



Royal University of Law and Economics

Final Report On

The Impacts and Contributions of the United States of America Indo-Pacific Strategy in modern International Relations

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**International Program
Bachelor's Degree in International Relations
Cohort 8
Year of Submission: 2020**



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ABSTRACT

The Trump Administration's Indo-Pacific Strategy has sought to strengthen the United States' bilateral security alliances in Asia and India, intensify working relationships with regional states and the US, and boost regional trade and investment. This paper investigates whether the Trump administration's Indo-Pacific has fulfilled its strategy of enhancing peace and cooperation in the Pacific region, or whether it has in fact magnified the potential for regional conflict. In doing so, it seeks an answer to the following, interrelated questions: What are the impacts and contributions of the US's Indo-Pacific strategy under the trump administrations in modern International Relations? For the purpose of this paper, foreign policy is understood as a multi-dimensional concept that takes into account the degree of goal attainment. It will argue that the positive and negative impacts of the US Indo-Pacific Strategy have largely outweighed the benefits, thus having a negative or positive impact on peace in the Indo-Pacific.

This thesis will be divided into five parts: (1) Chapter One is the introduction of the thesis which gives the main ideas, objectives, scope, research structure, limitation of the research, research methodology, and literature reviews. (2) Chapter Two provides insight and a brief history of the development of the Indo-Pacific Strategy that would be expanded into the current concept of the modern International Relations. (3) The Third Chapter explains the impacts of the Indo-Pacific Strategy in three aspects such as; Economic, Security, and Diplomacy. (4) The Fourth Chapter explains the contributions of the Indo-Pacific Strategy in three aspects such as; Economic, Security, and Diplomacy. (5) Finally, the last chapter is the analysis on the power countries that can bring the Indo-Pacific region in long-term peace security, and provides the suggested recommendation to the strategy of the U.S. and the conclusion combined with the finalized literature review of the author.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

APEC	:	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BRI	:	Belt and Road Initiative
FOIP	:	Free and Open Indo-Pacific
FTA	:	Free Trade Agreement
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
GTAP	:	Global Trade Analysis Project
IDPS	:	Indo-Pacific Strategy
JUSEP	:	The Japan-United States Strategic Energy Partnership
MSRI	:	Maritime Silk Road Initiative
NAFTA	:	North American Free Trade Agreement
TIFA	:	Trade and Investment Framework Agreement
TPP	:	Trans-Pacific Partnership
U.S.	:	United States of America
USMCA	:	United States-Mexico-Canada-Agreement

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of Study

In 2019, the US Department of Defense and the U.S. Department of State both established their report on the Indo-Pacific Strategy in order to further fulfill stability and prosperity in the region through the pursuit of preparedness, partnerships, and the promotion of a networked region.¹ For this purpose of this thesis, it is examined on the possible leadership of the Trump's administration into Indo-Pacific region, by the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy. "Strategy" refers to "the collection of plans and policies that comprise the state's deliberate effort to harness political, military, diplomatic, and economic tools together to advance that state's national interest."² Since the beginning of the 21st century, both sides of the Atlantic to the Indo-Pacific region have emerged to the world economy. Also, the US's idea is to promote a "free, fair and reciprocal trade based on open investment, transparent agreements, and connectivity" and "sustainable economic growth" between its Indo-Pacific neighboring countries.³ The Trump administration is using "Indo-Pacific" instead of "Asia-Pacific" because of the importance of India's rise as well as to contain China's rise. It demonstrates the key feature of the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy, using a balance of power to strengthen international security.⁴ As such, changes in the geopolitical environment in the Asia-Pacific region are the fundamental causes motivating the creation of the Indo-Pacific strategy. Against the backdrop of the relative weakening of the United States' dominant position and the increasing shift of

¹ "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, And Promoting a Networked Region," (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, June 1, 2019), Pg. 4. (accessed April 25, 2020).

² Feaver, Peter, "What is grand strategy and why do we need it?" Foreign Policy, April 8, 2009, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/04/08/what-is-grand-strategy-andwhy-do-we-need-it/>. (accessed April 25, 2020).

³ "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, And Promoting a Networked Region," (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, June 1, 2019), Pg. 3-4. (accessed April 25, 2020).

⁴ Weibin, Zhao, "The Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US and Its Influence on Regional Security." China-US Focus. September 17, 2019. <https://www.chinausfocus.com/peace-security/the-indo-pacific-strategy-of-the-us-and-its-influence-on-regional-security>. (accessed April 25, 2020).

geopolitical and economic gravity to the Indo-Pacific, the aim is to reshape alliances and partnerships to respond to China's rise.

1.2. Research Objective

The Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS) was officially used by President Donald Trump in November 2017, which mainly focused on the economic integration and security cooperation with the countries in the Indo-Pacific region. Therefore, this research aims to discover the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy that would interact with the Indo-Pacific region to shape the future development of regional economic growth, and nations in the Indo-Pacific to rise and prosper on how they could jointly pursue regional economic institution-building.

1.3. Research Question

The principal purpose for this thesis is to explore the methods or means of conducting Indo-Pacific strategy and finding any impacts and contributions into the Indo-Pacific region in the current and future peace and security, the question that we would try to answer are:

Main Research Question

- What are the impacts and contributions of the US's Indo-Pacific strategy under the trump administrations in modern International Relations?

Sub-Research Question

- Why has the US Indo-Pacific Strategy been created and prioritized during Trump's Administration?
- What should Indo-Pacific prevent the negative impacts of the strategy over the region?

1.4. Scope of Limitation

This research will be covering only on the Indo-Pacific Strategy under President Donald Trump's Administration, since his elections and the establishment of this foreign policy, in which this will primarily focus on the Impacts and Contributions of the US's Indo-Pacific

Strategy in modern International Relations. It is to discover new approaches to the United States that will be attempted to examine the important role in the region particular focus on ASEAN and East-Asia, which has the primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security since the rise of China and India has brought new geopolitical challenges.

Therefore, this report will only provide some common basic ideas regarding the United States that play an active role in the Indo-Pacific regions especially ASEAN and East-Asia which are still ambiguous and debated among scholars and legal experts. Furthermore, the report will not delve into the political aspects because it will be a complicated and time-consuming case that needs to be studied further. Last but not least, this research report only selects one case to study, including the trump's administration to the Indo-Pacific Region. Lastly, for the difficulty in obtaining resources, and data through the primary data, this research will be conducted based upon the secondary data.

1.5. Research Methodology

This final report is typically conducted based on secondary data, which is obtained from many reliable sources ranging from the legal documents such as the United States Department of States, reports from legal experts, government websites, report, journals, NGO, dissertation, prior studies, book publication, debates, and other electronic sources. By researching based upon these secondary data and consulting with the supervisor as well as other lecturers who are experts in International Relations, my research will be proceeding to find the effective answer to my research objectives.

1.6. Literature Review

This literature review aims to thoroughly examine recent scholars' articles, academic journals, and reports that clearly give their concrete analysis and information on the recent United States' Indo-Pacific Strategic. Specifically, this paper will mainly gather such analysis that answers to the thesis's research questions.

Regarding the reasons why US-IDPS was created, The United States describes this strategy aiming to make Indo-Pacific free and open since "many American people, as well as the whole world, have a stake in the Indo-Pacific's peace and prosperity."⁵

Besides, there are also a number of scholars who have studied about it. One of which is an article about "The 2019 US Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Who's It For?", written by Ankit Panda who is a professional editor-at-large for *The Diplomat* and Director of research for Diplomat Risk Intelligence. His article has explained the development of the concepts of US-IDPS since Obama's administration which draws us to see Trump's perspective over Asian Affair. According to his study, the new IDPS has been created with a little different from previous 2017 and 2018 strategies of Obama's Administration. Putting China as a main strategic competitor remains one of the themes of IDPS. However, this strategy just gives a further extension of the US's expectations on their allies to uphold their responsibilities to protect any necessary threats.⁶

In addition to putting China as main competitor, Ms. Zhao Weibin, a Researcher and PLA Academy of Military Science has pointed out few purposes of the creation of IDPS by comparing the strategy of rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific and the Indo-Pacific strategy.

⁵ "What is the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy?" Share America. Last modified September 23, 2019. <https://share.america.gov/what-is-u-s-indo-pacific-strategy/> (accessed August 05, 2020)

⁶ Panda, Ankit, "The 2019 US Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Who's It For?" *The Diplomat* – The Diplomat is a Current-affairs Magazine for the Asia-Pacific, with News and Analysis on Politics, Security, Business, Technology and Life Across the Region. last modified June 11, 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/the-2019-us-indo-pacific-strategy-report-whos-it-for/>.

Her studies have revealed few important purposes such as (1) shifted from engaging for purposes of regulation, to disengaging to provide a check and balance on China; (2) tried to rope India in and form a U.S.-Japan-India-Australia quadrilateral security dialogue; and (3) worked to build a larger-scale network of allies and partners.⁷

⁷ Weibin, Zhao, "The Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US and Its Influence on Regional Security," China-US Focus (blog), September 17, 2019, <https://www.chinausfocus.com/peace-security/the-indo-pacific-strategy-of-the-us-and-its-influence-on-regional-security> (accessed September 4, 2020).

