



Beyond the Geopolitics of the Quad – a Discussion of Cooperative Options
Report/Executive Summary
May 2022

Executive Summary:

From 4 to 6 May, the Near East South (NESAs) Center for Strategic Studies, with its partners, the National Maritime Foundation, the Australian National University, the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (DKI APCSS), and the Japanese Institute of International Studies, Tokyo, conducted a workshop focusing on how the Quadrilateral Security Review member states can enhance regional security in the Indo Pacific, with a specific interest in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Three themes framed the conversations – maritime security, infrastructure investment and development, and technological advances. Participants in the workshop hailed from throughout the Indo Pacific and included military officers, diplomats, subject matter experts, and non-governmental organization representatives.

The workshop was a hybrid event with in-person participants gathered in Bangkok, Thailand and the remainder appearing via digital connectivity. The workshop was a component program of NESAs's ongoing IOR-focused engagement and featured support from various USG institutions, including DKI APCSS, NDU's College of International Security Affairs, and INDOPACOM. NESAs intends to continue working with USG institutions engaged throughout the Indo Pacific to maintain a community of interest.

Partnering institutions facilitated various recommendations and methodologies that will assist in maintaining established rules and norms, highlight future opportunities for greater coordination among the Quad member states, and expose ways to gain advantage in a competitive strategic environment. What follows are insights from the three days of the workshop:

THEMES:

The following themes were routinely mentioned among speakers and participants during the event.

- The inconsistency of the Indo Pacific concept and how the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue appears to many countries of the IOR as a means for countering China and not as a positive vision for further connecting and securing the region.

- The erasure or loss of distinction between traditional and non-traditional operations in the maritime domain.
- Success of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue becoming more solidified among its member states is now met with regional anticipation of what the “Quad” will do in the region. The need to create parameters about what issues the Quad will or will not address to avoid over-inflated expectations in the region.
- How the Quad should get involved in specific sectors to help regional security in the Indo Pacific (Information Sharing, STEM, MARSEC) – particularly in cases where large-scale political solutions for strategic challenges are not available through other groupings/institutions.
- The IOR as an area of focus of the Quad member states and other partners due to logistical ease and less contentious political environment – Quad + formulations, EU cooperation, UK collaboration, French regional position, etc. – i.e. the Quad will probably need to engage with IOR states in a different way compared with Southeast Asia/Pacific.
- How smaller regional states will navigate the Quad, China, and other major actors – will they choose a hedging approach in their engagement, align with a particular side, or even become locked in a strategic trap to major actor activities. Importance of the Quad being seen to provide positive alternatives to smaller regional states, and not forcing them into binary choices.
- Cascading dangers associated with environmental challenges reveals environmental security as likely the single largest challenge for the Indo Pacific. The question becomes one of how cooperation, interoperability, and information sharing can progress through efforts like HA/DR, SAR, Fusion Centers, monitoring systems (buoys/sensors), and so forth. To what extent can the Quad use existing regional structures for engagement in environmental security and provide public goods for the region?
- How the Quad can chart a course on cyber security and digital infrastructure – the crafting of set standards, interconnected institutions, Public-Private Partnerships, and public information releases on scale and depth of challenges.
- Can the Quad lead conversations or assist regional conversations on the challenges associated with backdoor-coded hardware and software (such as featured in certain port systems and within the smart cities model). Government to government conversations are taking place, but the public sector must be a part of said conversations and such public revelations have not commenced.
- How can the Quad member states interconnect more effectively with regional institutions to advance security? What is the way to work with ASEAN, BIMSTEC, IOC, IORA, IONS, and other organizations to further regional leadership while providing necessary public goods?

