

THE INDIA'S POLICY TOWARD EAST SEA IN NOWADAYS

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Abstract:

It's important roles of East Sea in economic, national defense and freedom navigation so that the power countries in domestic and international region which've their opinions and policies with the East Sea. India's that nation with their policy toward East Sea, the same opinion of India toward dispute resolution about maritime sovereignty and freedom navigation. This study'll be analyze, comment the India's policy toward East Sea in nowadays, to show that important roles of East Sea in the India's toward East policy.

Keywords: Opinion, policy, India, East Sea

I. Introduction

The East Sea where geo-strategic, politic, militarical location increasingly important toward power countries, it's expressed in the sense of extending the scope of influence, developing cooperation and control strategy. But, the East Sea region's being disputes of sovereignty, rights and jurisdiction which's not been resolved thoroughly creates problems and hot spot of the region and world with differently levels. Facing the political world today, the scientists, the policy makers interest in how're the policies of Indian toward East Sea in nowadays? How's effect to political region and the world today? In this study, the author'll be answer these questionaires.

2. The contents' research

2.1. Goal's research: (i) Give the Indian's policies in the East Sea problems; (ii) The important roles East Sea in the Indian's policies; (iii) The East 's policy of Indian.

2.2. Methods' research: The author's used the methods in analysis and comment political region and internation through some historical issues analyze to the timetable with logistical, scientific and system. Besides, the author use region and international studies to analyze deeply the Indian's policies toward the East Sea problem.

2.3. The result's research

2.3.1. The East Sea in strategic India's attempt

The East Sea's located in the middle of the maritime route stretching from East Indian Ocean to Western Pacific where especially important role in the economic and security defense development of regional countries. The important of East Sea's reflected in economic, political and military perspectives.

About economics: The East Sea's first of the tenth largest maritime routes in the world. So that, traffic in the East Sea's bustling with the second in the world only after Mediterranean Sea. Everyday, it's about 200 - 300 ships which more than 5.000 tons passing, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the world's ocean-going vessels. The East Sea still maritime routes and strategic air traffic of countries in the region and the world, transporting half of the world's crude oil and other commercial products.¹ The East Sea contains many rare and precious resources, particularly oil and gas resources.

¹ Ministry People's Army, Political Department, Things about Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands and the southern continental shelf (*DKI*), Hai Phong, 2011, p.p.11.

These're factors direction disputes of sovereignty, rights and jurisdiction in the some of islands, the same some power countries create influences scope in the East Sea region.

About politic, security and defense: The East Sea's place where concentrated conflicts about all politic economy, security defense. In the fact, East Sea's taken place the most complex dispute over islands sovereignty in the world and region, these're difficult to solve due to differences, conflicts between the countries. Besides, the position of East Sea related economic nations defense, including both sovereign and non-sovereign countries, inside or outside the region¹.

Although, India's unrelated and undeclared direction rights with the disputed East Sea, but it's recognized a Party in the balance of power in this sea². So that, on the hand, India's not country which no coasts or islands, or similar bases and things in the East Sea region. On the other hand, India'power country outside which's activity and effect to region through regular naval deployments, visits and exercises in the sea; Strategic military and partnership established and developing with many countries along the East Sea; engaging in oil exploration in there, and diplomatic discussions in various regional forums with non-regional countries on the East Sea issue³. In this view, the interests of India in the East Sea have a clearly strategic stature⁴.

The elements linking East Sea and the India's strategy're two basic concepts: the first's the concept of expanding its neighbors, and Indian - Pacific. In that, the concept of expanding its neighbors's appeared in the official Indian vocabulary in 2000, refers to geographic areas outside South Asia, in which India recognizes the benefits their needs to achieve, maintain and protect. When linking the East Sea with India's expanded neighboring concept in 2004, Indian Foreign Minister Yashwant Sinha clearly stated, that's the area stretching from the Suez Canal to the East

