



**asean india**  
PROGRESS & PROSPERITY

## DOCUMENTS

Introduced & Edited by  
**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

ASEAN MULTILATERAL DIVISION  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Published in Cooperation with  
**Geetika Publishers**

**NEPAL - INDIA RELATIONS**  
**NEPAL - CHINA RELATIONS**

1947 - June 2005 Documents

edited by

**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

5 Volumes Pages 3800 Hardbound

ISBN : 81-903150-0-5

Price : Rs.10,000.00 (For a set of five volumes)



**INDIA - BANGLADESH RELATIONS**

1971 - 2002 DOCUMENTS - FIVE VOLUMES

edited by

**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

5 VOLUMES PAGES 3200 HARDBOUND

ISBN : 81-901629-0-X

Price : Rs.10,000.00 (For a set of five volumes)



**INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

1947-2007 (A DOCUMENTARY STUDY) - TEN VOLUMES

edited by

**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

10 VOLUMES PAGES 10000 HARDBOUND

ISBN : 978-93-81417-02-7

Price: Rs. 25,000.00 (For set of ten volumes)



**INDIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS — DOCUMENTS**

VOLUMES FOR 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006,  
2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 & 2011

edited by

**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

PUBLISHED IN COOPERATION WITH  
**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DIVISION**  
**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

**GEETIKA PUBLISHERS**

A-51/ II, NARAINA VIHAR, NEW DELHI - 110028

Mobile : 98 111 57294,

email: bhasin.as@gmail.com

www.geetikapublishers.in

ISBN: 978-93-81417-13-3



# asean india

PROGRESS & PROSPERITY

The year 2012 marks the twentieth anniversary of India – ASEAN relations. Anniversaries are an occasion to reflect on the past, rejoice at the successes achieved and set the agenda for the future. The two decades, during which India graduated from a Sectoral Dialogue partner (1992) to Full Dialogue partner (1995) and finally to Summit level status (2002), are significant in terms of the depth of relationship that has been achieved. India's decision to hold a Commemorative Summit to mark this occasion and the ready response of the ASEAN leaders, echo the mutuality of interest and commitment to the relationship that has developed in this short period.

The logo, the five-spoke wind turbine, representing energy, motion, progress, connectivity and dynamism, adopted for the Summit and embossed on the cover of this book reinforces India's commitment to the objectives of the ASEAN.

The book documents India's interaction with ASEAN during the two decades, and serves as a reminder that both India and the member countries take "cognizance of the ground covered by the two in a relatively short span of time and the very varied and rich agenda of cooperation which is being seen by many, even outside our countries, as a stable anchor for the process of integration and transformation in the Asia-Pacific region".

ISBN: 978-93-81417-13-3



**Avtar Singh Bhasin** (b. June 7, 1935) B.A. (Hons) and M.A in History. He had a short stint of service with the National Archives of India and the Ministry of Defence before joining the Ministry of External Affairs in 1963, where he served for three decades retiring in June 1993 as Director (Historical Division). He was posted in the Indian Missions in Kathmandu, Bonn, Vienna and Lagos. He travelled extensively within and outside the country in the discharge of his duties in the Ministry. He was a member of several official, ministerial and Prime Ministerial delegations for discussions with various countries.

He took to academic studies after retirement in 1993. He was **Senior Fellow at the Indian Council of Historical Research from 1994 to 1996**, and an **Honorary Fellow at the Institute of Contemporary Studies of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library from 1996 to 2000**. He attended several seminars on South Asia and contributed research papers at these dialogues. He has also published several articles on South Asian affairs in newspapers and journals.

His main focus has been documenting India's foreign relations, a task that had not been attempted in the past more than sixty years. His first work was a two-volume study of **India-Nepal-China Relations: 1947-92**; later expanded and updated to **Five Volumes** covering the period up to 2005. His second contribution was the documentary study of **India-Bangladesh Relations**, first published in two volumes covering the period 1971 to 1994, and then updated and expanded to **Five Volumes** covering the period up to 2002. The success of these two studies encouraged him to undertake a third one, a study on Sri Lanka, also in **Five Volumes** which was published under the title "**India-Sri Lanka Relations and Sri Lanka's Ethnic Conflict—1947-2000.**"

In the golden jubilee year of the Indian independence, 1997, he wrote 75 pieces for the Asian Age which were published consecutively from June 1 to August 14, 1997 every day as a throwback to the tumultuous days of 1947, to refresh the memories of the older generation and inform the younger generation of the sacrifices, trials and tribulations and travails, which the people had to go through, before independence. Subsequently, a larger version of these articles appeared in the book form "**Some Called it Partition, Some Freedom**".

Returning to the subject of Sri Lanka, he published a new book in 2005 under the title: "**India in Sri Lanka: Between Lion and the Tigers**", which studied the Indian role in resolving the Sri Lankan imbroglio. This book was published both in India and Sri Lanka.

In November 2012 he published a **Ten Volume** documentary study of **India – Pakistan Relations: 1947 – 2007**; running into more than **Ten Thousand pages**.

He edits and publishes an annual series under the title "**INDIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS**" in cooperation with the Public Diplomacy Division of the Ministry of External Affairs. It showcases the documents bearing on India's foreign relations in each year. Starting with 2002, so far ten volumes, covering the period up to 2011 have been published.

## GEETIKA PUBLISHERS

A-51/ II, NARAINA VIHAR, NEW DELHI - 110028  
Mobile : 98 111 57294,  
email: bhasin.as@gmail.com  
www.geetikapublishers.in



**asean india**  
**PROGRESS & PROSPERITY**

## **Other books of Avtar Singh Bhasin**

1. Some called it Partition, Some Freedom:  
(Last 75 days of the Raj)
2. India–Sri Lanka Relations and Sri Lanka’s Ethnic Conflict:  
Documents: 1947–2000—Five Volumes
3. India in Sri Lanka—  
Between Lion and the Tigers
4. India–Bangladesh Relations: Documents 1971–2002—  
Five Volumes
5. Nepal–India and Nepal–China Relations–1947–2005  
Documents—Five Volumes
6. India-Pakistan Relations—Documents  
In Ten Volumes
7. India’s Foreign Relations—Documents  
Annual Volumes for 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007,  
2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011.



**asean india**

**PROGRESS & PROSPERITY**

**DOCUMENTS**

Introduced and Edited by

**AVTAR SINGH BHASIN**

ASEAN MULTILATERAL DIVISION  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Published in Cooperation with

**Geetika Publishers**

**New Delhi**

Published by



**GEETIKA PUBLISHERS**

A-51/II Naraina Vihar, New Delhi-110028

Tele: 98-111-57294, 011-2577-1897

E-mail: bhasin.as@gmail.com

www.geetikapublishers.in

2012 November © Avtar Singh Bhasin

ISBN: 978-93-81417-13-3

Printed and Bound in India at

Focus Impressions, New Delhi-110 003

E-mail : focusimpressions@gmail.com, ravikumarsk82@gmail.com

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AADMER	ASEAN Agreement on Disaster Management and Emergency Response
ACDM	ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management
ACE	ASEAN Centre for Energy
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADF	ASEAN Development Fund
ADMM	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting
ADPC	ASEAN Disaster Preparedness Centre
ADRC	ASEAN Disaster Reduction Centre
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
AEM	ASEAN Economic Ministers
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AIBC	ASEAN - India Business Council
AIEGTIC	ASEAN - India Experts Group on Trade and Investment Cooperation
AIELTF	ASEAN -India Economic Linkages Task Force
AIF	ASEAN - India Foundation
AIJCC	ASEAN - India Joint Cooperation Committee
AIJSCC	ASEAN - India Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee
AINTT	ASEAN India Network of Think tanks
AIPA	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly
AISTDF	ASEAN - India Science and Technology Development Fund
AISDR	ASEAN-India Sectoral Dialogue Relations
AITIC	ASEAN - India Tourist Information Centre
AMBDC	ASEAN Mekong Basin Development Corporation

AMM	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting
AMME	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Environment
AMMTC	ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crimes
ANDC	ASEAN New Delhi Committee
APAEC	ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation
APCT	ASEAN Promotional Chapter on Tourism
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASC	ASEAN Security Community
ASEAN CCI	ASEAN Chambers of Commerce and Industry
ASEANTA	ASEAN Tourism Association
ASEM	Asia - Europe Meeting
ASO	Annual Security Outlook
ASOD	ASEAN Senior Officials on Drug Matters
ASO	Annual Security Outlook
BIMST-EC	Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand - Economic Cooperation
BTWC	Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention
CADP	Comprehensive Asian Development Plan
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBMs	Confidence Building Measures
CECA	Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement
CELT	Centre for English Language Training
CEPEA	Comprehensive Economic Partnership in East Asia
CICA	Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia

CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
CLMV	Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam
COP	Conference of Parties
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific Region
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DRET	Democratic Republic of East Timor
EAFTA	East Asia Free Trade Area
ECTF	Energy Cooperation Task Force
Ed CIL	Educational Consultants India Limited
EDC	Entrepreneurship Development Centre
EE&C	Energy Efficiency & Conservation
EHP	Early Harvest Programme
EPG	Eminent Persons' Group
ERIA	Economic Research Institute for ASEAN
FACEC	Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GAAT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
IAI	Initiative for ASEAN Integration
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAECC	India - ASEAN Economic Cooperation Committee

ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICWA	Indian Council of World Affairs
IETF	Indian Engineering Trade Fair
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim - Association for Regional Cooperation
IPCC	Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change
ISIS	Institute for Science and International Security
ISM on CT - TC	Inter-sessional Meeting on Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation
JAIBC	Joint ASEAN-India Business Council
JODI	Joint Oil Data Initiative
KEDO	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation
LEP	Look East Policy
MAHA	Malaysian Agriculture and Horticulture and Agro-tourism
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs (India)
MER	Multilateral Economic Relations
MGC	Mekong - Ganga Cooperation
MPAC	Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity
NAMA	Non-Agricultural Market Access
NEDO	New Energy and Industrial Technology Development Organisation
NMG	Nalanda Mentors Group
NPT	Nuclear Non -Proliferation Treaty

NTBs	Non Trade Barriers
OAS	Organisation of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Union
OCHA	(United Nations) Office for Cooperation in Humanitarian Affairs
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OIE	World Organisation of Animal Health
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSHMS	Occupational Safety and Health Management System
PMC	Post Ministerial Conference
PPP	Public Private Partnership
RIS	Research and Information System
RTIA	Regional Trade and Investment Area
RTES	Rail India Technical and Economic Services
SAARC	South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation
SEANWFZ	Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone
SEARCCT	Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter - Terrorism
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SOM	Senior Officers Meeting
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia
TNC	Trade Negotiating Committee
TSTP	Technology Summit and Technology Platform
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification

UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNMISET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
VAP	Vientiane Action Programme
WGTI	Working Group on Trade and Investment
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation

## PREFACE

The year 2012 marks the twentieth milestone in the history of ASEAN-India relations. Anniversaries provide an occasion to reflect on the past, rejoice at the successes achieved and set the agenda for the future. The scale and level of the celebrations mirror the importance that the stakeholders invest in the relationship. India's decision to celebrate it by holding a Commemorative Summit along with the leaders of the ASEAN and their ready response echoes the mutuality of interest and commitment to the relationship.

2. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh put the India-ASEAN relationship in perspective when he said at the 9th India-ASEAN Summit in Bali on November 19, 2011 that it "has benefitted both of us and is contributing to the process of integration and transformation of the Asia-Pacific region". At the 10th Summit in Phnom Penh, he described the ASEAN as India's "bridge to the East." The External Affairs Minister reinforced this perspective at the Delhi Dialogue - IV on February 13, 2012 saying: "The ASEAN-India partnership is a natural one, founded on congruent ideas and a common vision of the region and the world, under-pinned by the strong civilizational linkages through the millennia. We are convinced of the unique ability of our partnership to further progress and prosperity, peace and security in the region." The logo, the five-spoke wind turbine, representing energy, motion, progress, connectivity and dynamism, adopted for the Commemorative Summit, and embossed on the cover of this book, further reinforces India's commitment to the objectives of the ASEAN.

3. The book, which catalogues the documents bearing on India's interaction with the ASEAN during the last two decades, serves as a reminder that both India and the countries of the Association take "cognizance of the ground covered by the two in a relatively short span of time and the very varied and rich agenda of cooperation which is being seen by many, even

outside our countries, as a stable anchor for the process of integration and transformation in the Asia - Pacific region".

4. The documents have been arranged chronologically to showcase the progressive and wide-ranging development of relations and the vitality and vigour injected in doses to ensure that both the body and the mind stay healthy. In reproducing the documents, every effort has been made to adhere to the original text in terms of the punctuation and the spellings of the names of persons and places as occurring in the original.

5. In the rather lengthy introduction, I have highlighted the centrality of Asia in the foreign policy paradigm, since India's independence. It sought to revive the ancient civilizational, religious and linguistic links, unfortunately disrupted by the colonial domination of the region and of India as well. Sometimes, the notion of "Look East Policy" creates an erroneous impression that India's engagement with the countries of Southeast Asia began only at the start of the nineties of the last century, when this term came into vogue. The long narrative is intended to correct that flawed misperception. Asia and particularly Southeast Asia remained at the centre-stage of India's foreign policy formulations, since its independence.

6. While working on this book, I used the facilities of the Library of the India International Centre, and received the unstinted help from its Librarian Dr. Maujamdar and his colleagues, Shafali and Rajiv. I am grateful to them for their generous help and assistance.

7. I would like to thank Shri Sanjay Singh, Secretary (East) for his very positive response, when the idea of this book, for the Commemorative Summit, was first mentioned to him, and made it possible for the book to come out in time for the 20th India - ASEAN Commemorative Summit. I would also like to thank Shri Vasanth Kumar who provided the coordinating link with the Ministry.

8. I am particularly thankful to Ambassador Gurjit Singh for his ready offer of help in locating some of the documents bearing on the subject.

9. A number of friends responded to my request to go through the introduction and offer their comments. I am grateful to all of them for their valuable comments and suggestions, which made the narrative rich and purposeful. I would particularly like to mention the names of Ambassador S.T. Devare, Ambassador A.N. Ram, Ambassador Mrs. Suryakanthi Tripathi and High Commissioner TCA Raghavan. I, however hasten to add, that I remain fully responsible for the views expressed and for any other deficiency that may be found in the book.

*Avtar Sing Bhasin*

New Delhi

November 25, 2012



## INTRODUCTION

The eastern and the western seabords of India present two different strands of history. While traders and seafarers came to the west coast of India and settled down there, Indians mostly from the east coast and some from the west coast too, made voyages to Southeast Asia and settled down in those countries, spreading the message of peace and harmony and implanting their religion and culture. These inward and outward movements created the synthesis of Asian culture. This was the message which came out loud and clear from the speech of Jawaharlal Nehru delivered at the Asian Relations Conference in March 1947, weeks before India's independence. He said:

"History of India is a long history of her relations with other countries of Asia. Streams of cultures have come to India from the West and the East and been absorbed in India, producing the rich and variegated culture, which is India today. At the same time streams of cultures have flowed from India to distant part of Asia. If you would know India, you have to go to Afghanistan, West Asia to Central Asia to China and Japan and to the countries of South-East Asia."

2. The region comprising the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), touched by the South Pacific Ocean on the east and the Indian Ocean to its South and West, constitutes the core area that lies to the east of India. It is India's extended neighbourhood, with civilizational links going back to two millennia. The cross fertilization of human experience and spiritual interaction left an indelible mark on the region's religion, art, architecture, language and culture. India has maritime borders with Myanmar, Thailand and Indonesia. India's Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal are closer to some of the countries of Southeast Asia than to the Indian mainland. Besides the maritime border, India also shares a land border of about 1600 kilometres with Myanmar.

### **Prime Minister Nehru and Asia**

3. Building a comity of Asian nations was at the centre of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of India's foreign policy on independence. The Asian Relations Conference was in a manner of speaking the forerunner of that concept. The visit to New Delhi of the Burmese Prime Minister U Nu in December 1947 gave him the first opportunity and he seized on it to give a practical shape to his thinking. On December 14, 1947 Nehru in his speech to the Constituent Assembly, which at that time was serving as the Legislative Assembly as well, said: "India is interested in Asian countries even more than the rest of the world." In his talks with U Nu, he said, he found that Burma was interested "as many of us have been, for closer association, not only between Burma and India but between various countries of Asia also." He described this synergy in the views of the two countries, as a "new spirit of Asia, which wants Asian countries to draw closer together in their own defence and to promote world peace". On December 16, 1948 speaking at the All India Congress Committee session on Foreign Policy Resolution he spoke of the need for the formation of a "federation of Asian countries with India as its nerve-centre" and in which India "has great contribution to make".

4. That Asia dominated Nehru's thinking was evident from what he said in the Constituent Assembly on the motion (by Law Minister Dr. B. R. Ambedkar) that the Draft Constitution as framed by the Drafting Committee be taken into consideration. He said on November 8, 1948:

"When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of the geography, because of the history and because of so many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that India becomes a kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and the West."

5. The active help India extended to the struggle for the Indonesian independence from the Dutch colonial yoke was an example of Asian unity in action. At the conference on Indonesia held in New Delhi in January 1949 that India convened to consider the Indonesia situation, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, while proposing measures to help Indonesia to achieve its freedom from the Dutch, drew the attention of the Conference to the American States having created "a certain community of interest (for) promotion of common interest" and the Europeans having done almost the same, he called upon the Asian countries to act likewise and to think in terms of "a more permanent arrangement than this conference for effective mutual consultations and concerted effort in the pursuit of common aims... ." One of the three resolutions that the conference adopted proposed that the participating governments should consult among themselves, in order to explore ways and means of establishing a suitable machinery for this purpose.

6. Nehru was so passionate about Asia that next year while speaking at the 11th session of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow (October 3, 1950) he sought to rekindle the spirit of Asia and said:

"Asia is a huge continent and people of Asia are all different from one another, as they are reared in different cultures and traditions. In spite of all this, I think it is still true to say that there is such a thing as Asian sentiment."

7. The Bandung Conference of 1955 was the high water mark not only for the idea of Asian unity to crystallize but for a much broader concept to emerge, in which Africa, which too had suffered the colonial curse, like Asia, joined in. India's humanitarian contribution in the Korean War (1950-53), and for the freedom of Indo-China states, as Chairman of the International Control Commission, is part of the tumultuous history of the region.

8. Asia continued to be the central point of Nehru's thinking,

despite his preoccupation with many domestic and external problems that had beset the nation. There were the problems of development, food, reorganisation of states, language, defence, and many more. The relations with China had soured. Cold war had crept at the doorsteps of the sub-continent thanks to Pakistan's membership of Military Alliances like CENTO and SEATO. Nehru however, refused to be dispirited or lose faith in the destiny of Asia. In his speech as late as February 18, 1958 in the Lok Sabha while speaking on the President's Address he said:

"The emergence of the independent nations in Asia naturally leads to what might be called vaguely an Asian way of looking at the world. I do not say that there is one Asian way, because Asia is a big continent, offering often different viewpoints. However it is a new angle; and is a change from the European-centred or any other view of the world. Because of various factors, the adjustment of the mind in other parts of the world to this new development in Asia has involved a painful process. Many difficulties have arisen and are arising because they cannot quite adjust themselves to this Asian view of seeing conditions of Asian countries in a way somewhat different from their own view."

### **The Cold War and Southeast Asia**

9. The fear of communism coupled, with the ethnic dominance of a particular community in many countries of the region, communist insurgency in some of them, cold war politics, military alliances, the Southeast Asian region became a victim of big powers' rivalries and therefore an area of conflict. Until the Sino-Soviet split burst into the open, China was seen as spearheading communism in Southeast Asia with the Soviet Union as its proxy. The West exploited communism to create client states. The United States in cooperation with the former colonial power, Great Britain, sought to promote military alliances as a bulwark against the perceived communist threat. An alliance, by its very nature, between a big power and smaller nation(s), imposed limitations on the latter's

sovereignty. Since the Southeast Asian nations were mostly small/medium sized countries, many of them, on attaining independence, fearing communist threat, came under the influence of the west. India was not happy at the way the situation had developed in the region, in its proximity. It, however believed, that the security of the region was better guaranteed through political stability and by strengthening the economic and social institutions of the states of the region.

10. The Cold War politics, naturally, affected India's relations with the countries of this region as it affected the politics of the world at large. India decided not only to stay away from military alliances, but oppose them as instruments of conflict, which sought to divide the world in two distinct adversarial camps. The CENTO and the SEATO on its western and eastern flanks, created gulf in India's relations with the countries, which sought their membership. India, however, developed closer relations with the nationalist forces in the region, against whom these alliances were pitted, and were struggling to maintain their national independence and like India, had put their faith in non-alignment.

