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Implication of the Maritime Area of the Indo-Pacific and its Future  
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インド太平洋海域の含意とその将来—インドの視点—

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**Abstract:** *The increasing mention of the 'Indo-Pacific' in geopolitical discourse today is evidence of the growing prominence of the region as a strategic entity. While the term signifies a fusion of Asia's two large oceanic littorals -- both politically sensitive and economically vibrant spaces --its regional dynamics are likely to be affected by the future trajectory of political and military interactions between the key maritime powers. Going forward, like-minded and law-abiding Indo-Pacific states will need to act as a community of stakeholders, jointly tackling the region's emerging threats, with particular attention to challenges arising from a lack of strategic trust.*

**【要旨】** 今日の地政学の論考で「インド太平洋」が盛んに言及されるようになったことは、戦略的存在としてこの海域が持つ高まる存在感の証左である。本用語はアジアにおける二つの大洋沿岸地域の融合—政治的にデリケートで経済的に活況を呈している空間—を意味する一方、地域的な力学は主要海洋大国間の政治的・軍事的な相互作用の将来的な方向性によって左右されるように見える。今後を展望すれば、志を同じくする遵法的なインド太平洋諸国は、戦略的信頼性の欠如から問題が生じるということに特に留意しつつ、地域で出現しつつある脅威に対しては、利害当事国の共同体として、協働して取り組むことが求められる。

## I. Introduction

Over the past few years, the ‘Indo-Pacific’ has entered the strategic discourse as a substitute for the more established term ‘Asia-Pacific’. Defined as an integrated strategic system that best captures the shift in power and influence from the West to the East, the concept has dominated strategic debates and discussions, gaining rapidly in currency and acceptance. While the term’s strategic context and underlying logic remains a matter of debate, many Indian analysts and policy makers have embraced the idea, albeit with qualifying caveats.<sup>1</sup>

For a significant section of India’s strategic community, the Indo-Pacific represents a theatre of great-power competition, witnessing the rise of traditional and non-traditional maritime security challenges. Besides issues of disputed maritime territory, contested sovereignty and resources, the region is beset with irregular challenges like piracy, terrorism, gunrunning, illegal fishing, trafficking, global warming and natural disasters. Many of these threats have a transnational nature, where dynamics in one part of the system influence events in another, necessitating integrated operational plans and strategic relationships between the various stakeholders.

At its core, however, the “Indo-Pacific” concept symbolizes a geopolitical convergence of two strategic subsystems – the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean.<sup>2</sup> It implicates a developing security dynamic in which future Asian geopolitics will play out in the integrated Eastern Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific. Increasingly, these interactions will be mediated by developments in the continent’s littorals, a locus of critical trade routes for the transfer of natural resources that fuel major regional economies, and an area where more than half the world’s population resides.

Many of Asia’s major maritime powers have recognized the importance of the Indo-Pacific. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was the first to espouse the concept when he spoke of the “confluence of the two oceans” during an address to a joint session of India’s parliament in Oct 2007.<sup>3</sup> “The Pacific and the Indian Oceans are now bringing about a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity” he said, “a broader Asia that broke away geographical boundaries is now beginning to take on a distinct form.” More recently, Abe has spoken avidly of his vision of a “free and open Indo-Pacific”, and of his intension to assist many Southeast Asian states in

building up their defensive capabilities. Australia, meanwhile, has become one of the first to officially recognize the Indo-Pacific as a valid political construct, using it as a geopolitical frame of reference in its 2016 Defense White Paper and 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper.<sup>4</sup>

## **II. A New Strategic System for Security, Stability and Prosperity**

While the Indo-Pacific has been in discussion for over a decade, it is US President Donald Trump who has brought increased attention to the idea by positing it as a strategic frame of reference for security and stability in Asia. During his maiden Asia trip in November 2017, President Trump repeatedly referred to the “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” in his speeches, describing it as a region where independent nations could “thrive in freedom and peace” and all states “play by the rules.”<sup>5</sup> Not surprisingly, many skeptical observers saw it as a calculated effort to counter China’s ever-expanding clout through a maritime alliance with Japan, Australia and India.

Others saw it as heartening that President Trump’s Indo-Pacific blueprint harped on a rules-based order, giving particular attention to security ties with democratic powers, particularly India, which many in Washington regard as a strategic lynchpin in the Indian Ocean. In a defining speech on India-US relations, at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in October, Rex Tillerson, the US Secretary Of State, spoke of the U.S. elevation in ties with India as part of an effort to shore up security in the Indo-Pacific region.<sup>6</sup>

Senior U.S. Administration officials say a key consideration in legitimizing the Indo-Pacific’s official usage was to highlight India’s importance to Asia geopolitics. Not only does the concept recognize the rise of India, it confers New Delhi central status in the strategic affairs of South and Southeast Asia.<sup>7</sup> That the popularity of the Indo-Pacific terminology has coincided with the growth of India’s economic and strategic weight, and Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s stated ambition to translate the ‘Look East policy’ into one of ‘Act East’, involving a greater Indian presence and influence east of Malacca, has only given US stated objectives greater credibility among Indian maritime analysts.

## 1. China and the Indo-Pacific

Equally important to the Indo-Pacific discussion is China's growing interests and expanding presence in the integrated littorals. Far from excluding China from the regional order, observers say the Indo-Pacific highlights the expansion of China's interests, diplomacy and strategic reach into the Indian Ocean. Advocates of the concept say it is not at all about excluding or downplaying Asia or any particular Asian country, such as China. It is, in fact, a reminder that the international sea-lanes of the South China Sea are central to the regional economic and strategic system, and therefore most certainly every nation's business.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, with over 80 per cent of China's oil imports being transported across the Indian Ocean, with one million of its citizens now said to be living or working in Africa (where it is also a principal foreign investor) and a growing naval presence in the Indian Ocean, including a permanent military facility in Djibouti, it is China, and not India, that is seeming to be the quintessential Indo-Pacific power. Indeed, many observers say Beijing's Maritime Silk Road, aimed at creating a network of China-funded ports in the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific, is nothing but an Indo-Pacific vision with Chinese characteristics.<sup>9</sup>

Yet, many Chinese policy thinkers believe the term is a not-so-subtle code for China-containment.<sup>10</sup> Commenting on President Trump's repeated invocation of the Indo-Pacific, during his recent visit, China's *Global Times* said that the concept reflects an alliance mindset aimed at countering Chinese influence through the formation of an "Asian-NATO".<sup>11</sup> The reference is presumably to the recently revived Quadrilateral grouping comprising India, Japan, Australia and the US that met on the sidelines of the ASEAN summit in Manila in 2017 to discuss ways of enhancing cooperation in the Indo-Pacific space.

Indeed, the expansion of China's Belt and Road (B&R) initiative in maritime-Asia and China's growing role in global governance has been a source of growing concern for Indo-Pacific powers. But it is Beijing's rising ability shape the international order that has been driving the allied Indo-Pacific strategy. Not surprisingly, Western analysts see China-centric infrastructure in the Asian-African littorals, as part of an ambitious Chinese Indo-Pacific initiative.

## 2. A Nexus of Security Challenges

As things stand, the Indo-Pacific region is confronted by significant security and economic challenges. In the maritime domain, the portents are clearly discernable. Regional states today are confronted with both conventional and irregular threats. The most worrisome of traditional challenges is China's military assertiveness in Southeast Asia, and its latent power projection in the Indian Ocean. China's reclamation of maritime features on the South China Sea, and the setting up of significant military and civilian infrastructure on the constructed facilities is reflective of Beijing's desire for control over the regional littorals.<sup>12</sup> Not only does China want to dominate the near-seas, it seems intent on establishing a favorable "rules-based order" to define national interactions in this regional commons.

More significant, however, is China's growing influence in the Indian Ocean.<sup>13</sup> As the BRI gathers momentum, Beijing's political sway among Indian Ocean rim states is on the rise. China needs the cooperation of the regional elites to allow the PLAN access to critical Indian Ocean littorals for the protection of Chinese investments. Its military base in Djibouti promises to offer Beijing geopolitical heft and economic stakeholder ship in the Indian Ocean.<sup>14</sup> The facility's location, next to the new port terminal at Obock, ensures Chinese military forces can be rapidly mobilized to protect China's commercial investments.

