

Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael"

Expert Work Shop, 8 July 2009

"Pioneering for Solutions Against Piracy"

*Focusing on a Geopolitical Analysis, Counter-piracy Initiatives and Policy Solutions*

*EU maritime interests, Somalian piracy,  
and shifting Sino-US relations in the  
Indian Ocean region*

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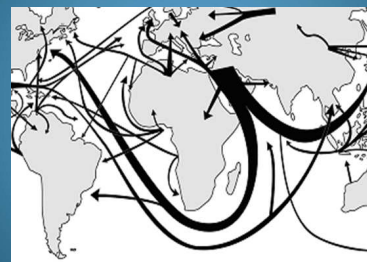
## Piracy and Geopolitics

- Background :
  - Attacks rose by 200% (2007 → 2008) to 111 attacks
  - UN call to protect World Food Programme ships to Somalia (90% of food delivered by sea)
  - Rising insurance costs
  - Concurrent missions: EU, NATO, USA / China, India, Iran, Japan, Australia, South Korea, Malaysia, Russia, Singapore, Saudia Arabia (?), Pakistan (?)
- Geopolitical shifts:
  - Emerging powers India and China
  - Changing role of the United States: mediator/enforcer
  - Role for the European Union?

## Commercial and Strategic Interests

- Sea transport:
  - 90% of global commerce
  - 65% of global oil transfers
- Africa and Eurasia in the focus for raw materials/energy
- Emerging sea powers India and China → "indispensable" US managing rivalry?
- ESDP testing ground (French Presidency)

## Oil movements



## Strategic Chokepoints

20% of globally traded crude oil

5.1% of world demand

4.6% of world demand

70% global oil traffic

50% global container traffic



14.3% of globally traded crude oil

40% of world trade

Figures (2006) from www.eia.doe.gov

## Impact on China / India

- China's "Malacca Dilemma"
  - Dependence on Strait of Malacca (80% of oil flow) / US experience
  - Africa at the core of China's foreign policy
  - Deep blue navy / "string of pearls" / "concirclement"
- India's "Hormuz Dilemma":
  - Imports 65% of oil needs / 77% from Middle East/Africa → 90% will come from Persian Gulf
  - proximity of Hormuz to Pakistan's Makran coast (→ Gwadar)
  - Deep blue navy: "Project Seabird" / "counter-concirclement"

## Pearls & Sea Lines of Communication

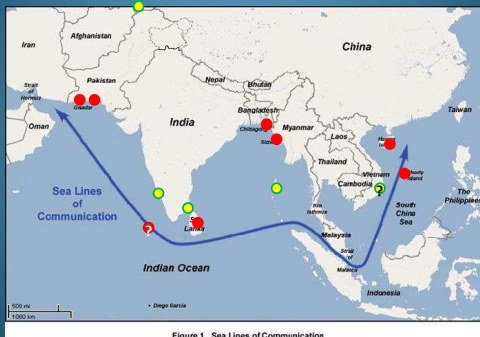


Figure 1. Sea Lines of Communication

Map: Pehrson, 2006

## Shifting US – China Relations

- Traditional power sharing in East Asia: US → maritime power, China → land power
- China's deep blue navy:
  - Room to manoeuvre in South China Sea/securing SLOC
  - Gaining international experience
  - Soft way of showing China's new naval power "abroad"
- US uses opportunity to learn about China's ability (and vice versa) / new mediator

→ Managing US-China as major task

## European interests

- Spurring ESDP in field with long-standing experience in international collaboration
- Low risks, high visibility, navy back in the limelight
- Economic salience of region
- “beauty contest” of institutions?
  - EU ATALANTA
  - NATO Allied Protector / Ocean Shield
  - European participation in CTF 151 (and 150)

## Outlook

- Competing missions continue (NATO, ATALANTA, CTF 151, national contributions)
  - from deconflicting towards cooperation ?
  - Burden sharing? “thousand-ships-navy”
- Need to use the operation to
  - Galvanise EU Member States “rules of engagement”
  - Use mission to push ESDP forward
  - Learn about emerging powers (→ China!)
  - Define EU’s role in US – China / China – India game

Thank you very much for your attention.