

## ***Evolution of Indo-Japan Economic Ties: Salience of the Indo-Pacific***

Urbi Das\*

The globalised order that characterises the present century has enabled complex interactions among nation-states, which no longer operate as isolated units. In the twenty-first century, this signifies a prominent role of economic factors as one of the major drivers of the overall political decisions undertaken by nation-states on both domestic and foreign policies. Trade, investment and business activities link states that are separated by geographical and political barriers. These interlinkages constitute the bedrock of international relations in the post-Cold War era. With this understanding, that the contemporary nature of international relations calls for the study of the economic parameters as the twenty-first century's currency of power, the idea of securitising the Indo-Pacific from the economic perspective has gained salience. The relevance of the Indo-Pacific lies in the geo-strategic and geo-economics of the vast area, also referred to as a supra-region that includes economically and strategically significant actors. The region is home to the vast economies of the world and is the nerve centre of contemporary international relations.

While the United States of America (USA) considers itself an Indo-Pacific power, the region is also home to the People's Republic of China (PRC), one of the major economic powers whose position in the world is next to the United States of America. PRC is motivated to alter the existing America-centric world order and challenge the "Pax- Americana" that was established after the end of the Cold War. Again, India and Japan are resident powers of the Indo-Pacific and their primacy in the events of the Indo-Pacific is quintessential to their survival and growth. In the quest to maintain stability and democratic space in the Indo-Pacific, India and Japan have fostered alliances that would provide for reliability and assurance of peace, freedom and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific against Chinese muscle-flexing and encroachment designs.

---

\***The Author**, Urbi Das is Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, West Bengal, India.

*(This article was received from the author on August 23, 2022)*

### **Decoding Indo-Pacific: The Economic Salience**

The origin of the term Indo-Pacific dates back to the writings of the great geopolitician and strategist, Karl Haushofer (1869-1946) who used the term Indo-Pacific in his 1920 work, *Indopazifischen Raum*. Dr. Karl Haushofer was a geopolitical thinker, who studied the influence of geographic factors on the states and believed that a nation-state should be economically self-sufficient to become a military power.<sup>1</sup> In this quest to reorient Germany and make it the most powerful, Haushofer delineated the geopolitical area of operation for Germany. Also known for his *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans*, translated as *Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean*, Haushofer tries to decipher a global role for Germany's calls for the integration of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean that would be the key to the German nation's power projection and maritime strength.<sup>2</sup>

The term "Indo-Pacific" is also an amalgamation of the names of the two busiest and the most significant oceans of the world, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. It is a huge area that stretches from the Indian Ocean to the western and central coast of the Pacific Ocean. It includes the equatorial seas of the Indonesian archipelago and the geo-economically and geo-strategically significant South China Sea.<sup>3</sup> Geographically, it is a supra-region that manifests the current shift of power from Europe to Asia.

The Indo-Pacific has re-entered the geo-strategic and geo-economic calculations of International Relations in recent years due to the shift in the current fulcrum of power to the oceans and land masses connecting the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific Ocean. Strategically, it is the confluence of the two busiest and economically most significant oceans of the world - the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and about 44 percent of the world's surface area lies in this region.<sup>4</sup> These two oceans are the lifelines of the world's trade and account for two-third of the global economic growth. Three of the world's largest economies, that is, US, China and Japan, which accounts for 60 percent of global GDP have their stakes attached to the region. It is home to about 38 countries of the world, accounting for more than 62 percent of the global GDP. With more than 65 percent of the world's population including 58 percent of the global youth, the region is a hub of world's economic growth.<sup>5</sup> In an environment where trade, transport, connectivity and communication are the watchwords of global economic growth, the uninterrupted flow of goods, services, capital, technology and knowledge remains the essential goal of all the Indo-Pacific countries. In other words, it is the nerve centre of global economic statecraft. This is

manifest in the need for open, transparent, rule-based orders in the region against the piracy, aggression and muscle-flexing and undemocratic approach of any one power.

