

INDIA & The WORLD

The Quad Way India-First Foreign Policy





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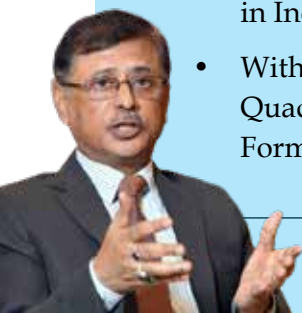
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**FROM THE
EDITOR'S DESK**

The Quad Way India-First Foreign Policy

Eight years at the helm is a reasonably long time to leave a lasting legacy, and the Modi government has done that skilfully and successfully, especially in the realm of foreign policy. A new India has emerged on the global stage, which has deftly aligned soaring national aspirations with its international obligations. Under proactive and goal-driven leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India's global stock is at an all-time high as India navigates the post-pandemic landscape to emerge as the world's fastest-growing major economy and an agenda-setter in the international arena.

Strategic autonomy has found a fresh reaffirmation and a vigorous articulation as India treaded cautiously but confidently on a range of tricky global issues, the latest being the Russian attack on Ukraine which Moscow has called a special operation. India joined the world and the West in backing diplomacy and dialogue to end the

Ukraine war, but refused to bow to pressure to either downgrade ties with its all-weather partner Russia or to curtail its oil imports from Russia. Taking such a fiercely independent stand has made India vulnerable to charges of being an outlier, but New Delhi has refused to budge and calmly asserted that it has the right to make independent decisions in the interest of national energy security. This straightforward no-nonsense stand has been resented by some, but at the same time has earned appreciation from many as well.

In fact, India's positioning and manoeuvring on the Ukraine issue crystallizes India's diplomacy of multi-alignment whereby it judges each global issue from the prism of national interest and forges informal coalitions with like-minded partners. This policy of multi-alignment is epitomised in India's astute juggling of Quad and BRICS – the two plurilateral groupings which have sharply different agendas and orientation.

Going forward, the strengthening of Quad can be considered a singular achievement, to which India has contributed substantially. The second in-person Quad summit in Tokyo on May 24, 2022 marked a new milestone in the evolution of the four-nation grouping as it culminated in a host of pioneering initiatives such as the Indo-Pacific Maritime Domain Awareness and the “Quad Partnership on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) in the Indo-Pacific.

Future of Quad

Against this backdrop, India Writes Network and India and The World magazine, in association with Centre for Global India Insights (CGII), organised a virtual panel discussion entitled, “The Quad Way: A Force for Global Good”. The webinar focused on key outcomes of the Tokyo summit and mapped the way ahead for the role of this grouping of free market democracies in shaping a free, open and inclusive world order. This edition of *India and The World* magazine-journal comprises articles and interviews by eminent thinkers and diplomats on the role of Quad in promoting a balanced and inclusive region and the world.

The articles highlight key features and trends that will mark the development

of Quad in the coming days. First and foremost, while the Quad agenda is steadily expanding and diversifying, implementation and time-bound delivery will hold the key to the success of the grouping. Second, Quad, which started as a security-focused grouping, has broadened its agenda to include vaccines, critical and emerging technologies, space and green growth. This trend will continue and reinforce Quad’s branding as a force for global public good. Third, constraining China’s assertiveness will continue to remain a primary driver of Quad, but the grouping will not like to be bogged down in narrow geopolitical games. Fourth, Quad is learning to live with differences. India’s stand on the Ukraine issue may be at odds with that of other Quad countries, but this will neither derail the grouping nor adversely impact the solidarity among the four countries. Fifth, India will continue to remain pivotal to future growth and success of Quad as the grouping acquires greater salience in the foreign policy matrix of New Delhi. Tomohiko Tanuguchi, former adviser to Japan’s then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, has lauded India’s role in steering Quad to where it is today. “If it had not been for an outgoing forward-looking India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who was willing to break out of the

non-alignment mould, Quad couldn’t have materialised,” says Tanuguchi in his article published in ITW.

This edition also features articles on Prime Minister Modi’s visits to Germany, France and Denmark, which showcased India’s accelerated outreach to Europe in the last few years. As India becomes increasingly indispensable to addressing a wide array of global issues, one can expect New Delhi’s diplomatic outreach to acquire unprecedented intensity.

In this journey of India’s global ascent, groupings like Quad will play an increasingly important role. The Tokyo summit marked a consolidation of Quad as a pressure group against three Cs – Chaos, Coercion and Conflict – and has come to be associated in the public mind with threeGs – Good, Goal-oriented and Game-changer. “Quad expresses the approach of the Modi government to put India’s interests at the centre of its thinking, even while embracing the world as a family. The Tokyo Summit is the most recent validation of this approach,” said External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar in a recent article.



Manish Chand
Editor-in-Chief



S. JAISHANKAR

8 Years of Pathbreaking Diplomacy: Transforming External Engagements

India has emerged as a confident and responsible player on the global stage, bringing in a new assertiveness, dynamism and new ideas. As the country celebrates 75 years of independence, it is displaying a rare gift for harmonising national interests with its international obligations, says External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar.

Our meeting takes place as the Narendra Modi government completes eight years in office. It also provides an occasion to reaffirm a return to normalcy after two difficult years of the Covid pandemic.

Since you all live here, the scale and intensity of change that India has experienced in these eight years is perhaps more evident than it may be to others more distant. I am sure that each one of you, in your own way, has tried to absorb that and communicate that back home.

Covid Challenge

It could be the Covid response that included building capacities from scratch, the massive vaccination campaign that overcame so many hurdles, the financial, digital and communication transformation that has made direct benefits transfer possible, or indeed, the enormity of the housing, electrification, water connection, and cooking gas access that have been delivered.

Some of the empathy that you all feel was visible in the

support expressed by your respective countries when we passed through the worst of Covid last year.

The Covid pandemic, however, has not been the only driver of a more volatile and uncertain world. No question, it has brought out the risks of the over-centralised model of globalisation that was being followed. Consequently, it has encouraged the building of reliable and resilient supply chains. I am sure that many of you have noted the government's initiatives to promote manufacturing,

facilitate services and improve the ease of doing business.