- How to raise the profile of achievable aims by Quad member states in the Indo Pacific among the policymaking communities of Canberra, Delhi, Tokyo, and Washington? Working groups stood up are a wise choice, but are the recommendations being implemented into policy – and equally as important, being recognized by the region? There is also a need to manage expectations in the region as to the parameters of issues that the Quad will or will not address.
- The Quad needs to address a prominent signal from the region regarding economic opportunity. The Quad is a security concept with economic development a focus, but not the primary focus, nor is the partnership perceived as interested in economic/development factors. Development is the key objective of many Indo Pacific states. Comprehensively, how does the Quad take on a more whole-of-government approach to security?
- The need for regional actors, non-regional actors, and the Quad member states themselves to understand that efforts at greater cooperation may be messy in some cases. They will not fit nicely into existing frameworks, seams, and organizational structures. Efforts will be replicated and false starts common.
 - One avenue for familiarizing actors with the messiness of the Indo Pacific concept is to put emphasis on information sharing. Examples are visible in the maritime domain where progress is being made through information sharing mechanisms in the public and private sectors. This could be translated into technological coordination, economic cooperation, and other sectors.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Look to information sharing advances in the maritime domain as both an example of how to implement in other sectors, as well as to place greater policymaking attention and resourcing towards existing maritime efforts that have advanced. This includes:
 - Liaison officers forward deployed to Information Fusion Centers and other regional maritime security institutions.
 - Greater accessibility to digital platforms for MARSEC topics, such as SeaVision and IORIS. In addition, further advance existing efforts to bring in public sector datasets, machine learning, and technology to make such platforms more agile.
 - Greater White Hull (Coast Guard) integration into regional efforts.
 - Assistance in developing national MDA centers and build local information capabilities.
- Quad member states should forward deploy to the region more export control officers to assist in technological integration, hurdles, and access – the equivalent of U.S.
- Quad member states should consider deploying their equivalents of Export Control Officers throughout the Indo Pacific to further the development of standardization, especially in technology, and to help deepen commercial partnerships among nations.

- ‘Naming and Shaming’ works for when it comes to bad actors undermining international standards, international rules/norms, and territorial sovereignty. The region wants to know of these violations and the Quad member states can assist in that effort through information sharing, pursuit of common security standards, revealing use of autonomous/unmanned system beyond expectation, and other similar offerings.
- Environmental security can be both a way for Quad member states to provide valued public goods to the IOR and wider Indo Pacific but could also be a means by which to develop a regional grouping of like-minded actors. This concept of environmental security should go beyond HA/DR functions and climate change. It should include IUU Fishing, responding to shipping accidents, information sharing on oceanic ecology and transnational crime.
- Quad member states should offer STEM fellowships for Indo Pacific region (similar to Boren Fellowship) and if they already have a program in place, it should receive expanded funding.

WORKSHOP RECORD:

Beyond the Geopolitics of the Quad – a Discussion of Cooperative Options
4-6 May 2022

DESCRIPTION:

This program’s focus is how the Quad arrangement can serve its larger purpose of ensuring the continuation of shared rules and norms within the international system by addressing challenges in the Indo-Pacific. The program narrows down the area of interest to the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and in addition to representatives from the four Quad countries, various IOR littoral partners will be included in the program.

To pursue this effort, NESAC will work with its sister center, DKI APCSS, along with the National Maritime Foundation of India, the Australian National University, and the Japanese Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo. Government representatives will also take part.

The program will include plenary sessions designed to introduce specific elements of the challenges in the IOR (and wider Indo-Pacific) with an emphasis on practical ways that Quad members and like-minded partners can work together to meet these challenges. From these plenary sessions, the larger plenary will be broken down into working groups to discuss potential cooperative initiatives to address challenges in maritime security, economic and technical development, and technological/information hurdles. The event follows the Chatham House rule. A comprehensive public report of the event’s proceedings will be made available to all participants after the event’s conclusion.

Sponsors:

Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies

Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies
National Maritime Foundation
Japanese Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo
Australia National University

Tuesday, 3 May

All Day Participants Arrive; Transport to Hotel; Hotel Check-In (all participants will receive course booklet upon check-in)
All participants will receive a PCR Covid Test upon arrival at hotel

Wednesday, 4 May

0700 – 0900 Breakfast at Leisure

0900 – 0930 Pre-Workshop Coffee, Tea, and Refreshment

0930 – 0945 Introduction of Workshop
Speaker: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESA

0945 – 1030 Kickoff Session
Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESA
Speaker 1: Mr. Jeff Payne, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies
Speaker 2: Commodore Debesh Lahiri, Executive Director, National Maritime Foundation
Speaker 3: Dr. David Brewster, Senior Research Fellow, National Security College, Australian National University
Speaker 4: Dr. John Hemmings, Professor, Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies

1030 – 1045 Coffee/Tea Break

1045 – 1215 1st Session: The IOR Challenge Set; Views of the Region
Moderator: Commodore Debesh Lahiri, National Maritime Foundation
Speaker 1: Dr. Jonathan Fulton, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Zayed University
Speaker 2: Dr. Frédéric Grare, Senior Policy Fellow, Asia Programme, European Council on Foreign Relations
Speaker 3: Dr. Tanvi Madan, Senior Fellow, Project on International Order and Strategy and Director, The India Project, Brookings Institution

1215 – 1345 Lunch

1345 – 1515 2nd Session: Enhancement of Traditional Security and Quad Engagement Options
Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESA

Speaker 1: Dr. Tsutomu Kikuchi, Professor of International Political Economy, Aoyama Gakuin University and Senior Adjunct Fellow, Japanese Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo (Remote Participation)

Speaker 2: Ms. Veerle Nouwens, Senior Research Fellow, International Security Studies Department, Royal United Services Institute

Speaker 3: Mr. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Senior Fellow at the Millennium Project (Remote Participation)

1515 – 1545 Coffee/Tea Break

1545 – 1700 Topical Breakout Session 1

Participants will serve in one of three small group themed breakout sessions and within the confines of that theme, seek to develop ways of building new cooperative opportunities, expand or refine existing engagement forums, and/or propose new mechanisms for addressing challenges relevant to the larger theme. The emphasis is to work on means of cooperation that are politically viable, effectively scaled, and policy specific.

Group 1: Quad Engagement Options in Maritime Security, administered by NMF

Group 2: Quad Engagement Options in Economic and Technical Development, administered by ANU

Group 3: Quad Engagement Options in Technology and Information, administered by DKI APCSS

1700 Day 1 Concludes

Thursday, 5 May

0700 – 0845 Breakfast at Leisure

0900 – 0910 Intro to Day 2

Speaker: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs

0910 – 1100 3rd Session: Security Beyond “Traditional” Lenses – Cyber Complexities, Environmental Challenges, and Quad Engagement Options

Moderator: Commodore Debesh Lahiri, National Maritime Foundation

Speaker 1: Dr. David Brewster, Senior Research Fellow, National Security College, Australian National University

Speaker 2: Ms. Mihoko Matsubara, Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT Corporation (Remote Participation)

Speaker 3: Ms. Sreoshi Sinha, Associate Fellow, National Maritime Foundation

Speaker 4: Professor Sanjay Chaturvedi, Professor and Chairperson, Department of International Relations, South Asian University New Delhi

1100 – 1115 Coffee/Tea Break

1115 – 1245 4th Session: Rules, Norms, and Trust – A Conversation to Assist Quad Collaboration

Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs

Speaker 1: Ms. Apila Sangtam, Associate Fellow, National Maritime Foundation

Speaker 2: CF (ret) Marianne Peron-Doise, Researcher, North Asia (Japan and Korea) and International maritime security, the Institute for Strategic Research at the Military School (IRSEM) (Remote Participation)

1245 – 1345 Lunch

1345 – 1500 Topical Breakout Session 2

Group 1: Potential Quad Initiatives in Maritime Security, administered by NMF

Group 2: Potential Quad Initiatives in Economic and Technical Development, administered by ANU

Group 3: Potential Quad Initiatives in Technology and Information, administered by DKI APCSS

1500 – 1515 Coffee/Tea Break

1515 – 1705 5th Session: Emerging Complexities and Ports – Approaches to Digital Security for Key Infrastructure

Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs

Speaker 1: Dr. John Hemmings, Professor, DKI APCSS

Speaker 2: Commodore Ang Chin Hup, Maritime Institute of Malaysia

Speaker 3: Dr. Rajiv Shah, Fellow, Australian Strategic Policy Institute (Remote Participation)

Speaker 4: Mr. Ryan Fedasiuk, Research Analyst, Center for Security and Emerging Technology, Georgetown University

