationship between India and South East Asia countries (Jain 2009). India's *Look East Policy* given more attention to the maritime route as a linkage to get an investment. India has looking for a energy resources from Indonesia, Vietnam and Myanmar (Mokhzani 2004). The free trade policy which has adopted by India has given that country an opportunity to consolidate its services sector and to decrease the dependency toward manufacturing. The huge market around Asia has given an hope to India to develop the industries in the country and exported the goods to the foreign market (Naidu 2013, Nehru 2013).



Map 7

Source: Modified from <http://ugc-inno-nehu.com/LEP.ppt> (2010)

Map 7 present an image of gazetted areas in the India Look's East Policy in 1992. It's contains the South East Asia and China. This policy has concluded economy and geo- strategic aspects. The reason that India introduced this policy was to increase the economy development after the end of Cold War. Other than that, the policy also has been created to equalize the China's influence in Straits of Malacca and ASEAN countries (Ghoshal 2007).

First Phase (1992)	This policy focused on increased the trade in Southeast Asia, East Asia and Australia. It involved the agreements of free trade and institution for economic mutual interest. It also included the maritime security aspect especially to counter terrorism. India has increased it security cooperation with USA, Japan and several ASEAN countries like Singapore and Indonesia;
Second Phase (2003)	The attention has given to development aspect in Asia Pasific because it has a big potential to be develop from economy and geo- strategic aspect. The cooperation to patrol the Straits of Malacca has being increased using bilateral and multilateral agreements like ITEC (<i>Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation</i>); The government gave a full support to against terrorism; strengthen alliances in

	security cooperation like India- USA- Jepun, India- Singapura <i>Maritime Bilateral Exercise (SIMBEX)</i> and <i>ASW (Anti- Submarine Joint Warfare)</i> as to balancing China power in Asia;
Third Phase (2012)	India has interact the other countries to invest in the country; The challenge to face China and North Korea was a big issued to be deal. The alliance with Japan and USA has given a strength to India to have a strong string of security in Asia

Figure 2: India Look East Policy

Sources: Modified from *Foreign Policy Research Centre 2011 dan International Policy Digest 2013*

Figure 2 point out two element in the India Look East Policy that were economy and geo-strategic. From the economy perspective, India tried to shape a policy which will help it to interact with other country easily. Geo- strategically, India want to have a defence cooperation with trusted country like Japan so that it will have a circle group with a similar interest. This strategy willlesses the risk in the future. In addition to the policy, India tried to enhance the good order at sea so that it will not dangerous to the shipping and trading activities (Khurana 2005). Non – traditional issues like terrorism and crime were not the small problem that need to be ignored. The relationship between Al- Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiah in Indonesia also Abu Sayyaf in Philippine had will increased the risk of terrorism. From the geo- strategic aspect, the China’s defense development has caused India to act as a counterbalance. India has established *Andaman and Nicobar Command (ANC)* to monitor the China’s presence close to India water until to the Straits of Malacca (Zhang 2007). According to Ramachandran and Raghuvanshi (2012), this acts was important as India navy will be awaring the Chinese vessels and tried to find the weakness of China’s geo- strategic. To consolidate it navy position, India believe that it will equalize in the same time helped USA and Japan (Dutta 2012). The India has showed it interest to patrol the Straits of Malacca when it offering an aids to the littoral states if needed (Vavro 2008).

According to Chellaney(2008), the aggression of China was dangerous and may threaten India’s politic and economy interests. This statement has based on the China’s action which looks like too eager to find resources. In 2006, Government of China has persuaded Myanmar Junta to sell the gas to it’s country but in the same time the area of resources halfly belong to India. Myanmar itself just do not realize that it already entering the India’s boarder. More than that, Myanmar has signed an agreement (MoU) with China Oil Company, PetroChina in early 2006 to channel the gas to China for thirty years.Ladwid III (2009) pointed that China’s factor became the reason why India had extended it steps to South East Asia. Nagao (2012, p74) belief the India presence was important as it will content the emptiness of power after USA has reduced it’s navy after the Cold War. India as a big country in the Southern also have a desire to be a new important power in Asia (Jyoti 2013, p6).