CHAPTER 2: OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT OF US INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY

In the 21st century, the development of economic applicability and geopolitical momentum has raised the new painting of the Indo-Pacific region. The Indo-Pacific region is a geographic image in the Indian and Pacific Oceans which drew the attention of the great power and regional countries known as the United States, India, Japan, and Australia.⁸ Specifically, the Indo-Pacific region is the most significant broader and also to strengthen multilateral collaboration with the U.S. allies.⁹ As the development of this strategy “Indo-Pacific” is a counterbalance of Chinese power into this region. The changing of the foreign policy of the U.S. in each platform from the “Pivot to Asia.” and the “Rebalance to Asia,” to current use under President Trump's “Indo-Pacific”.¹⁰

More to the point, under the Trump’s administration, the sense of the concept has been using as the term, “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” that would aim to re-built cooperation with America to achieve a strong democratic alliance to the all nations among the Indo-Pacific region in order to promote prosperity and security.¹¹ For the vision of the United States, the Indo-Pacific is a free and open region comprising nations that are independent, strong, and prosperous and to pursue a vision of economic stability, security, and prosperity for whole-of-

⁸ Wu Shicun and Jayanath Colombage. 2019 . *Indo-Pacific Strategy and China’s Response*. Pg. 2. (accessed May 02, 2020)

⁹ Lindsey Ford. “The Trump Administration and the ‘Free and Open Indo-Pacific.’” *Foreign Policy*, May, 2020. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/fp_20200505_free_open_indo_pacific.pdf. (accessed June 17, 2020).

¹⁰ Jonathan Fulton, “*The Gulf Between the Indo-Pacific and the Belt and Road Initiative.*” <https://risingpowersproject.com/quarterly/the-gulf-between-the-indo-pacific-and-the-belt-and-road-initiative/>. (accessed May 02, 2020).

¹¹ The White House, “Remarks by President Trump at the APEC CEO Summit.” Last Modified November 10, 2017. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-apec-ceo-summit-da-nang-vietnam/>. (accessed May 05, 2020).

government. Furthermore, the free and open Indo-Pacific is trying to provide all nations in the region to fulfill justice and accountability, promote private property, and the rule of law.¹²

According to US Secretary of Defense James N Mattis, in his speech at the Shangri-La Dialogue, the US Indo-Pacific Strategy focuses on strengthening cooperation with India, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the role of the 10 ASEAN member states to promote maritime security and assuring a “Free and Open Indo-Pacific”.¹³ Moreover, the center of the U.S. approach is ASEAN. Although China is a major part of the United States, which needs to cope up the rise in this region.¹⁴ The U.S. will continue to strengthen its relations with traditional allies like Japan, South Korea, Australia, and the Philippines, and promote the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue with Japan, India, and Australia.¹⁵ At the heart of the U.S. Indo-Pacific concept is the “Quad”. Made up of the U.S., India, Japan, and Australia, the Quad is a loose grouping of states with the stated goal of establishing rules-based Indo-Pacific economic and security.

2.1. Timeline of Development of Indo-Pacific Strategy

To understand the Indo-Pacific Strategy, it is really common to know more about the evolution of the development of the strategy, since it is not a new concept of the foreign policy of the U.S. In this part, this research will briefly give a timeline of the development of the Indo-Pacific Strategy. It will focus more on Obama’s administration and Trump's administration to be more useful to link with the current situation of U.S. foreign policy.

¹² “Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, And Promoting a Networked Region,” (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, June 1, 2019), Pg. 4. (accessed April 25, 2020)

¹³ “Remarks by Secretary Mattis at Shangri-La Dialogue.” U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. Last modified June 3, 2017. <https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/1201780/remarks-by-secretary-mattis-at-shangri-la-dialogue/>. (accessed May 10, 2020).

¹⁴ “National Security Strategy of the United States of America.” The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>. (accessed May 18, 2020).

¹⁵ Chenghao Sun, “What is the prospect of the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy?”. Last Modified November 07, 2019. <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2019-11-07/What-is-the-prospect-of-the-U-S-Indo-Pacific-strategy--LqCA9M3YKA/index.html>. (accessed May 05, 2020).

2.2.1. Barack Obama's Administration

President Barack Obama was the 44th president of the United States, he was in the office from January 20, 2009—January 20, 2017.¹⁶ Under his administration, the United States has put attention on Asia-Pacific region because of the geopolitical power from West to East.¹⁷ In late 2011 and early 2012, the Obama administration rolled out its most significant strategic policy decision: the “rebalancing” of its foreign and defense-policy priorities toward Asia. After President Obama took office, he started adjusting the U.S. global strategy to bring two wars to a close and increasing attention and investment in the Asia-Pacific region.¹⁸ It took three year of planning and implementation, the new U.S. Asia-Pacific strategy has taken its initial shape, and it has exerted and will continue to exert a major influence on its relations with Asia, especially East Asia.¹⁹ Somehow, it is important to get interest into the region, Americans need to have positive engagement in Asia and articulate a vision that draws attention from countries in the region.²⁰ The Asia-Pacific Region is the most important major region that can emerge from the economics of the United States because the U.S. has the experience to export to other regions but the result is not the same as Asia-Pacific region which makes the U.S. grow faster than. In order to get the attention of cooperation with Asia, the Obama administration has set out the most important mechanism to Asia: our alliances, our emerging partnerships, and our work with regional institutions to build up a strong Asia-Pacific Strategy.²¹

¹⁶ Wallenfeldt, J and Mendell, D, "Barack Obama: President of United States". n.d. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barack-Obama>. (accessed May 20, 2020).

¹⁷ Ralph A. C., Brad G., Michael A. McDevitt, Nirav Patel, James Przystup and Brad Roberts, "The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security Strategy for the Obama Administration." Last Modified February, 2019. Pg. 3. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06408>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

¹⁸Michael, Nelson, "Barack Obama: Foreign Affairs." Last Modified January 24, 2018. <https://millercenter.org/president/obama/foreign-affairs>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

¹⁹ David Nakamura. "Obama aims to reinvigorate Asia strategy." Published April 16, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/obama-aims-to-reinvigorate-asia-strategy/2014/04/16/4a46ed5e-c4bf-11e3-bcec-b71ee10e9bc3_story.html. (accessed May 20, 2020).

²⁰ Ibid 17

²¹ "America's engagement in the Asia-Pacific region." Last Modified May 26, 2020. <https://asean.usmission.gov/americas-engagement-in-the-asia-pacific-region/>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

In addition, under his administration, the new U.S policy is not forcing other countries in the Asia-Pacific region to choose between the United States and China. But it is to provide every country in the region an opportunity to strengthen good relations with both the United States and China. Furthermore, the Asia-Pacific strategy under the Obama administration, it is a rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region. The vision of his administration, being involved in the Asia-Pacific is important to provide the effort of American purposes and a division of responsibility in advancing shared interests in stability, prosperity, and freedom. It also aims to remain engaged and the means by which American and its allies, partners, and friends can promote and preserve regional peace and stability together.²²

On the other hand, the new U.S. strategy Asia-Pacific, the Obama administration, also proposes the goal which is to prevent China from becoming the dominant power in the Asia-Pacific region and strengthen the long-term cooperation of America's to the regional states and institutions.²³ Hence, the emergence of the Chinese economy grew between 7 to 10 percent annually in almost three decades; it has more than doubled each decade. Besides that, the challenges also facing which Americans itself need to have cooperation with regional allies and security partners like India to consolidate its strategic supremacy and, as a potential option, to block main choke points along regional sea lines of communication (SLOCs) to intimidate China.²⁴

This strategy mainly focuses on the U.S. national interests, which the U.S. considered fully engaged in the Asia-Pacific region. At the beginning of the 21st century, China was an emerging and increasingly global actor in the region. As the rise of China, pay much interest

²² Ralph A. C., Brad G., Michael A. McDevitt, Nirav Patel, James Przystup and Brad Roberts, *"The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security Strategy for the Obama Administration."* Last Modified February, 2019. Pg. 3. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06408>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

²³ Joseph S. Nye & JR, *"Our Pacific Predicament."* Last Modified February 12, 2013. <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2013/11/11/our-pacific-predicament/>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

²⁴ Saeed, Muhammad, "From the Asia-Pacific to the Indo-Pacific: Expanding Sino-U.S. Strategic Competition." Last Modified 2017. Pg. 501. <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740017500324> (accessed May 26, 2020).

on economically, and politically serves in Asia. The China factor in the evolving becomes a serious impact to the U.S. Asia-Pacific, also it is needed to reshape since the geopolitical change. The potential of military competitions of China can also emerge, which draw much attention to the U.S. balancing the power of China into the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, the U.S. role in the region is also affected, it needs to improve leadership and keep in touch, show the commitment to the region, in case it fails to maintain good cooperation in the long-term relations with the Asia-Pacific strategy.²⁵

2.1.2. Donald Trump's Administration

In the first year of the Trump administration, it was a significant year in terms of U.S. policy toward the Indo-Pacific. In November 2017, President Donald Trump took a very long trip to the Indo-Pacific region in a generation. President Donald's Trump travels to many parts of Asia such as Japan, South Korea, China, Vietnam, and the Philippines on his longest trip. And during that trip, in Da Nang speeches, President Trump introduced the strategic concept of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy (FOIP). After the first year of introducing the strategic concept, the second, third, and fourth year of the Trump administration first term, there needs to be formulation and implementation of the strategy.²⁶

First, the principles of FOIP have been developed and gradually consolidated through consultations with its allies and partners, particularly the United States. However, this does not fundamentally mean that they continuously share the same approach toward China. The basic principles of FOIP shared by Japan and the United States were defined in the Japan-US summit in November 2017. In this summit, Japan and the United States agreed that through FOIP, they

²⁵ Ralph A. C., Brad G., Michael A. McDevitt, Nirav Patel, James Przystup and Brad Roberts. "*The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security Strategy for the Obama Administration.*" Last Modified February, 2019. Pg. 9-37. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06408>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

²⁶ U.S. Department of State. "Briefing in The Indo-Pacific Strategy: Special Briefing." Last Modified April 2, 2018. <https://www.state.gov/briefing-on-the-indo-pacific-strategy/>. (accessed May 05, 2020).

pursue (1) “promotion and establishment of fundamental values”, such as the rule of law and the freedom of navigation, (2) “economic prosperity” through ensure such as advancement of network, and (3) “commitment for peace and stability”, such as maritime law enforcement capacity building.²⁷ Also, they stated that they would welcome any country which “shares this vision” of the Indo-Pacific region.