But if you were to extrapolate that further, the outlines of an emerging economic outlook would also become visible. Among its notable elements are FTAs that India has concluded recently, the negotiations underway with others that have picked up momentum, as well as the frameworks and initiatives to which we have now committed. Processes aside, our message is one of engaging the world intensively, obviously drawing benefits for our own people, but while also contributing in greater measure to global welfare, development and security.

New Terms of Engagement

I hope that you also share my belief that Indian foreign policy thinking is displaying greater conceptual and operational clarity. Whether it is explanation or communication, some of the contemporary catch phrases have been impactful in their public resonance. If you consider Neighbourhood First, for example, it is now clearly associated with a generous and non-reciprocal approach to our immediate proximity.

We envisage India as a larger lifting tide for the entire



Our message is one of engaging the world intensively, obviously drawing benefits for our own people, but while also contributing in greater measure to global welfare, development and security.

region. Our investments in connectivity, expansion of contacts and promotion of cooperation have also been noteworthy. Whether it was during Covid or the current economic challenges, India has gone the extra mile for its neighbours and will continue to do so.

We have also articulated a sharp awareness of our extended neighbourhood. It is expressed as an Act East policy, a SAGAR outlook, a Gulf engagement and a Central Asia initiative. In each case, whether it is leadership attention, diplomatic energies, practical projects or shared activity, the record is one of higher commitment.

India's diplomacy has also naturally focused on major powers, on key economic hubs, on significant energy sources and on influential regional players. We have conducted that with open-mindedness and objectivity, practicing in foreign policy our maxim of Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Vishwas. In seeking solutions to larger complicated issues, we believe in Sabka Prayas, as well. Many of our engagements also reflect the importance we give to diplomacy for development, where foreign technology, capital, best practices and collaborations are directly applied to accelerate our national growth, including

We envisage India as a larger lifting tide for the entire region. Our investments in connectivity, expansion of contacts and promotion of cooperation have also been noteworthy. Whether it was during Covid or the current economic challenges, India has gone the extra mile for its neighbours and will continue to do so.

through our flagship programmes and initiatives.

The Global South has merited greater attention as well. Where Africa, Latin America and Caribbean or the Pacific Islands are concerned, there has been a spike in our engagement and activities. The Covid years did disrupt some of the momentum and we expect to pick up on that very soon.

India has always viewed the United Nations (UN) as

important to global peace, security and development. We currently serve as a non-permanent member of the Security Council and one very active in UN organisations and in its peacekeeping. While our endeavours will always remain supportive, we also share the disappointment of the international community about the UN's declining effectiveness. Our advocacy of reformed multilateralism, therefore, has become even stronger.

Now paralleling what is happening in the world of trade, diplomacy is also searching for optimal solutions to processing situations at the sub-global level. In recent times, the merits of engaging partners on agreed issues and defined domains are increasingly apparent. Some of these exercises are more flexible than others. They reflect convergences and intersections, rather than congruence. These have resulted in quadrilaterals, trilaterals and regional arrangements. The utility of 2+2 meetings with relevant players is also very apparent.

An India that is more capable is also an India more sensitive to global



expectations. The last eight years have seen us undertake the responsibility of First Responder in many situations. The earthquake in Nepal, the conflict in Yemen, the water crisis in the Maldives, the mudslides in Sri Lanka, the typhoon in Myanmar or the floods in Mozambique, all these are notable examples. But while doing so, we seek to strengthen the capacities of our partners as well. In that very spirit, we are responding to the food, health and other requirements of the Afghan people now. Our historical ties warrant that we take the long view.

Strengthening a rules-based order is a natural inclination of a polity like India. We value all opportunities to contribute to it. Our membership of the MTCR, Australia Group and the Wassenaar Arrangement are therefore significant. As a nation with a substantial nuclear industry, we also look forward to joining the Nuclear Suppliers Group, overcoming the political impediments that are against global interest.

Leading Initiatives

It is not however just in contingencies and mechanisms that India can make a difference. We are taking initiatives on global concerns that are truly consequential. The International Solar Alliance

that we have co-led now has 106 members. Similarly, the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure is making steady progress. Our decisions and intentions have had a major bearing on climate action and climate justice.

We are active, too, in shaping the global discourse on many other issues. It could be connectivity and maritime security, resilient and reliable supply chains, data and cyber security or, indeed, terrorism, violent extremism and black money, India has interests and views that it has put forward with assurance. Now many of you have been our interlocutors in these exercises and I thank you today for your understanding and cooperation. It would have left you with a clear sense that we take global issues, the global commons and global good very very seriously.

The proof of the pudding is, however, in the eating and that was certainly so when it came to our Covid response. We supplied Made in India vaccines to 98 countries and continue doing so even today. Our medicines and medical personnel also made contributions abroad in these very crucial times. We count Vaccine Maitri as one of our key achievements of this period, not just for reasons of health but as a statement of solidarity.

We have also articulated a sharp awareness of our extended neighbourhood. It is expressed as an Act East policy, a Sagar outlook, a Gulf engagement and a Central Asia initiative. In each case, whether it is leadership attention, diplomatic energies, practical projects or shared activity, the record is one of higher commitment.

The Covid pandemic has, undoubtedly, been the most devastating phenomenon in living memory for many of us. We cannot overlook it even as we go on with life. But just as we were hoping to recover from its effects, the world is now confronted with the repercussions of the Ukraine conflict. Our position on the matter itself has been stated at length at various forums. But beyond the conflict, the world today faces severe challenges in the rising costs of energy, food and fertilisers. The Global South is particularly impacted. The need for an early end to the fighting and a return to diplomacy truly gets stronger with each passing day.

The difficult realities of international relations make themselves felt in multiple ways. For some of us, that is expressed in the challenges of hard security. In India's case, we have specifically

seen that in the phenomenon of terrorism. Diplomacy has contributed to addressing that challenge by delegitimising it and by denying support and sustenance to terrorism. Our borders also need safeguarding and we will never accept any attempt to unilaterally change the status quo. A posture that departs from established understandings will evoke its own responses. When it comes to security, we will do what it takes to ensure national well-being. I acknowledge, also, the role of trusted partners who work with us to help keep India safe and secure every day. We have overcome the hesitations of history and will not allow anyone a veto on our choices.