¹ For the US, the East Sea 's the main activities of the 7th Fleet, 90% of US goods and ally transported through East Sea. For China, the 160 million tons of annual oil imports then 50% of oil imports and 70% of goods're transported through the East Sea, who's also the presence route operation of the South Sea Fleet. For Japan, 70% of imported oil and 42% of cargo shipped through the East Sea.² Therefore, if the East Sea situation in crisis and fight took place in air and sea transport through the East Sea're interrupted in the region and the world, consequences'll damage to economic and environmental affects security of the world. The Indian-Pacific phrase used by President Donald Trump during his Asia tour 12 days in 11/2018 unveiled a new vision of American security to the region. It can be seen clearly, the wording of Mr. Trump expressed desire that India - the third largest economy in the region, plays a bigger role in security issues. Facing with China has expanded its economic, political, military influences, India could become shield for smaller countries, especially Southeast Asia.

² David Scott (2015), *The increased balance of India in the East Sea*, International Relation, on 26/7/2015, <http://www.e-ir.info/2015/07/26/indias-incremental-balancing-in-the-south-china-sea/>.

³. David Scott (2013), "The role of India in the East Sea: Geopolitical and geoeconomic games", India Review, Vol. 12, 2, p.p. 51.

⁴. David Scott (2013), *The role of India in the East Sea: Geopolitical and geoeconomic games*, India Review, Vol. 12, 2, p.p. 51.

Sea, including West Asia, the Gulf, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Asia Pacific, and the Indian Ocean. When referring to the Indian-Pacific conceptual framework, East Sea 's directly related to India's strategic calculations, it's located in the midst of the sea lanes stretching from the East Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific. In this view, the main benefit of India in the Indian Ocean Pacific region's prevented China's assertiveness in the Indian Ocean to maintain freedom of navigation. Key strategic relationships with the East Sea dispute paved the way for strengthening India's role in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. In 2012, the statement of strategic framework of the Indian Ocean-Pacific, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has stated: The agreement India - ASEAN has started⁵ with a strong focus on economic, but its content also increasingly strategic, and an area of the Indian Ocean - Pacific stability, security and prosperity're very important to our progress and prosperity. Therefore, according to these two basic concepts, East Sea has been identified as an area of strategic interest for India, though it is not directly related to the sovereignty dispute and no claims to the East Sea.

The geopolitical and geo-political benefits of the East Sea to India: From this perspective, the strategic interests and involvement of India in the East Sea through two aspects geopolitics and geo-economics. First, like the other parties in the Asia - Pacific, basic strategic interests of India in the East Sea's geopolitical, which are related to maritime security. In view of this, China's unilateral claim to islands and territorial claims in the East Sea was directly threatened freedom of navigation and resource exploitation activities of the sovereign state in the region. In addition, China's actions directly challenge the status, affecting the peace and stability of the region. Due to the geopolitical interests of India in relation to sea, stretching between the Indian Ocean and Western Pacific, should travel safely through in the East Sea between the two regions become important strategic interest for India. Therefore, greater involvement of India in the East Sea's way to prevent China's growing presence in the Indian Ocean.

Second, and more specifically, the East Sea occupies central place in India's geo-economic interests, based on strategic interests sides of India in the region: India's trade with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations - ASEAN and East Asian countries, and supply of energy for India such as oil and natural gas from fields located in the East Sea. Both factors play a strategic role in India's foreign policy. Nearly 92-95% of goods of Indian trade goes through the

⁵ Has been implemented.

Indian Ocean, of which about 55% passes through the Malacca Strait. Moreover, in an effort to meet rising energy demand, India has diversified its energy supply chain, So nearly 70% of India's oil imports are shipped by sea. Under such conditions, East Sea has become an integral part of India's security belt, plays a decisive role for trade, energy and national interests⁶.