11. It was not until the West realised the futility of its military alliances, particularly after the failure of the US efforts to prop up the South Vietnamese regime in Saigon, through military means, that finally helped in the comprehension of the truth that peace and stability could be promoted by the institutional strength of the countries of Southeast Asia rather than by military interventions.

### **Uninterrupted Contacts**

12. After the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru the Indian leaders, to nurture the old contacts and build new ones, continued to engage the countries of Southeast Asia by building relations at personal level. Successive Prime Ministers and other senior leaders visited many of them. Their leaders paid return visits to New Delhi. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, like her father, adhered to the policy of non-alignment and strongly opposed military alliances.

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on the budget of the Ministry of External Affairs, she spelt out in no uncertain terms the futility of military alliance in Southeast Asia and New Delhi's determination to follow its own course in dealing with the countries in the region. She said on April 6, 1968

"The security of South and Southeast Asia will not be made more secure by alliances or treaties. We believe that this security will grow out of mutual cooperation and identity of interests. On our part, we have been doing everything possible to explore all avenues of mutual cooperation in economic and other fields. We hope that, when peace comes to Vietnam, the real security needs of the area will be seen more clearly. Security lies in strengthening these countries, and I do not believe that they can be strengthened by any kind of foreign interference."

13. In 1968 Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi visited Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand, and in 1969 Burma, Indonesia and Japan. While in Indonesia, she declared that the countries of Asia were capable of defending themselves after the withdrawal of foreign powers from the region and rejected the theory of vacuum, since she was convinced that "the countries of the region can fill the vacuum". Continuing with the high level contacts, in 1971 President V.V. Giri paid a visit to Singapore, while Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew had visited India the previous year. In March 1972 President V. V Giri paid another visit to Southeast Asia this time to Thailand. Several visits at the Foreign Ministers' level were exchanged between India and the countries of Southeast Asia.

14. In 1977, Laotian President Prince Souphanouvong visited India, in 1978 the Singapore Prime Minister came visiting yet again and in 1979 Malaysian Prime Minister. In 1981 Mrs. Gandhi undertook an extensive tour of Asia visiting among other countries, Indonesia and the Philippines. In Manila she assured the ASEAN countries that "India considers the ASEAN an important factor for peace and stability in Asia" and added that "our affinity with

Southeast Asia impels us to have a dialogue with each country of the ASEAN". She assured the ASEAN that India regarded the grouping "an important factor in ensuring peace and stability in this sensitive part off the world".

15. Continuing with efforts to foster these links, in 1981 President Sanjiva Reddy visited Indonesia and Japan and Mrs. Gandhi made yet another visit to Tokyo. Next year, the Thai Premier visited New Delhi and India established its first Joint Commission in the region with Vietnam. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi being equally conscious of personal contacts, visited Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Japan and received General Suharto of Indonesia in New Delhi in 1986.

16. The central piece of Rajiv Gandhi's Asia policy was the Commemorative Asian Relations Conference held in October 1987, forty years after the first one held in 1947. At the Conference, Rajiv Gandhi called for cooperation within the "coveted continent" to end all outside intervention and interference and keep it free from foreign military presence. In the next couple of years, Mr. Gandhi visited Japan, Burma, Vietnam, and received visits from the Malaysian, Singapore and Kampuchean Prime Ministers.

### **Birth of the ASEAN**

17. In the midst of conflicts and tensions in the region and despite the presence of British military bases, five Southeast Asian countries-Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand - meeting in Kula Lumpur in 1967, to discuss their bilateral and inter-regional relationships, felt the need to evolve themselves into an inter-dependent concert of nations, building institutional linkages, promising peace to each other to create harmonious societies in the member states, devoid of conflict. So was born the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) with five founding members on August 8, 1967. It was

subsequently joined in by Brunei Darussalam (7th January 1984), Vietnam (28th July 1995) Laos and Myanmar (July 23rd 1997) and finally Cambodia (30th April 1999).

18. The ASEAN started as a group, with common problems and similar aspirations, met annually to discuss the politico-economic problems of the region and to harmonise their socio-cultural schemes. Even though the ASEAN had been formed in 1967, it was not until 1976, that its first summit level meeting took place in Bali. It should be noted that most member states had weak social and economic institutional frameworks and politically and militarily were not too strong either. But their desire to maintain peace in the region was strong enough. After the British decision to withdraw from the east of the Suez in early seventies, its defence commitments to Malaysia and Singapore had tapered off, even when it maintained a token presence along with Australia and New Zealand. Apprehensive of its security, Malaysia was nevertheless anxious to free itself of the military encumbrance that foreign troops and military bases cast on the region. It simultaneously floated the idea of neutralisation of the entire region and had in 1970 proposed a three-fold arrangement to meet its external, internal and regional security needs. Its suggestion contained the seeds of ASEAN's future peace policies. Kuala Lumpur suggested that all the countries of the region should agree to end alliances with external powers and do away with the military bases from their respective countries while signing the treaties of non-aggression with each other and pledging not to interfere in each other's internal affairs.

### **Kuala Lumpur Declaration**

19. Malaysia successfully sold the idea to other four members of the ASEAN and all the five, meeting in the Malaysian capital on November 27, 1971 adopted what is known as the 'Kuala Lumpur Declaration'. The Declaration inter alia said that the member countries were "determined to exert initially necessary efforts to secure the recognition of and respect for South East Asia as a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality, free from any form or

manner of interference by outside powers". This Declaration was the closest to what Malaysia had set out to achieve. In February 1976 the ASEAN nations, at their first Summit in Bali (Indonesia) adopted, yet another Declaration, seeking the "establishment of the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality" and signed a "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia" underlining their desire "to enhance peace, friendship and mutual cooperation on matters affecting Southeast Asia".

20. The meeting of the leaders of the five nations at the Summit level, at their own initiative, and without the presence of the outside powers, in search of peace, was a development of far reaching importance. New Delhi was greatly impressed. It appreciated the efforts of the ASEAN to strive for the sinews of peace and security in the region and at the same time get rid of outside interference. It was endorsement of India's position that peace and security would come to the region by the efforts of these countries themselves and not by military alliances and bases promoted by foreign powers. As stated above, as early as April 1968, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi had frowned on military alliances since she believed "security will grow out of mutual cooperation and identity of interest" and not by any "kind of foreign interference"

21. In June 1976, Mrs. Gandhi despatched her Deputy External Affairs Minister, Bipinpal Das, to four ASEAN member states - Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Philippines - to convey India's strong support for the peace initiative of the ASEAN. Mr. Das conveyed to his interlocutors that India fully supported the Bali Declaration for making Southeast Asia a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality and added that India regarded the Declaration complementary to the Sri Lanka's proposal for declaring the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. India hoped that the ASEAN Declaration would result in strengthening mutual peace on the basis of political stability, economic cooperation and social progress. On return to New Delhi, Bipinpal Das told journalists on June 14, 1976: "The climate for cooperation was considered

favourable for two reasons- historical contacts and political stance of the ASEAN now." He said India "politically hailed the recent call by the ASEAN at the Bali Summit for the creation of a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality in the region as also the Treaty of Amity and Friendship signed by them. These sentiments were very much dear to the heart of India's policy makers". He hoped that the moves by the ASEAN countries "will make a positive contribution towards peace, friendship and cooperation in the entire region".

22. The developments in the seventies were fast and had their impact on the politics of the region. The communist threat receded. The Sino-Soviet rift had its impact too. To prevent the spread of Chinese influence in Southeast Asia, Soviet interest in the region augmented itself to counter the Chinese. President Nixon's visit to China in February 1972 had a profound impact not only on the relations between the United States and China but also on the politics of Southeast Asia as a whole. The two antagonistic nations suddenly turned friendly. This cleared the way for most of the countries of the region to establish diplomatic relations with Beijing. In the next couple of years Malaysia, Thailand and Philippines had established diplomatic relations with China and even if Indonesia and Singapore took some time to follow, they felt greatly relaxed about Beijing.

### **Post Cold War Developments**

23. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, the Cold War came to a sudden end. China became the dominant regional power in the area and the United States claimed the only Super Power status of the world for itself. Free from the compulsions of the Cold War, the ASEAN countries too started looking outwards. Following Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December 1988, the relations between India and China had warmed up, which was welcome to the ASEAN nations. Military alliances and alignment lost their relevance and the ASEAN could expand taking in its fold the three Indo-China nations, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia

besides Myanmar. It also started developing all round relations with various other countries of the region and beyond.

24. At the end of the decade of 1980s, Indian economy had been badly hit. It had the worst balance of payment crisis since independence. Rising inflation, high interest rates with concomitant shrinking of overseas remittances, had led to an overall decline in the Indian economy, which was hitherto based on Fabian socialism. It needed a structural change, and major economic reforms, which were realised by Prime Minister Narasimha Roa, who entrusted the task to Dr. Manmohan Singh, his Finance Minister. Dr. Singh proved the helmsman, who delivered the Indian economy from the throes of the crisis, by delivering the desired potent dose to revitalise it. That was also the time to develop all round economic ties and expand trade and commercial relations with as many countries as possible.

### **India and ASEAN**

25. At the dawn of the 21st century, the world was increasingly faced with not only new and diverse challenges but also found itself on the threshold of new opportunities. The new century gave the nations of the world a new realisation that political, economic, environmental, and demographic challenges impinged on inter-state affairs. As complexity and intensity of these issues dawned, the realisation of greater interdependence of peoples and nations, requiring collective action, became urgent. This made multilateral approach to the problems critical. India could not be seen standing alone. There were many issues like financial flows, multilateral trading systems, external indebtedness etc., which were no longer debating issues to be faced bilaterally but the ones needing to face squarely by all the countries individually and collectively. Since development and democracy are mutually reinforcing, the rule of law is relevant for ensuring economic progress and human development, which in turn contributes to the consolidation of peace. The primary task of the Indian foreign policy in this new

scenario became the facilitation of India's development process, leveraging its international partnership to the best possible effect. Therefore India needed to concentrate on promoting trade and investment flows, in assisting the modernisation of its infrastructure, in assuring predictable and affordable energy supplies and in arranging the widest possible access to technologies, to meet the new challenges of development, through a new paradigm of relations and enlarging the scope and area of inter-action.