A nation like India obviously needs to contemplate its security in the broadest way possible. In the past, mantras of globalisation lowered its defences and discouraged the building

of deeper strengths. That realisation is responsible for the commitment we now see to Atmanirbhar Bharat. We certainly want to make in India, but we want to make with the world, and we want to make for the world.

An economically stronger India expresses its deep belief of the world being a family through greater development partnerships. The last eight years have witnessed a tripling of our Lines of Credit commitments over the previous eight year period. The value of project completion also went up by 38%. Our neighbourhood and our African partners were the main beneficiaries, even as we expanded projects into new areas. In the coming years, we intend to focus even more on green growth, on digital delivery and on health capacities.

An expanding engagement with the world

encourages us to visualise it in an era of technology as a global work place. Some of that comes in the form of development partnerships that I have spoken about. But we do perceive that a knowledge economy requires smooth flow of talent and skills. Accordingly, we have prioritised mobility and migration agreements that addresses the interests of all stakeholders. We note significant progress in that regard and would urge you all to appreciate the win-win outcomes that they generate. The million-plus Indian students studying abroad are also an important facet of India's external interaction. Responding effectively to their requirements is our shared responsibility. The New Education Policy now provides opportunities to address this domain more creatively and help us to welcome more foreign students into India.

Diaspora Power

In a more globalised world, it is equally natural that a large number of Indian citizens and persons of Indian origin live in other countries. Some may be there more recently, temporarily and professionally. Others could have settled down, in some cases, for multiple generations. But they are a unique living bridge between India and the world and





should be valued accordingly. From time to time, their interests and well-being are a subject of our conversation. We particularly appreciate the support of many of your governments during the pandemic time in this context. If the Vande Bharat Mission was so successful, some of the credit goes to all of you as well. Similarly, the support that we received from Ukraine's neighbours during Operation Ganga was also very valuable. On our part, it is by now established tradition that any rescue and relief effort also covers citizens of other countries.

The changes that Indian diplomacy is undergoing is expressed in multiple ways. Some of that are in policies, in priorities and in

practices that I have outlined. But there are other steps that indicate new thinking and fresh approaches. The International Day of Yoga and the promotion of Ayurveda represent the projection of a confident culture. The establishment of a division dealing with States speaks of cooperative federalism. A technology division underlines the relevance of that domain. The opening of new embassies signifies our growing footprint abroad. Our engagement with think-tanks and civil society has intensified, underlined by initiatives like the Raisina Dialogue. Indeed, our very way of assessing performance has changed, putting greater emphasis on trade, technology and tourism.

The India that you live in and report on, is obviously different from the one before. It has development as its focal point, whether at home or in foreign policy. It is a daily proof that democracies can deliver. Its human development indices improve constantly, even as it rises to meet unprecedented challenges.

This is a polity with an enhanced popular participation in its decision making, and greater authenticity in its expressiveness. It is one that harmonises its national interests with its international obligations. Appropriately, as India celebrates 75 years of independence, it seeks to do so with the world.

(This article is based on the speech by India's External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar at an event marking "8 Years of Modi Government: Transforming External Engagements" in New Delhi on June 7, 2022.)



MANISH CHAND

Quad Bonds Against 2Cs: Coercion and China

TOKYO: On a radiant afternoon in the Japanese capital on May 24, the leaders of the four Quad countries scripted a new chapter in their journey, marked by solidarity, creativity and action-oriented cooperation to secure the rules-based world order against “coercion, provocative and unilateral actions” that change the status quo and violate sovereignty of other nations.

The rapport and connect among the leaders of the four liberal democracies at the Japanese Prime Minister’s Office was almost instantaneous at the second in-person Quad summit here, despite the two of them participating in their first Quad summit.

What was remarkable was that the four of them they spoke in a similar language about shared interests, including freedom, rule of

law, democratic values and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The discussions among Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, US President Joe Biden, India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Australian Prime Minister Anthony Albanese on May 24 were marked by “warmth and a positive approach,” India’s Foreign Secretary Vinay Mohan Kwatra told the visiting Indian media in the Japanese capital. The leaders decided to advance “action-oriented cooperation among Quad partners and countries of the Indo-Pacific for peace and security of the region,” said Mr Kwatra.

Force for Good

In a span of around 16 months, a new idiom and vocabulary of Quad has emerged, which will bring the four countries closer