In addition, there are many adoptions of the strategy which has been argued—as known of “Rebalancing to Asia” under President Obama, and then on “enhancing quadrilateral cooperation (the “Quad”) in the Indo-Pacific” under President Trump, to counterbalance China.²⁸ In June 2019, the Indo-Pacific Strategy Report was established by the U.S. Department of Defense which the U.S. has to fulfill their potential to the Indo-Pacific region in order to strengthen long-term peace and prosperity through partnerships.²⁹ Specifically, the classification Indo-Pacific is replacing Asia-Pacific as a framework for regional order.³⁰ The United States retains both the desire and the ability to be a major source of regional stability and prosperity. During and after, the Obama Administration will remain as committed to Asia-Pacific security as its predecessors. Though administrations change, national interests generally remain constant, and it is clearly in American’s national security interest to remain fully engaged in the Asia-Pacific.³¹

In the part of the region, India is the most significant actor in both bilateral initiatives and multilateral for the greatest. In the Asia region, especially China and India are also the

²⁷ ‘Japan-U.S. Working Lunch and Japan-U.S. Summit Meeting’, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Last modified November 6, 2017, available at: https://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page4e_000699.html. (accessed May 28, 2020)

²⁸ Saeed, Muhammad, “From the Asia-Pacific to the Indo-Pacific: Expanding Sino-U.S. Strategic Competition.” Last Modified 2017. Pg. 501. <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740017500324>. (accessed May 26, 2020).

²⁹ Walter C. Ladwig III and Anit Mukherjee. “The United States, India, and the Future of the Indo-Pacific Strategy.” Last Modified June 20, 2019. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/the-united-states-india-and-the-future-of-the-indo-pacific-strategy/>. (accessed June 18, 2020).

³⁰ Medcalf R, “Reimagining Asia: From Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific.” (2018). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-3171-7_2

³¹ Ralph A. C., Brad G., Michael A. McDevitt, Nirav Patel, James Przystup and Brad Roberts, “The United States and the Asia-Pacific Region: Security Strategy for the Obama Administration.” last modified February, 2019. Pg. 15. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep06408>. (accessed May 12, 2020).

primary sources of rising global energy consumption. By cataloging diplomatic initiatives and words, Scoot argued that Washington's Indo-Pacific strategy has strengthened with one rising power known as (India) to help counterbalance another rising power known as (China).³² Also, India is the most important actor in the Indo-Pacific region because it is the country that has high respect for democracy. Also, it can strengthen more on bilateral initiatives and through greater involvement of multilateral cooperation.

2.2. Current Development Under the Trump Administration

In recent decades, the Indo-Pacific is and will remain the most dynamic region on earth. It makes the American involvement in the region. The emergence of the new geopolitical of the Indo-Pacific region became the fundamental interest to strengthen the future Indo-Pacific of the most peace and security in the way of economic growth, security development, and diplomatic relations.³³

Under President Trump's leadership, to make it become an effective strategy, it needs an approach to India and Southeast Asian. A series of strategies for managing bilateral relations is insufficient. The United States needs to have a comprehensive vision and integrated approach, especially ASEAN. It has taken full account of several important changes in the region in recent years.³⁴ Compared with the procedure of rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific, the Indo-Pacific procedure has (1) moved from locks in for purposes of direction, to separating to supply a check and adjust on China; (2) attempted to rope India in and shape a U.S.-Japan-India-Australia quadrilateral security discourse; and (3) worked to construct a larger-scale

³² Kaewkamol Karen Pitakdumrongkit. "The Impacts of the Trump administration's Indo-Pacific Strategy on regional Economic Governance." Last Modified 2019. Pg. 11 (accessed June 01, 2020)

³³ "A Free and Open Indo-Pacific: Advancing a Shared Vision." Department of State. Last Modified November 4, 2019. Pg. 5. (accessed May 17, 2020)

³⁴ "America's engagement in the Asia-Pacific region." Last Modified May 26, 2020. <https://asean.usmission.gov/americas-engagement-in-the-asia-pacific-region/>. (accessed June 18, 2020).

arrangement of partners and accomplices.³⁵ The Trump administration's Indo-Pacific strategy rests on two modifiers: "free" and "open." The word "free" refers to freedom from coercion by other states, embracing the concepts of sovereignty, rule-based order, and dispute settlement. "Open" means open commons (in land, sea, air, and cyber realms), open logistics (i.e. connectivity driving regional integration), open investment (i.e. investment enabling market economics to function), and open trade (i.e. free, fair, and reciprocal trade).³⁶

However, the administration of President Obama has not much changed to the current foreign policy of the U.S. Trump administration. It still remained to use the same vision of the strategy just to use India as a rival to the rise of China. The Indo-Pacific region stretches from the Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific which contains over half of the world's population, including India and China, the two most populated countries; the world's largest democracy, in India; two of the largest economies, in China and Japan; and at least three nuclear-capable powers. The world's economic tools and amount of global consumer manufacturers will be extended in the Indo-Pacific. Both China and India have seen regular annual economic growth around ten percent for the past decade or more, although both are beginning to slow down a bit.³⁷

The retreat of Obama's "Asia-Pacific rebalancing" strategy was the key factor to guide on structure power. Under Trump's administration, it is a tool to counterbalance China and to provide benefits for the U.S. leadership in the region. It was making the allies in the Asia-Pacific region mistrustful of Trump's foreign policies which showed that the "Indo-Pacific

³⁵ Weibin, Zhao, "The Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US and Its Influence on Regional Security." China-US Focus. September 17, 2019. <https://www.chinausfocus.com/peace-security/the-indo-pacific-strategy-of-the-us-and-its-influence-on-regional-security>

³⁶ "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, And Promoting a Networked Region," (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, June 1, 2019), Pg. 4.

³⁷ Auslin, M, 'The Struggle for Power in the Indo-Pacific', Turkish Policy Quarterly, (2012) 10(3), 145–151.

Strategy” is the development and improvement of the “Asia-Pacific Rebalance Strategy.”³⁸ Meanwhile, the Trump administration uses the term “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” as a normative statement for American allies as a policy agenda to bring behind. Nevertheless, Bryce Wakefield explains, the term “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” has been used by Japan since the mid-2000s which owes much to the ideas of the development in the normative. The concept of the Quadrilateral dialogue or the “Quad” was advocated by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in which to bring such a series of trilateral meetings between Australia, Japan, and the United States, with India on nominating to a formal strategic dialogue partner and as a name of the strong democratic partner.³⁹

2.3. Uprising Power of China

The rise of China is also the reason for the U.S. getting to interact with the concept of the Indo-Pacific strategy. China became one of the big challenge partners with the U.S. on the emergence of the Indo-Pacific region. China has implemented its own foreign policy known as “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” to the Indian Ocean. Also, aimed to ensure economic and military development.⁴⁰ The Silk Road Economic Belt, and a maritime route, the Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI),⁴¹ provided the support on leading money to the countries that want to be involved with them, in the way to improve their infrastructure which connectively to Eurasia and the Indian Ocean. For this situation, it became one of the most serious impacts that can make a huge debt to the countries in order to repay back to China, and it brings the attention of

³⁸ Chen, Dingding, “The Indo-Pacific Strategy: A Background Analysis.” Last Modified 2018. <https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/indo-pacific-strategy-background-analysis-20714> (accessed June 22, 2020)

³⁹ “The Indo-Pacific: Still Under Construction.” The Warsaw Institution Review. Last Modified May 18, 2020. <https://warsawinstitute.review/issue-2020/the-indo-pacific-still-under-construction>. (accessed June 27, 2020).

