
Daxiyanguo

Portuguese Journal of Asian Studies | Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos

ISSN: 1645-4677 | ISSN-e: 2184-9129 | 2021, Número 27, páginas 13-25

Secção Especial

A Daxiyanguo – Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos dedica este número especial à Índia. Durante o 1.º semestre de 2021, Portugal, no exercício da presidência da EU, dedicou especial atenção à Índia e organizou uma Cimeira EU-Índia, no dia 8 de maio, realizada, por efeito da pandemia COVID-19, por videoconferência. A um interesse crescente da parte da política externa portuguesa, pontuado por visitas de Estado recentes dos chefes de governo de ambos os países e diversas iniciativas de promoção do diálogo e da cooperação, soma-se um quadro muito mais alargado, à escala europeia e mundial, que veio reforçar a importância de um conceito e realidade em consolidação, o Indo-Pacífico. A este facto acresce a diminuta atenção académico em Portugal sobre o papel e a importância da Índia nas relações internacionais, razão pela qual se almeja o estudo, análise e reflexão sobre as dinâmicas e relações históricas, económicas e estratégicas entre Portugal e a Índia.

Foi este o contexto em que se inscreveu a assinatura de um Memorando de Entendimento (MoU) entre o Instituto do Oriente (IO), do ISCSP-ULisboa, e o *Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis* (MP-IDSA), foi organizado o primeiro *webinar*, intitulado “1st Virtual Bilateral Dialogue”, que decorreu no dia 8 de fevereiro de 2021 e contou com a participação de especialistas de ambas as instituições.

O evento constituiu-se como uma oportunidade para a promoção do diálogo e deliberação sobre as potenciais áreas de cooperação mútua, tendo-se organizado em quatro partes. A sessão inaugural contou com o discurso de abertura do Senhor Embaixador, Sujan R. Chinoy, Diretor Geral, MP-IDSA, do Professor

Doutor Nuno Canas Mendes, Presidente do IO, do ISCSP-ULisboa, do Senhor Embaixador Manish Chauhan, Embaixador da Índia em Portugal e do Senhor Embaixador Carlos Pereira Marques, Embaixador de Portugal na Índia.

A primeira sessão, “Portugal-India Relations: Past and Present”, foi moderada pelo Senhor Embaixador Sujan R. Chinoy, e teve a participação do Senhor Embaixador Luís Filipe Castro Mendes, que abordou a relação Portugal-Índia, passado e presente, e do Coronel D.P.K. Pillay (MP-IDSA), que apresentou a comunicação “Role of Portugal in Shaping Modern India: History and Impact from 1498 to Date”.

A segunda sessão, “Strategic and Economic Impact of ‘Indo-Pacific’ on India and Portugal”, foi moderada pelo Professor Doutor Nuno Canas Mendes, e teve a participação do Secretário Adjunto do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros de Nova Deli, Shri Sandeep Chakravorty, com a comunicação “An Indian Viewpoint on the Strategic and Economic Impact of Indo-Pacific and Role of India and Portugal”; da Professora Doutora Carla Guapo Costa, do ISCSP-ULisboa, que apresentou a comunicação “India-Portugal and its Impact on Geo-Economics”; e do Investigador Constantino Xavier, do Centre for Social and Economic Progress, New Delhi, com a comunicação “India and Portugal: Points of Indo-Atlantic Convergence”.

Neste número especial da Revista incluem-se as intervenções do Embaixador de Portugal na Índia, Senhor Embaixador Carlos Pereira Marques, e do Secretário Adjunto do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros da Índia, Shri Sandeep Chakravorty, que se apresentam de seguida, e que dão nota do significado político e diplomático desta aproximação.