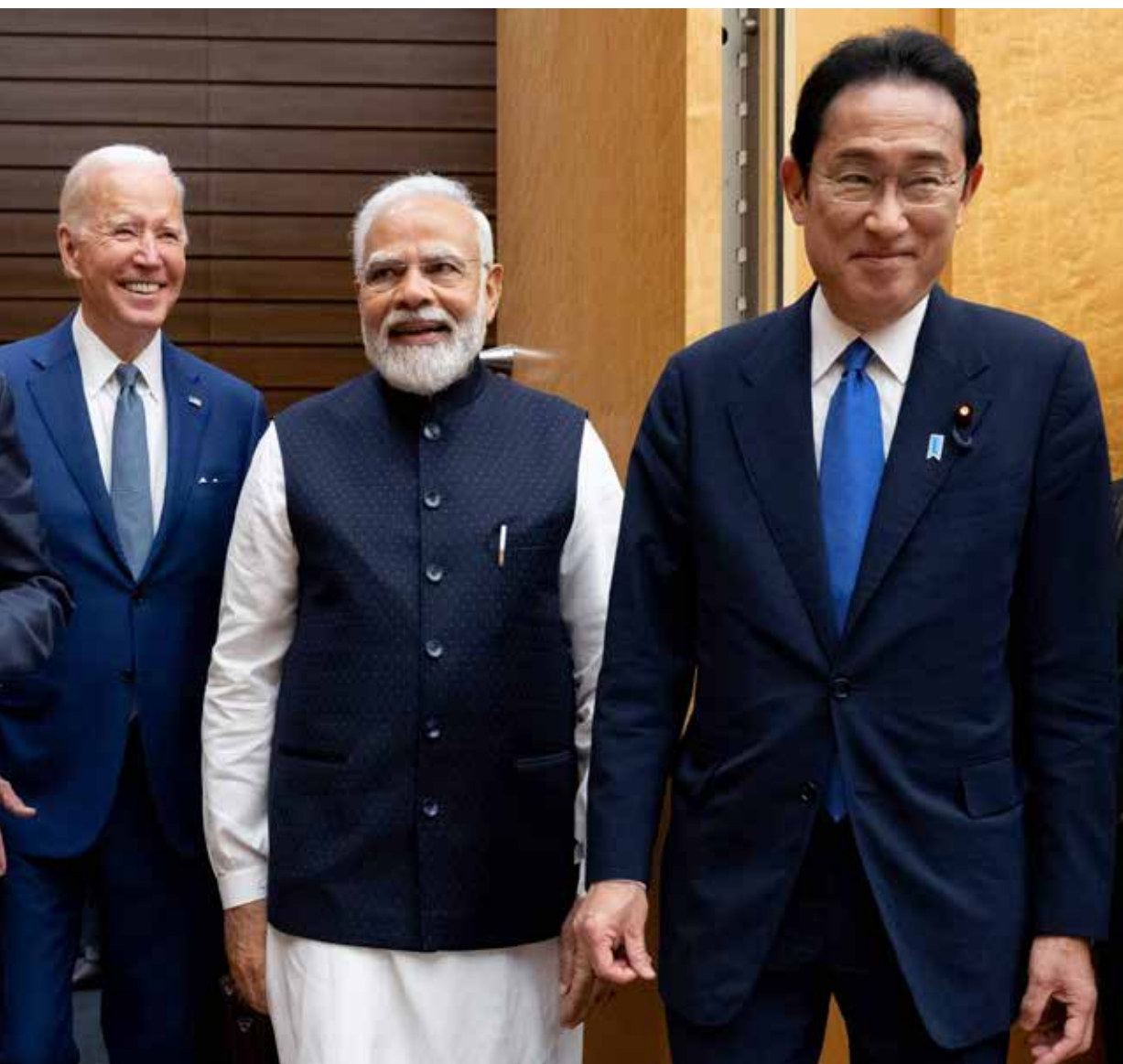
in days to come. In their opening remarks, all the four leaders underscored their shared commitment to the constructive agenda of the Quad for shaping a free and open Indo-Pacific. PM Modi branded the four-nation grouping as a “Force for Good,” which has been reflected in the Quad joint statement after the leaders’ meeting on May 24. “Just over

one year ago, leaders met for the first time. Today in Tokyo, we convene for our fourth meeting, and our second in person, to demonstrate, at a time of profound global challenge, that the Quad is a force for good, committed to bringing tangible benefits to the region,” said the joint statement. “In our first year of cooperation, we established the Quad’s dedication to a

positive and practical agenda; in our second year, we are committed to deliver on this promise, making the region more resilient for the 21st century,” said the statement.

Ukraine Diplomacy

The Ukraine issue figured prominently in discussions, but India’s resolute stand not to allow any explicit criticism



(From left to right) Australia’s Prime Minister Anthony Albanese, US President Joe Biden, India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida at the second in-person Quad summit in Tokyo on May 24.

of Russia prevailed, with the Quad leaders focusing on peaceful resolution of disputes in accordance with international law. Japan's PM Kishida and President Biden took a strong stand on Ukraine, but PM Modi decided to keep quiet on it. "Since we last met in person in September, an incident that overturns the rules-based international order has happened: the Russian invasion of Ukraine," Mr Kishida said in introductory remarks. "It is a blatant challenge to the principles set in the United Nations charter. We must not allow the same thing to happen in the Indo-Pacific." Mr Biden called the Ukraine war "more than just a European issue." "It's a global issue," he said. The major takeaway from the Tokyo summit was that India's stand on the Ukraine issue, underpinned by its principle of strategic autonomy, will not adversely impact the broader and constructive agenda of the Quad that pivots around vaccines, global health security, cyber security, resilient infrastructure and critical and emerging technologies.

Taking on China

Chinese assertiveness and attempts to subvert the status quo dominated the discussions among the four Quad leaders. Like before, there was no explicit mention of China in the

Quad joint statement, but Beijing was the subtext of the intra-Quad discussions. "We strongly oppose any coercive, provocative or unilateral actions that seek to change the status quo and increase tensions in the area, such as the militarization of disputed features, the dangerous use of coast guard vessels and maritime militia, and efforts to disrupt other countries' offshore resource exploitation activities," said the joint statement. Intra-Quad cooperation to maintain freedom of navigation in the East and South China Seas figured prominently in discussions. "We will champion adherence to international law, particularly as reflected in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), and the maintenance of freedom of navigation and overflight, to meet challenges to the maritime rules-based order, including in the East and South China Seas," said the joint statement.

In a move designed to provide an alternative to China-led Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the Quad leaders decided to extend more than 50 billion USD of infrastructure assistance and investment in the Indo-Pacific, over the next five years.

Many key initiatives that emerged from the Tokyo summit were animated by the collective strategy to constrain China's rules-bending behaviour. These included, among others, the Indo-Pacific Partnership for Maritime Domain Awareness (IPMDA) and the establishment of the "Quad Partnership on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) in the Indo-Pacific".

IPMDA is designed to work with regional partners to respond to humanitarian and natural disasters, and combat illegal fishing. IPMDA will support and work in consultation with Indo-Pacific nations and regional information fusion centers in the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands by providing technology and training to support enhanced, shared maritime domain awareness to promote stability and prosperity in our seas and oceans. "IPMDA embodies what the Quad stands for: catalyzing our joint efforts towards concrete results that help to make the region more stable and prosperous," said the joint statement.

In a move designed to provide an alternative to China-led Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the Quad leaders decided to extend more than 50 billion USD of infrastructure assistance and investment in the Indo-



Space cooperation got a boost as the Quad countries decided to work together to create an Earth observation-based monitoring and sustainable development framework.

