

Introduction

The conclusion in October 2008 of the U.S.-India Civilian Nuclear Agreement and a formal security agreement between Japan and India have been touted as turning points in respective bilateral relations. When joined with the long-standing U.S.-Japan alliance, many have suggested these building blocks may form the basis for greater trilateral cooperation and interaction in coming years on a host of international issues of common interest.

Indeed, the gradual breakdown in traditional notions of “Asia” in recent years has been noticeable, as India has entered the strategic discussion in East Asia increasingly, while the United States and Japan (and China) have become factors for consideration in South Asia. It was in this spirit that the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), in partnership with the Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIJA), hosted closed conferences in Washington, DC, and Tokyo, Japan, in June 2007 and February 2008, respectively, to facilitate discussion among a younger generation of U.S., Japanese, and Indian foreign policy experts and practitioners. The idea was to bring a fresh perspective to the issues at hand, and to broaden the network of those within the U.S., Japanese, and Indian elite who may recognize the new possibilities of trilateral relations. In total, the two two-day meetings combined to address nine topics. The first meeting examined the respective strategic visions of each country, and national perspectives on the rise of China, nonproliferation, and energy security. The second meeting discussed potential economic convergence, Southeast Asia, counterterrorism, maritime security, and the role of values (human rights and democracy) in respective foreign policies.

The papers collected in this volume are final versions of those presented for discussion at the two conferences. Together, they provide a snapshot of thinking among leading policy practitioners and scholars in Japan, India and the United States about potential trilateral collaboration and vision for future cooperation.

The volume opens with an examination of the overall strategic vision of each nation. Heigo Sato comments that as the strategic environment changes in Northeast Asia, Japan must assess its capabilities to create specific approaches and priorities in order to bolster its foreign policy. He cites the expansion of Japan's conventional definition of defense as evidence that Japan is gradually moving in this direction.

Suba Chandran follows with a paper contending that India's strategic objective is to join a concert of powers through a series of strategic partnerships, while maintaining a peaceful periphery. He notes India's hesitancy to promote values, including democracy, in its foreign policy due to its need for general stability to promote economic growth. He concludes that India can take a leading role in combating transnational issues such as terrorism, nonproliferation, and environmental threats.

U.S. strategy, according to CSIS's Michael Green, includes developing new concert of power to handle global and regional problems. Green notes that the United States welcomes increased Japanese and Indian leadership in the international system, and that from the U.S. perspective, trilateral engagement can help shape a responsible China, protect sea lines of communication (SLOCs), increase economic ties, and enhance the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

Chapter two addresses the three nations' perspective on China's emergence. Japan, according to Yasuhiro Matsuda, sees China as focusing on economic development and opportunistic to maximize openings as they come to expand its influence over time. He notes that it remains to be seen if China will sign onto existing institutions and norms or if it will pursue new avenues of cooperation.

Alka Archarya contends that India's policy toward China remains entrenched in historical clashes between the two nations. India's chief concern, she alleges, is China's alleged "string of pearls" naval access strategy, which plants China's military firmly in its neighborhood. She suggests that India's best option to compete with China in its neighborhood is to help resolve problems in its backyard and to improve its relations with neighbors.

Derek Mitchell argues that the "containment vs engagement" debate in the United States, if it ever really existed has now settled into an essential U.S. consensus on engagement, with debates now over how to engage in ways that protect U.S. interests given the immense complexity of U.S. perspectives and policy toward China. He notes that an opportunity exists for the United States, Japan, and India to coordinate and cooperate more to ensure that China's rise in the

international and regional security affairs serves their common interest. He suggests the United States and others need to consider ways to ensure China further integrates itself and invests in the international system according to established -- and perhaps new -- international norms and institutions.

Chapter three discusses respective views on the issue of nonproliferation. Though it has rejected accession to international nonproliferation treaties, Lawrence Prabhakar says India has aided the nonproliferation regime by securing its nuclear materials and technology. He concludes that India is increasingly adopting international norms in handling its nuclear arsenal, but that it will maintain its assertive posture given its nuclear neighborhood.

According to Nobumasa Akiyama, energy security and environmental concerns are leading to a “nuclear [energy] renaissance” in the world, greatly increasing the risk of nuclear proliferation for non-peaceful means. He concludes that to assuage this risk, the United States, Japan, and India should strengthen current norms and mechanisms to safeguard against clandestine nuclear programs while creating new vehicles that promote global interest in nonproliferation. Jon Wolfsthal writes that while the three countries differ on nonproliferation policy, at a minimum they could cooperate on technical aspects of maintaining and securing nuclear materials. He speculates that such cooperation could aid in developing closer relationships and lead to a more coordinated approach on nonproliferation and disarmament more broadly.