2.3.2. The role of the East Sea in the east policy action

Under the new government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India's long-standing East-Asian Orientation with 10 ASEAN member Countries⁷, has developed into the Eastern Action Policy - AEP and more active, was launched at the East Asia Summit in Myanmar in 5/2014. This policy outlines the plan to promote comprehensive partnership between the two growing poles of dynamic Asia. Within the framework of East Action, multilateral relations between India and ASEAN've been strengthened and greater motivation. This's especially important in context place the rapidly geopolitical changing, due to the strong rise of China on the world political stage and Beijing's increasing competition with the US and Japan, leading to major changes in political structure in Asia-Pacific. America's strategy of rebalancing in Asia, Diamond Chain strategy democratic security of Japan, and China's Silk Sea, all carry the political ambitions and grand strategy to shape the area structure in their own way. In this context, greater role and involvement of India in stabilizing the regional security structure plays a key role⁸. One of the major changes in India's Eastern Action Policy's reflected in the East Sea issue. That means, the controversial claim of China for most of the East Sea, India has clearly defined its stance about freedom of navigation, maritime security, and quickly resolve disputes under the provisions of international law, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, Develop Code of Conduct, and dispute resolution sovereignty, sovereign rights, jurisdiction on the seas through dialogue and peaceful means⁹. Because of these strategic benefits, the protection of maritime security and freedom of navigation in the East Sea have great importance for India. Stability in

⁶ For example, in the 1980s, India carried out offshore energy projects in the East Sea with Vietnam. In 1988, ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL) of the country cooperated in oil and gas exploration with Vietnam and then participate in 45% of the rights and obligations of exploration and exploitation of oil and gas in block 06.1 of Vung Tau 370 km southeast coast of Vietnam. In the early 2000s, China opposed India's role in the venture. However, India has asserted the right of the state-owned company to implement the project as part of its legitimate economic interests.

⁷. Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Brunei, Campuchia, Laos, Vietnam, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

⁸. Rahul Mishra (2014), "From east to Action East: The east India", *The ASAN Forum*, 1/12/2014, <http://www.theasanforum.org/from-look-east-to-act-east-transitions-in-indias-eastward-engagement/>

⁹ Ashok Sajjanhar (2016), "Policy Action East of India and beyond", *Gateway House*, 12/52016, <http://www.gatewayhouse.in/indias-act-east-policy-far-beyond/>.

East Sea's mentioned directly in the policy actions of the East India, today, India's increased involvement with East and Southeast Asia. Accordingly, the strategic objectives of India's acting outside powers in Southeast Asia based on the dual objectives:

First, India's ambition becomes prominent power in the Northeast Indian Ocean, it mainly focuses on the Bengal Bay and the Andaman Sea. There, India plays a key defense role to counter the potential threats from and across the Southeast Asian archipelago.

Second, the larger goal take on greater strategic role in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. This benefit mainly comes from the urgent need to balance China's growing influence in Southeast Asia, as well as India's desire to expand its strategic space¹⁰.

India 's committed to strengthening cooperation to ensure maritime security and freedom of navigation, as well as the safety of sea lanes for free trade, in accordance with international law, including UNCLOS¹¹. In this respect, a major concern of India's East Sea - located in supposedly the gateway of India, thus posing a serious challenge to the peace and stability of the region. Based on this strategic concern, India's legitimate security interests of stability in the East Sea, because any instability in this region that're negatively affecting the national security of India.

The most important benefit 's freedom of navigation through the East Sea, which plays a very important role for trade and commerce by sea, as well as the security of energy supplies from the Sakhalin area of Russia¹². Economic interests of India in the East Sea related to exploration of hydrocarbon resources in the area of ONGC Videsh Company - OVL - Indian multinational oil and gas company. Thus, China's growing stiffness forcing India to maintain its interests and protect its interests in this area¹³.

2.3.3. The policy's India toward East Sea

Decision of India wanted to engage in a complex environment in the East Sea, even if the risk of provoking his giant neighbor, shows the importance that New Delhi put into this area as well as the sea route here. The ongoing dispute in the East Sea're considered to be one of the

¹⁰. David Brewster (2013), "India's defense strategy and India-ASEAN relations" *India Review*, Vol. 12, no. 3, tr. 151.

¹¹. xxv *Vision Statement of the India-ASEAN Summit*, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 21/12/2012.

¹². xxviDr. SubhashKapila, "East-East Action and Southeast Asia: Strategic Political Motivation" South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No. 5603, 14/11/2013.