Pacific, over the next five years.

The Quad infrastructure partnership will be animated by promoting debt sustainability and transparency in close collaboration with finance authorities of relevant countries, including through the “Quad Debt Management Resource Portal,” which consists of multiple bilateral and multilateral capacity building assistance.

The Quad’s model of infrastructure development will be demand-driven and meets specific needs of countries in the region, said Foreign Secretary Kwatra in a veiled critique of China’s BRI which is accused of pushing many recipient countries such as Sri Lanka into a debt trap.

From Space to 5G

In initiatives that will buttress the Quad’s reputation as a force for good, the leaders decided to collaborate closely in the area of 5G and beyond 5G, and focus on harnessing critical and emerging technologies to enhance the prosperity and security of the region. Space cooperation got a boost with as the Quad countries decided to work together to create an Earth observation-based monitoring and sustainable development framework.

Looking ahead, the May 24 Quad summit in Tokyo has raised the stature of the four-nation grouping as a guardian of the rules-based order and a formidable resistance against coercion and intimidation that seeks to subvert the rules-

based international order.

The grouping, which nearly died over a decade ago, has experienced a miraculous rebirth to emerge as a robust pillar of an emerging world order.

The summit has also burnished India’s credentials as a major emerging power which can hold its own in a conflicted international order and partner with like-minded countries to create better lives and future for nearly two billion people living in the four Quad countries.

At the summit, the other three Quad leaders lavished praise on PM Modi’s deft and successful handling of the Covid-19 pandemic in the world’s second most populous country.

Manish Chand is CEO-Editor-in-Chief, India Writes Network, and India and The World magazine. He is Director, Centre for Global Insights India, a think tank focused on global affairs. He has authored and edited several publications and books, including “Journeys Across Continents: A New India on the Global Stage,” the first-of-its-kind book that maps PM Modi’s journeys to various foreign countries. He is the Editor of the much-acclaimed book on India-Africa relations, entitled “Two Billion Dreams: Celebrating India-Africa Friendship.”

With China on Mind, India Joins IPEF, Calls for Creative Solutions



TOKYO: In a potential game-changer aimed at spurring regional economic integration and providing an alternative to China's economic domination, US President Joe Biden unveiled the much-awaited Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF) in Tokyo on May 23, with India as one of the first dozen partners.

A day ahead of the Quad summit, the IPEF was launched in the Japanese capital in the presence of

Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida and Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

The leaders of the other initial members of IPEF, which collectively account for 40 per cent of the global GDP, joined the event online.

The 13 initial members of the regional economic grouping include the U.S., Japan, India, South Korea, Australia, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, New Zealand

and Brunei. The landmark economic arrangement has been conceptualised and designed to provide an alternative to China-dominated mega trade deals in the region such as Regional Comprehensive Economic Cooperation RCEP and CPTPP.

President Biden underlined that the future of the 21st Century economy will be written in the Indo-Pacific. "We're writing the new rules," he said. "The key to our success will be the framework's emphasis on high standards and inclusivity," he said. Underscoring the open-ended architecture of the nascent economic grouping, Mr Biden stressed that the IPEF will be "open to others who wish to join in the future."

Advantage India

Ending speculation about India's hesitation in joining IPEF, PM Modi struck an upbeat note saying that the announcement of IPEF is a declaration of a collective

desire to make the Indo-Pacific region an engine of global economic growth. "India has historically been at the centre of trade flows in the Indo-Pacific region, having the world's oldest commercial port in Lothal, Gujarat," he said. Mr Modi called for finding common and creative solutions to tackle economic challenges of the Indo-Pacific region. Unveiling the 3T's formula, he said that resilient supply chains in the future will be framed by "Trust, Transparency and Timeliness." He expressed India's commitment towards working with all Indo-Pacific countries for an IPEF which is both inclusive and flexible. "India is keen to collaborate with partner countries under the IPEF and work towards advancing regional economic connectivity, integration and boosting trade and investment within the region," said India's external affairs ministry in a statement.

Significantly, eleven of the 13 countries in the IPEF, barring India and the U.S, are part of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), the world's largest trade bloc. Seven of the 13 countries -- Japan, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Australia and New Zealand -- have already signed on to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). The U.S. withdrew

from TPP and CPTPP, which adversely impacted its reputation in the Indo-Pacific and fuelled doubts about its commitment to this vital geo-economic and geo-strategic region. The selection of countries as funding members of IPEF clearly signals an emphatic return of the US to the Indo-Pacific and its capacity to provide global leadership at a time when the rules-based order is threatened across geographies. The IPEF is poised to boost the U.S. economic presence in Asia and help counter increasing Chinese clout in the region. The launch of the group marks "an important turning point in restoring U.S. economic leadership in the region, and presenting Indo-Pacific countries an alternative to China's approach to these critical issues," US Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo said.

Shared Goals

With the launch of the process to establish the IPEF, partner countries will begin discussions focusing on strengthening economic cooperation and achieving shared goals. In order to make the framework flexible and inclusive, the US has provided the pick-and-choose option to potential participants and pitched for a bigger role for India in fructifying this initiative.

Ending speculation about India's hesitation in joining IPEF, PM Modi struck an upbeat note saying that the announcement of IPEF is a declaration of a collective desire to make the Indo-Pacific region an engine of global economic growth.

Under this flexible model, a participating country need not perforce join all the pillars of the framework, which includes fair and resilient trade (including digital, labour, environmental and other standards); supply chain resilience; infrastructure, decarbonisation and clean energy; and tax and anti-corruption. India continues to have some lingering issues about the trade pillar, but is positive about the other pillars, especially, the Supply Chain Resilience Initiative.

The IPEF is, in many ways, a singular economic arrangement as unlike traditional free trade agreements, such as the RCEP and the CPTPP, the IPEF does not provide market access, but only set broad rules for the region, providing more freedom to participants. The launch of IPEF is set to provide more economic heft the grouping, and cement the Quad's position as a "force for global public good."