⁴⁰ Avdaliani, Emil, “The Rise of the Indo-Pacific.” (BESA Center Perspectives Paper No. 1,639, July 12, 2020) <https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/1639-Rise-of-Indo-Pacific-Avdaliani-final.pdf>. (accessed August 02, 2020)

⁴¹ Fulton, Jonatha, “Rising Power Quarterly: The Gulf between the Indo-Pacific and the Belt and Road Initiative” (College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zayed University, Abu Dhabi), 175-193.

the United States to maintain order Indo-Pacific region not to fall under this debt trap.⁴²

Similarly, the 2018 National Defense Strategy released in January 2018 was damning in regards to China:

“China is leveraging military modernization, influence operations, and predatory economics to coerce neighboring countries to reorder the Indo-Pacific region to their advantage. As China continues its economic and military ascendance, asserting power through an all-of-nation long-term strategy, it will continue to pursue a military modernization program that seeks Indo-Pacific regional hegemony in the near-term and displacement of the United States.”⁴³

In 2013, China officially used the BRI to aim at improving “network of transport, port, aviation and energy related infrastructure around the world.”⁴⁴ To make their strategy more concrete, in 2013 and 2017, China has involved their attention more in the region, by imposing the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC), which ensure its economic interest and political impacts in Indian Ocean.⁴⁵

In this situation, Sri Lanka’s handing over control of Hambantota port to China on a 99-year ultra-long-term lease, all because the country was unable to repay its debt.⁴⁶ It is a trap of debt but Sri Lanka is much improved and ensures much interest than ever. Seeing the Sri Lankan case, the United States had to link their power to the BRI in order to prevent other countries in this region from failing the same as Sri Lanka’s.

2.4. “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” vs “Belt and Road”

In the beginning of the 21st century, two strategic ideas have been raised, which are known as Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS) supported by the US and Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

⁴² Nagao, Satoru, “Strategies for the Indo-Pacific: Perceptions of the U.S. and Like-Minded Countries.” (Hudson Institute, 2019). Pg. 48-51.

⁴³ Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Sharpening the American Military's Competitive Edge. 2018. Pg 1–2. (accessed July 20, 2020)

⁴⁴ Shicun, Wu, & Jayanuth, Colombage, “Indo-Pacific Strategy and China’s Response.” National Institute for South China Sea Studies. last modified October 2019. Pg. 2.

⁴⁵ Shicun, Wu, & Jayanuth, Colombage, “Indo-Pacific Strategy and China’s Response.” National Institute for South China Sea Studies. last modified October 2019. Pg. 2.

⁴⁶ *ibid*

led by China. Revealed in 2013, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has an overarching objective to advance network among the Asian, European, and African landmasses and their adjoining oceans. Typically to be sought after by building up and reinforcing associations among part nations and realizing expanded, autonomous, adjusted and feasible advancement. Fiscally, the BRI is generally supported by solid money related commitments from China.⁴⁷ China has strongly promoted the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), aims to develop a vast economic zone by improving the land transportation route extending from China to Central Asia and Europe (Silk Road Economic Belt) and maritime transportation routes from China to Southeast Asian waters the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea (Twenty-First Century Maritime Silk Road).⁴⁸ In accordance with the BRI, China has supported infrastructure development across the region, in particular, providing loans of government-affiliated financial institutions, basically developing countries that aim to improve their infrastructure.⁴⁹ China's BRI ability to influence regional countries as part of improving economic and coercion measures.

Under President Donald Trump, the United States and Japan have made an effort on the vision of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific." This vision envisions connecting Asia and Africa by the Indian and Pacific Ocean. The vision seeks to increase the economic growth of the region through free trade and infrastructure development, while promoting security cooperation, mainly in the sea. FOIP and BRI are two regional order initiatives that compete with each other. In the view of the U.S., the Indo-Pacific region needs to be increasingly a place of peace, stability and prosperity, that will not bring competition, anarchy, and economic coercion.⁵⁰ Moreover, his perspective wants to develop a rules-based and democracy-led system in the

⁴⁷ Anita Parkash, "Indo-Pacific connectivity needs support for good governance" last modified December 9, 2019.

⁴⁸ The National Institute for Defense Studies, East Asian Strategic Review 2018, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Kliman, Daniel, and Abigail Grace, "Power Play: Addressing China's Belt and Road Strategy," Center for a New American Security, September 2018, pp. 10-11

⁵⁰ "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networking Region." The Department of Defense. last modified June 1, 2019. Pg. 6.

regional order.⁵¹ The United States plays a key role as a force in regional stability, it needs to strengthen alliances and build new partnerships, to ensure strong and long-term commitment. The United States will be able to reach this strategy for regional sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

⁵¹ Chellaney, Brahma, “Trump's weak Indo-Pacific plan will embolden China.” Live Mint. Last Update November 18, 2019. <https://www.livemint.com/opinion/columns/opinion-trump-s-weak-indo-pacific-plan-will-embolden-china-11574099522985.html>.(accessed September 1, 2020)

CHAPTER 3: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF US INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY UNDER TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

To begin with, the Indo-Asia-Pacific locals remain the best need for the Joint together States. President Trump first outlined his vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific at the APEC CEO Summit in Vietnam. The National Security Strategy report, also briefly specific on the vision of the Indo-Pacific Strategy, is an important mechanism of the American foreign policy. Since, the Indo-Pacific region is one of the greater instruments of future global - of the future global economy. American people and the whole world can make a chance to involve and promote peace and prosperity, that's why the Indo-Pacific should be free and open, and be able to receive the protection of their sovereignty from coercion by other superpower countries. A Free and Open Indo-Pacific started out with three-pillars, between economic, governance, and security⁵² that will be the portion of the competitive scene.

3.1. Economic Aspect

One effective way to advance Indo-Pacific economic cooperation is creating an overarching governance architecture which not only encompasses all Indo-Pacific stakeholders, but also covers collaboration in several economic aspects. This framework can act as a venue for the economies involved to discuss economic matters and challenges, and collectively devise policy actions to tackle such issues. For example, American and Indo-Pacific authorities can utilize this platform to adopt certain policy stances and approaches more compatible with each other.⁵³ Additionally, there are some example of regional countries that can involve for making the benefits as a whole for this strategy; Australia has referred to consider on the concept Indo-

⁵² "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networking Region." The Department of Defense. Last modified June 1, 2019. Pg. 4

⁵³"A Free and Open Indo-Pacific: Advancing a Shared Vision." Department of State. Last modified November 4, 2019. Pg. 14-20.

Pacific region rather than Asia-Pacific region because of see supports its Indo-Pacific concept, to be specific, that the time of US-centered territorial arrange is ending, has been assist fortified by the rise of the Trump organization.⁵⁴ Additionally, Japan's essential objective of the 'free and open Indo-Pacific' (FOIP) procedure is to shape and solidify territorial arrange within the Indo-Pacific region based on the existing rules-based worldwide arrange. The concept at first pointed to realize two distinctive objectives—shaping a territorial arrange within the Indo-Pacific and guaranteeing the resistance of Japan.⁵⁵

Between 1990 and 2018, for example, the “emerging economies” of the Indo-Pacific (i.e., the Indo-Pacific countries excluding Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Singapore, and Macao) grew by 773%, compared with 66% for the European Union, 65% for emerging and developing Europe, 116% for Latin America and the Caribbean, 210% for the Middle East and Central Asia, and 205% for Sub-Saharan Africa.⁵⁶

For the new era, the United States made foundational contribution \$113 million to support on the new U.S. initiatives for the future U.S. economic commitment to stability and growth in the Indo-Pacific region.⁵⁷ The Trump administration's Indo-Pacific strategy focuses on sustainability and change, especially the digital economy and technology that boosts economic growth and raises the living standards of people around the world. Indo Pacific is an economically connected part of the world with the most advanced technology. The world economy is a vastly expanded Internet data that fifth-generation 5G telecommunications empowers infrastructure, including autonomous vehicles and intelligent power grids. In response, the United States has opened up security interventions and urged all countries to adopt

⁵⁴ Ishihara, Yusuke & Marie Izuyama, "Australia, India and the Indo-Pacific Concept." Pg. 14-15 Accessed September 8, 2020.

⁵⁵ "Japan's 'Indo-Pacific' Question: Countering China or Shaping a New Regional Order?" *OUP Academic* (blog). January 1, 2020. <https://academic.oup.com/ia/article-abstract/96/1/49/5697492?redirectedFrom=fulltext>.

⁵⁶ See IMF, World Economic Outlook Database.

⁵⁷ Sec. Pompeo Remarks on "America's Indo-Pacific Economic Vision". August 7, 2018. <https://asean.usmission.gov/sec-pompeo-remarks-on-americas-indo-pacific-economic-vision/>.

this approach. The United States is looking to like-minded partners such as Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand and Taiwan to support this objective.⁵⁸

Trade

Rising trade conditions are a major contributor to the welfare of the Indo-Pacific region, which is why countries involved in the Indo-Pacific strategy are in dire need of tax cuts and non-tax measures. Taxes, including reductions in the import costs of their trading partners. For example, the United States, heavy manufacturing exports could be a major source of revenue for the country. Exports of processed meat, meat and light engineering are Japan's most important exports. Australia is notable for its agricultural exports, such as agricultural products, cereals and processed foods and meat. According to Mohammad Masudur Rahman, such a competitive of India sector are “Production sector (rice, fishing, animal husbandry) and textiles and clothing sector”⁵⁹ “The import tariff of textiles and clothing is about 12.8% of Indian partners.” Therefore, easing tariffs or eliminating tariffs on the textile and garment sector can effectively increase exports. Exports of textiles and garments can be the highest earners, which can increase up to 15. %. The global trade analysis project (GTAP) mentioned that India would gain benefits enormously if the country reduces trade costs by 25%.⁶⁰

In addition, the administration component to the trade endeavors to advance “free, fair, and reciprocal” by bringing down blockade. In the part of “fairness” and “reciprocity” as an establishment for commercial openness and maintaining of a contract. Too, the word “fair” is generally characterized in terms of the exchange adjust since Washington needs to change its trade shortage with territorial economies mostly caused by the latter’s tariff and non-tariff

⁵⁸ “The United State and ASEAN: Expanding the Enduring Partnership.” U.S. department of State, last modified November 3, 2012. <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-and-asean-expanding-the-enduring-partnership/>

⁵⁹ Rahman, Mohammad M., Chanwahn Kim, and Prabir De, "Indo-Pacific cooperation: what do trade simulations indicate?" Journal of Economic Structures 9, no. 1 (2020).