¹³. xxviiDarshana M. Barua, *Indian naval cooperation-ASEAN: A key strategy*, Observer Research Foundation, Analysis, 6/7/2013.

lasting regional conflicts and most complex in the Asia-Pacific. Disputes involving China and some countries in the region and include issues such as territorial claims overlap and access important resources such as energy and fisheries. In this difficult environment, India has been expanding its influence through the implementation of its East Policy. China, which country ‘s for years tried to curb the growing involvement of New Delhi in the East Sea, did not give full attention to this. India's decision to engage itself in such a complex environment, even if the risk of provoking neighboring his giant, shows the importance that New Delhi put into this area as well as its sea lanes.

The East Sea ‘s located in an area where great strategic interest for India. Geographically, it links the Indian Ocean and the East China Sea through the Strait of Malacca,’s one of the busiest sea lanes in the world. This important waterway serves as an economic lifeline for important South Asian country. As many as 97% of India's total international trade by sea, half of which crosses the strait. In addition, ASEAN ‘s one of India's largest trading partners, with a total trade value of \$ 71 billion in 2016-2017. Energy ‘s another factor India ‘s interested in the East Sea. In 2015, India becomes the third largest oil consumer in the world, with industry experts predict the energy consumption of the country will continue to increase by 4.2% per year. 80% of total oil demand in India ‘s imported 80%, it ‘s likely that the country will need to secure new sources of energy as growing demand. Potential energy reserves in the East Sea have attracted the attention of New Delhi. In 2013, the US Energy Information Administration (EIA) estimates the area can hold up to 11 billion barrels of oil and 19 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves. Thus, India has been continuously engaged projects offshore energy development in the East Sea since the early 1990s, bidding for new oil blocks and conduct oil exploration in the area.

Economic importance of the area has turned into the national security interests of New Delhi. With half of its seaborne trade passes through the Malacca Strait, any instability in the East Sea’ll negatively impact shipping routes and affect the Indian economy. Similarly, if a hidden power capability to control hostile region, it could threaten India's access to this vital sea route. Thus New Delhi's participation in the East Sea focuses on three goals. First, to ensure peace and stability in the region and keep these vital sea lanes open; second, to maintain close ties with regional powers; and thirdly, to ensure that no external aggressive force dominates the area. Through the LEP, New Delhi has pursued these goals by seeking to increase engagement

with the ASEAN countries. Besides strengthening economic cooperation, strategic partnership, it's been expanded through joint exercises, generous credits, military training and military arms sales for countries in the region. Moreover, the strong presence of Indian military assets in the region only to protect these sea lanes, but also to bring awareness of the potential developments of the area.

This involvement 's also in response to China's growing influence in the region. India's relations with giant neighbor his difficult and fragile. Both sides were drawn into a protracted border dispute, each led to a war in 1962 and to this day, remains source of tension sometimes leads to crisis. This has maintained sense of suspicion and distrust between the two countries. As the confrontation at Doklam in 2017 shows conflict between the two sides're still real prospect. Therefore, in view of New Delhi, it is imperative that the East Sea does not become a lake of China. Control territorial disputes in the region requires awareness diplomatic wisdom and delicate balance from India. On the one hand, this South Asian country want to maintain friendly relations with parties have claims in the East Sea; On the other hand, this country must avoid over-stimulating its Chinese neighbors. In view of New Delhi, Theo quan điểm của New Delhi, while activities such as energy exploration and arms sales for the region to be reacted to by Beijing then risky activities will be more difficult to do than a Chinese statement. The view of territorial disputes 's another matter. China has repeatedly described the East Sea as a core interest, shows ready to use force to protect its claims. Therefore, India's perspective on this issue 's a deliberate ambiguity - does not favor any party but instead promotes the freedom of navigation and peaceful resolution of disputes under international law, including UNCLOS. Regarding the arbitral award relating to the dispute in the East Sea between the Philippines and China in 2016, India, not taking sides in this dispute, urged all parties to respect and maintain the court's ruling based on UNCLOS.