With the advent of globalisation and expansion of neo-liberal market economies, economic statecraft is the new coin of power. What has garnered the attention of the world today is the rise of China, whose economic power is comparable to that of the United States of America. Following 9/11 and the economic depression of 2007-08, the economic power of the United States of America has declined relatively, whereas China sought to consolidate the vacuum left by the “dominant power”. Again, the world has witnessed the rise of India, with a world view that is very different from both China and the USA. India’s economic growth has been tremendous in the last few decades. As a mature democracy celebrating the seventy-fifth year of its independence, the Indian economy is the fifth largest with a share of about 7.75 percent of the world’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) measured in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP).<sup>6</sup> India projects herself as a democratic, reliable and benevolent power that believes in equal rights of all nation-states against the bullying attitude of any one nation. Protecting the freedom of navigation and peace in the Indo-Pacific is quintessential to India’s trade and investment. Around 60 percent of global maritime trade takes place through the Indo-Pacific region.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the presence of any conventional or non-conventional threat is not only detrimental to India’s maritime security but also to India’s economic security. Securitizing the Indo-Pacific is therefore, one of the primary foreign policy goals in the minds of policymakers and policy analysts.

### **India-Japan Relations: The Economic Angle**

India and Japan established diplomatic relations in 1952 through the Treaty of Peace between the Government of India and the Government of Japan, where the High Contracting Parties agreed on “firm and perpetual peace and amity between India and Japan and their respective peoples”. The Treaty of Peace between India and Japan delineates the nature of the association between the two countries. It also paved the way forward by erasing the baggage of the yester years and forging renewed ties according to each other Most Favoured Nation treatment and establishment of stable and amicable relations in matters of trade, commercial maritime and aviation.<sup>8</sup> The two nations acknowledged a new relationship between them based on respect, trust and cooperation in mutually beneficial areas.

It is worth mentioning that India and Japan have shared historical and civilizational ties even before the establishment of formal diplomatic relations. Both nations are old civilizations that are culturally rich and vibrant. The earliest exchange between Japan and India can be traced to the sixth century when Buddhism was introduced in Japan with a flavour of Indian culture. The cultural connection united the two nations that are separated by geography.<sup>9</sup> Indian philosophers and thinkers like Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose have had great opinion regarding Japan and its civilization. Swami Vivekananda believed, “In my opinion, if all our rich and educated men once go and see Japan, their eyes will be open” and considered the Japanese as a “patriotic and artistic race” that “the world has never seen”. Again, the presence of a strong and economically vibrant Indian diaspora and the increased pace of people-to-people connections have strengthened the ties between the two nations. India and Japan are therefore natural partners, characterised by the logic of spirituality, close cooperation in the economic, and strategic field coupled with a sense of belonging have brought them together to forge one of the strongest ties in light of the changing geopolitical calculations.<sup>10</sup> Both nations have their survival and growth integrally linked to the orders in the Indo-Pacific.

Economically, Japan is the world’s third-largest economy with a nominal GDP of US \$ 4,975 billion after the United States of America and the People’s Republic of China, while India is the world’s seventh largest economy with a nominal GDP of US \$ 2623 billion.<sup>11</sup> The two economies are linked to each other through intensive engagements by means of trade, investment and culture, wherein Japan is regarded as key to India’s economic transformation. Conversely, Japan has been interested in India due to India’s immense potential, vibrant economy, huge market and the changed attitude that India has towards investment and trade post-1991 liberalization. During the FY 2019-20, trade between India and Japan amounted to US \$ 11.87 billion, where India’s export figured at around US \$ 3.94 billion and imports from Japan stood at around US \$ 7.93 billion. Bilateral trade in goods mostly consists of chemicals, iron and steel, plastics, non-ferrous items, machinery, electrical appliances, metals, motor vehicles, elements, compounds, manufactures of metals, fish and fish products, textile fabrics and yarns among others. Japan has emerged as India’s third largest investor with Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in automobile, electrical equipment and telecommunications sectors, chemical, financial and pharmaceutical areas. From 2000 till September 2019, Japanese investment in India is about US \$ 32.058 billion and this figure is rising. The number of Indian companies operating in Japan and vice-versa have increased over the