⁶⁰ Rahman, Mohammad M., Chanwahn Kim, and Prabir De, "Indo-Pacific cooperation: what do trade simulations indicate?" Journal of Economic Structures 9, no. 1 (2020).

blockade.⁶¹ In terms of how to attain free, fair, and reciprocity trade, it leads to plans on arranging cooperation for better international deals and to change the multilateral trade framework.⁶² Washington has so far amended the terms of some existing free trade agreements (FTAs) to make them more favorable for its workers and firms. The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) (previously known as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)) and revised Korea-U.S. FTA (KORUS) are recent examples. While the U.S. pulled out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in January 2017, the administration said it “will continue efforts to build stronger, better, and fairer trading relationships” with TPP signatories which do not have a bilateral trade contract with the country.⁶³ Concerning the change of the multilateral trade framework, Trump communicated his potential to work with like-minded economies to enhance a worldwide trade framework to extend the living standard of Americans.

Moreover, If Southeast Asian (ASEAN) countries could join the Indo-Pacific block, all these member countries under this regional economic cooperation could gain significantly. Indian GDP and growth could benefit the most. Southeast Asian countries will also be benefitted from the free trade deal. However, if the trade facilitation increases by 25% amongst these countries, the potential benefit will be enormous and real GDP of Australia and Japan could also increase rapidly.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Interview with a U.S. State Department official, Washington DC, April 19, 2018.

⁶² Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR), “2018 Trade Policy Agenda and 2017 Annual Report of the President of the United States on the Trade Agreements Program,” (Washington, DC), 12.

⁶³ *ibid*

⁶⁴ Rahman, M.M., Kim, C. & De, P. Indo-Pacific cooperation: what do trade simulations indicate?. *Economic Structures* 9, 45 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40008-020-00222-4>

Investment

The United States raises \$ 1.9 trillion annually for bilateral trade in goods and services in the Indo-Pacific region.⁶⁵ In addition, Indo-Pacific has made the United States a major investor. Especially, US working with Japan to improve energy infrastructure in the Japan-US Strategic Partnership (focusing on energy expansion and the Japan Digital Economy Strategy (JUSEP) will further strengthen this partnership, as will the alignment of U.S. investment with the Japanese government’s target \$10 billion in public and private investment and also capacity building.⁶⁶ Participation investment in the private sector is one of the most powerful forces for lifting people out of poverty, providing them with many employment opportunities and their needs, and strengthening their communities. It also strengthens the regulatory environment for some private enterprises, contributes to the growth and accelerates the Indo-Pacific policy.⁶⁷

On investment, the Trump cabinet aims at augmenting free and open investment via improving the investment climate, raising private sector participation, and ensuring that investment fosters entrepreneurship and innovation. Doing so will not only boost U.S.- ASEAN investment and trade but will also bring about prosperity for all involved. According to Deputy Assistant Secretary Alex Wong, Washington will support “more open investment environments, more transparent regulatory structures” so far, the benefits not just for private investment, but also the own countries can have an opportunity to catch up and improve economic growth together.”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ “Fact Sheets, News, U.S. & ASEAN.” U.S. Mission to ASEAN. Last modified November 4, 2019. [2019 Indo-Pacific Business Forum Showcases High-Standard US Investment](#)

⁶⁶ *ibid*

⁶⁷ “Unlocking Private Enterprise-Led Economic Growth.” USAID from the American People. Last modified August 28, 2020. <https://www.usaid.gov/indo-pacific-vision/econ>

⁶⁸ Alex Wong, "Briefing on The Indo-Pacific Strategy." United States Department of State. Last modified May 1, 2020. <https://www.state.gov/briefing-on-the-indo-pacific-strategy/>.

Moreover, Indo-Pacific, joint operations countering illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, science, and securing our critical mineral supply chain. These partnerships magnify our impact on improving access for nations to high-quality, resilient development of their economic and natural resources. The Indo-Pacific region is rich in forests, fisheries, an incredible abundance of biodiversity, the world's largest concentration of marine life. Because many countries rely on all these natural resources for the development of their region, it is required to supply and maintain the remaining resources sustainably.⁶⁹

Infrastructure

The United States has launched a long-term strategic infrastructure competition with China to promote global values and interests. For more than three decades, the US government has been involved in infrastructure development. In both, domestically and internationally to spread ideologically influenced China's neighbors to prevent China from having the opportunity to expand its influence throughout the Indo-Pacific regions and around the world by using acute infrastructure development. Due to China's One Belt One Road initiative, it has received so much international attention that its infrastructure projects have attracted many countries in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia, which require strong infrastructure investment. In addition, China is trying against the United States as the part of competition power in the Indo-Pacific region to expand the scope of state-led economic models and reorganize all these regions in their own decisions. In this context, US policymakers have begun to outline their thinking to discuss approaches and strategies that will transform the increasingly competitive U.S. infrastructure development on Indo-Pacific free and open to also provide good looking for national and international audiences.⁷⁰ Moreover, the United States

⁶⁹ "Improving Natural Resource Management." USAID from the American People. Lst update A August 28, 2020.

⁷⁰ Hemmings, John, "Infrastructure, Ideas, and strategy in the Indo-Pacific." last modified March 2019. Pg. 44-45. (accessed August 20, 2020)

plays an important role in ensuring security and economic prosperity of its allies such as Japan, South Korea and Australia. For Japan, the bilateral alliance is at the core of the strategy between Japan and the United States, so Japan is committed to fully supporting the United States in this Indo-Pacific free and open policy.

U.S. also have contribute on the infrastructure development with “\$113.5 million” in the strategic plan, it includes “\$30 million” on “Infrastructure Transaction and Assistance Network and an Indo-Pacific Transaction Advisory Fund”, and also provide more finance assist with the amount of “\$60 billion” on the BUILD Act of 2018.⁷¹

3.2. Security Aspect

Policymakers and scholars have paid much attention in recent years to the emergence of the terms “Indo-Pacific” to describe the changing regional security system in Asia. The Indo-Pacific is not a concept framed primarily or solely by the rise of India. Rather, the evolution of what might be called an Indo-Pacific strategic system has its origins at least as much in the interests of East Asian powers (and not only China), most notably in their dependence on the sea lanes of the Indian Ocean for energy and trade. Of course, the Indo-Pacific concept has its problems—for instance, encompassing a region too vast to be managed through a single multilateral institution.⁷²

Indo-Pacific is an economic and security link between the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean, forming a single strategic system. Indo-Pacific, as well as defining the geopolitical expansion and interests of China and India, and even has a protective role covering the Pacific and Indian Oceans. This is recognized as a diplomatic relationship and a strategic connection

⁷¹ Gerstel, Dylan, Risberg, P, Greenwood, L, Nakano, J, and Sobel, M, “Delivering Prosperity in the Indo-Pacific: An Agenda for Australia and the United States.” CSIS Briefs. Last update April 18, 2019. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/delivering-prosperity-indo-pacific-agenda-australia-and-united-states>. (accessed September 6, 2020)

⁷² Brewster, David, “Indo-Pacific Maritime Security Challenges and Cooperation.” last update July 2016. Pg. 7-8 (accessed July 13, 2020)

between the two oceans under the same leadership. To protect the free and peaceful maritime environment established by international regulations, the international community must work together with strong energy to safeguard sovereignty and further security development.