Chapter four discusses energy security, an area of significant opportunity for cooperation between the three sides (among others). Manabu Miyagawa describes Japan’s energy security

policy, and notes that stability in the Middle East and establishing an international set of norms regarding energy through the International Energy Association (IEA) remain its primary goals.

In his paper, Mikkal Herberg argues that increasing competition in global oil and gas markets must be turned into a source of cooperation. He contends that strategic dialogues, cooperation on energy efficiency, and clean coal technology transfers at the bilateral, regional, and global levels are essential while noting that ultimately each nation must make a commitment to reduce its own demand for oil.

Chietigj Bajpae writes that India is facing enormous challenges when it comes to energy and energy security. He observes that India imports 70 percent of its oil, relies heavily on unclean technology, and routinely faces steep competition from China for energy supplies. In addition to plans to expand its nuclear capability, he recommends that India attempt to enter cooperative bids with China to develop oil fields and import clean coal technology to meet its energy needs .

Chapter five explores potential economic convergence among India, the United States, and Japan. Noting that Japan, China, and Korea have not been able to establish FTAs with each other, Fukunari Kimura suggests that the United States engage the Asia-Pacific to pursue comprehensive FTAs, which ultimately will lead to a domino effect expediting economic integration in the region. On a micro-economic level, Krishen Mehta argues that the United States, India, and Japan should seek mutually beneficial public-private partnerships that will continue to promote Asia as an engine of economic growth even in light of economic downturns in the West.

In chapter six, Ben Dolven counters perceptions of U.S. laxity in Southeast Asia, outlining the number and depth of U.S. bilateral relationships in the region. He urges the United States and Japan not to view China's engagement with the region negatively and to instead use it as an opportunity for deeper cooperation.

Sadanand Dhume contends that India's democratic, pluralistic society and booming entertainment industry has expanded its soft power in Southeast Asia, but encourages the United States and Japan to aid India in improving its infrastructure, literacy rate, and poverty alleviation in order to make it a true model for Southeast Asia.

Nobuto Yamamoto outlines the realities of regional economic engagement, with a focus on the United States, Japan, and China, and observes that a general policy of hedging and balancing by regional states would increase predictability and overall regional stability.

Chapter seven describes India and Japan's counterterrorism strategies and potential for cooperation with the United States. Manjeet Pardesi outlines India's history of combating terrorism within its borders and along its periphery, and of its enhanced cooperation with the United States post-9/11. He suggests technology transfers in areas such as port security and aviation to better coordinate trilateral cooperation.

Naofumi Miyasaka describes Japan nascent domestic and international counterterrorism strategy, noting that its tight immigration policy and border security ensures that its vulnerability to

international terrorism is low. He nonetheless recommends that Japan increase its international law enforcement assistance to help monitor developments abroad.

Chapter eight highlights the issue of maritime security. Raja Menon notes that the Indian Ocean is home to more piracy than the rest of the world combined, and suggests that since richer nations are able to unilaterally protect their interests, they should provide maritime security in the Indian Ocean as a public good. Hideaki Kaneda recommends that the U.S.-Japan alliance form the backbone of a Maritime Security Coalition with India to address rising conventional and nonconventional regional challenges. Michael McDevitt looks at the geopolitical implications of China's growing navy and submarine fleet, and while he concludes that China's modernizing fleet is not seeking to supplant the United States, he recommends that the U.S. and its regional partners should begin to adapt now to maintain maritime superiority.

Chapter nine discusses the role of values, particularly human rights and democracy promotion, in Japanese and Indian diplomacy. Ikuko Togo notes Japan's interest in promoting democracy, but adds that the concept of individual human rights is still developing in Japan and that its bureaucratic system does not allow for enough flexibility to evaluate situations on a case-by-case basis.

Maya Chadda writes about India's nascent discussion about promoting universal values, but contends that India is skeptical of international human rights regimes and remains ambivalent about the promotion of human rights and democracy in its foreign relations.

Finally, Derek Mitchell concludes the volume with overarching observations about trilateral relations, and urges policymakers in all three countries to consider a host of initiatives over time that may lead to deeper and broader cooperation. He notes, however, that to do so will require some changes in mind-set in each capital concerning their respective international orientations, and in their perception of potential opportunities offered by a coordinated trilateral relationship.

Like the conferences on which these papers were based, it is our hope that this volume will cross the artificial East Asian and South Asian elite divide to promote greater understanding of perspectives in, and potential cooperation between, the United States, Japan and India on key issues of mutual interest.