years suggesting a steady rise in the economic partnership between the two “natural allies”. Japan has been engaged in capacity building and digitally empowering India through the “India-Japan Digital Partnership (I-JDP)” launched during PM Modi’s visit to Japan in 2018.

Japan is consistently supporting India’s development trajectory by means of Official Development Assistance (ODA) in priority areas such as power, transportation, connectivity projects, human development and environmentally significant areas. To cite some of the examples, the Mumbai-Ahmedabad High Speed Rail Network, the western Dedicated Freight Corridor (DFC) the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor and the Chennai-Bengaluru Industrial Corridor (CBIC) are all mega projects that are facilitated by the Japanese ODA and seek to transform and revolutionize the Indian economy. It is worth mentioning that in the FY 2018-19, Japan’s Official Development Assistance was the highest to date and it amounted to JPY 522.405.<sup>12</sup>

Given the robust nature of economic ties coupled with the common vision towards protecting the freedom of navigation and equal space in the Indo-Pacific, India and Japan can play a vital role in multilateral forums to protect the orders at the sea and balance any adversarial trend in the supra-region.

### **Japanese and Indian Perspectives of Indo-Pacific**

It is interesting to note that each nation has its version of understanding of the Indo-Pacific. The term was brought into the limelight with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s famous speech at the Parliament of the Republic Day of India, titled “Confluence of the Seas”, where he envisioned the idea of a “broader Asia” at the confluence of the Indian and the Pacific Ocean. He pioneered the idea of the Indo-Pacific in the context of contemporary international relations. He felt the imperative for the two democracies, India and Japan to come together and deepen their friendship at all levels. He was a great leader, a visionary who could foresee the emerging turbulence in the Indo-Pacific and therefore, called for greater integration between India and Japan in a quest to build a “broader Asia”, a network of alliance incorporating the United States of America and Australia for the freedom of the movement of people, goods, capital and knowledge. In his quest to form the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity, Prime Minister Abe gave a pivotal position to the strategic global partnership between India and Japan. India and Japan share their common visions regarding an open and transparent Indo-Pacific. Both nations have their vital stakes in the security of the sea-lanes of communication and believe in the freedom and prosperity of the region, which is crucial for

the world economy. With their common intent, Prime Minister Abe gave a call to form a “Strategic Global Partnership” the foundation of which will be based on the fundamental values of freedom and democracy, upholding human rights and as well strategic interests.<sup>13</sup>

India has emerged as a reliable and responsible player in the Indo-Pacific. India’s key strategic value emanates from its geostrategic position as well as its economic growth. India’s vision for the Indo-Pacific was enunciated by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the speech delivered at the Shangri La dialogue in Singapore on June 1, 2018. To quote Prime Minister Narendra Modi,

“The ten countries of South East Asia connect the two great oceans in both the geographical and civilizational sense. Inclusiveness, openness and ASEAN centrality and unity, therefore, lie at the heart of the new Indo-Pacific. India does not see the Indo-Pacific Region as a strategy or as a club of limited members. Nor as a grouping that seeks to dominate. And by no means do we consider it as directed against any country ... ”.<sup>14</sup>

India’s vision of the Indo-Pacific is therefore a “positive one” that is based upon the idea of inclusivity, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity of all nations and peaceful resolution of dispute. India affirms the idea of “free, open and order in the Indo-Pacific” against the actions of any hostile power. India believes in respecting a rule-based order, the equal right of all nations to the freedom of navigation against the unlawful encroachment of territories, freedom of over-flight in all international waters and upholding the International Covenants and Protocols relating to the Law of the Sea. India also feels that like-minded countries should work together to uphold the peace and integrity of the region since common problems require a consorted solution and also to counter non-conventional threats emanating from the region.