Special Section

Daxiyangguo – Portuguese Journal of Asian Studies dedicates this special issue to India. During the 1st half of 2021, Portugal, in the exercise of the EU presidency, paid special attention to India and organized an EU-India Summit, on May 8, held, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, by videoconference. In addition to a growing interest on the part of Portuguese foreign policy, punctuated by recent State visits by the heads of government of both countries and various initiatives to promote dialogue and cooperation, there is a much broader picture, at European and global scale, which reinforced the importance of a concept and reality in consolidation, the Indo-Pacific. Additionally to this fact, there is little academic attention in Portugal on the role and importance of India in international relations, which is why the study, analysis and reflection on the dynamics and historical, economic and strategic relations between Portugal and India are aimed at.

This was the context in which the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Instituto do Oriente (IO), from ISCSP-ULisboa, and the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (MP-IDSA) was organized. The first webinar, entitled “1st Virtual Bilateral Dialogue”, which took place on February 8, 2021 and was attended by experts from both institutions.

The event was an opportunity to promote dialogue and deliberation on potential areas of mutual cooperation, having been organized in four parts. The opening session featured the opening speech by Ambassador, Sujan R. Chinoy, Director General, MP-IDSA, by Professor Nuno Canas Mendes, President of the IO, at ISCSP-ULisboa, by Ambassador Manish Chauhan, Ambassador of India in Portugal and Ambassador Carlos Pereira Marques, Ambassador of Portugal to India.

The first session, “Portugal-India Relations: Past and Present”, was moderated by Ambassador Sujan R. Chinoy, with the participation of Ambassador Luís Filipe Castro Mendes, who addressed the Portugal-India relationship, past and present, and of Colonel D. P. K. Pillay (MP-IDSA), who presented the paper “Role of Portugal in Shaping Modern India: History and Impact from 1498 to Date”.

The second session, “Strategic and Economic Impact of ‘Indo-Pacific’ on India and Portugal”, was moderated by Professor Nuno Canas Mendes, and was attended by the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of New Delhi, Shri Sandeep Chakravorty, with the communication “An Indian Viewpoint on the Strategic and Economic Impact of Indo-Pacific and Role of India and Portugal”; Professor Carla Guapo Costa, from ISCSP-ULisboa, who presented the paper “India-Portugal and its Impact on Geo-Economics”; and Researcher Constantino Xavier, from the Center for Social and Economic Progress, New Delhi, with the paper “India and Portugal: Points of Indo-Atlantic Convergence”.

This special issue of the Journal includes interventions by the Ambassador of Portugal to India, Ambassador Carlos Pereira Marques, and by the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India, Shri Sandeep Chakravorty, who are presented below, and which note the political and diplomatic significance of this approach.

Carlos Pereira Marques

Embaixador de Portugal na Índia

Special Remarks

I thank the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses and the Instituto do Oriente for this opportunity and I congratulate them for their new partnership, wishing them a long, fruitful and stimulating collaboration.

The political bilateral relations between Portugal and India are excellent and have received in recent years a considerable boost, thanks, in part, to the proximity and good understanding existing between the leaders of our two countries, but also to an intensive cycle of high-level visits.

There is plenty of opportunities in Trade and Investment. The potential is huge, and there is thus a strong political will to move things forward, mutually opening up our markets. We count for that on the proactivity and entrepreneurship of Indian and Portuguese businessmen and they know that they have our support. Health, Defence, ICTs and Renewable Energies are key sectors for us.

Portugal holds now the Presidency of the EU and the priorities we have set for our tenure clearly reflect the importance of our bilateral relationship and how close we are.

First of all, because those priorities are also major targets for India: the Green Transition, the Digital Transition, the Social Transition – as we need to prepare our citizens to the future – the Resilience – mainly in economic terms, in the aftermath of the Covid Crisis – the openness to the world and the defence of multilateralism, including a common approach to the Indo-Pacific

region: all these are shared priorities both for Portugal, India and Europe and this only proves that our interests are complementary and not conflicting.

And then because India itself is on top of our priorities. We believe India has a crucial role to play in Asia. We need a multipolar and not a unipolar Asia and hence the importance for Europe of having balanced and diversified relations with this thriving continent. In the changing world we live, we need more India in Europe, as India also needs us more. We need to give more substance to our strategic partnership and to move forward in key — although perhaps less consensual — areas, such as trade and investment. And we need it not only for economic, but also for political and strategic reasons.