Modi, Biden Raise the Bar for India-US Ties

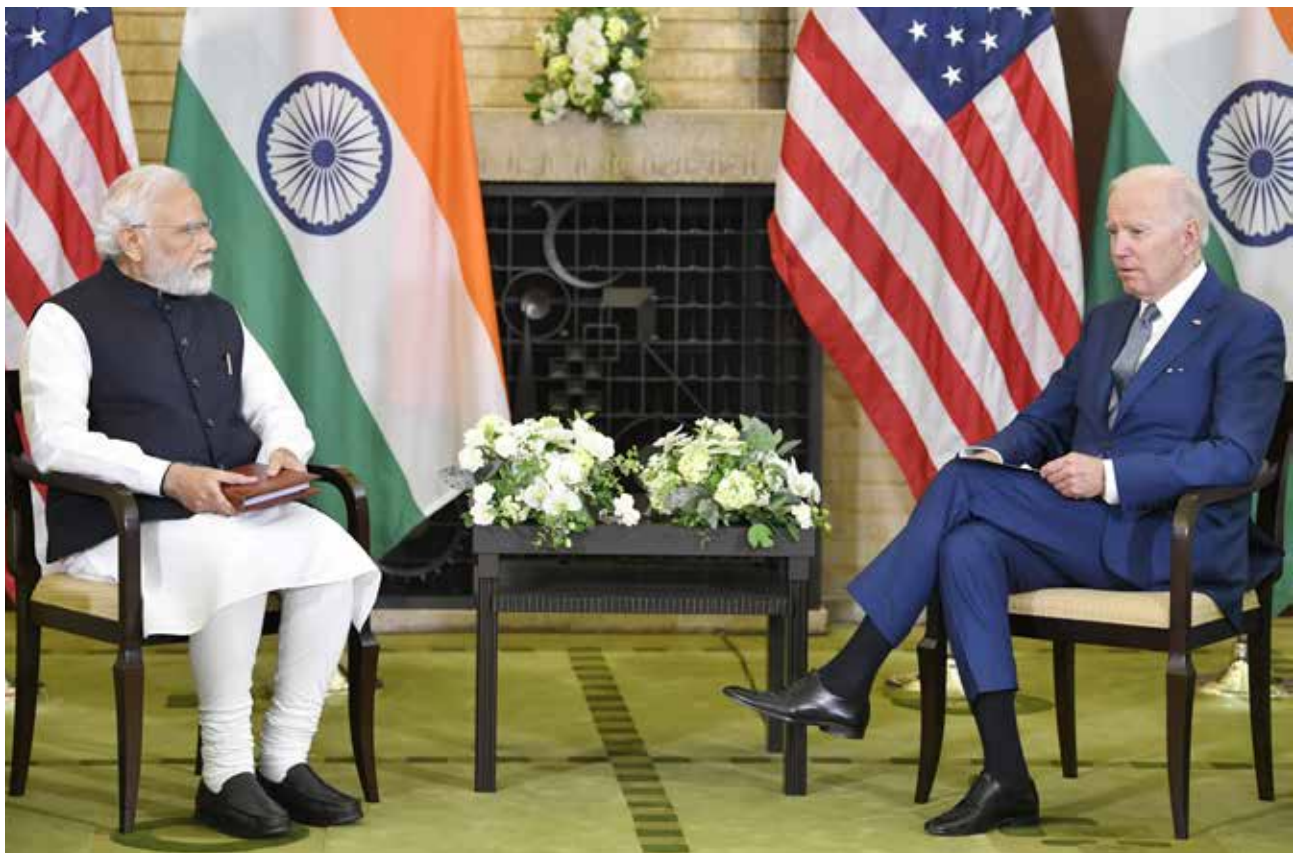
TOKYO: In key steps that will propel the multi-faceted India-US ties onto a higher trajectory, Prime Minister Narendra Modi and US President Joe Biden met in the Japanese capital and decided to intensify their engagement in areas ranging from trade and investment and defence to vaccines and critical technologies.

The two leaders held bilateral talks on the margins of the Quad summit in Tokyo on May 24 and decided to advance their cooperation in shaping “a free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific region.”

The two leaders shared their enthusiasm to add more depth and momentum to the multi-layered partnership between the world’s

oldest and most populous democracies.

PM Modi glowingly described the India-USA Strategic Partnership as “truly a Partnership of Trust,” and underlined that “our shared values, and our common interests in many areas, including security, have strengthened the bonds of this trust.”



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with US President Joe Biden in Tokyo.



"I am confident that the friendship between India and USA will continue to be a force for good for global peace and stability, for the sustainability of the planet, and for the well-being of mankind," said PM Modi.

PM Modi glowingly described the India-USA Strategic Partnership as "truly a Partnership of Trust," and underlined that "our shared values, and our common interests in many areas, including security, have strengthened the bonds of this trust."

"There's so much that our countries can and will do together, and I am committed to making the U.S.-India partnership among the closest we have on Earth," said President Biden.

The key outcome of the Modi-Biden meeting was a shared plan to upscale and transform defence

relationship to a higher level, qualitatively and quantitatively.

In this context, PM Modi conveyed to Biden his invitation to US defence companies to scale up their investment in India under the Make in India model of joint development and co-production.

The two leaders reaffirmed that defence and security cooperation is a crucial pillar of the India-US bilateral agenda and discussed how they can further strengthen collaboration. "In this context, Prime Minister Modi invited the US industry to partner with India to manufacture in India under the Make in India and Aatma Nirbhar Bharat or self-reliant India programmes which can be of mutual benefit to both countries," said a statement by India's external affairs ministry.

The focus will be on promoting defence manufacturing in India, with the participation of US defence companies in co-

The two leaders reaffirmed that defence and security cooperation is a crucial pillar of the India-US bilateral agenda and discussed how they can further strengthen collaboration.

manufacturing in India, said India's Foreign Secretary Vinay Mohan Kwatra when asked by this writer about a US proposal to provide \$500 million to India to reduce New Delhi's dependence on Russian weapon systems.