Djibouti, for many Indo-Pacific states, is a template for future Chinese bases in the Indian Ocean Region. In recent days, reports have surfaced suggesting China could be in talks with Pakistan to set-up up a naval base at Jiwani on the Makran coast close to the Iranian port of Chabahar. Analysts suggest that if a Chinese facility near Gwadar is used to dock and maintain civilian vessels and provide other logistical support services, the PLAN would need another base for its warships.<sup>15</sup> Regardless of the report's veracity, there is something to suggest the PLAN is looking to expand its presence in the Indian Ocean, and is scouting for military deployment sites from where it can project naval combat power.<sup>16</sup>

China's shifting strategic profile in Africa -- where Beijing has moving away from its traditional role as a resource extractor and investor with primarily commercial interests, towards a more security-centric presence -- is a model Beijing would likely employ in South Asia. As China embeds itself into the geopolitics of the Indian Ocean, Indian observers worry Chinese dual-use commercial-military

facilities (a 'string of pearls') in maritime-South Asia might begin to hurt Indian interests.

Of equal concern in the Indo-Pacific Region are non-traditional security challenges. Over the past decade, threats such as terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking, IUU (Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated) fishing and climate change have troubled regional states. The IN has already been at the forefront of Somalia anti-piracy and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) operations in the IOR, including the 2004 Tsunami, Cyclone SIDR (2007), Cyclone Nargis (2008), and Non-combatant Evacuation Operations (NEO) as part of Op Rahat in Yemen (2015). In May 2017, Indian Naval ships engaged in rescue operations in cyclone-hit Bangladesh, and provided relief in Sri Lanka where major floods and landslides killed over 200 people.<sup>17</sup> These human security commitments are only likely to grow in the future.

### **III. Opportunities for Collaboration**

#### **1. Cooperation with Quad Powers**

For India, its partnership with the United States and Japan constitutes a significant avenue for regional collaboration. New Delhi's nautical relationship with the US has been riding a crest since the signing of the Joint Strategic Vision document and renewed a 10-year defense framework agreement in June 2015. In May 2016, India and the US held their first maritime security dialogue in the 2 + 2 format, following up with a Logistics Support Memorandum of Understanding (LEMOA), a crucial agreement that allows the Indian Navy and the US Navy to access logistics on a reciprocal basis. Washington's proposal for joint development of India's next-generation aircraft carrier—in particular, the transfer of electromagnetic aircraft launch system (EMALS) technology—has deepened strategic trust, generating further momentum in maritime ties.<sup>18</sup>

But India and the United States will need to expand their economic engagement to find alternative financing mechanisms to China's Belt and Road initiative, which New Delhi fears is leading smaller South Asian states into a Chinese debt-trap. If regional democracies could collaborate to co-develop financing mechanisms to compete with OBOR, they could effectively inoculate small IOR



states from many have described as the “predatory economics” of OBOR. Such a partnership would need the establishment of a capital base expansion of the World Bank and direct financing for Indian-led connectivity initiatives like the India-Japan Asia-Africa Growth Corridor. The future could also witness India’s entry into the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.<sup>19</sup>

Washington could expand the authorities and capacity of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the U.S. agency that aids American businesses investing in developing economies. Indeed, during Trump’s inaugural visit to Japan, there appeared to be some progress on this front with OPIC and Japanese partners committing to offering “investment alternatives in the Indo-Pacific region.” Expanding such an initiative from a bilateral U.S.-Japan effort to a trilateral mechanism (perhaps through the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor) would be a prudent step.<sup>20</sup>

Another area for collaboration is infrastructure building where Indo-Japanese collaboration has been leading the way. New Delhi and Tokyo are collaborating not only in the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor, but also in Northeast India and Bay of Bengal countries, including Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Bangladesh.<sup>21</sup> In the past whenever Indian leaders have highlighted the need for connectivity initiatives to be based on “universally recognized international norms, prudent financing” they have had Japan’s example in mind. During her recent visit to Tokyo in April 2018, India’s minister of external affairs, Sushma Swaraj reiterated India’s need for a peaceful, stable and prosperous Indo-Pacific region.<sup>22</sup> India’s policy elite realize that Japan, like every other country in the Quad group, brings a certain comparative advantage to the table. Tokyo possesses a capital surplus and large-scale project finance experience. The United States, meanwhile, has influence over the banking industry and experience in coordinating multilateral financing. India too possesses skills in services, and historical and civilizational links with countries in South and Southeast Asia.

New Delhi is also keen to work with Australia, another Indo-Pacific power, with which maritime ties have been growing. A case from greater cooperation also exists with France, which has stepped up its cooperation in both the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.<sup>23</sup> India recently signed a agreement with France enabling reciprocal access to naval bases for logistical purposes. But Indo-Pacific democracies would

also be keen to find ways to build security capacity of smaller regional states, as well as alternative funding mechanisms for infrastructure creation in smaller littoral states, many of who find themselves sliding into Beijing's "debt-trap".<sup>24</sup>

If there is one actor whose security role in the integrated Asian space has still not been amply explored, it is ASEAN. Southeast Asian states have been wary of the idea of the Indo-Pacific, which they believe detracts from the centrality of the ASEAN. With New Delhi enhancing its engagements with Southeast Asia under its Act East Policy, India recently called for the waters of the Indo-Pacific region to be better connected and free of traditional and non-traditional threats, highlighting in particular the region's importance as a connectivity pathway.<sup>25</sup>

It is instructive that the principal precepts of the Indian Navy's 2015 maritime strategy are 'cooperative security' and 'integrated operations' in the regional littorals. In keeping with the policy of fashioning a favorable and positive maritime environment, as laid out in maritime strategy document, the Indian navy has been willing to improve cooperation with the littoral navies in the Eastern Indo-Pacific region.<sup>26</sup>

The priority for India is to evolve a regional architecture based on the twin principles of shared security, and shared prosperity. In this, New Delhi would be keen to collaborate with ASEAN, with whom it shares a common vision for global commerce and maritime domain. Beyond shared respect for the United Nations Convention for the Law of the Sea, New Delhi recognizes the importance of working with ASEAN in the Blue Economy, coastal surveillance, capacity building, in particular off-shore patrolling capabilities, hydrographic services, and information sharing for increased maritime domain awareness.

Importantly, deeper integration with ASEAN will allow India to be better prepared to counter Chinese assertion in South Asia. New Delhi will also need to look to integrate the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), with the wider security architecture in the Indo-Pacific region, which will help foster a positive and cooperative operational environment.

## 2. Future Interactions

The increasing influence of its regional dynamics on international geo-politics in the Indo-Pacific region is more than clear. While some exciting ‘possibilities’ exist, the prevailing ‘portents’ are bound to act as dampeners. In main part the security challenges arise from a lack of trust and differing nationalistic perceptions. It is for regional states to resolve the contradictions and find ways to doing business with each other. The answer for India lies in enhancing strategic engagement and interaction with its closest partners.

For the evolution of viable maritime governance structures, what regional states need is a combined approach towards resolving maritime threats and challenges. There is a requirement to strengthen the existing frameworks and empower them. These could prove immensely useful in articulating measures, through mutual consultations, which can ensure that nations of the region act as capable and adaptive partners rather than argumentative tense competitors.

Regional maritime forces will need to enhance functional cooperation through greater operational exchanges, personnel exchanges and information-sharing, inculcating a sense of collective responsibility and ownership. With its central geographical status in the Indo-Pacific, India might be well placed to play a key role in the Indo-Pacific. Alongside strategic deterrence, security cooperation and capacity building will be the key elements of India’s maritime strategy.

In charting a course forward, like-minded and law-abiding Indo-Pacific will need to strive to create a secure maritime environment, conducive for sustained economic growth in the region. The need of the hour is to create a community of committed stakeholders, with a sincere approach to jointly tackling the region’s emerging threats. Indo-Pacific partners will have to forge a political consensus in dealing with challenges to the rules-based order, with the potential to reduce strategic trust.