### **Trust-Deficit in the Indo-Pacific: The China Factor**

Geopolitically, India and Japan are located at strategic crossroads and their role is significant in maintaining order in the Indo-Pacific. India is located at the heart of the Indian Ocean, and it shares 3488 kilometres of border with the People’s Republic of China, which seeks to alter the statuesque of the Indo-Pacific in a manner that is detrimental to the other stakeholders of the region. The history of India-China relations is fraught with mistrust as exemplified by the 1962 Sino-Indian War, the issuing of stapled visas to the people of Arunachal Pradesh and the most recent Galwan incident. Time and again, China has given enough reasons to justify its expansionist tendencies against its claims of being peaceful.

With Japan, the relationship is no better. The memories of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the periods of Japanese expansion (1931-1942), including the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and from Manchuria the advance of the Japanese forces into the rest of north-eastern China in 1933; and further invasions in 1937 along with the trade disputes of 2001 have paved the way for trust-deficit among the two great civilizations of the Indo-Pacific.<sup>15</sup> In recent times disputes have spilled over to the issue of access to resources in the East China Sea and the South China Sea. The contested claims of sovereignty over the resource-rich Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands located in the northeast of Taiwan have added turbulence to the already turbid waters. The islands located in the East China Sea have been a part of Japanese territory since 1895. Tensions began when in the 1970s China started claiming sovereignty over the islands citing historical records. The tussle over ownership and exercise of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) was intensified after the discovery of oil and natural gas, having prominent shipping routes and fishing areas. The disputes remain unresolved and have been a source of bitterness between the two nations.<sup>16</sup> China's massive design of 600 projects in East Africa alone along with the intention to build as many as 18 military bases in the Indian Ocean has shaken the existing balance of power in the region. Chinese footprints encompass a huge area and are already visible in Obock in Djibouti, Gwadar Port Pakistan, Maputo in Mozambique, Chittagong in Bangladesh and Kyaukpyu in Myanmar.

Adding to Japan's wary, China has surpassed Japan as the world's second-largest economy and its influence has already swayed the neighbouring countries and littorals of the Indo-Pacific. Unlike India and Japan, China is opposed to the idea of the Indo-Pacific. Beijing believes that the Indo-Pacific strategy is nothing but another nomenclature that seeks to "contain" the rise of China and is "bound to fail".<sup>17</sup> China believes in identifying the zone as Asia-Pacific rather than Indo-Pacific.

China has launched a Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to preserve its economic prosperity in the long run. Often regarded as the centrepiece of President Xi Jinping's foreign policy, the BRI is a grand plan, a massive economic project that comprises the "Silk Road Economic Belt" (SREB) and the twenty-first century "Maritime Silk Road (MSR)" that links Asia with Africa, Europe and South Pacific. PRC's venture boasts of massive and unmatched economic investments including the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZ), industrial hubs, IT, energy and commerce. It aims to foster a China-centric economic model by enhancing ties through massive investments in infrastructural projects, financial integration, connectivity,

liberalization of trade and investment, and building economic corridors across the nations of Asia, Africa and Europe.

The BRI is funded by the likes of China Investment Corporation and China Development Bank among others. Again, China is heavily dependent on the Malacca Strait, which is one of the main transport corridors for much of its oil supply from the Middle East and Africa. With the idea of securitizing its maritime trade route, the Maritime Silk Road stretches Beijing's reach to the Malacca Strait, a narrow arm of the sea that is strategically significant since it links the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea and alternatively forms the linchpin of PRC's energy security. It is a quest to expand China's "*lebensraum*" by controlling strategic sea lanes, maritime resources and critical chokepoints. If negotiated prudently and implemented successfully, it will make Beijing the undisputed leader of a massive economic empire, called the Indo-Pacific and alter the existing power equations by making China the "dominant power". Belt and Road is therefore a cause of concern for the other powers in the region as it acts as an all-inclusive project allowing China to increase both its economic and political leverage. In other words, it completes the process of economic and strategic securitization of the Indo-Pacific in favour of the PRC. As China seeks to alter the "Pax Americana", Japan and India are now engaged in alliance formation at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels since countering the "Middle Kingdom" alone is impossible.