Due to the challenges and security cooperation of the Indo-Pacific in the 21st century, the situation in the region has become more tense and serious, so the Japanese government last year passed a new law for peace and security in its country. The purpose of the new law is to contribute more to peace and stability in the international community, and to deepen regional and global peacekeeping operations.⁷³

3.3. Governance Aspect

The Indo-Pacific strategy has put effort on the third pillar, aimed to promote good governance. A free Indo-Pacific set out that all nation states need to be free from coercion. In particular, ensure regional architecture, non-interference, and determination on the dispute peacefully by international law, also maintain the principal human right and equitable value basic to causing free individuals.⁷⁴

To ensure good governance across the Indo-Pacific region, it is required to improve at all levels such as; national, local, and institutional levels. With this, it can bring the regional countries more growth in the economic sector. Somehow, most of the countries in the region have a good reputation dealing with strengthening their economy, but many countries are still facing governance issues, including poor public services, weak government institutions, and corruption.⁷⁵ The Transparency initiative was one of the governance pillars of the vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific, which was announced by Vice President Pence spokesperson, in

⁷³ Brewster, David, "Indo-Pacific Maritime Security Challenges and Cooperation." last update July 2016. Pg. 10-12 (accessed July 13, 2020)

⁷⁴, "A Free and Open Indo-Pacific: Advancing a Shared Vision." Department of State. last modified November 4, 2019. Pg. 15. (accessed July 13, 2020)

⁷⁵ Asian Development Bank, "Governance Issues in Asia and the Pacific." <https://www.adb.org/sectors/governance/issues> (accessed August 28, 2020)

November 2018, at the APEC CEO Summit in Papua New Guinea. Since the Trump administration took office, the Indo-Pacific Transparency Initiative cover funded more than \$600 million in programs. It aims to promote civil society, rule of law, and transparent and accountable governments across the regions. In conditions, to promote economic growth, it is needed to be supported by private sector investment if the government leads the countries to face weak institutions, corruption, poor human rights, and not improve good governance, this can make them drive away.⁷⁶

In order to promote economic growth is important major involvement, having private-public sector investment. Somehow, of getting attention from those sector investments, the country needs to have good governance. The region itself needs to have good cooperation to engage allies and partners to develop their own foreign investment. The U.S. government department focused on “anti-corruption and fiscal transparency, democracy assistance, youth and emerging leader development media and internet freedom, and protecting fundamental freedoms and human rights”.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ “Indo-Pacific Transparency Initiative.” U.S. Mission to ASEAN. Last update November 3, 2019. <https://asean.usmission.gov/indo-pacific-transparency-initiative/>. (accessed August 10, 2020)

⁷⁷ *ibid*

CHAPTER 4: THE IMPACTS OF US INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY UNDER TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

The U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy under the Trump administration, mainly to be involved in the Indo-Pacific region, to remain in good cooperation with allies and partners in these regions. America's strategic interest to make long-term engagement in the region because Japan, China, and India remain the largest economic in the Indo-Pacific region. More than that, ASEAN community, with ten countries, has fastest growing since the beginning of the 21st century. However, the involvement of the Indo-Pacific strategy also brings an impact to make more engagement as well. Those impacts become a struggle of the strategy to be balance their power into this regions, and also get an attention from the regional country; such as on the vision of the IDPS that component on economic, security, and governance, and it possible impacts related on the dilemma in choosing between US and China, and causing the proxy-confrontation.

4.1. Economic Aspect

In the economic aspect, the idea is to get interaction with private sector development into the region. Under President Trump's Leadership, economics is one of the key administrative tactics because it focuses more on economic issues than any other administration. The Indo-Pacific strategy component is limited to trade, investment, and infrastructure development, and the level of reception by regional states varies by issue area, with infrastructure and investment being positively received, and trade being negatively received.⁷⁸ At the same time, there is no real conflict between the Indo-Pacific and the Asia-Pacific, which has led to investment and infrastructure development policies between the

⁷⁸ Pitakdumrongkit, K., Karen, "The Impacts of the Trump administration's Indo-Pacific Strategy on regional Economic Governance." Last Modified 2019.

United States and Asian nations being mutually negligent, which has resulted in a divisive governance architecture. Most Americans and Indo-Pacific nations have ignored the divisive governance system in investment and infrastructure, and trade, which the Trump administration is concerned about and could lead to. In contrast to the policies of some states in the region.⁷⁹ The most significant of the Trump administration is economic growth, which is a component of cooperation with trade, investment and infrastructure. In addition, the challenges of the three components were concerning much about trade. Most regional countries point out that Trump is ambitious with this current focus, “usually mercantilist, zero-sum framework in which balance, bilateral trade is the primary goal.”⁸⁰

Moreover, Trump considers the United States and China to be strategic rivals in the Indo-Pacific, and if this competition is not well managed, it will harm US interests. As this strategy itself, there is no guarantee that the partnership or allies remain to be successful. The Trump administration’s decision to withdraw from the Trans Pacific Partnership is proving to be a strategic error of catastrophic proportions.

4.2. Security Aspect

The United States has strengthened security cooperation through all regions. In 2017, they provided more than half a billion dollars to support security assistance and training for the region and reinforce information sharing through the Indo-Pacific borders country, maritime security, and maritime domain. In addition, the United States has established security cooperation with South Asian and Southeast Asian to prove that it has great potential for Indo-pacific. The United States has continued to expand its engagement with India to improve its diplomatic, economic, and security ties. Under the Trump administration, which has partnered

⁷⁹ Kaewkamol Karen Pitakdumrongki, K., Karen, "The Impact of the Trump Administration’s Indo-Pacific Strategy on Regional Economic Governance." *East-West Center* / www.eastwestcenter.org /. Accessed September 4, 2020. https://www.eastwestcenter.org/system/tdf/private/ewc_policy_studies_79_web.pdf?file=1&type=node&id=37123.

⁸⁰ *ibid*

with India to co-operate in order to compete, especially to offset China One Belt One Road strategy, which is attacking many countries in a joint policy to invest in all areas.

The biggest challenge is maritime terrorism, where insurgents threaten to undermine maritime security, and some states fear losing their trade. Invaders at sea have been vying to disrupt the voyage, seizing other important resources of the ship. Therefore, it is necessary to work together to manage the situation and deploy naval bases to take measures to prevent the spread of this problem. If there is a clear solution for the United States and its allies, trade investment. The transportation of goods or other weapons to be exported and imported is controlled by the situation effectively and efficiently.⁸¹

At the minute, Asia's center powers seek after three fundamental sorts of wide security methodology. A few have made the union with the United States the foundation of their approach. Others have put their confidence in multilateral or territorial approaches; others in different shapes of non-alignment. The utility of each of these approaches is likely to be tried by the advancing security future of Asia.⁸²

4.3. Governance Aspect

During the Trump administration, there was a significant impact on investment in disagreements and ignored with allied partners, because private sector investment from other countries to the United States should not attract the attention of the Trump administration. On the other hand, the concept of this administration has always taken the interests of the United States and ignored other countries that invest.

It has been observed that for centuries, the United States has always been a regional

⁸¹ Siddiqui, Huma, "India's SAGAR inaugurated, to help fight maritime piracy and terrorism." last modified December 23, 2012. <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/indias-sagar-inaugurated-to-help-fight-maritime-piracy-and-terrorism/1422761/>. (accessed August 05, 2020).

⁸² Medcalf, Rory, C. R. Mohan, "Responding to Indo-Pacific rivalry: Australia, India and middle power coalitions." Lowy Institute for International Policy. Last Modified August 2014.

power that dominates all areas in deciding matters such as agreements, treaties, or conventions on its own and not allowing any country to interfere. In this sense, it makes countries in the Indo-Pacific strategic region reluctant to decide to get involved in this strategy. Washington's policies have clashed with some pro-ASEAN states. Trump, for example, insisted on the APEC Executive Summit (Asia-Pacific Economic cooperation). That Washington will establish a bilateral trade arrangement with any Indo-Pacific nation that wants to be our partner and that will adhere to the principles of fair trade and reciprocity, but instead ASEAN members, they tend to prefer multilateral trade contracts because their economies are interconnected in cross-border production chains and aim to boost regional architecture. This is one of the big reasons behind the ASEAN Economic Community not being able to immediately decide to join the Indo-Pacific Strategy. Based on the research Indo Pacific strategy requires close cooperation, support for all US-initiated projects, and even requires member countries to make excellent financial and investment contributions.⁸³

4.4. Dilemma in Choosing between US and China

As a geopolitical “order” interest and concern, US-China becomes a major power in the Indo-Pacific region. It brings the most challenge for the regional states to balance between these two powers, whether not to take side into one another, while this region is a key part of the economy. ASEAN is the most important actor in the regions. Also, most of the countries still remain as developing countries. Indo-Pacific countries will be reluctant to choose between the two, especially poor countries like Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar, etc. They are in the developing phase, so they seem to keep working closely with the two. Even though the Indo-Pacific strategy doesn't force countries to take sides, yet it actually has terms and conditions before giving funds to Indo-Pacific countries. Somehow, those countries must take sides.

⁸³ Pitakdumrongkit, Kaewkamol, “The U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy and Its Implications for U.S.-ASEAN Economic Governance Architecture.” Korea Economic Institute of America. (2019). Pg. 261-261

In the case of Cambodia, the US government always criticizes Cambodian government when there are funds from China. Apparently, the major source of infrastructure development funds of Cambodia are China and Japan. It creates a dilemma for Cambodia to decide between the US and China. The dilemma in taking either the U.S. or China's side clearly reflects a conflict of interests for many countries, especially developing countries. Apparently, many countries tend to be neutral for both sides in retaining funds for national development projects. In this regard, Malaysia is a good example reflecting the dilemma. Malaysia is a long-term ally with the U.S., yet it is still accepting funds from China for its massive rail link project that will bolster economic development in its rural eastern states. Apparently, the overall project costs \$10.7 billion, 85% of which is under the Chinese support from China's Export-Import Bank.⁸⁴ Unavoidably, Malaysia must be neutral between the U.S. and China because it actually gains a lot of benefits from China. Therefore, having the Indo-Pacific strategy is a dilemma for countries to take sides, especially the ASEAN since both the Indo-Pacific strategy and BRI actually bring benefits to those countries. So, those countries themselves need to weigh the advantages in order to get out of the political dilemma.