1705 Day 2 Concludes

Friday, 6 May

0700 – 0845 Breakfast at Leisure

0900 – 0910 Intro to Day 3

Speaker: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs

0910 – 1000 Topical Breakout Results

Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs

Group 1: Maritime Security Presenter

Group 2: Economic and Technical Development Presenter

Group 3: Technology and Information Presenter

1000 – 1015 Coffee/Tea Break

1015 – 1205 6th Session: Strengthening Partnerships and More Efficient Actions to Address Security Gaps, Seams, and Overlooked Threats

Moderator: Dr. David Brewster, Senior Research Fellow, National Security College, Australian National University
Speaker 1: Dr. Geoffrey Gresh, Professor of International Security Studies, College of International Security Affairs (CISA), National Defense University
Speaker 2: Dr. Shahab Enam Khan, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University and Research Director, Bangladesh Enterprise Institute
Speaker 3: Mr. Antoine Levesques, Research Fellow for South Asia, IISS
Speaker 4: Dr. Asyura Salleh, Consultant, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (Remote Participation)

- 1205 – 1300 Designing Specialized Collaboration Session 1
This session charges the small groups to design a practical and pattern-breaking framework for partnering states in the Indo Pacific to be on a stronger footing for addressing challenges. It can be an existing institution that is repurposed or a proposal for a new collaborative effort, but no matter the course chartered, it should emphasize the breaking down of silos both within states and among states.
Group 1, administered by ANU
Group 2, administered by DKI APCSS
- 1300 – 1400 Lunch
- 1400 – 1500 Designing Specialized Collaboration Session 2; Finalize Plans
Group 1, administered by ANU
Group 2, administered by DKI APCSS
- 1500 – 1515 Coffee/Tea Break
- 1515 – 1600 Design Session Results
Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs
Group 1 Presenter
Group 2 Presenter
- 1600 – 1645 Final Session – Views from Organizers
Moderator: Mr. Jeff Payne, NESAs
Speaker 1: Mr. Jeff Payne, Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies
Speaker 2: Commodore Debesh Lahiri, Executive Director, National Maritime Foundation
Speaker 3: Dr. David Brewster, Senior Research Fellow, National Security College, Australian National University
Speaker 4: Dr. John Hemmings, Professor, Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies
- 1645 – 1700 Farewells, Thanks, and Conclusion
- 1700 - Participants begin to depart based upon local Covid-19 travel protocols

BREAKOUT RESULTS:

Breakout Instructions:

Topical Breakout Sessions:

Participants will serve in one of three themed breakout groups and within the confines of that theme seek to clarify cooperative mechanisms and engagement opportunities that should be pursued. By nature, the ideas generated should be relevant to the larger Indo Pacific, but it is also requested that your deliberations have ties to ways in which specific Quad Member States (or the larger grouping of the Quad) can be of assistance to the region. The emphasis is to work on means of cooperation that are politically viable, effectively scaled, and policy specific to the theme.

For instance, there could be a problem set facing smaller Indo Pacific states that traditionally does not feature highly in the priority lists of larger states. The group could discuss how such problem sets matter to all actors, how to communicate more effectively within policy communities about the challenges, and offer aims/goals for future action. There is no limit to the number of proposals the group can craft, so long as they align with the theme of each group.