(2nd July, 2018)

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## End Notes

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**Abstract:** *Furthering cooperation in security relations among Japan-US-India-Australia has been more and more plausible and achievements have already been made. Why have these four countries sought security cooperation? From the view of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s “Asia’s Security Diamond”, China is certainly a decisive factor when assessing Japan-US-India-Australia security cooperation. However, what can Japan-US-India-Australia cooperation do to adjust the situation to counter China’s security advances in the region? Firstly, we should focus on the linkage of Indo-China border area and the East China Sea. Secondly, in the Indian Ocean, if India has the will and capability, Japan-US will be able to release themselves from the heavy burden to safeguard security in the Indian Ocean and deploy more military force in the East China Sea and South China Sea to maintain the military balance. Thirdly, Japan-US-India-Australia can collaborate to support Southeast Asian countries around the South China Sea. In these cases, Japan-India-US-Australia cooperation holds its key. To ensure prosperous stability in the whole of Indo-Pacific, Japan-US-India-Australia should overcome any difficulties to form “Asia’s Security Diamond.”*

## はじめに

2007 年以来中断していた 4 カ国の外交当局者の会議が 2017 年に再び開かれるようになり、日米豪印 4 カ国の協力関係は以前よりも進みつつある。ただ、こうした動きの一方で、4 カ国の協力関係は、少し見え難い部分もある。例えば、この 4 カ国の内、日米、米豪は条約を結んだ正式な同盟国だが、あとの日印、日豪、印米、印豪関係は正式な同盟ではない。だから、この 4 カ国の協力関係が当初考

えていたようなレベルに到達した、いわば「成功」した事例といえるのかどうか、不明確な状態になっている。そこで、本稿では、大きく 3 つに分けて検討することにした。まず、そもそもこの 4 カ国枠組が目指したところはなにか、登場の背景を検証し、その中で、この 4 カ国の枠組がどのような目標を持っていたのか、考察する。その上で、その目標について実現できた部分、そして今後の課題になる部分について分析するのである。

## I. 4 カ国枠組み登場の背景とその可能性

### 1. 米中のミリタリー・バランスの変化を受けて登場

日米豪印という枠組みが表立って登場するようになったのは、2007 年に安倍晋三首相が推し進めたことに始まる。2007 年にインド国会で「二つの海の交わり」という演説を行った安倍首相は、首相に返り咲く直前の 2012 年 12 月 27 日、日米豪印について内容をまとめた論文“Asia’s Democratic Security Diamond（アジアの安全保障のダイヤモンド）”を発表した<sup>1</sup>。この論文で安倍首相は、この 4 カ国の連携がなぜ必要なのか、背景的な状況を説明している。

その背景として強調されているのは、日米豪印の構想は、もともと対中国戦略としての意味合いがあることである。では、対中戦略として、日米豪印が連携した場合、どのような事が可能なのだろうか。病気を治すには病気の原因を考えて初めて予防法もわかるわけであるから、対中国戦略を考える際は、中国の海洋進出の原因について考えなければならない。安倍政権になり、防衛省のホームページに掲載されている「南シナ海情勢（中国による地形埋立・関係国の動向）」が、中国の海洋進出の原因をわかりやすく説明している<sup>2</sup>。

この資料では、中国が、ミリタリー・バランスが中国側に有利になったとき、つまり 1950 年代にフランスがベトナムから撤退し、1970 年代にアメリカがベトナムから撤退し、1980 年代にソ連がベトナムにおける軍事的存在感を低下させ、1990 年代にアメリカがフィリピンから撤退したときに、中国は、いつも島々、環礁などを攻撃、占領してきたと指摘している。だから、昨今の中国の海洋進出も、ミリタリー・バランスの変化によるものと考えているわけである。

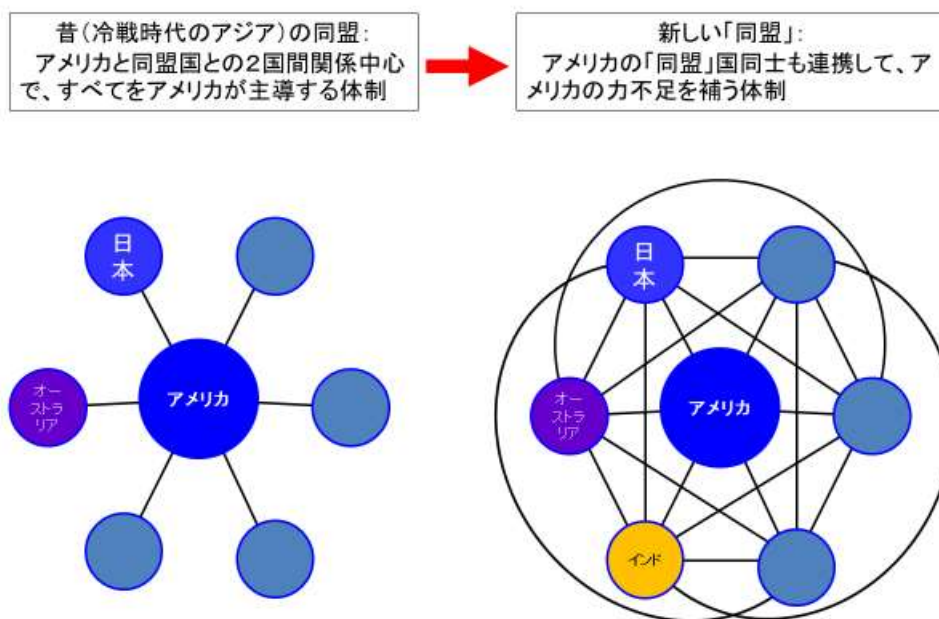
実際、2000 年から 2017 年までにアメリカは潜水艦 15 隻を新規に建造・配備したのに対し、中国が 44 隻以上の潜水艦を新規に建造して配備したことを考えると、過去に比べれば、米中のミリタリー・バランスは変化している。つまり、



そこから考えられる日米豪印の連携とは、アメリカの軍事力の不足分を、日印豪が補う体制を意味している。

過去、アジアの安全保障体制は、「ハブ・アンド・スポーク」とも呼ばれるアメリカとの2国間同盟によって成り立ってきた(図1参照)。この体制は、日米、米豪、米韓といったアメリカとの同盟で構成されているが、日豪は極めて親密な関係を構築してきたものの同盟国ではなかった。だから、アメリカに極端に依存した体制だったといえる。新しく構想されている西太平洋とインド洋にまたがる日米豪印の連携では、西太平洋から南太平洋さらにインド洋をカバーする、よりネットワーク型の体制を目指す。日米豪印主導で、それぞれの二国間関係を強化するとともに東南アジア諸国や、さらには英仏も含めた他の国も参加可能な多国間ネットワークを構築することによって、アメリカの力の不足を補おうという構想である。

図1：新旧安全保障構想の違



参照：長尾賢「日印「同盟」時代第11回：日豪印「同盟」で日本の安全保障が変わる！」  
『日経ビジネス Online』(日経BP社)2015年8月19日  
(<http://business.nikkeibp.co.jp/atcl/opinion/15/261283/081700001/>)

## 2. 焦点となる3つの地域

では、このような連携は具体的にどのように中国の進出を抑えることにつながるのだろうか。4カ国の連携がアメリカの軍事力の不足を補う状態とは、少なくとも次の3つの場合が想定される。1つは、中国が東シナ海や南シナ海で使う予定の予算や軍隊を、他の地域に分散させる事ができるかどうかである。例えば、

中国が印中国境に大きな予算をかける必要が生じた場合や、大規模な航空戦力を配置しなければならない場合、中国は東シナ海や南シナ海で大きな軍事行動に移ることが難しくなる可能性がある。ここから考えると、インド軍の印中国境における防衛力増強を支援することは、日米豪にとって国益になる。

また、中国はインド洋への進出も活発化させており、2017年12月にインド海軍のスニル・ランバ参謀長が指摘したところによると、常時8隻程度の中国海軍艦艇がインド洋に展開している状態になっている。その対応のために日米豪印各国は艦艇を配置しなければならないが、もし印豪がより多くの役割を担ってくれば、日米は東シナ海や南シナ海により多くの戦力を集中させることができ、中国とのミリタリー・バランスの維持に貢献するだろう。つまりインド洋において印豪の軍事力増強と、日米豪印の動きを連動させることが、日米の国益になる。