The Location of Andaman and Nicobar Islands



Map 8

Source: Modified fromgoogle map (2013)

Map 8 views the location of Indian’s navy bases in Andaman and Nacobar Islands. The distance of these bases to the Straits of Malacca from the west entrance (Aceh) was about 90 nautical miles (Vavro 2008). These bases officially opened in 2001 because of two factors. Firstly is to be the place to control the maritime traffic from India to South China Sea. Secondly India enable to patrol the surrounding area especially the entrance to the Straits of Malacca using the Sea

Monitoring system (SWASLA) as gazzated in UNCLOS 1982. Muni (2011) had imaged the presence of India’s navy in this area will balancing the emptiness of security aspect in the north of the Straits of Malacca. The China’s presence has interrupted India to be more strategic. More than that, China had a discussion with Thailand to build a new straits and to cut through the IshmusKra, where it will linkage the Straits of Malacca and Bengal Bay in the east (Scott 2008, p6). India also supporting USA to remain in this region as that country will always stabilising the maritime security (Inderfurth&Osius 2013).Despite having a problem in term of defence aspect but India and China still continuing their trading relationship. The bilateral trade of both countries were USD 43.28 million in 2009, USD 61.74 million in 2010 and USD 73.90 million in 2011 (India’s Embassy 2013).According to Nagao (2013), there were three reasons Japan have a good relationship with India. Firstly India was a counterbalance to China. Secondly, from the geography context, India has located near to Asia compared to the other emerging power. Japan has make an assumption, if China attacking one of the area in the South East Asia, India will send their aids as soon as possible. Thirdly, India had a lot of trained and well- skilled navy. These navy will help in worst situation.

1.4 The signification of USA, India and China Presence in the Straits of Malacca toward Japan

USA, India and China have a quite similar reason in protecting their national interest in the Straits of Malacca. Generally, there were three reasons namely economy, maritime security and military strategic.

Argument of Japan, USA, India and China to be in the Straits of Malacca

State/ Factor	Japan	USA	India	China
Economy	- Economy interest through Straits of Malacca 80%	-Economy interest through Straits of Malacca is 25%	-Economy interest through Straits of Malacca is 40 %	-Economy interest through Straits of Malacca is 85%

Maritime security	-As a economy became a main priority, Japan need to help the Littoral States to against the maritime crime	-Maritime crime in the Straits of Malacca has been seen as global problem because the straits as an important route to trade	-India wants to help in term of combating the maritime crime	-It is fair to help the Littoral states to maintaining the maritime security as the straits important to Its trade (energy security)
Strategic and Defense	-A Preparation to block the China's energy route if that country became aggressive in the future. -The development and modernization of China's military assets makes Japan alert with any possibility	-As a preparation if China develop it's nuclear and military/ an aid to Japan -The development and modernization of China's military assets makes USA suspicious for every single steps	-As a preparation to help Japan and USA to against China -To provide the nearest aids to Japan and USA	-As a preparation if the Straits of Malacca being blocked by Japan, USA and India -Japan, USA and India are close alliance. China need to alert in the same time to care about national interest
Foreign Policy	<i>Security Diamond</i>	<i>Pivot to Asia</i>	<i>Look East</i>	<i>String of Pearls</i>

Figure 3

Source: Illustrated by researcher

Figure 3 point out the reasons of USA, India and China to be close to the Straits of Malacca. From the economy purpose, India and China have the same reasons, to main the security aspects in that path so that the shipping and trading activities will not interrupted. Maritime security in the Straits of Malacca became the hot issues which bought these four countries to this area. The maritime crimes were latest topic because every single countries do not compromise with this issues as it contains of losses of properties and lives. From the strategic aspect, these four countries had their own opinions. Japan, USA and India had presumption that the economy

development and the modernization of China's military should be given attention. In the meantime, China felt that the three countries are trying to prevent it from achieving economic prosperity. These four countries also having a similar foreign policy that encourage them to be in the Straits of Malacca and protecting their national interest.

Fravel and Liebman (2007) citing Zhang Gang (Navy) as saying USA, India and Japan had used the reason of maritime crime caused them to present in this Straits of Malacca. So, China also think that it should increase the aids to littoral states so that it will have the reason to presence. China's analyst felt that even though china has continuing it trading activities with Japan, USA and India but still aware as that countries having capability to destroy it economy interests (Nathan & Scobell 2012). The similarity of Japan, USA and India were the policies that they created focus on China where that country want to balance or blocked the rose of China as a main power in this region. In 2010, the rose of China in economy has shifted the economy center from Japan toward it country. USA, India and Japan worried that the China's modernization of technology and military will make China became the most powerful country not only in Asia but world. Eventhough the development in China is not complete but the practice of the current policies will make China be able to be a big power.

Japan has cooperated with USA as an initiative to build a maritime security linkage to enhance security in the main lanes especially the Straits of Malacca (Kaneda 2008, p172). The strategic cooperation between Japan, USA and India will equalize the China's military which arose (Nagao 2013, p104). According to Yajima (2013) Japan need to cooperate with other countries to prevent the Straits of Malacca from the crime. Japan's Coast Guard (JCG) always collaborates with the coast guard of littoral state (Rosihan 2008, p177). Japan also organized the seminar and dialogs to increase the awareness of maritime security at sea.