26. Nearer home, Southeast Asia presented a natural choice for closer reengagement. It was an area where there was no conflict of interest with any country, there was the presence of a significant Indian community with little or no local antagonism, India had traditional ties of culture and religion, and its vibrant democratic institutions had ready acceptance. The region was dominated by the major grouping, the ASEAN, with a population of 600 million, a combined gross domestic product of US \$ 1.5 trillion, marked by a high growth, political stability, plurality and diversity, a growing middle class, endowed with enormous natural resources, including some of the world's largest tracts of rainforests, and relatively open economy and better infrastructure. It was a natural choice for developing closer relations. It was a regional organisation with global significance and reach and in a position to evolve a larger regional architecture in the Asia-Pacific region. With its sister and sub-regional organisations like the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the BIMSTEC and various other dialogue partners, ASEAN had emerged a vibrant body, interacting at many levels. To its satisfaction, New Delhi found that it was a welcome guest at their table.

27. It was once again time for the ASEAN and India to reengage themselves in a meaningful way after the abortive effort of 1980. It may be recalled that the May 16, 1980 meeting in New Delhi between the Senior Officials of the ASEAN and India to start a new relationship was a successful one. It was described by the ASEAN as "a landmark in promoting cooperation between ASEAN

and India". India was in agreement with the ASEAN assessment of the meeting being "landmark" one, and added that "since the North - South Dialogue (had) not been successful, cooperation among the developing countries (was) vital to safeguard the interests of the developing countries". The meeting even identified the areas of cooperation in several fields. Unfortunately, the all pervasive Cold War proved a villain of the piece. India's recognition of the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea drove the two apart, and the hopes of greater and closer collaboration between India and the ASEAN received a setback at the very first attempt to build a new relationship.

28. On bilateral basis, however India continued to engage the countries of the then constituted ASEAN and conveyed to them its sympathetic understanding and urge for cooperation to meet their aspirations. Singapore among them was ever keen on India engaging more vigorously in the affairs of Southeast Asia. As pointed out above, President V.V. Giri had visited Singapore in September 1971. Singapore President Benjiman Sheares made use of the opportunity of his banquet speech to express his country's wish that "it will be possible for India and Singapore to search out areas of cooperation either with ASEAN or bilaterally". President Giri in reply alluded to the "fresh urge towards regional cooperation" and assured Singapore that India was "prepared to play (its) part in increasing cooperation among the countries of the region".

29. Earlier in September 1970, Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, on a visit to New Delhi, was assured by Mrs. Gandhi of the need to evolve a system of regional cooperation in Southeast Asia "which will strengthen the countries of the region". In August 1974 External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh on a visit to Jakarta supported "the objectives of the ASEAN". In May 1975 President Fakhuruddin Ali Ahmed in his banquet speech at Jakarta referred to the formation of the ASEAN to ensure their safety and security from external interference and said "we fully share the concerns

and aspirations of the ASEAN countries and have pledged our cooperation in the attainment of their objectives". As stated above, in 1976 India had strongly endorsed the ASEAN Declaration seeking the "establishment of the Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality" in Southeast Asia. Despite keenness on both the sides to work together for mutual benefit, institutional cooperation between India and the ASEAN had to wait for another day.

30. The end of the cold war resolved many ticklish issues facing the world. The Soviet Union disintegrated. East Europe re-emerged in its new avatar. Germany was reunited. Central Asia was reborn. The ASEAN came out stronger, when several powers realised its useful catalytic role in securing peace and stability in the Southeast Asian region. The Paris Conference of 1991 resolved the Kampuchean imbroglio, where India played a very positive role. The ASEAN now was ready to embrace the former socialist countries, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The reason for disenchantment between the ASEAN and India of the early eighties vanished and the ground was now clear for a meaningful relationship between the two. It was a region of great importance to India and New Delhi had particularly a benign relationship with most of these countries bilaterally, free from any dispute with any of them. As Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh said on November 30, 2004 (on return from Laos after attending the India-ASEAN Summit):

"...the end of the cold war and dissipation of bloc rivalries opened up new possibilities for regional economic cooperation. This opened the space for our turning eastwards to engage with ASEAN, which even then had the potential to become a catalyst of economic integration in our region. Since that time ASEAN has enlarged and grown stronger."

### **Building Institutional Linkages**

31. The first step towards building institutional linkage with the ASEAN was a small one. It started with the sectoral dialogue

partnership in 1992. At the meeting of the senior officials of India and the ASEAN, held in New Delhi in March 1993, to achieve the objectives of the partnership, instrumentalities through which cooperation in agreed areas such as trade and investment, science and technology and tourism was to be achieved, were identified.

32. The visit of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao to Singapore in September 1994, offered an opportunity to New Delhi to assure once again, the Southeast Asian countries of India's goodwill, cooperation, and support for their endeavours. He identified the presence of overseas Indian community in the countries of the region as providing a vital link between India and Southeast Asia and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Mr. Rao in his landmark Singapore Lecture, which he delivered at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies of the National University of Singapore, re-pledged India's commitment to the region. He gave a new twist to the civilisational links between India and Southeast Asia, which he described as "a mesh, interwoven with religious, ethnic, racial, linguistic and professional strands". He said this "diversity gives the resilience that enables this mesh to sustain the almost unbelievable growth rates that Asia has seen in the past decade and will continue to see well into the next century". The achievements of the ASEAN, as an organisation, came in for handsome praise from Prime Minister Rao at his banquet speech, on September 8, 1994.

33. It was now clear to both the ASEAN and India that they had a lot at stake and they could not stop at a relationship of a mere sectoral dialogue partner. This desire for deeper relationship reflected itself in the Bangkok Summit of the ASEAN (1996) when India's sectoral dialogue partnership was upgraded to full dialogue partnership. The fruitful interaction in the following years gathered momentum in various sectors than was apparent, and there was no looking back. The year 2002 was a landmark one. India graduated to the summit level partnership, a step that emphasised

the faith and confidence that the ASEAN had in the enormous potential of an enhanced partnership with India. The Foreign Secretary of India had described this as India's desire to develop a multi-faceted relationship with ASEAN moving on four wheels of security, economy, culture and science and technology including information technology.

34. The upgraded theme of India-ASEAN dialogue was to strengthen cooperation and to emphasise India's interest in the region by supporting ASEAN initiatives. It started essentially at the economic level, particularly supporting initiatives with different countries of the ASEAN, India had bilateral relations with. In September 2002, a month before the first Summit level meeting (October 2002), India participated in the meeting of the Economic Ministers of the ASEAN in Brunei. At this meeting India's Commerce Minister drew the attention of the ASEAN ministers to the statement made in the Indian Parliament to reduce its peak tariff rates to the ASEAN tariff level within three years. The ASEAN Ministers were also gratified to hear from the Commerce Minister Murasoli Maran, India's intention to move towards a Free Trade Agreement as the long term goal of ASEAN - India economic relations. Within a year of the summit level participation, in 2003 India and the ASEAN had signed the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation.

### **Northeast States of India and the ASEAN**

35. From economic engagement to the next level of relationship, was only the logical step. In recent years, India's 'Look East Policy' has taken firm roots in describing India's relations with the Southeast Asian countries. It received a shot in the arm, when New Delhi decided to integrate the economic development of the states of the Northeast, on the periphery of Southeast Asia, with the region. The paradigm of this development was to blend the new initiatives seamlessly in our foreign policy formulations, directed to the region. The meeting organised by the Government of India in October 2007 in New Delhi and the participation of the Northeast

states, along with its various ministries (Home, Defence, Finance, Transport and Highways), was the first step in that direction. The primary focus of the meeting was on the present state of connectivity, and of infrastructure available in the area, capacity building, future potential for exports and tourism, the possibility of institutional cooperation in training and research and on-going action being taken by the state governments with a view to dovetail national development strategies with various policy initiatives. The Ministry of External Affairs assured that it would "take all necessary foreign policy initiatives in the pursuit of Look East Policy as would especially benefit the Northeast region of India." It was also emphasised that the development strategies of the north eastern region should also be directed to attain greater connectivity with the region next door. It was a new experience for the people of the northeast states of India, who in the past found themselves at the margin of the foreign policy formulations. It was a new realisation that issues, even of foreign policy, have a bearing on the lives of the people at large and they needed to be involved in the debate and discussion to formulate an inclusive policy. It marked a paradigm shift from the standard practice whereby foreign relations were treated as an esoteric subject for discussion among the few, occupying the official hierarchy, academia and the intellectuals.

36. One of the most important developments in this respect was the Rs. 5,500 million-Kaladan Multi-Modal Transport Facility, gradually taking shape in cooperation with Myanmar, which when completed, would give India's northeast states a link to Southeast Asia besides an alternative link to the rest of India. The proposed India-Myanmar-Thailand trilateral Highway Project from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand and passing through Bagan in Myanmar was conceived in April 2002. The Prime Minister told the 10th ASEAN - India Summit that "it has been resolved by the Trilateral High Way Task Force (which) met in New Delhi" recently to establish this connectivity by 2016. When operational it would represent the most significant step in establishing connectivity between India's northeast and the ASEAN region. This was

visualised as the Highway of opportunity and friendship that would facilitate not just the movement of goods and services but also peace and ideas.

37. The recent trilateral interaction among the United States, Japan and India in October 2012, held out promise of a new fillip to the connectivity in the region. If the media reports were any indication, the Trilateral Dialogue has now evolved into a deeper interaction, where the three exchanged their strategic perception of the region and plan to work together to develop trade and economic linkages in Southeast Asia by taking the above mentioned east-west corridor from Moreh (India) to Mae Sato (Thailand) further all the way to Vietnam. It may be recalled that Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh had in his speech at the Bali Summit on November 19, 2011 while speaking about the need for greater connectivity between India and the region, had also hinted at the India-Myanmar-Thailand highway's extension to Laos and Cambodia and finally to Vietnam. A media report on November 20th, 2012, quoting government sources said that the project was likely to be further considered at the next Trilateral meeting in Washington.

38. The Northeast region of India was pulsating with the new ideas that were emerging with the possibility of greater connectivity with the Southeast Asian region. It was evident from what the Minister for Development of North Eastern Region, Paban Singh Ghatowar told the 158th Annual General Meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry on September 28, 2012 in Kalkota. He said in 'over the two decades, economic and strategic connections with Southeast Asia have increased manifold', and that 'India's trade and economic links with Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam have experienced rapid progress.' He added that the total trade between India- ASEAN 'has grown up from \$21.29 billion in 2005-06 to \$57.89 billion in 2010-11, clocking compound annual growth rate of 22.14 %'. The Minister hoped that there was the strong possibility of existing economic linkages

expanding even more. And this was where the integration of the North Eastern Region (NER) with Southeast Asia was significant, he said. Speaking at another meeting on the subject- "Look East - North East and Beyond", he referred to the North East Vision 2020 document released by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh in 2008, which recommended a structural transformation of the region in terms of development to catch up with the rest of the country. Minister Ghatowar observed that the North East Region 'can become the main hub of India's economic bonding with both Bangladesh and Southeast Asia because of the contiguous land borders between the two regions'.