さらに、中国の海洋進出が著しくなっている東南アジア地域においては、東南アジア各国自身の防衛力増強を支援する必要がある。これまではアメリカ中心だったが、日印豪が東南アジア各国に装備品・訓練・情報などの提供を通じて支援すれば、アメリカの軍事力の不足を補うことにつながる。また、中国が核ミサイル搭載型潜水艦を配備できないように、「航行の自由作戦」やその他の艦艇や航空機による航行を通じて、南シナ海における監視活動をすることも重要だ。アメリカの艦艇以外に日印豪がどの程度、監視活動に参加できているか問われる。

つまり、3箇所、印中国境における連携、インド洋における連携、東南アジア諸国における連携、において日米豪印4カ国の連携がどの程度まで進展しているか、どのような課題があるのか、その点が、この連携の成果を定める上で、重要なポイントなのである。

## Ⅱ. どこまで実現したのか

### 1. 印中国境における連携

では、どの程度まで実現したと言えるのだろうか。まず、印中国境における連携は、特に日印米の連携となって大きく3つの連携が実現してきた。インド軍の増強、インド軍の増強を支えるインフラの増強、危機が起きたときの支援の3つである。現在インド軍は対パキスタン戦用の部隊を中国方面へ移動する作業を行っている。その中で最も注目されるのが、インド陸軍第17軍団である。この第17軍団は、9万人の大規模部隊で、中国から攻撃を受けた場合に、輸送機などの

空中機動でチベット方面へ反撃するための攻撃能力をもった部隊である。そのため、中国は、この第 17 軍団を迎え撃つために、チベットに防衛部隊を配置しなければならない。中国が本来、東シナ海や南シナ海で使うはずだった予算を、チベット方面で使う必要が生じる可能性があるとしたら、この第 17 軍団は要になる。そこで、アメリカは今、第 17 軍団が使う銃や大砲からヘリコプターや輸送機まで、大規模に輸出している。インド軍は装備の 7 割近くを旧ソ連製・ロシア製が占める軍隊であるが、第 17 軍団だけアメリカ装備なのは、特徴的である。

また、インド軍の展開を支えるインフラ建設においては、日本がインド北東部で道路建設を支援している。インド北東部には、印中がお互い領有権を主張しているアルナチャル・プラデシュ州（中国名：南チベット）があり、インド軍が印中国境に展開する際は役に立つことになる。

危機が起きたときの支援についても連携が進みつつある。特に 2017 年のドグラム危機において、初めて事例が生じた。ドグラム危機は、中国軍がブータンと領有権を争っている地域に中国軍が侵入し道路建設を始めたため、ブータンの安全保障を支援するインドが介入、印中国境全域の両軍のにらみ合いに発展したものである。その最中、日印米 3 か国によるマラバール海軍共同演習が実施され、日印米それぞれが空母（ないしヘリ空母）をインド洋に派遣した。8 月 15 日に印中両軍が石を投げあって衝突し、危機感が高まった直後には、日本の平松賢司駐印大使が力による現状変更を非難し、事実上インドの立場を支持した。しかも危機は 8 月 28 日に緊張緩和に向かったが、これもまた日本と関係する時期であった。9 月初頭の印国防相訪日、9 月半ばの安倍首相の訪印の直前だったため、危機が継続していると日印の協力が進展しすぎることを、中国側が嫌った状態となっている。このように危機において、日本がインド支持を明確にした行動を示したことは、それだけ日印間の信頼が深まったことを示すものであった<sup>3</sup>。

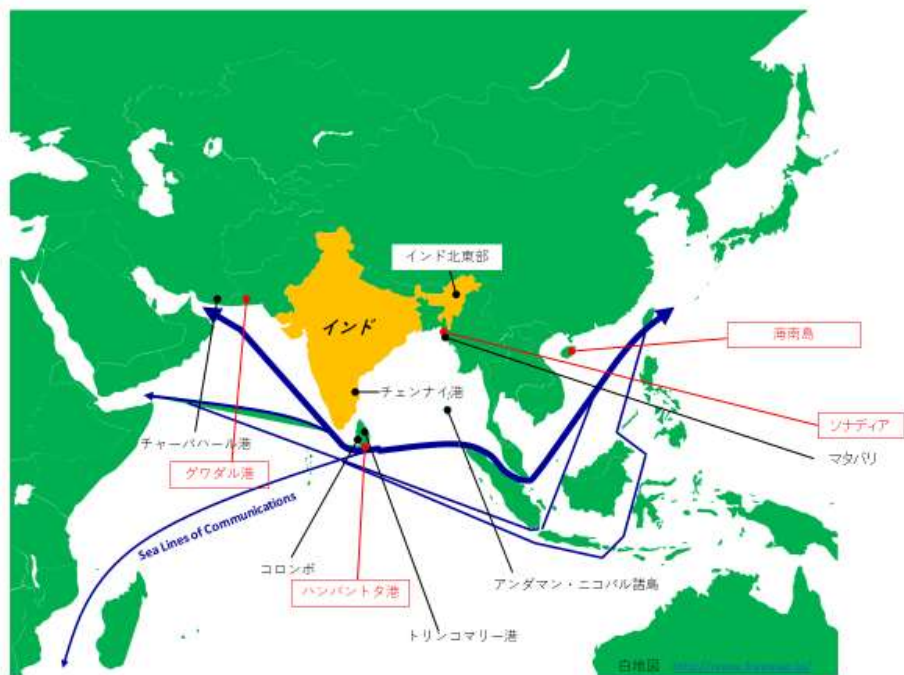
## 2. インド洋における連携

日米豪印の連携は、インド洋における連携でも明確な形で現れている。マラバール演習では日印米が、リムパック演習では日米豪印が、印豪間でも海上共同演習が実施されるようになった。南シナ海からベンガル湾に至る地域での対潜水艦協力も進みつつある。このように連携が進みつつあるため、2 つの協定が結ばれるようになっている。軍事に関わる機密情報共有の協定と、補給品を融通し合う兵站支援の協定である<sup>4</sup>。例えば、中国の潜水艦を探知した情報を共有したりする際は機密情報の協定が役立つ。また、2017 年のマラバール演習では、インドの補

給艦から日本の護衛艦に対して給油が行われたが、こういった時に燃料をどこが準備していつ支払うかといったことを定めるのが兵站支援の協定である。共同演習などが増加して連携が深まってくると、いちいち演習のたびに個別の協定を結ぶのではなく、こういった協定を予め結んでおいて共同演習やお互いの基地への訪問をしやすくする動きが起きる。つまり協定の存在そのものが、連携が深まっている証拠になるのである。機密情報共有の協定はすでに日印、日米、印米間では結ばれている。兵站支援の協定も日豪、印米間で結ばれ、日印間でも協議が進んでいる。印仏間でも兵站支援の協定が結ばれた。

日印間では、インド洋周辺のインフラ開発でも協力が進んでいる。中国が東南アジアからインド洋周辺で行う港湾開発に対して懸念があるからだ。特に中国が建設した港が中国の海軍展開の補給拠点となることが懸念されている。また、「一帯一路」構想に基づいて行われた中国の投資は金利が 6～8% と非常に高く、世界銀行や日本が主導するアジア開発銀行の 0.25～3% に比べ非常に高い。そのため債務を返却できない国が中国側の意向に沿った形で外交を展開する事例、またはスリランカの場合のように港の運営権を 99 年分引き渡す事例が確認されている。そのため途上国に中国とは別の選択肢を与えるために、日米豪印間でのインフラ建設における協力が進められ、2018 年 6 月、日本は今後 3 年で 5 兆円を超える規模の投資を発表している。そのようなインフラ建設の中には、中国のインフラ建設に直接的な影響を与え得るものが含まれている。例えばバングラデシュで中国が提案したソナディア港建設の提案に対しては、日本は 25km しか離れていないところでマタバリ港建設を提案し、結局、バングラデシュ政府はマタバリ港を採用した。同じような方式で、今、日印が連携し、スリランカではトリンコマリ一港の近代化計画を提案しており、計画が進めば中国のハンバントタ港の重要性を下げる可能性がある。また、日印が進めるイランのチャーバハール港のプロジェクトは、中国がパキスタンで進めるグワダル港の重要性を相対化する効果がある<sup>5</sup>。日印の「アジア・アフリカ成長回廊」計画も中国のアフリカにおける影響力を下げる効果がある（図 2 参照）<sup>6</sup>。