China, USA and India military bases in South East Asia and Hindi Ocean



- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Hong Kong | 6. Thailand | 11. Maldives |
| 2. Hainan | 7. Myanmar (Coco Island) | 12. Pakistan |
| 3. Parcel Island | 8. Myanmar | |
| 4. Spratly Island | 9. Bangladesh | |
| 5. Cambodia | 10. Sri Lanka | |

Map 9

Source: Modified from Google Map (2013)

Map 9 shows the China, USA and India military bases in South East Asia and Hindi Ocean. China military bases looks like lay siege to the Straits of Malacca lanes from Hong Kong to Pakistan. Strategically, the China's military resources was equal to both side. Pact of three (Japan, USA and India – JUSI) also had their own military bases from Hindi Ocean to South China Sea, where these bases were sieged China bases. This situation makes Japan worried as if China blocked the lane (Straits of Malacca) from Thailand, Japan will face a trouble to send it resources to home. As a solution, the pact with USA will help Japan if that situation occurs USA had bases in Singapore and Diego Garcia. India also will send an emergency aids to Japan from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands also Coco Island (Myanmar). This JUSI will be strengthen as USA's huge assets located in Diego Garcia.

Japan, China, USA and India Partialmilitary assets

CATEGORY	JAPAN	CHINA	USA (USPACOM)	INDIA
<i>Aircraft Carrier</i>	0	2	11	3
<i>Helicopter Carrier (Anti-Submarine)</i>	4	0	0	0
<i>Destroyer, Frigate, Corvette</i>	44	78	110	46
<i>Submarine</i>	22	71	72	15
<i>Anti- submarine Patrol Aircraft</i>	80	4	147	9
<i>Anti- Submarine Helicpoters</i>	88	28	255	54

Figure 4

Source: Courtesy fromNagoa Satoru, OPRF (2014)

Figure 4 shows the partial military assets of Japan, China, USA(USPACOM) and India in the Asia region. Japan itself will never counter China. The signification of USA and India presence in the Straits of Malacca to Japan were many from several perspectives. As a small state with a huge national interest in the Straits of Malacca, Japan need to adjust it foreign policy. A Cooperation with USA and India was a strategic partnership to protect their interests. These three countries afraid that the communism ideology will be spread all over the world.Beside that there countries still suspicious about China especially in term of military. USA’s Pivot to Asia and India’s Look East Policies were the two policies that will counter China for this moment as Japan understand to stand by it’s own is an impossible because the China’s mobility too many. China also using monopoly policy because it tried to conquer a lot maritime boundaries in the South China Sea Ocean and claimed all the territories as it own. According to Forbes (2013), the cooperation between Japan, USA and India have increased the the maritime security in the Straits of Malacca. But in the other side, it’s looks like a a pact of three countries to encounter China.

1.5 Conclusion

The rose of economy and development in China has given an impact to Japan, USA and India from two perspectives. Firstly, the successful of China today after the end of Cold War in 1990s

shows that the increasing of other ideology beside democracy. It has challenge where not only democracy should remain in this world but communism also has a chance but using China's style. If in the Cold War era, Russian became a communism state to counter USA but it has being change by China today. In South East Asia, several countries have practising communism like Vietnam and Myanmar. Frightenedly, this ideology will be spreads to the countries around here. Even China does not pose a military threat. In fact, of all the major powers, China has probably been the most restrained in building up its military forces. China poses a very serious threat because it cannot be intimidated by the US. This situation shows that China like to be quite and choosing not to tell anybody what it plans. However, it has become a question to other countries as they will guessing what China will do next. Secondly, China as a country with a mass population and resources has a potential to be a big power and unipolar. Eventough nowadays the technologies of China is not too developed like USA, but because of the people's attitude whom hardworking will change everything in the near future. It's proven when the Asia Economy Center has changed from Japan to China in 2010. The government of China trying hard to develop China but it's has no intention to be unipolar. The spirit showed by the Chinese leaders and it's citizens through the policies like the Open Door Policy and String of Pearls were the proofs that China is going to develop it country using their own mould. The foreign investor need to agree with Chinese's rules as to enter China market and reducing production costs. China, USA, India and Japan have their own national interest in the Straits of Malacca as it is a main route from west to east and vice versa. But the rise of China in modernization it military caused the worried toward Japan as the country has 80 per cent of trading interest through this route. The rise of China had given a depression to Japan because Japan worried if China will blocked it maritime route in the Straits of Malacca. This is because, China is not only increasing it military power but in the same time has built the maritime linkage in the ocean as a base. Even though China said they only had a commercial port for economy but the potential of China to prepare for any situation was high. The presence of USA and India in the Straits of Malacca had given some relieved to Japan as both countries will cooperate with Japan to balance the rise of China. Japan still have a limited resources and capability because it as subject to a Security Agreement with the United States in 1947 (refer to Article 9). That country is only allowed to have security forces known as the *Self- Defense Force* (SDF) and *Maritime Self- Defense Force* (MSDF) to protect it's maritime territories and national interest. The partnership

between three countries had given a relief to Japan as it no need to worry for any an unexpected circumstances.

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