Recent developments in the East Sea, however, threat to New Delhi. China, claiming 85% of the disputed area, has been building and militarizing the structures it possesses. From 2013 to 2016, China has built seven islands and construction of military facilities including airports, radar and missile base on the redeveloped islands in the area. Moreover, the Chinese ships in the region to act aggressive, harassing and threatening other countries' ship go near the islands they claimed sovereignty. In reponse, other claimants in the East Sea claim has also begun to strengthen its

deterrent on the islands with infrastructure such as coastal defense, airport and surveillance systems. Instead of peace, such actions had caused tension and destabilize the region. Even the United States, once a strong proponent of freedom of navigation in the region, 's very little help for India. In the first year of inauguration, US President Donald Trump did not show a willingness to challenge Beijing of their behavior in the East Sea. The new government seems to lack a clear policy for the East Sea, instead focus on North Korea. Recently, however, there 're signs that may be changing. By the end of 2017, the four sides' security dialogue - a defense partnership involving the US, Japan, India and Australia - have suddenly reappeared, showed concern growing for the rise of China. US military strategy was announced recently that the focus shift to China and Russia. It is still too early to say how well this plan will work in the current administration but the US is likely to seek relationships with India closer as a counterweight to China's regional dominance. Moreover, it may also signal Washington's new interest to prevent acts of Beijing in the East Sea. On 12/7/2016, the Court of the United Nations Permanent Arbitration - PCA in La Hay has ruled the historic lawsuit between China and the Philippines regarding the East Sea issue. International Arbitration Court ruled in favor Philippines while rejecting China's claims to the East Sea based on nine-dashed map, and affirmed that China's claim has no legal basis, also pointed out that Beijing's historic rights inconsistent with the UN Convention on Law of the Sea¹⁴ and there 's no evidence in history China has taken control unique to the waters or the resources of the sea, and China's actions at sea has reached the limits of geography and content of UNCLOS¹⁵.

In response to this ruling, India immediately took a clear stand and disregard for any party to the suit when declaring: As a member of UNCLOS, India urges all parties to uphold UNCLOS, Convention establishing the international legal order in the seas and oceans. Declaration on the ruling of the Court of Arbitration of the East Sea¹⁶ by Minister of External Affairs in New Delhi launched on 07/12/2016 stating: India The Arbitral Award 's set out in Annex VII of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982. In addition, the

¹⁴. United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982-UNCLOS.

¹⁵. Permanent Arbitration Court (2016), PCA case 2013-19 the referee on the East Sea issue, 12/7/2016, <https://pca-cpa.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/175/2016/07/PH-CN-20160712-Award.pdf> (Accessed 1 August 2016).

¹⁶. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India (2016), " Declaration of Arbitration Award on East Sea According to Annex VII of UNCLOS ", 12/7/2016,

<http://www.mea.gov.in/pressreleases.htm?dtl/27019/Statement+on+Award+of+Arbitral+Tribunal+on+South+China+Sea+Under+Annexure+VII+of+UNCLOS>.

Minister of External Affairs also stressed that: Ngoài ra, Bộ Ngoại giao Ấn Độ cũng nhấn mạnh rằng: India supports freedom of navigation, aviation, and does not impede trade, based on the principles of international law as enshrined in UNCLOS. India believes that countries should settle disputes through peaceful means, no threat or use of force, while curbing the activities can complicate or escalate disputes, affect peace and stability¹⁷.

According to the above statement, India's view on the Arbitration Court's verdict 's clearly appropriate with New Delhi's official stance on the East Sea issue, which expressed strong support for India's freedom of navigation in international seas and ensure that all countries in the region compliance with international conventions on maritime law related to this issue. Although India's position on the verdict does not reflect New Delhi's views on China, but compliance with international law 's certainly contrary to the strategic interests of Beijing in the East Sea. Obviously, in terms of strategic interests of India and under UNCLOS, determine which East Sea 's a common maritime route, increased tensions in the region cause negative consequences for India.

In the context of the East Sea to become the focus of US-China rivalry¹⁸ in the Western Pacific, it began involving larger strategic issues, Related to China's naval strategy and increased US presence in the region. Accordingly, China's assertive behavior requires other parties to the dispute should be serious strategic calculations¹⁹. Accordingly, freedom of navigation in the East Sea has become a concern for India. Although not directly related to the dispute, as extra-regional powers, East Sea issue has become an important factor in the strategic calculations and security agenda of India.