### **Deepening Cooperation**

39. India's engagement with the ASEAN has now diversified into several fields from economic to political, security and terrorism, defence, agriculture, tourism, science and technology, space sciences, transport and infrastructure, education, information and communications technology, surface, air and sea connectivity, health and pharmaceutical, energy etc., and on several platforms like Summit, ARF, Post Ministerial Conferences, East Asia Summit, Mekong Ganga Cooperation, Bengal Initiative for Multi-sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BISMTEC) and several other platforms. All these interactions have contributed towards enhancing regional dialogue and accelerating regional integration for mutual benefit. This multi-level cooperation has manifested itself in several directions.

40. Having attained the Summit level status with the ASEAN, India sent out positive signals of its desire to accelerate its all round cooperation with the ASEAN. In 2003 at the Bali Summit, India acceded to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, which the ASEAN nations had concluded in 1976 at their first Summit. India has been the victim of terrorism

for quite some time and believed that it was a menace with trans-national ramifications, readily joined the ASEAN in the Joint Declaration for Cooperation in Combating International Terrorism. To develop stronger economic ties, it signed the Framework Agreement on a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation to 'strengthen and enhance economic, trade and investment cooperation' and to progressively 'liberalise and promote trade in goods and services as well as create a transparent, liberal and facilitative investment regime'.

41. In November 2004, at the Third India-ASEAN Summit in Vientiane, New Delhi took another important step to intensify and signify its long term commitment and engagement with the region by signing the 'ASEAN - India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity,' which contained the vision of future cooperation between India and the ASEAN. Apart from building peace blocs, it contained the commitment to "cooperate in combating the menace of international terrorism and other international crimes such as trafficking in drugs, arms smuggling, human trafficking particularly in women and children, cyber crimes, international economic crimes, environmental crimes, sea piracy and money laundering through effective institutional linkages and programmes of cooperation giving priority to information exchange and capacity building." It was not merely a theoretical exercise. To give it a practical shape a 'Plan of Action' to implement the commitment within a time span of 2004 - 2010 was also simultaneously adopted and even before the expiry of this period, yet another 'Plan of Action' for the period 2010-2015 was agreed upon on October 24, 2009 and adopted at the 8th ASEAN - India Summit at Hanoi in October 2010.

42. In April 2006, India joined the ASEAN countries along with Japan, Republic of Korea and Sri Lanka to combat the menace of piracy and armed robbery against ships in Southeast Asia, since the safety of ships exercising their right of navigation had come under attack from sea pirates.

43. Since the signing of the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation in October 2003, economic and commercial relations saw an upward trend, to the satisfaction of all the stakeholders. In 2009 Agreement on Trade in Goods along with the Agreement on Dispute Settlement was signed, as also the Protocol to amend the Framework Agreement of 2003 to smoothen the road for enhanced interaction. This has created one of the world's largest free trade area market of almost 1.8 billion people with a combined GDP of US \$ 2.8 trillion. It is targeted to eliminate tariffs on over 4000 product lines by 2016.

44. The Indian Commerce Minister and the ASEAN Economic Ministers met in Siem Reap (Cambodia) on August 31, 2012, for a review of the economic relations between India and the ASEAN. Both expressed satisfaction at the "impressive growth" in trade between them since the signing of the Trade in Goods Agreement. It was noted that the total trade between India and the ASEAN had increased from US \$ 2.3 billion in 1991-92 to US \$ 74.9 billion in 2011. In fact, immediately after the signing of the Agreement on Trade in Goods, it jumped from US \$ 39.1 billion in 2009 to US \$ 55.4 billion in 2010, a growth of 41.8 percent accounting for 2.7 percent of the total ASEAN trade in 2010. The 8th India-ASEAN Summit at Hanoi in October 2010 had set a trade target of \$ 70 billion to be achieved by end of 2012. Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh was happy to inform the 10th Summit that the same was not only achieved but exceeded by "nearly" US \$10 billion by the March of 2012. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has also been on the rise. The flow from India to ASEAN in 2010 was US \$ 2.58 billion, an increase of 221.6 % from US \$ 811.18 million in 2009. This accounted for 3.4 per cent of the total FDI into ASEAN in 2010. In 2011 India had emerged as the sixth largest trading partner of the ASEAN. The Economic Ministers had also decided to intensify negotiations towards concluding the Agreement for

Trade in Services and Investment. This, the Ministers felt, would facilitate the beginning of the ASEAN - India discussions on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which would bring together a market of more than 50 % of the world's population and 30% of the world's GDP. India's closer engagement with its eastern neighbourhood has led to the emergence of India as a "significant player in the strategic dynamics of the region". The ultimate goal is to set up an ASEAN - India Free Trade Area. But Prime Minister Dr. Singh surprised the Phnom Penh Summit (November 2012) that New Delhi would be ready to sign the Agreement on Trade in Services and Investment before the India-ASEAN Commemorative Summit next month (December 2012). This the Prime Minister said "will be a strong signal of our deepening economic engagement, and will allow the rapid expansion of in trade and investment flows in both directions."

### **East Asia Summit (EAS)**

45. In 2005, under the auspicious of the ASEAN, a new formation-the East Asia Summit, emerged encompassing a wider vision of cooperation within Asia, taking in its fold, developed, developing and emerging markets and least developed countries. The first Declaration issued at Kuala Lumpur called for the EAS to be an open, inclusive, transparent and outward looking forum. It started with a membership of 10 ASEAN countries and six others but was joined by another two-- the United States and the Russian Federation in 2010. The other six are Australia, New Zealand, India, China, Japan and South Korea. There are now in all 18 countries interacting on a common platform. Its meetings at Summit level are held back-to-back with the ASEAN Summits annually giving an opportunity to members to exchange their experience in different fields whether manufacturing, or capacity building or training. The subjects which come up for discussion include, energy, environment, climate change and sustainable development,

financial cooperation, natural disaster mitigation, education and most importantly a Track - II study on a Comprehensive Economic Partnership in East Asia called the CEPEA. The Economic Ministers of the EAS countries meeting in Bangkok in August 2009 decided to enhance the activity of CEPEA from the so-called Track - II to Track - I, in the sense that the senior officials of the respective governments would now meet to discuss its further progress. It has been India's hope that the vision of Asian economic integration by coalescing the Free Trade Agreements among member countries, into an Asian Regional Trade Agreement, would pave the way for the creation of a broader Asian Economic Community. India has bilateral trade arrangements with the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and Japan. Negotiations for similar agreements with Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand are in progress. Speaking at the East Asia Summit at Bali on November 19, 2011, Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh spoke of the common challenges that face the countries of the EAS cutting across the national boundaries such as terrorism, prevention and response to natural disasters, piracy, protecting sea lanes of communication and drug trafficking. He said the "resurgence of Asia is dependent on the evolution of a cooperative architecture in which all countries are equal participant" and assured the members that India "will work with all other countries towards this end". Besides the membership of the EAS, India's membership of the ASEAN-centred forums such as the ARF, Partnership Summit, and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting gave India a geopolitically valuable opportunity to have a foot-print in the Asia-Pacific. ASEAN and EAS's role in this regard has been highly valuable and useful. The EAS has become an important mechanism for enhancing regional cooperation beyond the Asia-Pacific region. However, the ASEAN retains the centrality in the EAS architecture.

46. Looking back, the formation of the ASEAN in 1967 was motivated by the need to 'evolve into an inter-dependent concert

of nations, building institutional linkages, promising peace to each other to create harmonious societies in the member states and devoid of conflict'. The original members had experienced that the conventional security, which they had sought through military alliances or by grant of military bases on their territories had only embroiled them in Cold War politics, without giving them the sense of security they were looking for. The ASEAN was therefore to be an instrument to create socio-economic stability by building the institutional strength of the countries concerned. But the countries of the region continued to face increasing challenges from transnational, non-traditional security threats. It was this paradigm of political insecurity that motivated the member nations to create instrumentalities of different kind, be it commercial, financial and economic, tourism, science and technology, physical connectivity, human resource development, capacity building, education and culture etc. To achieve these objectives, it created multiple forums where the member countries of the ASEAN could interact with their partner countries in building peace blocs.

### **Security Cooperation**

47. One of such blocs is the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), to promote constructive dialogue and consultations on political and security issues. Set up in 1993, with its inaugural meeting in 1994, the ARF composed of 26 countries and the European Union as a body, aimed to foster constructive dialogue and consultations on political and security issues of common interest and to make significant contributions to efforts towards confidence building and preventive diplomacy in Asia - Pacific region. By making all the major players like the United States, Russia, India, China and others, equal stakeholders in the security apparatus, the ASEAN sought to ensure peace and security in the region by promoting confidence building measures, rather than resorting to the conventional balance of power mechanism. Considering China's dominant position in

securing political stability and security in the region, ASEAN ensured China's membership of the ARF, even before it became a dialogue partner.

48. To take care of the wider security perspective, the ASEAN broadened its activities by organising the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) in 2006 to discuss security and defence challenges faced by them. Since Security and defence have wider implications and cannot be segregated from the security of the area surrounding it, it decided in 2010 to involve some of the other stakeholders from its security network under the ARF umbrella into the new defence mechanism. They are Australia, China, India, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Russia and the United States. The inaugural ADMM-Plus held in Hanoi in October 2010 agreed on five areas of practical cooperation - (i) Maritime security, (ii) Counter terrorism, (iii) Disaster management, (iv) Peacekeeping operation and (v) Military medicine. The meeting welcomed and recognised the positive contributions of the "Plus" countries in enhancing peace, stability and development in Southeast Asia, while at the same time affirming that "the ADMM -Plus is a key component of robust, effective, open and inclusive regional security architecture". Defence Minister A. K. Antony at the inaugural meeting of the "ADMM-Plus" countries on October 12, 2010 in Hanoi stressed the importance of security for the sea lanes of Asia-Pacific region, as the drivers of global economic growth. He appreciated that the ASEAN had brought together "the defence establishment of all the key nations of the region with the objective of addressing non-traditional security challenges." Mr. Antony extended New Delhi's support to the above five priority areas, identified for cooperation. The Prime Minister in his address at the 9th India-ASEAN Summit too welcomed growing cooperation with ASEAN on security issues and India's association with the ASEAN led forums.