### **Prospects for Indo-Japan Cooperation**

China has already unleashed its economic statecraft and has secured many if not all, small and middle-level players of the Indo-Pacific through its debt-trap diplomacy. The nature of equations in the turbid waters of the Indo-Pacific essentially calls for securitizing the supra-region of the Indo-Pacific. In this regard, it is essential to recall Barry Buzan's concept of security, which is multi-faceted and has a much more holistic approach. In the contemporary environment, security is more than a derivative power as understood by traditional realist thinkers and includes a more comprehensive approach thus breaking from the narrow statist approach. Security, according to Buzan, includes the multi-dimensional and multi-layered complex notion of environmental, societal, economic and regional. In this, there are multiple actors beyond the state, which is one of the many significant actors determining the logic of security.<sup>18</sup> He is credited with broadening the idea of security and including the economic dimension of security in the complex neo-liberal environment of the world today.

The seed of the Indo-Japan cooperation in the Indo-Pacific lies in their economic linkages, respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and commitments towards each other for mutual development and the peaceful development of the region. The historical allies have started a long quest for partnership in light of the Chinese aggression, which cannot be nullified by any single nation but would require a concerted effort of all nations.

Bilateral cooperation has gained tremendous impetus in recent years, witnessed in the form of Prime Minister Abe and Prime Minister Modi's economic and defence cooperation at the Thirteenth annual India-Japan Summit, 2018. Japan and India have expanded their joint military-air and army naval exercises in addition to their regular annual Malabar exercise.<sup>19</sup> The Indian navy and the Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces (JMSDF), namely the JS Kashima (TV3508) and JS SETOYUKI (TV3518) have engaged with INS Kulish (P63) in intelligence sharing and jointly conducting peaceful operations in the Indian Ocean.<sup>20</sup> Over the years, Indian and Japanese naval forces have been working in close cooperation to enable trust-building and capability-sharing, especially in the context of gaining greater leverage in the Indian Ocean. The India-Japan maritime bilateral exercise, also called the JIMEX include naval exercises and explorations such as flying operations, replenishment approaches and tactical manoeuvres.<sup>21</sup> These are undertaken by the Indian Navy Ships and Japanese Self-Defence Forces (JMSDF) in the Indian Ocean in general and the Bay of Bengal, in particular. They have witnessed a rapid increase over the years as a part of the goal for achieving "Free and Open Indo-Pacific".

India remains one of the top priorities in Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), Japan's most significant diplomatic agenda that was launched in 2016 by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Again, the India version of the Indo-Pacific Oceans' Initiative (IPOI) that was announced by Prime Minister Modi in 2019 acknowledges the growing space for cooperation between Japan's version of FOIP and IPOI. This has also led to the acknowledgement and appreciation of Japan as the leading partner in building the connectivity pillar of the Indo-Pacific Oceans' Initiative. Both nations are strong believers in the centrality of ASEAN and therefore, extended full support for "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP)", which upholds the common goals of upholding rule of law, freedom and transparency along with inclusivity.<sup>22</sup> With the acknowledgement that global cooperation is quintessential to addressing global issues, India and Japan have affirmed the Special Strategic and Global Partnership, highlighting their commitment to work together in building a peaceful, prosperous, rule-based order and peaceful solution of disputes, upholding

international laws especially Conventions relating to the Law of the Seas and most importantly dealing with any adversarial powers that may attempt to unilaterally change the status quo. Indo-Pacific signifies shared economic growth and prosperity. In this aspect, India and Japan will be intensively engaged in robust commercial ties through transparency, securing supply chains and building resilience and thereby providing economic security to its citizens. They both call for economic prosperity and therefore, cooperation in areas that would lead to economic securitization of the Indo-Pacific.