図 2: 日印がインド洋で進めるインフラ開発の位置関係



参照：筆者作成

このように、日米豪印が進めるインドとの連携は進んでおり、インドはインド洋で活発に存在感を示すようになってきている。特にナレンドラ・モディ政権の成立以後、図のようにその海洋国家としての存在感を急速に増しつつある(図 3 参照)。

図 3: インド洋におけるインド軍の活動状



参照：筆者作成

### 3. 南シナ海における連携

南シナ海における連携についても進展しつつある。特にマラッカ海峡近くにあるインドのアンダマン・ニコバル諸島における動きは注目である。インドは 2000 年代に入り、ここの基地を増強し、司令部の設置、空港、艦艇の整備能力も進めてきた。そして、ここ数年、大型艦艇の配備、戦闘機配備の決定に至っている。ここでは、公式には発表されていないものの、日米がレーダーや、対潜水艦用センサー、光ファイバー網の設置などで支援しているとの報道があり、本格的な対潜水艦探知網の整備に連携して取り組んでいるとの報道がある。インドが戦闘機や対潜哨戒機が配備した場合、中国のインド洋への進出に備えるだけでなく、南シナ海まで展開することが可能になる。それは、インドが連携を深めているベトナムなどを支援し、南シナ海問題に介入する基盤ができることを意味している。

実際、南シナ海にインド海軍艦艇が活動するケースが増加しつつある。インドはベトナムだけでなく、マレーシア、シンガポール、タイ、フィリピンとの連携を深めており、2018 年に、インド海軍は、インドネシアのサバング港へのアクセス権について協議を始めた。ここはアンダマン・ニコバル諸島と同じようにマラッカ海峡の出入を抑える要衝であり、インドの東南アジアとの連携の深まりを示している。日本も、このようなインドの東南アジア進出を活発化させるため、インド北東部の道路を東南アジアの道路と連結させ、陸路・海路両方でインドー東南アジア連携を促進し、中国の東南アジアに対する経済的栄養力を緩和させようとしている。

### Ⅲ. 今後の課題

このように、日米豪印の連携は進みつつある。特に、インドの能力を強化し、印中国境、インド洋、東南アジアの全てでインドの存在感を高めることは、この 4 カ国連携の特徴となっている。ただ、いくつか課題がある。特に大きなものは、この構想では日印の動きが早いのに対し、アメリカの動きが鈍いことである。これはアメリカのアジアへの関心が不十分なことが背景にある。また、インドがオーストラリアとの協力意義について疑いを持っていることも連携を妨げている。さらに、今年 2 月に起きたように、中国がモルディブに向けて艦隊を派遣した際に日米豪印はどのように連携するのか、詰める必要もある。こういった課題を解決するには、日印が主導的に連携を深めて、戦略の全体像を描き、米豪英仏と東

南アジア諸国に対して具体的な提案を積極的に売り込んでいく姿勢が求められているといえよう。

(2018年7月2日)

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- <sup>1</sup> Shinzo Abe, “Asia’s Democratic Security Diamond”, Project Syndicate, 27 December 2012  
(<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-strategic-alliance-for-japan-and-india-by-shinzo-abe?barrier=accesspaylog>)
- <sup>2</sup> 防衛省「南シナ海情勢（中国による地形埋立・関係国の動向）」2018年2月2日、スライド1－1  
([http://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/surround/pdf/ch\\_d-act\\_20180202.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/surround/pdf/ch_d-act_20180202.pdf))
- <sup>3</sup> 「印中対立でみせた日本の大きな存在感」『カレントトピックス』（(鹿島平和研究所委託事業) 安全保障外交政策研究会) 2017年10月  
(<http://ssdpaki.la.coocan.jp/topics/6.html>)
- <sup>4</sup> これらの協定は主にアメリカの同盟国が結ぶ協定をもとにしたものである。日米間の場合は軍事情報包括保護協定(G-SOMIA)、物品役務相互提供協定(ACSA)とよばれている。ただし、インドと結ぶ場合は、より制限の多い協定になっている。
- <sup>5</sup> 資源豊かな中央アジア諸国が、その資源を輸出する際にインド洋への出口を探す場合、現状では中国・パキスタンを経由するルートしかないが、チャーバハール港とつなぐルートの開発が進むと、2つの選択肢をもつことになる。つまり中央アジア諸国の中国依存を緩和する効果が期待できることになる。
- <sup>6</sup> 長尾賢「日印「同盟」時代第20回：「一帯一路」に対抗する日・インドの戦略構想」『日経ビジネス Online』（日経BP社）2017年6月1日  
(<http://business.nikkeibp.co.jp/atcl/opinion/15/261283/053100010/>)

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## India-Japan Relations in the Age of Indo-Pacific

### インド太平洋時代の日印関係

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**Abstract:** *Indo-Pacific, a geostrategic construct treating the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean as an integrated theatre, has emerged as the pivot of global geopolitical and geo-economic dynamism. Aimed at upholding a rules-based liberal Indo-Pacific order, maritime democracies like India and Japan at either end of the spectrum are working towards an action-oriented partnership founded on mutuality of strategic interests, shared universal values and commonality of vision furthering principles of rule of law and freedom of navigation. With the objective of securing an open and equitable Indo-Pacific, India and Japan is not only working bilaterally but also with like-minded partners in trilateral, quadrilateral, multilateral designs. As Indo-Pacific has been mapped by Prime Minister Modi and Abe to widen the scope of India-Japan cooperation, this article assesses the prospects of pursuing the shared strategic interests on themes of maritime security and regional connectivity and infrastructure. While navigating the complexities of this maritime super-region, the article draws attention to the importance of enhancing India-Japan cooperation in key sub-regions including the Bay of Bengal, Southeast Asia and Africa and concludes by offering modest policy recommendations. While fluidity in regional geopolitics and geo-economics is unfolding greater uncertainty today, India and Japan as two major Asian powers have aligned in forward thinking while navigating the challenges and tapping the opportunities that the Indo-Pacific construct has to offer.*

**【要旨】** インド太平洋はインド洋と太平洋を一体的な活動舞台として扱う地理的戦略概念であり、グローバルな地政学・地政経済学的なダイナミズムの中核となりつつある。ルールに基づく自由な秩序の確立を目指し、インド太平洋の両端



に位置する海洋民主主義国としてのインドと日本は、戦略的利益の相互性、普遍的な価値の共有、法の支配と航行の自由の原則の促進という共有するビジョンに基づき、行動志向型のパートナーシップの形成に向けて協力している。日印両国は、開かれた衡平的なインド太平洋を実現すべく、二国間だけでなく、同士の三カ国間、4カ国間、多国間のパートナーとも協働している。

インド太平洋はモディ首相と安倍首相が日印協力の範囲を拡大するために構築されたことから、本稿は海洋安全保障、地域的なコネクティビティ（連結性）・インフラといった問題について共有する戦略的利益の実現性について評価を加える。さらに敷衍すれば、この海洋地域が持つ複雑性を検討する一方、ベンガル湾、東南アジア、アフリカを含む各地域における日印協力の強化の重要性に着目したうえで、結論として若干の政策的オプションを提示したい。現在、この地域における地政学・地政経済学的な流動性は不確実性をもたらしているが、主要なアジア勢力である日印両国はインド太平洋という構造がもたらす課題への対処と機会の有効活用を図りつつ、前向きな思考で結ばれているのである。

## I . Introduction

Indo-Pacific, a geostrategic construct treating the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean as an integrated theatre, has emerged as the pivot of global geopolitical and geo-economic dynamism. This maritime super-region, connecting the Indian Ocean highways to those of the Pacific through the critical Straits, houses some of the fastest growing economies at the epicentre of international political economy, hosts some of the world's busiest trade and energy routes in addition to being a repository of natural resources including energy. More importantly, some of the sub-regions constituting the Indo-Pacific hosts critical flashpoints of great power rivalry including the South China Sea.