As it was during a Portuguese Presidency, in 2000, that took place the first EU-India Summit, it is an additional reason for us to be proud to host now in Oporto, in May, the first Informal Meeting of EU and India Leaders ever. This is going to be a real breakthrough, an historic occasion that will propel our relationship to new levels.

We hope to get very concrete results from the Oporto Meeting and are glad to note that this is also the approach of our Indian counterparts.

We have therefore good reasons to believe that this first semester of 2021 will be a very productive one, paving the way for a new era of EU-India relations. As old friends of India, we will spare no efforts to achieve this goal.

Shri Sandeep Chakravorty

Secretário Adjunto do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros da Índia

Convergence of Indian and EU Indo-Pacific Strategies

As the geopolitical and geoeconomic pivot shifts rapidly to the Indo-Pacific region, it has gained a lot of salience in the European strategic calculus. The dynamism and vitality of the region is self-evident — it is home to 60% of the world's population, contributes to 2/3rd of the global economic output and 60% of the world trade flows through its waters. This region is also a leading source as well as destination for FDI. Many of the world's critical and large supply chains have an Indo-Pacific connection. It is indisputable that the Indo-Pacific is the 21st century's locus in political and security terms, competition, technology incubation, and innovation. The rise in military and economic tensions seen in recent times, as well as threats to open navigation and connectivity infrastructure in the region, have made it almost impossible for Europe to ignore the Indo-Pacific. It is against this backdrop that many European countries have acknowledged that 'Asia-pacific' is an anachronistic term and have unveiled their Indo-Pacific Strategies to better reflect current global realities. France, a resident Indo-Pacific power with territories in both the Indian and Pacific oceans that are home to about a million of its citizens, was the first to enunciate its Indo-Pacific policy. Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom soon followed articulating their own Indo-Pacific Strategies.

Although other European countries do not have specific national strategies on the Indo-Pacific, they do have deep historical and contemporary linkages to the region. For example, as noted by Portugal's Foreign Minister Augusto Santos

Silva in an interview to Samir Saran of ORF in June 2021, the oldest Indo-Pacific strategy belongs to Portugal as it had a historic role in opening up the sea route to the Indo-Pacific from Europe and in the current international scenario it is positioning itself beyond Europe to maintain those close ties with the region.

This latent desire of many other European powers to renew and reboot their engagement with the Indo-Pacific region with a strategic focus became manifest in September 2021, when the EU came out with its comprehensive Indo-Pacific (IP) Strategy. The EU's IP Strategy can be seen as giving one voice to all EU Member States on the Indo-Pacific. As emphasized by EU HRVP Joseph Borrell during its official announcement, the Strategy brings together the European priorities in the region and seeks to ensure a coordinated approach to the Indo-Pacific. The IP Strategy reaffirms the EU's inclusive approach to the Indo-Pacific and prioritizes cooperation with partners such as: ASEAN, Australia, India, Japan, New Zealand, Korea, UK and USA. France, with its resident interests in the region, was a key driver in encouraging Brussels to adopt the strategy. But the leadership role played by Portugal during its Presidency of the European Council in the first semester of 2021 by holding the first ever India-EU Leaders' Meeting that brought together all the EU 27 leaders on the same platform as India, also deserves special mention. Portugal also worked with the European Commission to ensure the relaunch of the stalled negotiations for Free Trade and Investment Agreements with India. This was a major outcome of the Leaders' Meeting and endorsed the EU's Indo-Pacific focus.