Breakout 1, Group 1



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Breakout Session Theme

Quad Engagement Options in Maritime Security

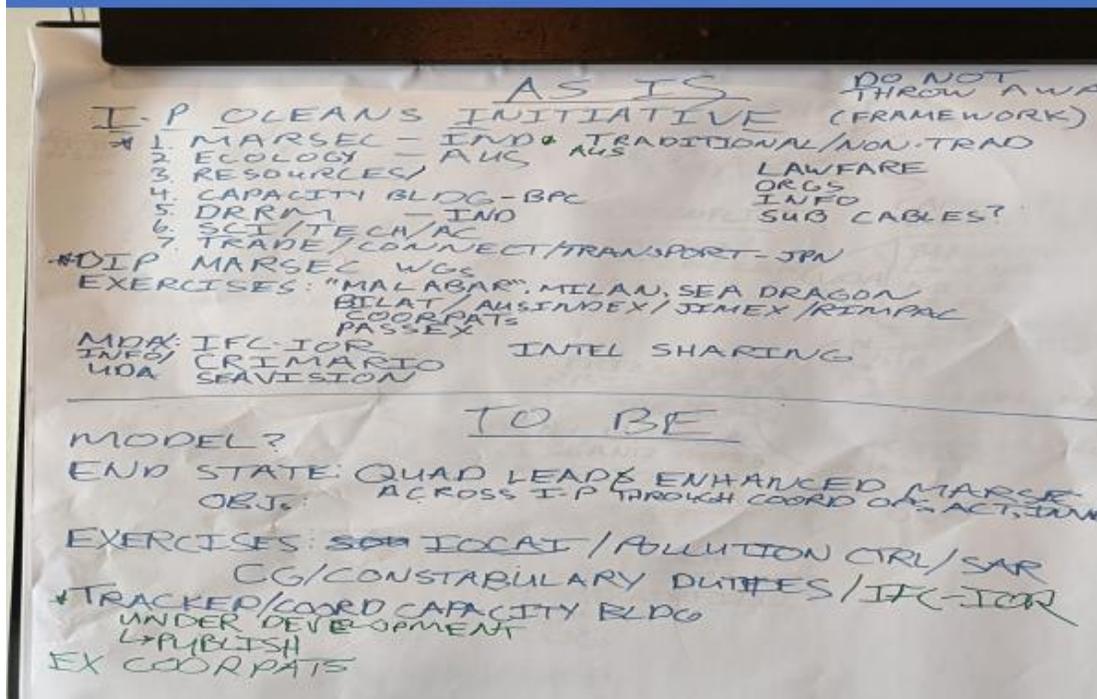
Administered by NMF

**"BEYOND THE
GEOPOLITICS OF THE
QUAD"
4-6 MAY
2022 BANGKOK,
THAILAND**

Discussions

- Important Aspects Briefly Discussed Under the MARSEC Component
- Lawfare
- Information Sharing
- Security of Submarine Cables
- Importance of Naval Exercises
 - . Malabar, Milan, Sea Dragon, RIMPAC
 - . Bilateral/ Trilateral/ Multilateral Exercises
 - . CORPATs/ PASSEX/ SEACAT

End of Day-1



Discussions Day 2

**Towards Enhanced Maritime Security
unanimous agreement was reached to leave
the hard component like Malabar, Milan, La
Perouse Exercises: Some of which includes
Under Water Domain Awareness**

Broad Agreement

- 1. Strengthen rules based international order at sea in the IOR**
- 2. Work around the BOB and the Island Nations**
- 3. Revive the Multinational Forums SOPs**
- 4. Utilisation of available surface assets and MPRAs**
- 5. Liaison Naval Officers/Observers in IFC-IOR (India) and the Fusion Centre in Singapore**
- 6. Reciprocal Logistics Support Agreements**
- 7. Seamless Exchange of Communication**