### **Nalanda University**

49. Culture is a big binding force, and cultural cooperation is today an important element of state policy in promoting contacts with other countries. It is an inclusive factor which takes in its fold visual and performing arts, music, human resource development, science and technology, people-to-people contacts, tourism, information and communication and its technology, agriculture etc. There is close cooperation between India and the ASEAN countries in this all embracing field. The cooperation in this area is implemented through the mechanism under the Plan of Action and funded from the ASEAN - India Fund for which India has contributed US \$ 50 million.

50. The Second East Asia Summit in Cebu (Philippines) on January 15, 2007 had called upon the member states to strengthen regional educational cooperation by tapping the centres of regional excellence in their respective areas. India had proposed the revival of the 5th century Nalanda University, which during its hey days, had attracted students and scholars from all over Asia in Buddhist Philosophy, Vedic literature, logic, mathematics, medicine and other disciplines. The 4th East Asia Summit held in Hua Hin (Thailand) came out in support of the Indian initiative and accepted the recommendations made by the Nalanda Mentors' Group, headed by the Nobel Laureate Professor Amartya Sen. The billion-dollar University will be funded by contributions from various sources. It will network and collaborate with the other existing centres of excellence in the EAS participating countries to build a community of learning, where students, scholars, researchers and academicians would work together, symbolising the spirituality that unites all mankind. The revived university while teaching the traditional subjects will put greater emphasis on a modern curriculum.

### **Tourism**

51. Tourism is an important means to bring the peoples of

different countries and cultures closer to one another. To promote tourism between India and the ASEAN, there is regular interaction between their tourist organisations. As of now, there is a greater flow of tourists from India to Southeast Asia. It was 2.47 million in 2009. To further promote tourist business between India and the region, on January 12, 2012, India and the ASEAN signed a Memorandum of Understanding on strengthening cooperation in this sector. India's keenness to promote tourism was the theme of the first ASEAN - India Car Rally held in November 2004 to coincide with the 3rd India - ASEAN Summit in Vientiane. A similar Car Rally is now on the cards to coincide with the 20th Anniversary Commemorative Summit being held in New Delhi in December 2012. The message of these rallies is to convey friendship, harmony and peace between the peoples of India and the ASEAN. From the tourism angle, it showcases the connectivity of India with the ASEAN region by the land route. The Rally's emphasis on geographic connectivity covers all dimensions - human, infrastructural, economic, technological and cultural. The Heads of Mission of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Laos, Brunei and Vietnam who visited Guwahati (Assam, the starting point of the second rally) in November (2012), to take stock of the preparation for the flag down ceremony, joined the Chief Minister of Assam Tarun Gogoi, to express confidence that the rally would demonstrate enormous possibilities for people-to-people contacts and promotion of trade and commerce between the northeast and the ASEAN countries. The Chief Minister said the northeast India had a lot of affinity with the ASEAN countries in cultural practices, and food habits besides historical links. By building such bridges of understanding and interaction, the circle of prosperity and growth gets heightened and is a catalyst for boosting tourism in the area. The Prime Minister also in his address to the 10th India-ASEAN Summit in Phnom Penh laid great stress on the connectivity factor in promoting closer relations between India and the ASEAN. He said:

"Connectivity with ASEAN in all its dimensions - physical, institutional, and people-to-people - continues to be a strategic priority for India. Two major commemorative events this year - the India - ASEAN Car Rally and the ASEAN sailing expedition of the Indian naval ship Sudarshini - highlight the importance and potential for connecting India and the ASEAN by sea, surface and air links."

52. Ever since the beginning of the India - ASEAN Summit process in 2002, India has sought greater and larger integration with the Southeast Asian region as a whole. New initiative in the field of people-to-people contacts, space cooperation, capacity building, information and communication technology, media exchange have been initiated as a means to infuse more depth into the relationship. Visitors from most countries of the ASEAN have the facility of visa on arrival in India. In 2011 India hosted a group of 100 students from the ASEAN countries. The Prime Minister told the 9th ASEAN - India Summit in Bali (November 19, 2011) that given the enthusiastic response and positive feedback, New Delhi would increase the number to 250 students annually. India has established vocational training centres in ASEAN countries. The Entrepreneurship Development Centres (EDCs) and Centres for English Language Training set up by India in CLMV countries have benefitted the younger generation in these countries and come for all round appreciation. There is a proposal to set up more such centres. Since media plays an important role in fostering relationships, connecting people and nations, and building bridges of understanding, the Prime Minister has wished "to institutionalise the Media Exchange Programme" and offered to host two groups of 20 ASEAN journalists each year for three years.

53. The success of the cooperation between India and the ASEAN in a short span of time, inspired both to further enhance their cooperation in the coming years. To lay down the roadmap

for the future, the 8th ASEAN - India Summit in Hanoi in October 2010 had set up "an Eminent Persons Group to take stock of the 20 years of ASEAN - India cooperation and chart further directions of ASEAN - India Dialogue Relations". It submitted its report at the 10th Summit in Phnom Penh making significant recommendations to increase the engagement between them and expand cooperation across the board. It also recommended a mid-term review in 2017 of the future trends in their multi-faceted cooperation, based on its recommendations. The EPG felt convinced that the implementation of its recommendations "will contribute significantly to the elevation of ASEAN - India relations to a strategic partnership".

54. History moves in cycles. If 19th century belonged to Europe, and the 20th was the American century, the 21st is the Asian century. The events of the last couple of decades have left no one in doubt of the Asians' claim to it. The world is converging to Asia-Pacific region. The United States realised it and has already announced the acceptance of this truth as reflected in the reorientation of its security and strategic policies. Asia is geared to this responsibility and ready to meet the challenges of the 21st century. The Indian External Affairs Minister set the agenda for Asia in his address at the 4th Delhi India-ASEAN Dialogue on February 13, 2012 in New Delhi. He said:

"As we progress into the Asian Century, which is marked by a shift of the economic centre of gravity to this part of the world, we must also take cognizance of the global economic and politico-security environment. This requires us to build and strengthen mechanisms for communication and consultation between our governments, corporate sectors and our people. Our policies need to, simultaneously, safeguard our high rates of growth, enhance trade in goods and services, bring together our collective resources for mutual benefit, connect our spaces institutionally, increase

investments for growth and enable our people to interact freely."

The intrinsic links that have existed and nurtured through the centuries between India and the countries of the Asia-Pacific region are a tribute to "our enterprising ancestors (who) created through the passage of time a most wonderful matrix of mutually enriching culture and mutually reinforcing bonds" that we feel the urge "to assiduously promote people-to-people relations (and) it is on these ties that the future of our relations will soar".



## CONTENTS

	<b>Page No.</b>
Abbreviations	V
Preface	XI
Introduction	XV
<b>Document Number</b>	
001. Joint Press Statement on the Meeting between the Officials of the ASEAN and India. Kuala Lumpur, 16 May, 1980.	3
002. Joint Press Release for the Meeting between ASEAN and Indian Senior Officials on the Establishment of the Sectoral Dialogue Relations between ASEAN and India New Delhi, 16-17 March 1993.	6
003. Joint Press Release of the 1st Meeting of the ASEAN- India Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee. Bali, Indonesia, 7-8 January 1994.	10
004. Joint Press Release on the 2nd Meeting of the ASEAN- India Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee. New Delhi & Panjim (India), 13-17 February, 1995.	13
005. Joint Press Release on the First ASEAN-India Joint Cooperation Committee Meeting. New Delhi, 14-16 November, 1996.	16
006. Opening Statement by H.E. Professor S. Jayakumar Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore at the 30th AAM/ Post Ministerial Conference. Singapore, 24-29 July, 1997.	21
007. Opening Statement by P. Chidambaram Minister of Finance of India at the 30th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM). Subhang Jaya (Malaysia), 28/29 July, 1997.	23

008. Opening Statement by Prof. S. Jayakumar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Singapore at the 1998 PMC 9+1 session with India. 28  
Manila, 29 July, 1998.
009. Statement by Deputy Chairman Planning Commission of India Jaswant Singh on the Occasion of the ASEAN 31st Post Ministerial Conferences (PMC 9+10) Plenary Session. 30  
Manila, 28 July, 1998.
010. Press release issued on the fourth meeting of the ASEAN-India Joint Cooperation. 35  
Kuala Lumpur, 26 January, 2002.
011. Press Release of the Ministry of External Affairs on the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Seminar on UN Peacekeeping. 37  
New Delhi, 22 March, 2002.
012. Annual Singapore Lecture 2002 by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on India's perspectives on ASEAN and the Asia Pacific Region. 38  
Singapore, 9 April, 2002.
013. Statement on the 9th Meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum. 43  
Bandar Seri Begawan, 31 July, 2002.
014. Statement by External Affairs Minister Yashwant Sinha at the first India-ASEAN Business Summit. 53  
Brunei, 1 August, 2002.
015. Joint Press Statement issued on the First Consultations between the ASEAN Economic Ministers and the Minister of Commerce and Industry of India. 57  
Bandar Seri Begawan (Brunei Darussalam), 15 September, 2002.
016. Inaugural Address by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee at the first India-ASEAN Business Summit. 60  
New Delhi, 17 October, 2002.

**CONTENTS****XLVII**

017. Extracts relevant to ASEAN from the Media Briefing by Secretary (ANA) Ministry of External Affairs R.M. Abhyankar on India - ASEAN Summit. 65  
New Delhi, 31 October, 2002.
018. Extract relevant to India from the Press Statement by the Chairman of the ASEAN - Japan Summit, the First ASEAN - Republic of Korea, the First ASEAN - India and briefing by the South African President on behalf of the African Union. 70  
Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 5 November, 2002.
019. Joint Statement issued on the First ASEAN-India Summit. 72  
Phnom Penh (Cambodia), 5 November, 2002.
020. Statement by Prime Minister Atai Bihari Vajpayee to the Indian Media about the India-ASEAN Summit. 75  
Bangkok, 8 November, 2002.
021. Press Release on the 5th ASEAN - India Senior Officials Meeting. 77  
New Delhi, 20 May, 2003.
022. Media briefing by Official Spokesperson on the 10th ASEAN Regional Forum meeting in Phnom Penh. 79  
New Delhi, 18-19 June, 2003.
023. Joint Press Statement on the Second Consultation between the ASEAN Economic Ministers and the Commerce Minister of India (AEM - India). 80  
Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 3 September, 2003.
024. Speech by External Affairs Minister Yashwant Sinha at the Plenary Session of Second India - ASEAN Business Summit. 82  
New Delhi, 4 September, 2003.
025. Extract from the Press interaction of Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal in connection with Prime Minister's visit to Indonesia to attend the India - ASEAN Summit. 86  
New Delhi, 3 October, 2003.