Another important takeaway was the launch of an India-U.S. Initiative on Critical and Emerging Technologies (iCET) to facilitate outcome-oriented cooperation. Co-led by the National Security Council Secretariat in India and the U.S. National Security Council, iCET would forge closer linkages between government, academia and industry of the two countries in areas such as AI, quantum computing, 5G/6G, biotech, space and semiconductors.

The two Leaders welcomed the signing of the Investment Incentive Agreement, which enables the US Development Finance Corporation to continue providing investment support in India in sectors of shared priority such as healthcare, renewable energy, SMEs and infrastructure.

A Constructive Coalition

Leaders of the four countries of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue held their second virtual summit in as many years in Tokyo on May 24 this year. The importance of the summit is underscored by the fact that the new Australian Prime Minister Anthony Albanese rushed to Tokyo within hours of being sworn in.

As the other leaders welcomed him into the fold, each of them reiterated the importance of this grouping in the region, whether it was for maintaining a rules-based social order or for combating global challenges, especially climate change. While Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida and US President Joe Biden spoke about the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the Australian leader Albanese and India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi focused more on promoting peace and development in the Indo-Pacific. All leaders, however, endorsed the constructive role of Quad in the region. President Biden noted that Quad was "no passing fad"; PM Modi underlined that it was a "Force for Good."

Leaders' Remarks at the second in-person Quad summit in Tokyo on May 24, 2022



A Shared Vision

Japan's Prime Minister Fumio Kishida

A grave incident which has fundamentally shaken the rule-of-law-based international order we value, has happened since we met last September. Russian invasion into Ukraine squarely challenges the principles which are enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We should never, ever, allow a similar incident to happen in the Indo-Pacific.

Because of the harsh reality unfolding, it is extremely significant for us to get together and show to the

international society the four countries' solidarity and our firm commitment towards the shared vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific. Today, as we meet in person, I am looking forward to a candid exchange of views on global and regional situations.

At the same time, I must say that without walking in step with the countries in the region, we cannot secure success for the Quad, either. We should, therefore, listen carefully to the voices of the countries in the ASEAN, South Asia, as well as the

Pacific Island countries, so as to further advance cooperation conducive in solving urgent issues facing the region.

During this meeting, I wish to clarify the concrete progress of broad-based practical cooperation that we have worked so far and also to discuss new areas of cooperation, such as assisting in regional climate change countermeasures, maritime domain awareness, as well as humanitarian aid and disaster relief.



Together in a Less Certain World

Australian Prime Minister Anthony Albanese

It is an honour that this is my first act as prime minister to attend this important Quad Leaders' Meeting here in Japan. And as we gather today, I acknowledge all that the Quad has achieved, standing together for a free, open, and resilient Indo-Pacific region and working together to tackle the biggest challenges of our time, including climate change and the security of our region.

My government is committed to working with your countries, and we are committed to the Quad. The new Australian government's priorities align with the Quad agenda, taking action on climate change and building a stronger and more resilient Indo-Pacific region through better economic security, better cybersecurity, better energy security, and better environmental and health security. Our cooperation is built on the values that we share: a commitment to representative democracy, the rule of law, and the right to live in peace.

Today, we look ahead to the work we're yet to do. As the Indo-Pacific is reshaped, our Quad partnership is needed now more than ever to meet the challenges and

threats of a less certain world; to shape that world for the better; and build a stronger, more cooperative Indo-Pacific region that respects sovereignty.

The region is looking to us to work with them, and to lead by example. That's why my government will take ambitious action on climate change and increase our support to partners in the region as they work to address it, including with new finance. We will act in recognition that climate change is the main economic and security challenge for the island countries of the Pacific.

Under my government, Australia will set a new target to reduce emissions by 43 percent by 2030, putting us on track for net zero by 2050.

We have had a change of government in Australia, but Australia's commitment to the Quad has not changed and will not change. And our commitment to ASEAN and its centrality has not changed. My government has already committed to a greater focus on Southeast Asia, including the appointment of a special envoy for the region and \$470 million in additional foreign aid over the next four years. This is in addition

to our increasing assistance to the Pacific by over half a billion dollars, deepening our defence and maritime cooperation and using the power of proximity to strengthen our partnerships.

We will bring more energy and more resources to securing our region as we enter a new and more complex phase in the Pacific's strategic environment. And we will continue to stand with you, our like minded friends. And collectively, we will continue to stand up for each other.

We will stand firm on our values and our beliefs on what we know will enhance the stability and prosperity of our region and what is firmly in the interests of all those who call the Indo-Pacific home.

I'm honoured to be among such close friends of Australia, to take these next steps with you to pursue positive and practical ways to support a free, open, and resilient Indo-Pacific. I look forward to strengthening our Quad partnership, starting with a productive meeting today. And I'm delighted to hand over to Prime Minister Modi.

A Force for Good

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi



In such a short time, Quad has assumed an important place on the world stage.

Today the scope of Quad has become broader and the format has become effective.

Our mutual trust, our determination, is giving new energy and enthusiasm to the democratic forces. Our mutual cooperation at the

Quad level is giving a boost to a free, open and inclusive Indo-Pacific region, which is the common objective of all of us.

In spite of the adverse circumstances of COVID-19, we have increased coordination in many areas such as vaccine-delivery, climate action, supply chain

resilience, disaster response and economic cooperation. This is ensuring peace, prosperity and stability in the Indo-Pacific.

Quad is carrying a constructive agenda for the Indo-Pacific region. This will further strengthen the image of the Quad as a 'Force for Good'.



No Passing Fad

US President Joe Biden

It's wonderful to be together with friends and — at this transformative moment in the world, and we are at a transformative moment.

Prime Minister Kishida, I want to commend you for the extraordinary leadership that, over the past few months, you've shown and for the gracious way in which you've hosted all of us.

And, Prime Minister Modi, it's wonderful to see you again in person. I thank you for your continuing

commitment to making sure democracies deliver, because that's what this is about: democracies versus autocracies. And we have to make sure we deliver.

Prime Minister Albanese, I welcome you to your first Quad meeting. Like I said, you got on a plane — you were sworn in and got on a plane. And I'm — if you fall asleep while you're here, it's okay. Because I don't know how you're doing it. But it is really quite extraordinary.