4.5. Causing the Proxy-Confrontation

The term proxy-confrontation simply means having confrontation instigated by a major power which does not itself become involved. The U.S. might use this strategy to confront China indirectly by using India as a direct confronter and the U.S. itself stands behind and supports India. The US is indirectly using India as a big direct confrontation with China. China and India have a long-standing conflict concerning the Himalayas border. This is a suitable approach that the U.S. can help India to face with China. The US has supported Indian many

⁸⁴ Thian, Vincent, "China to Fund 85% of Malaysia's Revived Rail Project," AP NEWS (Associated Press, July 25, 2019), <https://apnews.com/0fec641519f74a14ad2877730a0df2c7>. (accessed August 25, 2020)

things through bilateral defense ties.⁸⁵ The difficulty is that India might be the direct confronter with China, where the US is not. In case there is more tension, India will be the one who lost not the U.S. One more thing, to balance the power and better expand the Indo-Pacific Strategy, the U.S. is a strong supporter behind the back for Taiwan's democracy. The U.S. successfully spread democracy in Taiwan, and now Taiwan is committedly strong in declaring its independence even though the big mother land (China) strongly opposes it. This is because Taiwan is also backing the U.S. and strongly taking U.S.'s side against China, vice versa, the U.S. is using Taiwan to balance its power in the Asia pacific by supporting Taiwan in many military exercises and defenses.⁸⁶ Consequently, Taiwan usually faces verbal and military threats from mainland China concerning Taiwan's independence and China will have zero tolerance if Taiwan dare to do so. In this regard, similar to India, Taiwan will be the one who will likely suffer even if there is the U.S. behind. In case of military conflict, Taiwan will be a battle of conflict or even war.

⁸⁵ Rajagopalan, R. P., "This Time the US Is Taking India's Side Against China," – The Diplomat (for The Diplomat, July 23, 2020), <https://thediplomat.com/2020/07/this-time-the-us-is-taking-indias-side-against-china>. (accessed august 28, 2020)

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

5.1. Analysis

The main purpose of this thesis is to analyze the Indo-Pacific strategy that's the U.S. foreign policy, under the Trump administration. This strategy has been implemented to all the countries in Indo-Pacific region, mainly focusing on the balance of power of China's rise. Therefore, the Indo-Pacific strategy can be a powerful strategy that can influence other countries in the purpose of strengthening their economic, security and governance. Even though it may be possible not to ensure attention for all the countries in the regions because of some consequences such as; the weakness, and future of Indo-Pacific strategy.

5.1.1. Weakness

In general, the implementation of strategy may remain some challenge that could lead those to fail, sometimes can be successful depending on their resources. In spite of the challenge of dealing with the difficulty, less contribution or support from important actors of the strategy. In addition, the Indo-Pacific strategy also contains the weakness of these implementations as well. For this analysis on this weakness, it could be happened in some factors such as; lacking financial commitment, the ambition to predominate power of the strategy, and failure the promise of "Quad".

Lacking Financial Commitment

The U.S. still remains only the superpower in the world. Thus, the Trump's administration on the Indo-Pacific strategy aims to strengthen high-quality infrastructure throughout the whole region. Additionally, it is important that the U.S. needs to have a huge amount of financial support to provide many developing countries that aim to promote their economy within this strategy. Compared to this, China has gone through in dealing with the

development of the most regional countries, especially, providing loans to smaller states.⁸⁷ While the U.S. is about strengthening all categorizations at the same in order to be influenced in these regions, China has more deep relations with those regions already. For example, Cambodia is one of the developing countries, also a member of ASEAN region. ASEAN is the economic region that is the most significant for the Indo-Pacific region as well. China has supported Cambodia on the development of infrastructure to enhance their economic better in the future. Somehow, there are many developing countries that have received support by China. In addition, this is the difficulty for the U.S. in getting the attention from Cambodia back then, even though there are also some challenges for Cambodia between China. Cambodia finds out a long-term interest that can emerge Cambodia economically, especially the development of the infrastructure.

The Ambition to Predominate Power of the Strategy

The Indo-Pacific strategy of the United States can also seriously represent their own foreign policy to implement into Indo-Pacific region. They have to put effort and show their ambition that can provide the regional countries--the long-term benefits. Somehow, the U.S. will challenge to make most of the countries in the region because the BRI was one of the strategies that led by China, and it becomes a strategy that most influences many smaller states as well. BRI has made good cooperation, enhanced most poor countries economically, provided long-term interest, and involved their power in dealing with the difficulty of many countries in this region, especially giving a loan to them. With this benefit, most of the countries that get support by China, have more effective economic growth than ever before. They get served with long-term interest from China.⁸⁸ The U.S. has their own view in changing their support because

⁸⁷ Shicun, WU, & Colombage, Jayanath, "Report: Indo-Pacific Strategy and China's Response." last modified October 2019. Pg.8-12. (accessed August 28, 2020)

⁸⁸ Varghese, Peter, "The Indo-Pacific and Its Strategic Challenges: An Australian Perspective." (Trends in Southeast Asia Series, 0219-3213; TRS4/19) last modified February 2019.

their ambition is “American First”. In this sense, it leads to a struggle for the regional states, to realize on the FOIP, make many countries concerned to cooperate, even though in the way to make these regions on freedom of coercion. The U.S. still has not put forward clear ambition to these matters. This may be impossible to be the strategic that most of the regional countries prefer. It is important to provide a clear outlook and provide long-term cooperation for these regional orders.

Failure the Promise of “Quad”

The heart of the U.S. Indo-Pacific concept is the “Quadrilateral Security Dialogue”, which is made up by power countries in Indo-Pacific Region, known as the United States, India, Japan, and Australia. “Quad” is the most significant factor that involves cooperation, to focus on securing a free and open Indo-Pacific, and to promote rule-based systems. Also, the geopolitical tool in order to contain the rise of China, throughout the vision of FOIP.⁸⁹ The important role of the “Quad” is to promote economic and development assistance. Additionally, it could be the challenge for the future of “Quad” in the way to support each other because of different perspectives of each foreign policy, Japan, Australia, India, and ASEAN prefer to enhance economic cooperation, while the U.S. prefers security elements. When it lacks specifically needed between them, the “Quad” could be led to be Asian NATO in the future. If the “Quad” did not point out the specific outlook of the strategic, it would bring a major threat into the region.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Chellaney, Brahma, “Trump’s weak Indo-Pacific plan will embolden China.” last update November 18, 2019. <https://www.livemint.com/opinion/columns/opinion-trump-s-weak-indo-pacific-plan-will-embolden-china-11574099522985.html>. (accessed august 28, 2020)

⁹⁰ “Defining the Diamond: The Past, Present, and Future of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue.” CSIS Briefs. last modified March 16, 2020. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/defining-diamond-past-present-and-future-quadrilateral-security-dialogue>. (accessed august 28, 2020)

5.1.2. The Future of the Indo-Pacific Strategy

Indo-Pacific region has become a sandwich region in which two super power countries, US and China, have been competing with each other to earn benefits from this region in many indescribable ways for a long time. Particularly, the existing Belt and Road Initiative of China and Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US have generally been considered as conflicting regional strategies between these two. However, Indo-Pacific Strategy of the US has been developed from previous strategies over time which remains putting China as the main competitor within the region. Since this strategy has recently been prioritized and extensively developed during Trump's Administration, there will be a deep study about its future at this point.

Regarding the studies on the future of US Indo-Pacific Strategy, the National Bureau of Asian Research published a special report under the topic "A New U.S. Strategy for the Indo-Pacific", conducted by Roger Cliff. In this report, Roger has highlighted a number of possible challenges and opportunities of Indo-Pacific strategy in the near future based on a number of concrete evident. These challenges include China's rising power, North Korea's nuclear program, and global climate change.⁹¹ Regarding China as one of the major challenges, the report has described that China will be both the dominant economy and the dominant military power in the region. China's economy has been impressively increasing which the report said it is already larger than the US. With the ambition of taking over the region, China spends so much on military which will continue its efforts to take control over Taiwan, the South China Sea, and the Senkaku Islands. Besides, China is even trying to influence political system of many "countries in Indo-Pacific region and elsewhere in the world."⁹² Meanwhile, North Korea will continue to increase its capability to attack the U.S. with nuclear weapons, and state failure

⁹¹ Roger, Cliff, "A New U.S. Strategy for the Indo-Pacific," The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) | The Asia Policy Think Tank, June 16, 2020, <https://www.nbr.org/publication/a-new-u-s-strategy-for-the-indo-pacific/> (accessed September 4, 2020).

⁹² Ibid.

in North Korea is a possibility over the next decade. In addition, the report further unusually hot weather and floods will become more frequent as a result of global climate change, and the Indo-Pacific will be a major source of environmental pollution and greenhouse gas emissions.