The EU IP strategy emphasises on a 'Team Europe' approach to implement its activities and priorities. The EU, its Member States and other institutions such as the European Investment Bank (EIB) will mobilise their efforts and resources in a coordinated and coherent manner to address the challenges of connectivity, sustainable development and of maintaining open and fair trade opportunities in the region and help meet EU's strategic objectives. Further, the IP Strategy underlines the EU's attempt to position itself as a distinct and autonomous player in the region by emphasizing on cooperation rather than confrontation as the driver of its increased engagement and by adopting a positive and constructive agenda in contrast to some other security driven initiatives in the region. With respect to China, the EU appears to have taken a balanced approach in its IP Strategy, insisting that it seeks cooperation and not confrontation. While the EU will likely continue to push back where fundamental disagreements exist, such as on human rights and trade distortion, the EU IP Strategy seeks to simultaneously engage and cooperate with China on issues of mutual interest, such as on climate and sustainability. This is evidently an extension of EU's publicly stated three pronged strategy on building its relation-

ship with China on the basis of ‘cooperation’ on global issues, ‘competition’ in economic matters and ‘systemic rivalry’ on governance.

The EU’s IP Strategy lists seven key areas of cooperation: (i) Sustainable and inclusive prosperity, (ii) Green transition, (iii) Ocean governance, (iv) Digital governance and partnerships, (v) Connectivity, (vi) Security and defence and (vii) Human security. Under each area, the EU lists its priority initiatives with different Indo-Pacific partners, which prominently includes India. Interestingly, through its IP Strategy, the EU has also sought to highlight its outreach and economic muscle in the Indo-Pacific along with its Member States. They have so far given Euro 414 billion globally as grants through development partnerships during 2013-2018, contrasting it with Euro 434 billion spent by China as loans under BRI creating debt. The EU is positioning itself as an important development player in the region that can provide a sustainable and better alternative to BRI, which promotes linkages rather than dependencies. This has been further elaborated in a separate EU Strategy on Connectivity, called the ‘Global Gateway’ published in December 2021. The Global Gateway (GG), aims to mobilize 300 billion Euros during 2021-27 for infrastructure development projects across the world, with special focus on the Indo-Pacific region.

India’s vision of the Indo-Pacific articulated by Prime Minister Modi in June 2018 at the Shangri La Dialogue, calls for a free, open, inclusive and rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific. It is inclusive in nature and is based on cooperation and collaboration, given the need for shared responses to shared challenges in the region. To give concrete shape to its Indo-Pacific policy, India announced the Indo-Pacific Oceans’ Initiative (IPOI) in November 2019, with a focus on collaborative effort to better manage, conserve, sustain and secure the maritime domain. IPOI is envisaged as an inclusive and open initiative and calls for collective action on seven central pillars, namely: (i) Maritime Security; (ii) Maritime Ecology; (iii) Maritime Resources; (iv) Capacity Building and Resource Sharing; (v) Disaster Risk Reduction and Management; (vi) Science, Technology and Academic Cooperation; and (viii) Trade Connectivity and Maritime Transport.

While India is taking lead on Maritime Security and Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Pillars of IPOI, Australia is leading on Maritime Ecology Pillar, Japan on Connectivity Pillar and France and Indonesia on Maritime Resources Pillar. Given our convergence of priorities, India has also invited the EU and its Member States, to join the IPOI.

From an Indian perspective, the EU’s IP Strategy demonstrates the increasing convergence between Indian and EU approaches and interests in the Indo-Pacific. Both emphasize an inclusive, collaborative and constructive agenda.

The EU identifies ASEAN as central to its Indo-Pacific pivot and recommends an ASEAN-led process in the South China Sea, which matches the Indian outlook. India has been identified as one of the EU's key partners in the region and figures in almost all the seven priority areas of cooperation under the IP Strategy. These priorities also dovetail well with India's own Indo-Pacific priorities and the seven pillars of IPOI and opens up multiple opportunities to work together in the region, in particular in the digital, green transition and connectivity spheres. India also welcomes the Global Gateway Strategy, which builds on the India-EU Connectivity Partnership, aimed at jointly promoting viable, inclusive and sustainable connectivity projects with a community focus.