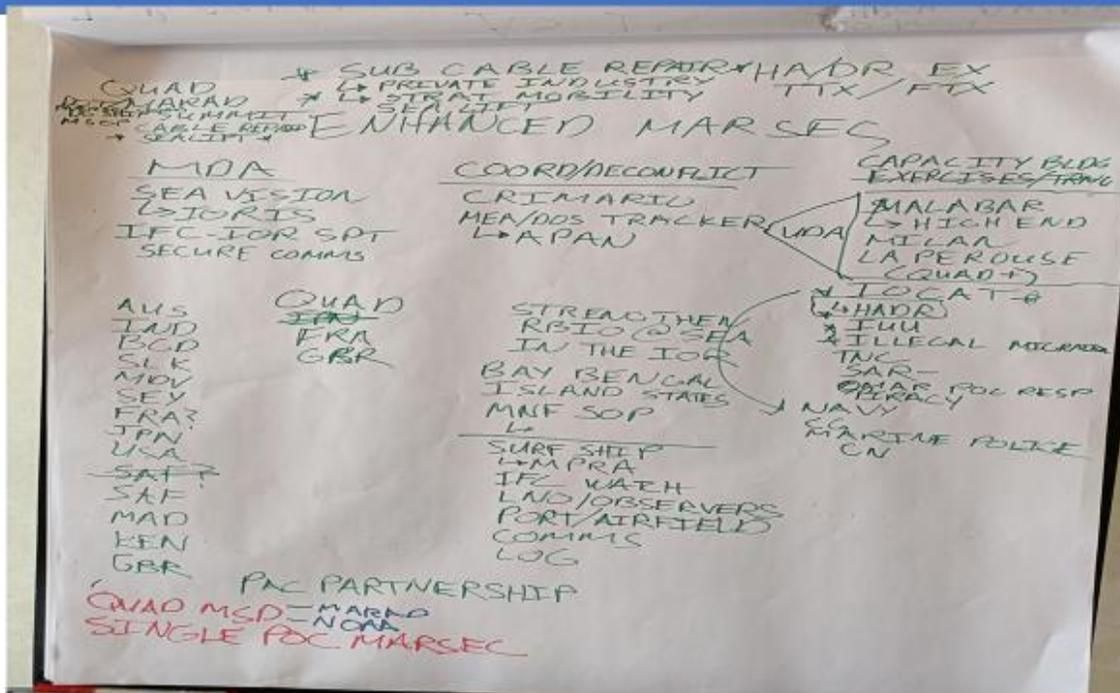
Recommended Participating Countries

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Australia | 09. Maldives |
| 2. Bangladesh | 10. Mauritius |
| 3. France | 11. Mozambique |
| 4. India | 12. Seychelles |
| 5. Indonesia | 13. Singapore |
| 6. Japan | 14. Sri Lanka |
| 7. Kenya | 15. Vietnam |
| 8. Madagascar | 16. UK |
| | 17. USA |

Other Aspects Discussed

- **Protection of Undersea Cables**
- **Ability to repair them by Mobilising Private Industry**
- **Strategic mobility through Sea Lift**
- **Help to Submarines/Vessels in distress (including Chinese)**
- **Various Maritime Administration agencies in different countries**
- **National Maritime Security Coordinator- India**
- **Single Point of Contact for MARSEC**

End of Day-2



Final Recommendation

IOCAT (Indian Ocean Cooperation and Training) Exercise with the recommendation that India and Australia take the lead and include ASEAN countries and Island Nations in the region with active involvement of the Regional Coast Guard and Maritime Police to focus on:

- . HADR
- . Countering IUU Fishing
- . Checking Illegal Human Migration
- . Transnational Crime
- . Search & Rescue
- . Maritime Pollution Response
- . Anti-Piracy

**"Beyond The Geopolitics of The Quad"
4-6 May 2022 Bangkok, Thailand**

**Quad Engagement Options in Economic
and Technical Development(Group 2)**

**DISCUSSION
FOCUS AND
PERSISTENT
QUESTIONS
ANSWERED**

**What is relevant to Quad? What does the Quad wants
to become? What does it actually want to do?**

The response found to this question highlighted that we can travel beyond the visual range, with a vision into the future. This also echoes the workshop's theme and signifies that the strings can be tugged beyond the fences. As a result of this response, we were able to visualize the Quad in many roles that it may play in the future.

DISCUSSION FOCUS AND PERSISTENT QUESTIONS ANSWERED

There are a plethora of organizations within the region, addressing various issues, how would Quad be different in this scenario or what would qualify as a Quad initiative?

The response found to this question highlighted that the "The Quad's" central purpose is to promote a region-wide comprehensive approach to technology policy with proactive and practical multilateralism, as well as to ensure a "free, open, prosperous, and inclusive Indo-Pacific region based on shared values and principles and respect for international law." It also has a security purpose, to help in NTS threats, such as terrorism.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS(Technical Front)

- The **Quad** can look at creating a "**DIGITAL DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE**"
- Creation of **TASK FORCES**
- Create **PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP**
- To opt for the **6G Technology** to counter **Beijing's rise** as a **technological supremo with its 5G.**
- **Cyber Attack Detection Framework**
- **Identify common DATA PROTECTION STANDARDS**
- **IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS** for **cyber attacks** and holding the **states involved, accountable for such actions**
- **Technological disaster management teams**
- Separate **task force** should be formed for **managing maritime cyber resilience**
- **Enhance security-conscious approach towards this domain**

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS (ECONOMIC REFORMS)

- 1. A trade component should be added to the Quad. (immediate basis)**
- 2. Promotion of TRADE ARCHITECTURE amongst Quad nations**
- 3. Making Quad nations to deepen their economic integration with each other**
- 4. Quad countries might pave the way for the establishment of new supply networks throughout the vibrant Indo-Pacific region.**
- 5. Small businesses and start up endeavors must be supported**
- 6) Blue Economy must be promoted.**

Breakout 1, Group 3

Tech is nexus of security and economic concerns – easier to broach than either issue in isolation, and it will profoundly shape the trajectory of geopolitics in this century.