The conceptualisation of Indo-Pacific germinated with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's celebrated speech *Confluence of the Two Seas*, delivered in the Indian Parliament a decade ago, where he argued for dynamic coupling of Pacific and the Indian Oceans as "seas of freedom and of prosperity". In the subsequent years, as the concept gained currency in the power corridors of Washington, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton underscored the critical

importance of translating the increasing inter-connectedness between the two Oceans into an “operational concept”.<sup>1</sup>

Since there is a shift from the Euro-Atlantic to the Indo-Pacific, major powers are adapting their strategies in pursuit of their national interests in this maritime space. President Trump has prioritised Indo-Pacific in his 2017 National Security Strategy (NSS) where “revisionist powers” are shaping an order “antithetical to US values and interests”. Prime Minister Abe has designed his Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy (FOIPS) underpinned by universal values as Japan steered its course towards value-oriented foreign policy conceptualised by thinkers like Nobukatsu Kanehara<sup>2</sup> and Shotaro Yachi. Meanwhile, situated at the nucleus of this maritime strategic space, India’s vision for a free, open, inclusive Indo-Pacific based on principled commitment to rule of law has been articulated by Prime Minister Modi at the 2018 Shangri La Dialogue.

India’s primacy as one of the key anchors of stability in the Indo-Pacific has been welcomed by both the US and Japan. President Trump’s NSS has encouraged India’s advent as a leading global power and stronger strategic and defense partner and further indicated its support for India’s “leadership role in Indian Ocean security and throughout the broader region”.<sup>3</sup> As natural allies, India is one of the key partners in Abe’s latest FOIPS. The key objective of India-Japan Vision 2025 is securing strategic stability and economic prosperity in the Indo-Pacific. In addition, the US-Japan Security Consultative Committee has argued in favor of nurturing “partnership with India” since India’s development is “inextricably tied to the prosperity, freedom, and security of the region”.<sup>4</sup>

As Tokyo started weaving universal values-oriented strategies, India has been rendered space as an important player in Tokyo’s strategic designs including Taro Aso’s Arc of Freedom and Prosperity, Abe’s Quadrilateral Initiative and subsequently Asia’s Democratic Security Diamond. India has also become a part of Tokyo’s security discourse. Japan’s first NSS outlined in 2013 articulates that Japan will bolster cooperative ties with countries like South Korea, Australia, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and India, with whom Japan shares universal values and strategic interests.

Aimed at upholding the rules-based liberal international order and realising a free and open Indo-Pacific, maritime democracies like India and Japan at either end of the spectrum, in addition to the US, are working towards an action-oriented partnership founded on mutuality of strategic interests, shared universal values and commonality of vision together with like-minded countries in the region.<sup>5</sup> While Japan has a strong maritime thinking since it has long been a maritime power, India has gradually widened its strategic thought process beyond the traditional continental orientation. India is now harnessing its natural geographic advantages in the Indian Ocean, where Alfred Thayer Mahan envisioned that the destiny of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be decided in these waters. As India stretches its focus beyond the Indian Ocean theatre and expands its horizon to the Pacific with its Act East Policy (AEP), safeguarding openness of critical sea-lanes and shaping maritime behaviour in terms of compliance with the international laws has become a priority. India's embracing of the 2014 Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) verdict in settling its maritime dispute with Bangladesh reflects India's character as a nation and resolve.

## **II . A Shared Vision for the Indo-Pacific**

India-Japan Vision 2025 is mooted on the firm commitment of upholding universal values and international norms furthering principles of rule of law and freedom of navigation while securing an open, equitable, rule-based order in the Indo-Pacific. To this end, India and Japan is not only working bilaterally but also with like-minded partners in trilateral, quadrilateral, multilateral frameworks. Aligning Modi's AEP with Abe's FOIPS and keeping ASEAN's centrality as one of the central pillars for securing a stable Indo-Pacific, like-minded countries are furthering cooperation on maritime security issues including enhancing maritime domain awareness and disaster response capabilities and strengthening regional connectivity and infrastructure development.

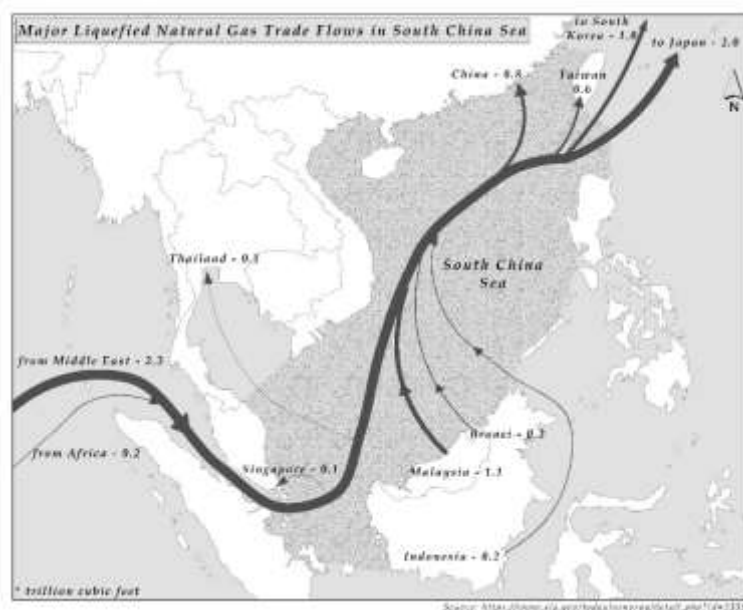
India-Japan-US and India-Japan-Australia frameworks reflect robust mechanisms of such strategic convergence and a shared commitment in shaping a rules-based Indo-Pacific order. Additionally, the return of Abe's Quadrilateral following a hiatus of a decade in 2017 with a loosely formed

India-Japan-US-Australia Consultations also pursue shared objectives of strengthening connectivity and maritime security cooperation underpinned by shared vision of a peaceful, secure and prosperous Indo-Pacific.<sup>6</sup>

As the Indo-Pacific has been mapped by Prime Minister Modi and Abe to widen the scope of India-Japan cooperation, this article assesses the prospects of bilateral cooperation in pursuing the shared strategic interests while steering the complexities of the Indo-Pacific theatre. The subsequent sections will evaluate India-Japan cooperation on themes of maritime security and regional connectivity and infrastructure. Additionally, India-Japan cooperation will be situated within the regional and multilateral frameworks aimed at shaping a rules-based Indo-Pacific order.

## 1. Keeping the Indo-Pacific Sea-Lanes free and Open:

**Figure 1: Major LNG Trade Flow through South China Sea in 2016**



Source: Created by GIS Lab, IDSA based on data from EIA

Dependence on the Indo-Pacific sea-lanes hosting critical transit routes and chokepoints for trade and energy movement is a shared challenge for resource scarce countries like Japan and India. Rapid militarization of South China Sea and growing Chinese inroads into the Indian Ocean have led to a debate on strategic importance of Sea lanes of communications (SLOCs). In addition, the ambiguity concerning the strategic connotations of China's grand design—Belt and Road Initiative, particularly its Maritime Silk Road component is a common conundrum. Any interruption in the shipping network

would adversely impact the industrial production having a negative influence on the economy.

Energy consignments shipped through SLOCs linking Persian Gulf, Strait of Hormuz, Indian Ocean, Malacca-Singapore Straits, the South and the East China Sea are of enormous significance not just for Japanese economy but the regional economy.<sup>7</sup> The Higuchi Report pertinently reasoned the case of maritime shipping as an issue of “life or death” for Japan.<sup>8</sup> Various Admirals including Akimoto Kazumine and Kawamura Sumihiko and previous MSDF chiefs of staff Hayashizaki Chiaki and Yoshida Manabu articulated the importance of SLOCs for “survival and prosperity” of nations including Japan.