In its IP Strategy, the EU views the Quad grouping as a significant partner on issues such as climate change, technology and vaccines. This is significant from the Indian viewpoint, at a time when India is guiding the Quad to engage on an expanded and more constructive agenda. India's Foreign Secretary Harsh Vardhan Shringla in his remarks on "Quad and the Future of the Indo-Pacific" at the 5th India-US Forum on 2 December 2021, said "Quad partnership has the capacity to address contemporary global challenges and mutual concerns, while highlighting the importance of a rules-based international order. Our ability to work together as democratic nations would also bolster respect for international law and ensure peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region." In this endeavour India can find in the EU a reliable partner.

The EU seeks to have a more autonomous policy in an increasingly strategic and economically vibrant Indo-Pacific. Greater EU involvement in the Indo-Pacific will contribute to a multi-polar Asia which is a *sine qua non* for a multi-polar world. India's External Minister Dr. S. Jaishankar said at a conference hosted by the National Maritime Foundation in October 2021, "As globalisation advances and becomes more diversified, there will only be a greater appreciation of the inter-dependence and broader footprints that the Indo-Pacific expresses. Given this direction, denying the Indo-Pacific is tantamount to denying globalisation." He further added that the Indo-Pacific is a "fact of life" and the question of convergence is, therefore, more of perception than of reality. In this context the EU's IP Strategy along with its Global Gateway Strategy provide new and valuable opportunities to enhance India-EU cooperation in the Indo-Pacific to foster green and digital partnerships with like-minded countries, and contribute to the peace, security and prosperity of the region. France, the EU Council President in the first semester of 2022 has called in February 2022 for a meeting of EU and Indo-Pacific Ministers. This will be an opportunity for India and EU Member States to take forward the convergence of strategies into a plan for action.

Convergence of European Indo-Pacific Strategies with Indian Framework

As global economy's centre of gravity shifts towards the Indo-Pacific region, with the presence of some of the biggest economies and critical maritime trade routes, the importance of this region has increased in the European strategic calculus. The growing recent military and economic tensions as well as threats to open navigation and connectivity infrastructure has made it almost impossible for Europe to ignore the Indo-Pacific. It is in this background that many European countries have unveiled their Indo-Pacific Strategies. Amongst the European countries only France is a resident Indo-Pacific power with territories in both the Indian and Pacific oceans and about a million of its citizens living there. In addition to France over the last year or so we have seen other European powers articulating their Indo-Pacific strategies including Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Although other European countries such as Portugal did not have specific Indo-Pacific strategies they do have deep historical and contemporary linkages in the Indo-Pacific region. Portugal is particularly significant for its historical role in opening up the sea route to the Indo-Pacific from Europe.

This latent desire of many other European powers to have an Indo-Pacific strategy became manifest in 2021. In September 2021, EU came out with its Indo-Pacific (IP) Strategy. EU's IP Strategy can be seen as giving one voice to all EU Member States on Indo-Pacific. It brings together the European priorities in the region and seeks to ensure a coordinated approach to Indo-Pacific. It enumerates a plan of action that will be driven by a 'Team Europe' approach — i.e., the EU, its Member States and other institutions such as the European Investment Bank (EIB), etc, to address the challenges of connectivity, sustainable development and of maintaining open and fair trade opportunities amongst others.

The IP Strategy also underlines EU's attempt to position itself differently in the region by emphasizing on cooperation and not confrontation as the driver of its increased engagement. By focusing more on a positive and constructive agenda, EU wants to be seen as a distinct and autonomous player compared to the other security driven initiatives in the Indo-Pacific. EU also takes a balanced approach to China in its IP Strategy, insisting that it seeks cooperation and not confrontation. While one can note that EU will continue to push back where fundamental disagreements exist, such as on human rights and trade distortion, at the same time the EU IP Strategy seeks to engage and cooperate with China on issues of mutual interest such as in climate and sustainability.

The EU's IP Strategy lists seven key areas of cooperation: (i) Sustainable and inclusive prosperity, (ii) Green transition, (iii) Ocean governance, (iv) Digital

governance and partnerships, (v) Connectivity, (vi) Security and defence, and (vii) Human security. Under each area, EU lists its priority initiatives with different Indo-Pacific partners, including many with India.