2.3.4. Some impact on Vietnam

Although India 's a country outside the East Sea, but relations between India and Vietnam show, India at a certain level, directly related to the East Sea. In 1988, the ONGC state company

¹⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India (2016), "Declaration of Arbitration Award on East Sea According to Annex VII of UNCLOS", 12/7/2016.

¹⁸. Embellish rock island in the East Sea of China, Dr. Yan Yan, International maritime law expert, Hainan Research Institute, China suppose, Vietnam and the Philippines also worked in the Truong Sa Islands, so China embellished the island 's normal and ended in late 2015. Dr. Yan Yan also emphasize and acknowledge actions embellished entities in the East Sea on a large scale, transport military equipment to the islands of the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands not against countries in the region, but mainly self-defense in the face of US actions in the East Sea¹⁸. The 3rd Ocean Dialogue International Law and The East Sea. Sheraton Hotel, Hanoi on 11/6/2018.

¹⁹. LeszekBuszynski (2012), East Sea: Oil, maritime claims and US strategic competition - China, The Washington Quarterly, Vol. 35, 2, tr. 139-140.

of India began a petroleum exploration project in the territorial seas of Vietnam in the East Sea. For a long time, China has not made any significant claims related to this joint venture project. However, in the early 2000s, China has opposed India's role in this venture. India reacted in 2 ways: First, India claims the right of the state-owned company in the implementation of projects as part of the legitimate economic interests of India. Second, India started selling patrol ships to strengthen the coastal patrol competency of Vietnam. Indian warships have repeatedly docked in Vietnam, while India defended its right to carry out such visits. India has confirmed it will use the navy to protect related facilities joint venture projects in case of threatened²⁰. Thus, the signing with Vietnam of the framework agreement on cooperation in 2003 and agreements signed Strategic Partnership 2007 like diamonds in the East Sea of India began to be strengthened militarily, in the context of China's rising power in the East Sea to control the area²¹.

Strengthening relations between India notably and Vietnam 're reflected in the exchange of visits by senior officials of the two countries. From day 05-06 / 6/2016, the Indian Defense Minister led delegation of senior defense industry, including representatives of the largest arms company of India to visit Vietnam to strengthen bilateral military ties. In 2015, Indian President Pranab Mukherjee made a historic visit to Vietnam. The visit of the Indian Minister Parrikar took place on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations²². Similarly, in October 2014, the Vietnamese Prime Minister, Nguyen Tan Dung, made a state visit to India, was marked by the signing of agreement between OVL and PetroVietnam Cooperation of projects new oil exploration in Vietnam²³.

At the invitation of Indian President Ram Nath Kovind, on 02/3/2018, President Tran Dai Quang and his wife and senior delegation Vietnam sailed State visit to the Republic of India from 02 to 04/3/2018. This is the first visit to India by President Tran Dai Quang on the chairmanship of the Republic of socialist Vietnam. Vietnam and India established consular relations in 1956 and upgraded to diplomatic relations at ambassador on 07/01/1972. The traditional friendship between Vietnam and India is rooted in cultural, historical, religious, President Ho Chi Minh and

²⁰. Joseph ChinyongLiow (2016), *The United States and India can work together to do something in the East Sea*, Brookings, 10/6/2016.

²¹. David Scott (2015), *The increased balance of India in the East Sea*.

²². Rajaram Panda (2016), *The upward trend of the Vietnam - India after the visit of Parikka*, *The Pioneer*, 19/6/2016.

²³. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014), Joint Statement of visit of Prime Minister of Vietnam to India -October 27-28, 2014, Government of India, 28/10/2014.

Prime Minister J. Neru laid the foundation, the generation of the two countries' leaders to preserve, nurture and unity in the stage of economic development - society of the two countries. Bilateral relations have been older Prime Minister Pham Van Dong reviews bright cloudlessn and has been upgraded to Strategic Partnership 2007 on the basis of the similarity of real strategic interests between the two countries. This relationship continues to be upgraded to a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership from May 9/2016, reflects the deep, reliable and effective development of the India-Vietnam relationship²⁴.