Four Pillars of Quad Strategy for Tech and Innovation

1. Investing in infrastructure to narrow the digital divide in South and SEA
2. Coordinating rules of the road for the global governance of emerging technology
3. Supply chain diversity and digital infrastructure
4. Focus on generating societal benefits and social resilience

1. Narrowing the digital divide in South and SEA

- Continue to promote public-private partnerships and government catalytic support (export finance, Development Finance Corporation)
- Open up Quad funding to have more flexible funding for soft and hard digital infrastructure
 - In the US: earmark \$ allocated under the BUILD Act and DFC
 - AUS-US-JP Trilateral Infrastructure Partnership inaugurated in 2019
 - Scale up funding authorized under this program, dedicate some funding to SEA countries
 - Simultaneously: adopt low-cost approaches currently in India to improve access to internet and digital services

- Broker arrangements with private sector for access to cloud compute for higher education institutions
- Strengthen regional tech trade – doubling down on the comparative advantage of Quad-based tech companies:
 - Quality
 - arguably win or equal on this
 - including 'walking the talk' on privacy and security
 - Price is the deciding point
 - Establish PPP. Also room to lean into industrial policy. There's been a sea change in Washington, more political support for subsidies in strategic and sensitive industries.
 - If we can't compete on hardware, then compete on standards, software and platforms – divorcing digital platforms from physical ones.
 - But this struggles to compete with all-in-one packages advanced by Chinese companies.
 - Trade opportunities and fairs. Create a competitive analogue to the World Internet Expo in China each year – rotate it between Quad states.

2. Coordinating rules of the road for the global governance of technology

- Coordinated approaches to standards and international bodies (ITU and regional bodies)
 - Confident this is already occurring.
 - Have the flexibility to bring in regional leaders like South Korea, which has submitted standards to ITU for topics including quantum information science.
- Champion open standards, like OpenRAN architecture
 - Promoting interoperability among private sector.

3. Supply chain diversity and infrastructure

- Subsidise R&D for the next generation of technology to get ahead of the curve
 - A) Quantum: standardize next generation of encryption protocols – NIST in U.S. has already been leading this effort, but there are additional opportunities to accelerate this migration, and to ensure that products developed for mass market are quantum-resistant
 - Maintain a high standard of privacy – this has traditionally been a comparative advantage of companies in US, Japan.
 - B) Biotech: invest in regional research centers to promote a sustainable, global bioeconomy
 - Food security is an issue endemic to South and Southeast Asia
 - Impacts to grain stocks and crop yields exacerbated by climate change in the next 20 years.
 - Quad states can pool investment in agriculture, synthetic biology – create world-leading research programs and opportunities for social mobility in countries that are most affected by these issues.

4. Societal benefits and social resilience

- Concerns

- Smart Cities with large bundles of standards
 - Security for (smart) ports
- Expand QUAD STEM fellowship.
 - Initiated by Schmidt Futures, currently 100 students
 - Drastically expand the initiative and institutionalize it among governments
 - Add a service component focused explicitly on SEA: students from Quad countries incur a yearlong obligation to host technical training programs and educational seminars in a style similar to the U.S. Boren fellowship.
- Support local institutions (ASEAN, BIMSTEC, SADC, East Africa Community)
 - Quad states ought to work with, not in substitution of, regional multilateral fora.
- Walk the Talk

Conclusion

1. Narrowing the digital divide in South and SEA
2. Coordinating rules of the road for the global governance of technology
3. Supply chain diversity and digital infrastructure
4. Focus on generating societal benefits and social resilience

Partnerships, like emerging technology itself, must be flexible, adaptable, and built in a way that addresses shared security concerns and upholds FOIP.