026. Extract from the Statement by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on the eve of his departure for the India-ASEAN Summit (Bali).  
New Delhi, 6 October, 2003. 89
027. Speech of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee at ASEAN Business and Investment Summit.  
New Delhi, 7 October, 2003. 90
028. Instruments of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia.  
Bali, Indonesia, 8 October, 2003. 94
029. Instruments of Extension of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia.  
Bali, Indonesia, 8 October, 2003. 95
030. ASEAN-India Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism.  
Bali (Indonesia), 8 October, 2003. 104
031. Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between the Republic of India and the Association of South East Asian Nations.  
Bali (Indonesia), 8 October, 2003. 107
032. Statement to the Indian Media by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee at the conclusion of his visit to Bali and Thailand.  
Chiang Mai, 12 October, 2003. 119
033. Joint media statement of the Third ASEAN Economic Ministers and the Minister of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of India Consultation.  
Jakarta, 5 September, 2004. 123
034. Address by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the third India - ASEAN Business Summit.  
New Delhi, 19 October, 2004. 125
035. Speech by External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh to flag-off the Chalo ASEAN Rally.  
New Delhi, 15 November, 2004. 130

**CONTENTS****XLIX**

036. Extracts relevant to India - ASEAN Summit from the Media Briefing by Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs Rajiv Sikri on Prime Minister's visit to Laos to attend the India - ASEAN Summit.  
New Delhi, 26 November, 2004. 132
037. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on the eve of his departure for Vientiane to attend the India - ASEAN Summit.  
New Delhi, 28 November, 2004. 135
038. Remarks by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the flagging off India-ASEAN Car Rally.  
Vientiane (Laos), 30 November, 2004. 137
039. ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity.  
Vientiane, 30 November, 2004. 139
040. Plan of Action to Implement the ASEAN-India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity.  
30 November, 2004. 144
041. Statement by the Chairman of the 3rd ASEAN + India Summit.  
Vientiane, 30 November, 2004. 154
042. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on return to New Delhi from Laos.  
New Delhi, 30 November, 2004. 157
043. Statement by External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh at the Special Meeting of leaders convened by ASEAN in the aftermath of the Earthquake and Tsunami.  
Jakarta, 6 January, 2005. 159
044. Press release of the Prime Minister's Office stating that Prime Minister wants Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement talks with ASEAN speeded up.  
New Delhi, 29 June, 2005. 163

## L

asean india

045. Extract from the media briefing by Secretary (East), Rajiv Sikri on the visit of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to Kuala Lumpur for the India - ASEAN Summit.  
New Delhi, 9 December, 2005. 164
046. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on his departure for Kuala Lumpur to attend the India - ASEAN Summit and East Asia Summit.  
New Delhi, 11 December, 2005. 171
047. Media briefing by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on-board Special Aircraft to Kuala Lumpur to attend 4th India-ASEAN Summit and 1st East Asia Summit.  
11 December, 2005. 173
048. Keynote address by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at Special Leaders' Dialogue of ASEAN Business Advisory Council.  
Kuala Lumpur, 12 December, 2005. 176
049. Proposals announced by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 4th India-ASEAN Summit.  
Kuala Lumpur, 13 December, 2005. 179
50. Statement by the ASEAN Chairman on the Fourth ASEAN - India Summit.  
Kuala Lumpur, 13 December 2005. 180
051. Kuala Lumpur Declaration issued at the end of the East Asian Summit.  
Kuala Lumpur, 14 December, 2005. 183
052. Declaration on Avian Influenza Prevention, Control and Disease issued at the end of the East Asian Summit.  
Kuala Lumpur, 14 December, 2005. 186
053. Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia.  
7 April, 2006. 188

**CONTENTS****LI**

054. Joint Media Statement of the Fifth Consultations between the ASEAN Economic Ministers and the Minister of Commerce and Industry of India (AEM-India)  
Kuala Lumpur, 24 August 2006. 199
055. Speech by Minister of State for External Affairs E. Ahamed for the Valedictory Function of the Programme for ASEAN Diplomats.  
New Delhi, 21 September, 2006. 201
056. Extracts from the Media Briefing by Secretary (East) N. Ravi on the visit of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh to Cebu (Philippines) to attend 5th India-ASEAN Summit and 2nd East-Asia Summit.  
New Delhi, 10 January, 2007. 204
057. Press Release of the Ministry of External Affairs on the visit of External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee to Cebu (Philippines) for the annual India - ASEAN Ministerial meeting.  
Cebu (Philippines), 12 January, 2007. 207
058. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on his departure for Philippines for the 5th India-ASEAN Summit and the 2nd East Asia Summit.  
New Delhi, 13 January, 2007. 209
059. Address by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 5th India-ASEAN Summit.  
Cebu (Philippines), 14 January, 2007. 210
060. Statement by the Chairman of the ASEAN of the Fifth ASEAN - India Summit Conference.  
Cebu, Philippines, 14 January, 2007. 214
061. CEBU Declaration on East Asian Energy Security.  
Cebu (the Philippines), 15 January, 2007. 217
062. Statement by External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee at the lunch hosted for the Foreign Ministers attending the East Asia Summit.  
Manila, 31 July, 2007. 221

063. Opening Statement by External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee at Press Briefing in Manila. 222  
Manila, 31 July, 2007.
064. Press Release of the Ministry of External Affairs on the Intervention by External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee at 14th ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) meeting in Manila. 224  
New Delhi, 2 August, 2007.
065. Joint Ministerial Statement on the First EAS Energy Ministers Meeting. 226  
Singapore, 23 August 2007.
066. Keynote Address by External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee at the Institute for Security and International Studies (ISIS), Chulalongkorn University on "India's Look East Policy: Implications for Thailand and South East Asia". 230  
Bangkok, 14 September, 2007.
067. Address of External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee at The Korean Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security On "India's Look East Policy". 238  
Seoul, 17 September, 2007.
068. Extracts from the Media Briefing by Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs N. Ravi, on Prime Minister's visit to Singapore to attend the East Asia Summit and India-ASEAN Summit. 243  
New Delhi, 19 November, 2007.
069. Statement of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh before his departure for Singapore for 6th India-ASEAN Summit and 3rd East Asia Summit. 246  
New Delhi, 19 November, 2007.
070. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 6th India - ASEAN Summit. 248  
Singapore, 21 November, 2007.
071. Press Release issued by the Prime Minister's Office containing Dr. Manmohan Singh's statement on ASEAN - India Free Trade Area. 251  
Singapore, 21 November, 2007.

**CONTENTS****LIII**

072.	Singapore Declaration on Climate Change, Energy and the Environment. Singapore, 21 November, 2007.	252
073.	Statement by the Chairman of the 6th ASEAN-India Summit. Singapore, 21 November 2007.	259
074.	Press Release of the Ministry of External Affairs on the visit of students from ASEAN countries. New Delhi, 14, December, 2007. 263	263
075.	Extracts relevant to India from the Statement by the Chairman of the ASEAN Post Ministerial Conferences (PMC) +1 Sessions. Singapore, 23 July, 2008.	264
076.	Press Release issued by the Ministry of External Affairs on the visit of Minister of State Anand Sharma to Singapore in connection with the East Asia Summit (EAS) Foreign Ministers' Meeting. New Delhi, 23 July, 2008.	266
077.	Joint Ministerial Statement of the Second East Asian Summit Energy Ministers Meeting. Bangkok, 7 August 2008.	267
078.	Joint Media Statement for the AEM + 6 Working Lunch. Singapore, 28 August 2008.	272
079.	Joint Press Statement at the conclusion of 6th ASEAN - India Economic Consultations. New Delhi, 29 August, 2008.	275
080.	Ministerial Statement of the Inaugural EAS Environment Ministers' Meeting. Hanoi, 9 October, 2008.	278
081.	Keynote Address by External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee at the Delhi Dialogue - I. New Delhi, 21 January, 2009.	282
082.	Joint Press Statement of the East Asia Summit on the Global Economic and Financial Crisis. Bangkok, 3 June, 2009.	286

083. Press Release issued by the Ministry of External Affairs on the visit of External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna to Phuket (Thailand) for ASEAN, East Asia Summit and ARF Ministerial meetings. 289  
New Delhi, 21 July, 2009.
084. Opening Remarks by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at India - ASEAN Ministerial meeting. 290  
Phuket, 22 July, 2009.
085. Statement by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at India - ASEAN Ministerial meeting. 292  
Phuket, 22 July, 2009.
086. Statement by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at the East Asia Summit Ministerial Meeting. 296  
Phuket, 22 July, 2009.
087. Joint Media Statement on the 7th Consultations between the ASEAN Economic Ministers (AEM) and Indian Commerce Minister Anand Sharma. 299  
Bangkok, 13 August, 2009.
088. Press Release issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on the signing of the India - ASEAN Free Trade Agreement. 301  
New Delhi, 13 August, 2009.
089. Agreement on Trade in Goods under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between the Republic of India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). 303  
Bangkok, 13 August, 2009.
90. Understanding on Article 4 of the Agreement on Trade in Goods under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of India. 315
091. Agreement on Dispute Settlement Mechanism under the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between the Republic of India and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. 317  
Bangkok, 13 August, 2009.

**CONTENTS**

LV

092. Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Republic of India. 335  
13 August, 2009.
093. Joint Press Statement issued on the conclusion of the ASEAN Economic Ministers + 6 Working Lunch. 340  
Bangkok, 15 August, 2009.
094. Extracts from the Media briefing by Secretary (East) of the Ministry of External Affairs on Prime Minister's Visit to Thailand for India-ASEAN Summit and East Asia Summit. 342  
New Delhi, 21 October, 2009.
095. Statement of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh on the eve of departure for Thailand for the 7th India-ASEAN Summit and 4th East Asia Summit. 347  
New Delhi, 23 October, 2009.
096. Statement by the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 7th India-ASEAN Summit. 348  
Hua Hin (Thailand), 24 October, 2009.
097. Statement by the Chairman of the 7th ASEAN-India Summit. 351  
Hua Hin (Thailand), 24 October, 2009.
098. Extracts from the Media Briefing by Secretary (East) of the Ministry of External Affairs on the 7th India-ASEAN Summit. 355  
Hua Hin (Thailand), 24 October, 2009.
099. Plan of Action to Implement the ASEAN - India Partnership for Peace, Progress and Shared Prosperity (2010 - 2015) 362  
24 October, 2009.
100. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 4th East Asia Summit. 371  
Hua Hin (Thailand), 25 October, 2009.
101. Joint Press Statement of the 4th East Asia Summit on the revival of Nalanda University. 373  
Hua Hin (Thailand), 25 October, 2009.