However, the Indo-Pacific also presents major strategic opportunities for the United States. In the same report, the Indo-Pacific is considered as major strategic opportunities for the U.S., which still enjoys significant strengths.⁹³ The U.S. possesses more human capital than any country in the world, has the world's best technological capabilities, and has by far the world's most capable military. Perhaps its greatest asset in the region, however, is its democratic allies, particularly Japan, South Korea, and Australia. Furthermore, the US Indo-Pacific Strategy has been considered as an important strategy for a number of countries in the Indo-Pacific region who are its allies and partners. Those countries foresee that Indo-Pacific Strategy can balance the rise of China's influence in the region. In this regard, Derek Grossman, a senior defense analyst and professor at the University of Southern California, has written an article called "The Biggest Threat to the US Indo-Pacific Strategy? Washington Itself." which was published on The Diplomat Magazine web page. His article either draw some challenges of the strategy under Trump's administration, however, it has been quite successful so far since the allies and partners of the US showed their support because they "have nowhere better to turn in order to balance China's growing military and economic power."⁹⁴

To sum up, the Indo-Pacific Strategy has been facing a number of challenges which impact on future performance over Indo-Pacific region such as the rise of China's power, North Korea's nuclear program, and global climate change. However, this strategy remains important

⁹³ Roger, Cliff, "A New U.S. Strategy for the Indo-Pacific," The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) | The Asia Policy Think Tank, <https://www.nbr.org/publication/a-new-u-s-strategy-for-the-indo-pacific/> (accessed September 4, 2020).

⁹⁴ Grossman, Derek, "The Biggest Threat to the US Indo-Pacific Strategy? Washington Itself: The strategy's success depends on continued forgiveness from allies and partners," The Diplomat, August 1, 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/the-biggest-threat-to-the-us-indo-pacific-strategy-washington-itself/> (accessed September 4, 2019).

for both the US itself and countries who are allies and partners thinking of balancing China's and USA's power over the Indo-Pacific region.

CONCLUSION

The Indo-Pacific Region has become a region of most significance in terms of geo-economics and geopolitical competition. The United States, Japan, Australia and India have established the concept of a “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” in order to cooperate among like-minded and maritime powers, mainly counterbalance of China’s rise, which has involved the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean trying to exert greater power over countries through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in the 21st Century.

This study has discussed the impacts and contribution of the US’s Indo-Pacific Strategy by focusing on the Trump administration, which questioned about the creation of the strategy and became a priority during the Trump’s, and also the prevention of Indo-Pacific region getting an impact of this strategy.

This research paper has found out that the Indo-Pacific Strategy (IPS) supported by the United States and Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) led by China, strategy rise in the way to balance each other's power in the region. However, the Indo-Pacific has pointed out their concept by using the term “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” that aims to re-built cooperation with American to strengthen strong democratic alliance to the all nation among the Indo-Pacific region in order to promote prosperity and security. Further studies also find out that the Indo-Pacific strategy aimed to promote prosperity and security, not just to balance the power of China’s rise. Moreover, this strategy is a reimagined of the Asia-Pacific that under the Obama administration, just the concept of geographic term has change to the Indo-Pacific strategy under the Trump administration.

In addition, the United State focuses on the three pillars known as; economic, security and governance for whole-of -government. Furthermore, the free and open Indo-Pacific is trying to provide all nations in the region to fulfill justice and accountability, promote private

property, and the rule of law. On the other hand, it also became a priority of the America's, while the rise of China in the region. The American need to ensure that all the regional states will not get dominated by other powers, promote to have settled the dispute resolution by international law, and free of coercions.

In addition, this study also includes about the impacts and contribution of the US's Indo-Pacific Strategy, under the trump administration, the vision of the strategy is component on Economic, Security, and Governance. Regarding to this, the contribution of the Indo-Pacific strategy is to promote economic growth in the regional countries, which focus on three significant majors knows as; trade that helping to ensure on reduce tax while import to trading partners, investment that strengthening to the region by having involve of private-sectors, and infrastructure that provide support to the regional states and high-quality of infrastructure. With this, security is key important of the strategy that most of the region wish to improve. This security vision has contributed to the region in the platform of providing military training, peaceful maritime environment and strong energy to safeguard sovereignty. Enhancing good governance is also contribute to the regional state that pursuit on promoting transparency, settle on the dispute resolution and promote human rights. At the same time, the impacts of the Indo-Pacific strategy also serious for the U.S., it needs to be focus on. The regional state still not believed on the perspective of the Trump by strengthen the economic growth. It point out of the ambitious of the trump, usually mercantilists, zero sum- framework, and bilateral trade", also the security cooperation still consist much challenge for the United States and other regions, because there are serious challenge for being transportation of goods or other weapons exported and imported, regarding to strengthen good governance, the Indo-Pacific strategy still on consider by the private sectors because most of the regional states are still have high corruption and financial development. This also include on Dilemma in Choosing between US and China,

while regional state needs to balance their power between these two superpower countries. Moreover, it led to causing the Proxy-Confrontation, that the US is using this strategy—to build a strong ally—to counter the China’s rise, but actually just the indirectly using India.

Furthermore, the Indo-Pacific strategy has some weakness that the U.S. need to sharpen its strategy. It could possible happen in some factors such as; lacking financial commitment for the regional states while putting to promote many sectors at the same time, the ambition to predominate power of the strategy, since the China’s BRI involve and support to most of many countries in the Indo-Pacific region, and failure the promise of “Quad” that they can pursue to reach the goal because of having different point of view. Even though, it shown the weakness of the strategy but it still benefits for both the US itself and countries who are allies and partner that thinking of using this strategy to balancing China’s and US’s power over the Indo-Pacific region. Regarding to this, there is some recommendation to this strategy on the developing countries and the US itself for the purpose to providing the long-term strategy on collaboration and pursue the better global order.

RECOMMENDATION

To balance the power in the region, as the name of a superpower country, the U.S. should improve their strategy with a clear future outlook. Moreover, to become a first strategy that should be considered in the Indo-Pacific region. The United States needs to get attention from smaller countries and other regional states.

Recommendation to the US

Since there have been many significant weaknesses and a number of future challenges in both the implementation and perspectives of the US Indo-Pacific Strategy, The US should consider on strengthening the following areas:

- **Strengthening diplomacy implementation:** In term of democracy, Trump has been seen as not paying so much attention to strengthen such important multilateral cooperation among its allies and partners within the Indo-Pacific region. One example has shown by his attitude toward the ASEAN Summit that he has no interest in maintaining multilateral relations with India-Pacific countries.⁹⁵ Regarding to this, US should consider on better implementation its diplomatic relations with countries in Indo-Pacific region in order to keep good relations with them as it will pave the way for Indo-Pacific Strategy's goal.
- **Setting one goal:** A weakness of a strategy is that the major allies of the US such as Australia, Japan and India have different perspectives in which they prefer strengthening economic cooperation while US prefer the security aspect. In this regard, US should prioritized economic cooperation first in order to build trust amongst its allies before standing strong on security enhancing as this will make it difficult to achieve one goal together.

⁹⁵ Sun, Chenghao. "Hard for US Indo-Pacific strategy to succeed." *GLOBAL TIMES*, September 2, 2020, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1199734.shtml> (accessed September 8, 2020).

- **Provide continuous assistances to countries affected by climate change and crises:** As Indo-Pacific has known as a very affected region by climate changes in the future like it has been mentioned in 5.1.2: The Future of Indo-Pacific Strategy. With this regard, US should continue to provide humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. This will help the US earn trust and respect from those countries which will enables the US has much influence on the region.

Recommend to countries in Indo-Pacific Region, particularly developing countries

The Indo-Pacific strategy has provided many achievements to most of the countries in the Indo-Pacific region. As the developing countries that remain to strengthen the ability in the global competition, mainly should be consider to this strategy. In recent decade, ten countries of the ASEAN community are the fastest-growing economic region in the world, this should be the opportunity for them to improve on the most significant parts of them because the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy, under the trump administration, it remains want to develop on economic growth. Other actors, for example; ASEAN has involved their community to support on the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy, in a better growth of economy, most of the developing countries in the ASEAN community should be catch up the opportunity from the America's to strengthen on the vision of the Indo-Pacific strategy follow on the most important of their three components known as; infrastructure, investment, and trade.

A few examples of potential areas to for further multilateral engagement include:

- **Collaboration on Infrastructure:** the economy needs to have better infrastructure to make connections on import and export. Also, it can bring the goods with higher quality. Since, the ASEAN is the region which is known as the fastest-growth in the world. Somehow, there are still limits on railway, port, etc. For example, Cambodia is one major important factor that needs to improve

more on infrastructure and especially working constructively with major donors like China and Japan. This collaboration may need to put effort to support on Indo-Pacific strategy because it can balance the China power to increase their capacity to be closed to the regional countries like ASEAN. Furthermore, smaller states such as Brunei or Timor-Leste should be focus more on FOIP as an order-based rather than a threat-based strategy.

- **Collaboration on Investment:** investment is one key role to strengthen the economy. Both sides should collaborate on transparency to get involvement of the private sectors, and ensure that investment can be more beneficial together, not for only states itself. They should look forward to the US-ASEAN Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (US-ASEAN TIFA) launched in 2006, that set out the strategic framework and principle for trade and investment between Washington and other countries.
- **Collaboration on Trade:** to enhance trade collaboration with both sides by decreasing tariffs within import or export between each other. By decreasing tariff, can provide more investors into the region, as well as, provide opportunity for people of both regions to work, since it has a lot of platforms in the work career.
- To enhance more better infrastructure with high quality, to reduce the corruption among many developing countries, and to decrease a low interest taxes, most regional countries should refer to collaborate with this strategy in pursue the same goals and perspective.

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