India and Japan have partnered with each other in the Quadrilateral Framework, popularly referred to the Quad. The Quad which is a non-military alliance between the United States, Japan, India, and Australia seeks to work on positive and constructive agendas and in the long run, has the potential of emerging as an alternative to the China-centric model in the Indo-Pacific. India's role in the Indo-Pacific is regarded as pivotal by the Quad member-states. India's geopolitical location at the heart of the Indian Ocean and its borders with the People's Republic of China is critical not only to India's interest in the Indo-Pacific but also to the other Quad members. Similarly, Japan's location at the heart of the confluence of the seas makes it quintessential to protecting "free and open" orders in the northwest Pacific Ocean. As of now, Quad is essentially dealing with critical health and humanitarian issues such as providing COVID-19 vaccines, environmental areas such as dealing with climate change along with infrastructural coordination and cybersecurity, space technologies and education.<sup>23</sup> The Quad is a platform for forging strong ties between like-minded democracies in the Indo-Pacific. It seeks to achieve cooperation between the member-states and enhance the network of cooperation in non-military fields. The advantage of Quad lies in its unpredictability since it is not a formal security alliance led by the US, which China is opposed to, therefore, the evolution and role of Quad will be important to note in the coming days.

### **Conclusion**

The Indo-Pacific region is quintessential to the economic development of India and Japan. It is the lifeblood, a vital source of existence and economic growth for both Japan and India. As a region, it has huge potential, and it inhabits diverse culturally vibrant nation-states, scenic oceans and beaches attracting tourism and huge maritime flora and fauna including deep sea energy and allied resources. It is an arena that may ensure energy security for nations like China, India, and Japan among others. Therefore, the Indo-

Pacific is essentially a confluence of strategic and economic assets that manifests into its geo-economic significance and makes it relevant in the study of contemporary international relations. The complex power equations surrounding the vast expanses of the region, and the combination of factors such as maritime, economic, strategic, and environmental factors makes the geopolitics and the geoeconomics of the Indo-Pacific critical to the study of international relations. It is a highly contested area, but military power seems unsuited to protecting the orders in the Indo-Pacific. Any conflict escalation is detrimental to all powers in the region. The economies of the Indo-Pacific are linked to each other in what is known as “complex interdependence” as per a theory propounded by Keohane and Nye and therefore, calls for the use of soft power and economic statecraft to gain greater leverage and maintain the balance of power in the region.

Driven by their common motivation to protect their interests in the Indo-Pacific, Japan and India seemed to have developed closer relations than before. India, a mature and the world’s largest and most diverse democracy, has gained the reputation of being a peaceful and benevolent power in the Indo-Pacific, as reflected in its active and positive role in regional organizations like the East Asia Summit and the Quad. A nuclear power with “no-first-use policy”, India has emerged as a “net security provider in the region”. India’s centrality in the Indo-Pacific is the centrepiece to maintaining peace, stability, and rule-based democratic order in the region.

India believes in regional cooperation and rejuvenating multilateral and regional forums to build a network of strong alliances based on the sovereign equality of all nations in the Indo-Pacific. Japan and India have their economies integrally linked to peaceful order in the Indo-Pacific. The commonality of interests that they have coupled with the trust-building measures manifests in the huge potential that they have in deciding the power structure in the Indo-Pacific

It has to be remembered that the US-Japan alliance a pivotal role in ensuring stability in the Indo-Pacific. The United States is a super-power in relative decline. Therefore, the United States herself is engaged in building a network of alliances to protect and promote its economic and strategic stakes in the Indo-Pacific. The push towards Quad and Quad-Plus Dialogue and also the trilateral security pact between the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom referred to as AUKUS exemplifies the changing nature of geopolitics. Washington also acknowledges New Delhi’s greater role in the Indo-Pacific. Japan has also given high priority to its ties with India.