**Figure 2: Japan’s Reliance on Middle East Crude Oil of Total Imports**



As Indo-Pacific is emerging as the centre of gravity both in terms of geo-economics and geo-strategy, maritime security including managing maritime hotspots has become a priority. Since no one nation can maintain peace and security and requires a cooperative approach in safeguarding the global commons, Japan has stepped up its role with Proactive Contribution to Peace. India and Japan has convergence of interest and ‘shared responsibility’ in securing the SLOCs as a “public good” for the region.<sup>9</sup> India-Japan

cooperation bears the onus to “secure peace and stability along sea-lanes”.<sup>10</sup> Given the enormous importance of the Indo-Pacific sea-lanes especially the South China Sea for regional energy security and trade and as countries who have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), India and Japan has urged for peaceful settlements of territorial disputes without use or threat of use of force and underscored the significance of dialogue rather than relying on unilateral actions.

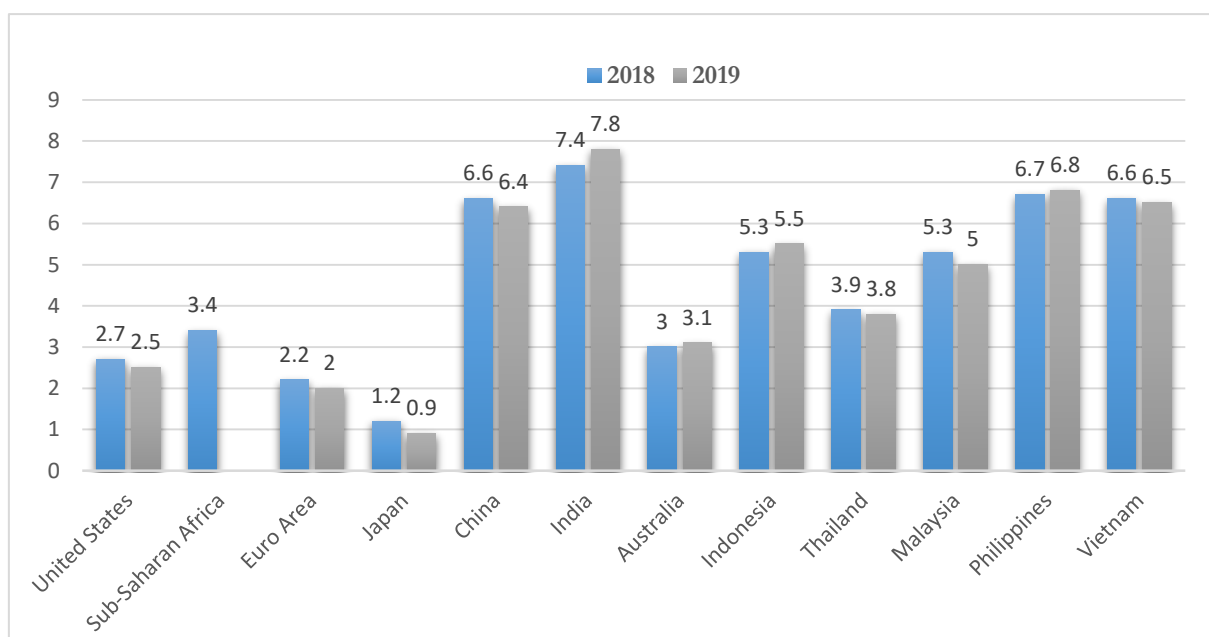
With Japan’s Vientiane Vision aimed at bolstering Tokyo’s defense cooperation with ASEAN and India’s AEP, both countries are invested in their own way in promoting regional security. Tokyo is engaged in developing maritime capabilities of the Southeast Asian nations in areas like Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) and Search and Rescue (SAR) at sea and air space. Furthermore, Japan is engaged in capacity building in numerous fields for instance Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR), Peace-keeping Operations (PKO), landmine and unexploded ordnance (UXO) clearance and cybersecurity. India contributes through ASEAN-led frameworks in addition to cultivating its strategic partnerships with regional actors focusing on naval diplomacy and maritime safety and capacity building.

As maritime democracies, India, the US and Japan are building interoperability and sharing the best practices between navies in terms of procedures and technical capabilities through annual Malabar Exercise focusing on anti-submarine warfare, aircraft carrier operations, air defense and surface warfare. The June 2018 edition of the Malabar exercise is held off the coast of Guam in the Western Pacific signifying the expansion of not just operational but also geographical scope. Besides, Japan’s 2013 NDPG categorically argues that “Japan will strengthen its relationship with India in a broad range of fields, including maritime security, through joint training and exercises as well as joint implementation of international peacekeeping activities.” Meanwhile, the US has invested in buttressing India’s maritime capabilities as a net provider of security in the Indian Ocean region and beyond.<sup>11</sup> As the US renamed its Pacific Command as Indo-Pacific Command, the objective is to build robust capabilities to deal with maritime challenges in the region amid increasing militarization of the South China Sea.

In addition to the assertive maritime behaviour of China, Indo-Pacific SLOCs are susceptible to numerous security threats such as piracy, illegal fishing, maritime terrorism, trafficking and natural disasters. The credibility of Indian naval prowess during the Indian Ocean Tsunami and India's contribution in the Tsunami Core Group in 2004-05 was favorably perceived by the US and Japan. Moreover, both India and Japan cooperate against piracy and armed robbery under Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP). Meanwhile, both coast guards have worked towards augmenting capacity building in areas of search and rescue, pollution response and maritime law enforcement. Japan has experienced a number of incidents including the 2010 Abdullah Azzam Brigade's attack on the *M Star* super tanker in the Strait of Hormuz in the same fashion as tankers were attacked during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s. India helped during the 1999 M/V Alondra Rainbow piracy incident. Ensuring maritime security is vital for India and Japan since any disruption will entail accelerating cost of trade and energy. In this regard, signing of white shipping agreements is essential to advance data sharing on merchant navy ships or cargo ships.

## 2. Connecting the growth poles in the Indo-Pacific:

Figure 3: IMF World Economic Outlook Update, April 2018



Source: prepared by author based on IMF data

IMF projects that economic growth in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa will stand at 5.6 and 3.4 percent respectively in 2018. Between 2007 and 2016, emerging and developing Asia has contributed 56 percent to global growth. IMF has argued that owing to its robust economic development, India's role in the economic development of Indo-Pacific will continue to increase. To tap the full potential of the region, it is vital to connect the dynamic sub-regions constituting the Indo-Pacific and promote robust regional connectivity which in turn will enable development of regional value chains, industrial corridors and robust production networks across Asia and Africa. Connectivity and infrastructure development lies at the heart of Modi's key foreign policy initiatives including the Neighborhood First, AEP, Africa Policy and Think West Policy. Convergence of India's regional connectivity goals with Japan's FOIPS and Abe's Expanded Partnership for Quality Infrastructure (EPQI) is a win-win construct since it presents an opportunity for "coordinating, bilaterally and with other partners, for better regional integration and improved connectivity as well as industrial networks".<sup>12</sup> In addition, the India-US-Japan trilateral cooperation also targets to make best use of collective capacities in supporting regional economic linkages. The Trilateral Infrastructure Working Group meeting in Washington in February 2018 underscored the need to collaborate in promoting Indo-Pacific connectivity.

Japan has emerged as an indispensable partner and a "key player in India's modernization". Expanding footprint of Japanese ODA has not only facilitated the development of key industrial corridors such as the Delhi Mumbai Industrial Corridor (DMIC), bring Shinkansen technology to India in its first ever High Speed Railway project connecting commercial hubs like Mumbai and Ahmedabad and build Urban Rapid Transport Systems in mega-cities, but Japan is also heavily invested in building infrastructure in strategically significant Northeast India and building smart islands in Andaman and Nicobar. While Northeast India is indispensable to the success of India's AEP, New Delhi has long struggled to connect this region with industrial hubs of India on the one hand and the dynamic regional value chains of Southeast Asia on the other. Japan has stepped up as the leading donor to help India reboot its Northeast region with the institution of the India-Japan Coordination Forum (JICF) for Development of North-Eastern Region in 2017 where the key focus is connectivity and road network development, especially inter-state roads and major district roads. Japan has



invested in North East Road Network Connectivity Improvement Project (Phase 1) NH-51 in Meghalaya and NH-54 in Mizoram. Additionally, tapping opportunities to work together on strengthening regional connectivity, India-Japan Act East Forum has been instituted in 2017 with the aim to develop specific projects for economic rejuvenation of Northeast including those pertaining to connectivity, developmental infrastructure, industrial linkages as well as people-to-people links.