<b>LVI</b>		<b>asean india</b>
102.	Extracts from the Press Conference of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh following 7th India-ASEAN Summit and 4th East Asia Summit.  Hua Hin, 25 October, 2009.	374
103.	Cha-am Hua Hin Statement on East Asia Summit (EAS) Disaster Management.  Cha-am Hua Hin (Thailand), 25 October, 2009.	379
104.	Inaugural Address by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at the Delhi Dialogue-II.  New Delhi, 21 January, 2010.	384
105.	Joint Media Statement of the Second Meeting of ASEAN and India Tourism Ministers.  Bandar Seri Begawan, 25 January, 2010.	387
106.	Joint Ministerial Statement of the 4th East Asian Summit Energy Ministers Meeting.  Da Lat, Viet Nam, 22 July, 2010.	389
107.	Press Releases issued by the Embassy of India in Vietnam on the visit of Minister of State for External Affairs Shrimati Preneet Kaur to Hanoi for the 17th ASEAN Regional Forum Ministerial meeting.  Hanoi, 23 July, 2010.	393
108.	Joint Media Statement of the Informal Working Lunch of the Economic Ministers of the EAS Participating Countries.  Da Nang, Viet Nam, 26 August, 2010.	396
109.	Press Statement of the 8th ASEAN Economic Ministers Conference.  Da Nang (Vietnam), 27 August, 2010.	399
110.	Press Release issued by the Embassy of India in Hanoi on recognition of Observer Status for India by ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly.  Hanoi, 24 September, 2010.	401
111.	Press Release issued by the Ministry of Defence on the visit of Defence Minister A. K. Antony to Hanoi to attend	402

**CONTENTS****LVII**

- the meeting of the Defence Ministers of ASEAN PLUS Eight Countries.  
New Delhi, 12 October, 2010.
112. Hanoi Joint Declaration on the First ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus. 404  
Hanoi, 12 October, 2010.
113. Extract relevant to ASEAN from the media briefing by Foreign Secretary Mrs. Nirupama Rao and Secretary (East) Ms. Vijaya Latha Reddy on Prime Minister's three-nation (Japan, Malaysia and Vietnam) visit. 406  
New Delhi, 22 October, 2010.
114. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 8th India-ASEAN Summit. 410  
Hanoi, 30 October, 2010.
115. Statement by the Chairman of the 8th ASEAN-INDIA Summit. 413  
Hanoi, 30 October, 2010.
116. Press Release issued by the ASEAN Secretariat on the 8th ASEAN-India Summit. 416  
Hanoi, 30 October, 2010.
117. Remarks by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the fifth East Asia Summit. 418  
Hanoi, 30 October, 2010.
118. Hanoi Declaration on the Commemoration of the 5th Anniversary of the East Asia Summit. 421  
Hanoi, 30 October, 2010.
119. Extract relevant to India-ASEAN Summit and East Asia Summit from the Suo Motu Statement in the Lok Sabha by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna on Prime Minister's visits abroad. 423  
New Delhi, 19, November, 2010.
120. Inaugural Address by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at India-ASEAN Delhi Dialogue- III. 425  
New Delhi, 3 March, 2011.

121. Press Release issued by Ministry of External Affairs on External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna's visit to Bali for East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum Ministerial and other Ministerial meetings. 429  
New Delhi, 20 July, 2011.
122. Remarks by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna as Co-Chair at India-ASEAN Ministerial Meeting. 431  
Bali, 22 July, 2011.
123. Joint Media Statement of the 9th ASEAN Economic Ministers - India Consultations. 433  
Manado, Indonesia, 13 August, 2011.
124. Joint Media Statement of the Informal Consultations of EAS' Economic Ministers. 435  
Manado, Indonesia, 13 August 2011.
125. Joint Press Statement on the First ASEAN - India Ministerial Meeting on Agriculture. 439  
Jakarta, 8 October, 2011.
126. Extracts from the Media Briefing by Secretary (East) Sanjay Singh on Prime Minister's visits to Bali for the India-ASEAN Summit and the East Asia Summit and to Singapore for a bilateral visit. 448  
New Delhi, 16 November, 2011.
127. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh prior to his departure for Bali for the India-ASEAN Summit and the East Asia Summit and to Singapore for a bilateral visit. 454  
New Delhi, 17 November, 2011.
128. Media briefing by Secretary (East) Sanjay Singh on Prime Minister's engagements in Bali. 456  
New Delhi, 18 November, 2011.
129. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 9th ASEAN-India Summit. 462  
Bali (Indonesia), 19 November, 2011.

**CONTENTS****LIX**

130. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 6th East Asia Summit Plenary Session. 466  
Bali (Indonesia), 19 November, 2011.
131. Declaration of the East Asia Summit on the principles for mutually beneficial relations. 469  
Bali, 19 November, 2011.
132. Joint Media Statement of the Third Meeting of ASEAN-India Tourism Ministers (3rd M - ATM + India). 471  
Manado, Indonesia, 12 January, 2012.
133. Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of India and the Governments of the Member States of Association of Southeast Asian Nations on Strengthening Tourism Cooperation. 473  
Manado (Indonesia), 12 January, 2012.
134. Address by Secretary (East) Sanjay Singh at the Inaugural Session of Look East Economic Summit 2012. 480  
Kolkata, 20 January, 2012.
135. Keynote Address by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at Delhi Dialogue IV. 484  
New Delhi, 13 February, 2012.
136. Speech by Foreign Secretary Ranjan Mathai on India's Look East Policy at the 10th Meeting of the BCIM (Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar) Cooperation Forum. 488  
Kolkata, 18 February, 2012.
137. Joint Statement on the First East Asia Summit Education Ministers' Meeting (1st EAS EMM) "Strengthening Global Partnership for Education and Humanity". 493  
Yogyakarta (Indonesia), 5 July, 2012.
138. Opening remarks by External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna at the open session of the 10th ASEAN-India Ministerial Meeting. 497  
Phnom Penh, 11 July, 2012.

LX		asean india
139.	Statement by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at the 10th ASEAN-India Ministerial Meeting. Phnom Penh, 11 July, 2012.	499
140.	Closing remarks by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at the 10th ASEAN-India Ministerial Meeting. Phnom Penh, 11 July, 2012.	502
141.	Launch of the logo for the Special ASEAN-India Commemorative Summit: Note on the ASEAN-India logo. Phnom Penh, 11 July, 2012.	503
142.	Speech by the External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna at the plenary session of the Second East Asia Summit (EAS) Foreign Ministers Meeting. Phnom Penh, 12 July, 2012.	504
143.	Intervention by the External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna on "Exchange of views on Regional and International Issues" at the 19th ARF Ministerial Meeting. Phnom Penh, 12 July, 2012.	506
144.	Extract relevant to India from the Statement of the Chairman of the ASEAN Post - Ministerial Conferences (PMC) 10+1 Sessions. Phnom Penh, 11 July, 2012.	509
145.	Statement of the Chairman of the Second East Asia Summit (EAS) Foreign Ministers' Meeting. Phnom Penh, 12 July, 2012.	511
146.	Visit of the First ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA) Delegation to India. New Delhi, 1 August, 2012.	517
147.	Inaugural Address by External Affairs Minister S. M. Krishna at the First Round Table on ASEAN-India Network of Think Tanks. New Delhi, 7 August, 2012.	518

**CONTENTS****LXI**

148. Joint Press Statement issued on the First ASEAN Economic Ministers Plus ASEAN FTA Partners Consultations. 521  
Siam Reap, (Cambodia) 30 August, 2012.
149. Joint Press Statement issued on the EAS Economic Ministers' Meeting. 523  
Siem Reap (Cambodia), 30 August, 2012.
150. Press Release issued by the Ministry of Commerce on the India - ASEAN Pledge to conclude Services Agreement by December 2012. 527  
New Delhi, 31 August , 2012.
151. Joint Press Statement on 10th ASEAN Economic Ministers - India Consultations. 528  
Siem Reap (Cambodia), 31 August, 2012.
152. Press Release issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India on the meeting of the Environment Ministers of ASEAN and India. 530  
New Delhi, 8 September, 2012.
153. Press Release issued by the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas of India on the offer by Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Gas R. P. N. Singh of India's expertise to ASEAN countries in laying Oil and Gas Pipelines and Power Transmission Lines while addressing the Meeting of the ASEAN Energy Ministers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. 531  
New Delhi, 13 September, 2012.
154. Press Release issued by the Ministry of Agriculture on the inauguration of the three-day event jointly organized by the Indian Council for Agriculture Research and the Confederation of Indian Industry and attended by the Ministers and Senior Officials of the ASEAN countries with a view to intensify Cooperation in Agriculture, Industries and Trade. 532  
New Delhi, 17 October, 2012.

155. The Joint Press Statement of the Second ASEAN - India Ministerial Meeting on Agriculture and Forestry. 534  
New Delhi, 17 October 2012.
156. Statement by the Chairman of the First ASEAN-India Ministerial Meeting on Renewable Energy on the conclusion of the Consultations on Renewable Energy. 537  
New Delhi, 7 November 2012.
157. Media Briefing by Secretary East Sanjay Singh on Prime Minister's Visit to Cambodia for East Asia Summit and India-ASEAN Summit. 538  
New Delhi, November 14, 2012.
158. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh prior to his departure for Cambodia to attend the 10th India - ASEAN Summit and the 7th East Asia Summit. 545  
New Delhi, 18 November, 2012.
159. Opening Remarks by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at 10th India-ASEAN Summit. 546  
Phnom Penh, 19 November, 2012.
160. Response by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the 10th ASEAN-India Summit. 549  
Phnom Penh, 19 November, 2012.
161. Statement by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the Plenary Session of 7th East Asia Summit. 551  
Phnom Penh, 20 November, 2012.