The question remains whether the Indo-Pacific region is accommodative enough for the presence of multiple powers with complex equations among themselves. A lot is unexplored due to the changing diplomatic calculations in the Indo-Pacific in light of America's leadership role and China's uncertain conduct. It remains an excellent field of study in contemporary international relations due to its massive economic potential, which is home to ancient civilizations and cultures and nation-states with differential levels of power position. In light of the presence of the United States which is the "dominant power" and the People's Republic of China which is "the great power", the other middle-level players may find it very difficult to calculate and maintain the balance of power in the region. In the event of any miscalculations among the other powers in the Indo-Pacific, it is the PRC that stands to gain. The quest for confidence and trust building is important and it requires positive actions from all the stakeholders. In this sense, Indo-Pacific reflects the geopolitical realities of the twenty-first century power calculations.

What remains essential and a goal yet to be accomplished is the thrust towards greater economic integration that would challenge China's economic statecraft and provide for a viable and stable alternative in the region. India-Japan economic ties have huge potential but need to be harnessed at multiple levels. Japan's acknowledgement of India as a part of "broader Asia" should manifest in building economic synergies in the Indo-Pacific. This is also to say that the other stakeholders of the Indo-Pacific as well as Japan, which is the USA's most vital treaty-partner, should realize the limitations of the US as a Pacific power and engage more with India at diplomatic and economic levels. It is high time that India and Japan should forge their economic statecraft, explore their inert potentials, engage in cooperation in all vital sectors, military, economic, diplomatic and social, and design their connectivity projects in a model that would provide an alternative to China's aggressive economic designs.

**Notes:**

- <sup>1</sup> Banerjee. Jyotirmoy. 1998. *Strategic Studies*. Calcutta: Allied Publishers.
- <sup>2</sup> Li, Hansong. 2021. *The "Indo-Pacific": Intellectual Origins and International Visions in Global Contexts*. Cambridge University Press. Accessed August 9, 2022. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-intellectual-history/article/indopacific-intellectual-origins-and-international-visions-in-global-contexts/21B142B132F694349D46CAD22EA8C7CD>
- <sup>3</sup> Das, Urbi. "Regional Responses to Quad". 2019. In *Rise of the Indo-Pacific: Perspectives, Dimensions and Challenges*, edited by Chintamani Mahapatra. Pp. 119-131. New Delhi: Pentagon Press.