In recent years, the traditional relations and strategic partnership Vietnam-India deeper, into essentially across all sectors. The two countries have good political relations, regularly exchange senior visits. Notably, the visit to India by President Truong Tan Sang in 2011, General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong in 2013, Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung in 2014 and visit to Vietnam of President Pranab Mukhajee in 2014. Recently, visit to Vietnam of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in September 2016. During this visit, the two sides made a historic advance, improve the relationship of the two countries to Partnership comprehensive strategy, a clearly demonstration of friendship long tradition Vietnam-India.

India 's one of the 10 largest trade partner of Vietnam. Two-way trade has increased over the years since the two countries set up strategic partnerships. In particular, the two countries have set up the Trade Mix Subcommittee State Secretary General Nguyen Phu Trong's visit to India and his first meeting in January 2014. The visit of President Tran Dai Quang to India and his wife and high ranking delegation took place in the context of traditional friendship and multi-faceted cooperation between Vietnam and India, especially since the two countries set up Strategic Partners in 2007 and upgraded to a comprehensive strategic partner in 2016. At the same time, Vietnam affirmed its foreign policy of independence, autonomy, multilateralisation, diversification of international relations, it attaches great importance to strengthening traditional friendship and multi-faceted cooperation with India. The visit opens an important opportunity to the most senior leaders of the two countries meet, promote cooperation comprehensive strategic Vietnam - India²⁵.

²⁴ <https://vov.vn/chinh-tri/quan-he-viet-naman-do-ngay-cang-sau-rong-di-vao-thuc-chat-734741.vov>.

²⁵ <https://vov.vn/chinh-tri/quan-he-viet-naman-do-ngay-cang-sau-rong-di-vao-thuc-chat-734741.vov>.

In 2017, two-way trade is expected to reach \$ 7.5 billion, up nearly 38 percent from 2016. By the end of November 2017, the total registered investment capital in India reached \$ 756 million, 168 investment projects, ranks 28/126 countries and territories investing in Vietnam. In particular, India has identified the priority field for economic and trade cooperation with Vietnam: Electrification, electricity, renewable energy, infrastructure, tourism, textiles, footwear, pharmaceuticals. Vietnam currently has seven investment projects to India with a total registered capital of US \$ 6.15 million, mainly in product distribution of animal feed, building materials distribution, exporting cosmetics, computer products. So far, the two countries have become important trading partners Đến nay, hai nước đã trở thành đối tác thương mại quan trọng của nhau and aiming to bring bilateral trade to \$ 15 billion by 2020. Regarding educational cooperation, cultural, sports and tourism, India is helping Vietnam train high-quality human resources in many fields such as information technology, economics, law, English, through scholarships short and long term; the two countries have renewed cultural exchange program between Vietnam and India. Security and defense cooperation between the two countries continues to develop well. In particular, bilateral defense cooperation has been expanded in all 3 Army Corps: Navy, Air Force and focus on 3 areas: Training, defense industry and visiting ships, simultaneously, the two sides signed a cooperation program on issues of peacekeeping and the Technical Agreement on Non-Military Maritime Information Sharing.

This shows the determination of India and Vietnam to strengthen naval ties and establish a sustained maritime presence that was previously sustained, with Indian naval vessels allowed in the port of Nha Trang in southern Vietnam²⁶. Due to many interests in East Sea, India and Vietnam're expanding all the fields cooperation, at the sametime, creating deeply strategic relation, suitable for East Action Policy's India. OVL has decided the third renewal of exploration licenses at No 128, where China claims sovereignty to maitain strategic interests of India at East Sea. In 2011, Bejing warned OVL that, these exploration activities' company over Vietnam coast offshore're illegal and violates Chinese sovereignty, but OVL still continues to operate oil and gas exploration in this sea. Its maintain this policy 's efforts New Delhi in the presence of India at place where China has acted aggressively²⁷. Besides, OVL continues to own

²⁶. Vietnam Navy Commander visits India boost defense ties, Defence Now.

²⁷. India - Vietnam boost strategic partnership, *The Economic Times*, 17 September 2015.