Advancing Regional connectivity both within India and beyond constitutes one of the central pillars of India-Japan relations. Connecting with the growth poles of Southeast Asia is one of the key strategic priority of Modi's AEP. For improving connectivity in the Indo-Pacific and consolidating cooperation with Southeast Asia, India-Japan Dialogue on ASEAN was instituted in 2017. India has invested in strengthening its connectivity through Thailand-Myanmar-India (TMI) Trilateral Highway which can be used as an economic corridor and extended to Cambodia, Lao PDR and Vietnam since strong ASEAN-India connectivity is expected to boost business opportunities for Southeast Asian<sup>13</sup> and Indian companies, as well as Japanese companies given that the supply-chain networks are also linked to Japan.

In 2009, the Tamu-Kyigone-Kalewa (TKK) part of the road for TMI was constructed by India. Currently, India is engaged in construction of 69 bridges including approach roads on TKK section and road upgradation of the Kalewa-Yargi section of the trilateral highway in Myanmar.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the Kaladan Multimodal Transport Transit Project (KMTTP) is being pursued with India's grant assistance under "Aid to Myanmar".<sup>15</sup> KMTTP will enable alternative connectivity between the Northeast India through Mizoram and eastern ports like Haldia and Kolkata through Kaladan River in Myanmar and augment economic connections between coastal Indian commercial hubs and Myanmar. While Japan is heavily invested in supporting Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity by developing the East-West and Southern Economic Corridor through hard infrastructure development in Mekong region that connects the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, India can be a beneficiary in terms of reaching the Southeast Asian markets.

Prospects of bilateral cooperation in South Asia and the neighbouring region including Iran and Afghanistan has been prioritised in the 2016 Joint

Statement stressing on connectivity and infrastructure development in Chabahar. For India, Chabahar is the critical link to Central Asia, through Afghanistan. While, Iran has shown a positive attitude towards India-Japan cooperation in developing Chabahar,<sup>16</sup> but Trumps' Iran Policy is making Japan weigh the implications of such cooperation. Meanwhile, India and Japan are cooperating in Sri Lanka, one of the strategic hubs straddling Indian Ocean shipping lanes. They are developing Sri Lanka's first LNG terminal in a joint venture.<sup>17</sup> Both India and Japan are helping Sri Lanka in Trincomalee and Colombo port development.

The scope is not restricted to Southeast and South Asia alone. India and Japan have conceptualised the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) aiming to develop joint projects on capacity building, infrastructure and connectivity. While the continent featured in the bilateral framework since 2010 with India-Japan Dialogue on Africa, with AAGC the focus is on four priority areas including development projects, quality infrastructure and institutional connectivity, skill development and capacity building, and people-to-people cooperation aligning with development priorities of Africa and the Sustainable Development Goals. Merging India's experience and understanding of the African market with Japan's technological leadership and funding capabilities is a win-win formulation for realizing the growth prospects in Africa. While Japan has promised \$30 billion investment into Africa by 2018 in TICAD, including \$10 billion for infrastructure development, India engages with Africa through its India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS).

### **III. Nurturing Coordinated Partnership in Regional and Multilateral Frameworks**

Advancing India-Japan partnership in the Indo-Pacific, both are mobilizing their energies towards synchronizing their strategic convergence in a number of regional and multilateral arrangements including the ASEAN-led frameworks like the East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus), and Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum, Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and the United Nations. On pertinent regional security and strategic issues such as terrorism, defending UNCLOS or UNSC Resolutions on North Korea,

India and Japan have performed a sincere role. In addition, Japan's support for India's membership at APEC and NSG, and cooperation towards crafting the mega regional free trade framework, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Agreement, further develops the mutual confidence in the "special" strategic global partnership.

Japan performed an instrumental role in incorporating India in the EAS and presently both effectively utilise EAS for furthering constructive dialogue on regional issues. For instance, in 2016, India and Japan together with other member states designed the Vientiane Declaration on Promoting Infrastructure Development Cooperation in East Asia with the objective to developing cooperative projects and employing financial and technical assistance from Asian Development Bank (ADB), Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), Japan's EPQI, and India's Credit Line of US\$ 1 billion.<sup>18</sup> Another such framework is the ADMM-Plus where India and Japan articulated the importance of freedom of navigation and overflight, unhindered commerce and access to resources in keeping with the international law.<sup>19</sup> Indian Navy along with the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) and other participating navies cooperate in maritime exercises such as Maritime Security and Counter Terrorism (Ex MS & CT) in May 2016. At the Indian Ocean, Japan is a dialogue partner at the IORA. India as a member is coordinating with Japan and other partners in reinforcing the shared commitment to build a secure and connected Indian Ocean by managing security challenges like terrorism and extremism and advancing the Blue Economy and improving disaster risk management. At the global stage, India and Japan have joined force within the framework of G-4 in reforming the UNSC enabling it to better reflect the complex realities of international politics.

#### **IV. Charting the Course Ahead**

While fluidity in regional geopolitics and geo-economics is unfolding greater uncertainty today, India and Japan as two major Asian powers have aligned in forward thinking while navigating the challenges and tapping the opportunities that the Indo-Pacific construct has to offer. As this maritime super-region takes on greater space in policy designs and in order to achieve

the objective of making the Indo-Pacific an “artery for growth and prosperity”,<sup>20</sup> it is imperative for both India and Japan to prioritize their action oriented partnership towards each sub-regions.

- As Bay of Bengal is emerging as an economic and strategic pole, India and Japan will do well in identifying opportunities for developing robust regional economic and connectivity corridors, especially in Bangladesh and Myanmar. Japan has heavily invested in the Bay of Bengal region with developmental aid. In Bangladesh, while Japan is pursuing the Bay of Bengal Industrial Growth-Belt, India has assisted in developing coastal shipping and inland waterways. India has also engaged in the development of Sittwe port in Myanmar.

While enhancing Northeast India’s connectivity through Bangladesh and Myanmar is critical for economic development, sometimes trust-deficit between India and its neighbours or the federal structure of Indian polity eclipse the greater good. In this regard, seeking Japanese participation may neutralise some concerns for host countries. India-Japan collaboration in Bay of Bengal has the potential to augment the economic viability and strategic value of concerted projects on cross-border infrastructure development.

However, it is important to note that while there is alignment of strategic interests for India and Japan, the success of any collaboration would depend on how their different approaches in terms of professional culture are synergised. In addition, India should weigh in the option of brining in Japan at the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) sooner than later given Japan’s robust bilateral relations with the member states and commonality of India-Japan strategic interests in the region.

- In addition, since Southeast Asia is the strategic space where Abe’s FOIPS and Modi’s AEP converge, India and Japan will do well to design new trilateral frameworks with countries like Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore for greater coordination on specific issues of

common interest including maritime issues. However, there should be a realistic expectation of what these proposed and the existing trilaterals can achieve.

- Furthermore, Japan has clearly demonstrated its will to assume greater responsibilities in the Indian Ocean region. As India and Japan conceived the AAGC, the focus should be on East Africa in terms of geographical scope. India and Japan will do well to explore joint projects on infrastructure, capacity-building and human resource development in East African countries like Mozambique, Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan and elsewhere given common energy interests. Private sector will have to take the lead in initiating infrastructural development programs in the region. While doing collaborative developmental projects, India and Japan should consider involving the local stakeholders to understand the needs and sensitivities of the host countries instead of imposing projects unilaterally.

The Indo-Pacific has different sub-regions each of which are driven by a different set of security dynamics. Indo-Pacific should not be divided in terms of spheres of influences and should not be dominated by any one or two great powers. Since a power transition is unfolding in the region with the arrival of China as a major actor in the international system, both Japan and India has stepped up as the guardian of global commons and leading promoter of international norms. How India and Japan will utilize their bilateral relationship against the backdrop of the power shift in Asia will hold critical importance <sup>21</sup> as major powers are realigning to shape the broader Indo-Pacific order. For realizing a stable Indo-Pacific, India and Japan both have to work individually, bilaterally and at a regional level to make China constructively engage in maintaining the liberal order and shaping the evolving regional architecture underpinned by universal values.

(2nd July, 2018)

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