- <sup>4</sup> Srivastava, Rohit. March 23, 2022. "All eyes are set on the Indo-Pacific region." Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/readersblog/theblogger/all-eyes-are-set-on-the-indo-pacific-region-42009/>
- <sup>5</sup> The White House. February 2022. "Indo-pacific Strategy of the United States". Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/U.S.-Indo-Pacific-Strategy.pdf>
- <sup>6</sup> Ghosh, Sandeep. August 16, 2022. "Three sectors that we believe will drive India's economic growth to \$5 trillion". *The Times of India*. Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/voices/three-sectors-that-we-believe-will-drive-indias-economic-growth-to-5-trillion/>
- <sup>7</sup> Ray, Saon. "Commerce and connectivity for enhancing trade in the Indo-Pacific". Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/commerce-and-connectivity-for-enhancing-trade-in-the-indo-pacific/>
- <sup>8</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. June 09, 1952. "Treaty Of Peace Between The Governments Of India And Japan". Accessed August 10, 2022 [https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl%2F7012%2FTreaty\\_of\\_Peace](https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl%2F7012%2FTreaty_of_Peace)
- <sup>9</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan. July 27, 2022. "India-Japan Relations (Basic Data)", Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/india/data.html>
- <sup>10</sup> *The Indian Express*. May 23, 2022. "India-Japan 'natural partners', relationship of spirituality, cooperation: PM Modi in Tokyo". Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-japan-modi-quad-summit-indian-community-tokyo-7932080/> 2022
- <sup>11</sup> Japan's External Trade Organization (JETRO). "Reason1. World's third largest economy". Accessed August 10, 2022. [https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/invest/investment\\_environment/whyjapan/ch1.html](https://www.jetro.go.jp/en/invest/investment_environment/whyjapan/ch1.html)
- <sup>12</sup> Ministry of External Affairs. July 2013. "India-Japan Relations". *Government of India*. Accessed August 10, 2022. [https://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-Japan\\_Relations.pdf](https://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-Japan_Relations.pdf)
- <sup>13</sup> Abe, Shinzo. March 4, 2010. "Confluence of the Two Seas". Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pm/0708/speech-2.html> <https://www.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-46652220100304>
- <sup>14</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, June 01, 2018. "Prime Minister's Keynote Address at Shangri La Dialogue". *Government of India*. Accessed August 8, 2022. [https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29943/Prime\\_Ministers\\_Keynote\\_Address\\_at\\_Shangri\\_La\\_Dialogue\\_June\\_01\\_2018](https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29943/Prime_Ministers_Keynote_Address_at_Shangri_La_Dialogue_June_01_2018)
- <sup>15</sup> *BBC*. 26 April 2019. "Japan Profile- Timeline" Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15219730>
- <sup>16</sup> Center for Preventive Action. May 04, 2022. *The Global Conflict Tracker*. "Tensions in the East China Sea". Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/tensions-east-china-sea>

- <sup>17</sup> *PTI*. May 22, 2022. “Ahead of Quad summit, China says US’ Indo-Pacific strategy ‘bound to fail’”. *The Economic Times*. Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/ahead-of-quad-summit-china-says-us-indo-pacific-strategy-bound-to-fail/articleshow/91726745.cms?from=mdr>
- <sup>18</sup> Buzan, Barry et al., 1998. *Security: A New Framework of Analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
- <sup>19</sup> *Congressional Research Service (CRS)*. January 30, 2020. “Indo-Pacific Strategies of U.S. Allies and Partners: Issues for Congress”. Accessed August 10, 2022. [https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20200130\\_R46217\\_770a61c4856a9a5aed99d6699f3423b6240ff1c3.pdf](https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20200130_R46217_770a61c4856a9a5aed99d6699f3423b6240ff1c3.pdf)
- <sup>20</sup> Arora, Sumit. 2021. “India, Japan conduct bilateral naval exercise in Indian Ocean”. Accessed August 9, 2022. <https://currentaffairs.adda247.com/india-japan-conduct-bilateral-naval-exercise-in-indian-ocean/>
- <sup>21</sup> Maritime Partnership Exercise between Ships of Indian Navy and JMSDF. Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://indiannavy.nic.in/content/maritime-partnership-exercise-between-ships-indian-navy-and-jmsdf-0>
- <sup>22</sup> Ministry of External Affairs. October 28, 2021. “ASEAN-India Joint Statement on Cooperation on the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific for Peace, Stability, and Prosperity in the Region”. *Government of India*. Accessed August 9, 2022. <https://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/34425/ASEANIndia+Joint+Statement+on+Cooperation+on+the+ASEAN+Outlook+on+the+IndoPacific+for+Peace+Stability+and+Prosperity+in+the+Region>
- <sup>23</sup> Ministry of External Affairs. March 19, 2022. “India-Japan Summit Joint Statement Partnership for a Peaceful, Stable and Prosperous Post-COVID World”. *Government of India*. Accessed August 10, 2022. <https://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/34991/IndiaJapan+Summit+Joint+Statement+Partnership+for+a+Peaceful+Stable+and+Prosperous+PostCOVID+World>