Interestingly, through its IP Strategy, EU has also sought to highlight its outreach and economic muscle in the Indo-Pacific along with its Member States. They have so far given Euro 414 billion globally as grants through development partnerships during 2013-2018, contrasting it with Euro 434 billion spent by China as loans under BRI creating debt. EU is positioning itself as an important development player in the region that can provide a sustainable and better alternative to BRI, which promotes linkages rather than dependencies. This has been further elaborated in a separate EU Strategy on Connectivity, called the 'Global Gateway' published in December 2021. The Global Gateway (GG), aims to mobilize 300 billion Euros during 2021-27 for infrastructure development projects across the world, and has focus on the Indo-Pacific region.

India's vision of Indo-Pacific was articulated in Prime Minister in June 2018, which calls for a free, open, inclusive and rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific. It is inclusive in nature and is based on cooperation and collaboration, given the need for shared responses to shared challenges in the region. To give concrete shape to its Indo-Pacific policy, India announced the Indo-Pacific Oceans' Initiative (IPOI) in November 2019, with a focus on collaborative effort to better manage, conserve, sustain and secure the maritime domain. IPOI is envisaged as an inclusive and open initiative and envisages collective action on seven central pillars, namely: (i) Maritime Security; (ii) Maritime Ecology; (iii) Maritime Resources; (iv) Capacity Building and Resource Sharing; (v) Disaster Risk Reduction and Management; (vi) Science, Technology and Academic Cooperation; and (viii) Trade Connectivity and Maritime Transport.

While India is taking lead on Maritime Security and Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Pillars of IPOI, Australia is leading on Maritime Ecology Pillar, Japan on Connectivity Pillar and France and Indonesia on Maritime Resource Pillar. Given our convergences of priorities, India has also invited the EU and its Member States, to join the IPOI.

From an Indian perspective, the EU's IP Strategy demonstrates the increasing convergences between India's and EU's approaches and interests in the Indo-Pacific. India has been identified as one of EU's key partners in the region and figures in almost all the seven priority areas of cooperation under the IP Strategy. These priorities also dovetail well with India's own Indo-Pacific priorities and the seven pillars of IPOI. The IP Strategy reaffirms EU's inclusive approach to the Indo-Pacific and prioritizes cooperation with partners such as: ASEAN, Australia, India, Japan, New Zealand, Korea, UK and USA. There is a

clear convergence of interests which points towards opportunities to collaborate in the Indo-Pacific region. EU identifies ASEAN as its central and most important Indo-Pacific partner and recommends an ASEAN-led process in the South China Sea, which matches the Indian outlook on the matter.

In its IP Strategy, EU views the QUAD grouping as a significant partner on issues such as climate change, technology and vaccines. This is significant from the Indian viewpoint, at a time when India is guiding the QUAD to engage on an expanded and more constructive agenda. EU's guarded approach to China, where it seeks cooperation on mutual priorities and pushes back on fundamental differences such as on human rights and trade distortion, also syncs well with the present Indian policy. The current Indian approach towards China is one of constructive engagement while not compromising on our basic national interest including maintaining peace, tranquility and *status quo* on the border arrangements.

EU seeks to have a more autonomous policy in an increasingly strategic and economically vibrant Indo-Pacific. Greater EU involvement in the Indo-Pacific will contribute to a multi-polar Asia which is a *sine qua non* for a multi-polar world. India sees many positives and opportunities of collaboration in the EU's IP Strategy, both in terms of its priorities and approaches as well as its increased focus on collaboration with India, especially on digital and connectivity spheres. India welcomes the Global Gateway Strategy, which builds on the India-EU Connectivity Partnership aimed to jointly promote viable, inclusive, and sustainable connectivity projects with a community focus. EU's IP Strategy along with its Global Gateway Strategy provide new and viable opportunities to enhance India-EU cooperation in the Indo-Pacific to foster green and digital partnerships with like-minded countries and contribute to the peace, security and prosperity of the region.