45% stake in No 6.1 outside the coast ‘s Vietnam. The two-way trade between India and Vietnam over \$ 8 billion in 2013 - 2014, and to result objective \$ 7 billion in 2015, nowaday, two countries agree improving two-way trade up to \$ 15 billion in 2020.

The mainly factor linking India - Vietnam relate to East Sea issue’s defense relation, which’s important role factor in strategic partnership more and more enhancing. In the visit to India in 2014 of Vietnam President, Nguyen Tan Dung, President Modi said that: Our defense relation with Vietnam’s the most important factor. India still maintain Agreement in helping Vietnam modernization the security and defense forces²⁸. The business trip to India’s Primer Minister of Vietnam Defense, Phung Quang Thanh, two countries ‘ve signed Joint Vision Statement about Defense Relation Vietnam - India in the period time 2015- 2020 and Memorandum of Cooperation between coastal protection forces of two countries.

Besides, India’s supported Vietnam credit package with \$ 100 million for bought patrol ship Vietnam Coast Guad²⁹. In the visit to Vietnam’s Primer Minister India Defense, Parikkar³⁰, in 6/2016, Vietnam Coast Guad’s signed document which order high speed patrol ship³¹, service for patrolling to maritime security asurrance³² and at the seaside³³.

With enhancing strategic relation, the next visit to Vietnam of President Narendra Modi, play important role, and expectation improving strategic relation’s two countries. In that, the important first, India’s decision about sale of supersonic missiles BrahMos, due to India - Russia Joint Stock Company production for Vietnam, through will be give Vietnam strategic advantage and superior to China³⁴.

²⁸ Bộ Ngoại giao (2014), Press conference on the visit of Prime Minister of Vietnam to India (October 28, 2014), Government of India, 28/10 2014.

²⁹. Minister of Defense, *Joint statement on defense cooperation India and Vietnam*, Press Information Bureau, Government of India, 26/5/2015.

³⁰ Gopal Suri (2016), *Vietnam and East Sea*, Vivekananda International Foundation, 13 June 2016.

³¹. Parrikar talks with the President, *Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Vietnam*, *The Indian Express*, 6 June 2016.

³². DevirupaMitra (2016), *Modi to visit Vietnam, bringing Eastern Action Policy to South China Sea*, *The Wire*, 31 July 2016.

³³. David Scott (2015), *The increased balance of India in the East Sea*.

³⁴. Harsh V. Pant (2016), *India open road strategy in Vietnam*, *Livemint*, 15 June 2016.

3. Conclusion

In the changing strategy, the India active role in East Sea is not an exception. The East Sea relate to important interest nation 's India in the East Action Policy. The framework policy' giving legalization rates and some actions in East Sea of India in the increased crisis context. According to the strategic relationship India and Vietnam play important role in the policy's India toward East Sea. India - Vietnam's Comprehensive Strategic Partnership to keep peaceful, stability in the East Sea. So that, East Sea's covering issue to strategic program of India relate to East Action Policy.

Vietnam and India're highlighting compliance with International law, including UNCLOS toward East Sea problem, respecting the diplomatic and legal process, settlement of disputes by peaceful means and based on international law. These contents're given on the sidelines of the ASEAN Summit, 31th and Related Summits in Manila, Philippines. Consistent policy of Vietnam always attaches importance to developing traditional friendship relations and comprehensive strategic partner with India.

At the same time, India continues to see Vietnam as one of the pillars of its Eastern policy. Vietnam and India defense cooperation, with India to strengthen technology sharing and defense to provide credit for Vietnam. In particular, the strategic partnership in the field of security and defense are very seriously. Both sides clearly understand the potentials, strengths and needs of each other's security and defense. This is an important basis for the two sides to promote security and defense cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit.

They pledged to strengthen cooperation on defense supply, joint projects, cooperation in training and exchange of intelligence, agreed to further strengthen contacts and exchange of visits between the organization and the security and defense of the two countries, cooperation on competency building, technical assistance and information sharing among relevant agencies of the two countries in maritime security, including anti-piracy, pollution prevention, search and rescue, strengthen bilateral cooperation in dealing with terrorism a comprehensive and long-term, strengthen security cooperation network./.

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