Just getting off the campaign trail as well.

Congratulations on your election. As I told you when you won — I called you — that we greatly appreciate your commitment to be here so soon after taking office.

Quad leaders met for the first time just over one year ago. It seems longer, but, to date, our partnership is central to achieving our goals and critical for the foundation of our continuing cooperation, in my view.

We already accomplished a great deal, as was referenced earlier: cooperating on COVID-19 response and health security — more to do, to state the obvious; partnering on 5G and technology supply chains, technology standards setting; and launching our Quad Fellowship Program, which I think can make a difference, which we talked about earlier.

At the same time, we're navigating a dark hour in our shared history. The Russian brutal and unprovoked war against Ukraine has triggered a humanitarian catastrophe. And innocent civilians have [been] killed in the streets, and millions of refugees are internally displaced as well as exiled.

And this is more than just a European issue; it's a global issue. The fact is that what — if you turn on the television and you'll see what Russia is doing now, it appears to me that Putin is just trying to extinguish a culture. He's not even aiming at military targets anymore; he's taking out every school, every church, every natural history museum as if to try to obliterate Ukrainian culture. And the world has to deal with it, and we are.

The global food crisis is made worse by Russia's blocking Ukraine from exporting its millions of tons of grain. And also, as long as

Russia continues the war, the United States will work with our partners to help be the global response, because it's going to affect all parts of the world.

At the same time, the United States must, and will be strong, steady, and an enduring partner in the Indo-Pacific. We are in the Indo-Pacific — we are an Indo-Pacific power.

I was once asked by the leader of China why I kept talking about being an Indo-Pacific power. And I said, "Because we are. We share the Pacific — one entire side of our country." And we have been deeply involved with all of you for a long time.

As long as Russia continues this war, we're going to continue to be partners and lead a global response.

And, you know, we're an Indo-Pacific power, as I said. We're going to stand with you, our close democratic partners. And we're going to stand for the shared values and the shared vision we all have.

You know, shortly before Russia launched this invasion, my administration published our Indo-Pacific strategy to advance a free, open, connected, secure, and resilient Indo-Pacific.

Russia's assault on Ukraine only heightens the



importance of those goals — the fundamental principles of international order, territorial integrity and sovereignty, international law. Human rights must always be defended, regardless of where they're violated in the world.

So, the Quad has a lot of work ahead of us. It's — the fact of the matter is — and we've a lot of work to do keeping this region peaceful and stable; tackling this pandemic and the next one; and addressing the climate crisis, as referenced by our new colleague; ensuring that technologies of the future are governed according to our values. But in a short time, we've shown the Quad isn't just a passing fad.

We mean business. We're here to get things done for the region. And I'm proud of what we're building together. And I look forward to our vital partnership flourishing and for many years to come.

The Quad Way

A Force for Global Good



The second in-person Quad summit in Tokyo on May 24, 2022 marked a new milestone in the evolution of the four-nation grouping as it culminated in a host of pioneering initiatives such as the Indo-Pacific Maritime Domain Awareness and the “Quad Partnership on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) in the Indo-Pacific. The leaders of India, US, Japan and Australia

took a collective stand against “coercion, provocative and unilateral actions” that change the status quo and violate sovereignty of other nations.

Against this backdrop, India Writes Network and India and The World magazine, in association with Centre for Global India Insights (CGII), organised a virtual panel discussion entitled, “The Quad Way: A

Force for Global Good” on June 9, 2022. The webinar focused on key outcomes of the Tokyo summit and mapped the way ahead for the role of this grouping of free market democracies in shaping a free, open and inclusive world order. Eminent experts who spoke at the international webinar included Dr Arvind Gupta, Director, Vivekananda International Foundation; Tomohiko

Taniguchi, Adviser, former prime minister Shinzo Abe; Dr Sachin Chaturvedi, DG, RIS; Richard Rossow, Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); The Hon. Lisa Singh, CEO, Australia-India Institute; and Nancy Snow, Author and Government Advisor on Strategic Communications. The webinar was moderated by Manish Chand, Director, Centre for Global India Insights (CGII) and Founder-CEO, India Writes Network. "The Tokyo summit marks a visible consolidation of Quad as a pressure group against three Cs – Chaos, Coercion and Conflict – and has come to be associated in the public mind with three Gs – Good, Goal-oriented & Game-changer," said Manish Chand in his welcome address.

The Tokyo summit revalidated the Quad's positioning as a "Force for Global Good," a formulation which was first proposed by Prime Minister Modi in his address at the first in-person summit in Washington last year. "The joint statement emanating from the Tokyo summit endorses christening of the Quad as a force of good. "This formulation has to be seen against the backdrop of attempts by some countries to portray Quad as a divisive force or an Asian NATO," said Mr Chand.

The webinar also explored ramifications of new initiatives such as Indo-Pacific infrastructure partnership and Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF) for peace and prosperity of the region.

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The speakers focused on enhancing collaboration to promote the constructive role of Quad in delivering global public good. Going by the discussions at the webinar, the Quad is set to grow from strength to strength as it branches out in new areas such as space cooperation, infrastructure building and maritime domain awareness.



These vaccines were gifted by India as part of Prime Minister Modi's commitment to donate 500,000 vaccines to the Indo-Pacific under the QUAD initiative.



ARVIND GUPTA

Director, Vivekananda International Foundation

Quad Set to Grow, Should Focus On Time-Bound Delivery

The Quad has evolved as a unique regional grouping with an expanding agenda. Will it be able to deliver, and shape the regional order?

The Quad is a process, and a work in progress. For more than a decade, the Quad was dormant. Then, it was revived in 2017. In the last one-and-a-half years,

the grouping has gathered pace and momentum. The credit should go to all the four leaders. President Joe Biden played a key role and showed remarkable leadership by

hosting the first in-person summit in Washington in September 2021. So far, we have had four summits, within a matter of a year or so.





The Quad speaks for a free, open, inclusive and resilient Indo-Pacific. Inspired by the objective of a rule-based order in the Indo-Pacific, Quad favours a Free, Open, Inclusive & Resilient region. The revival of Quad cannot be seen in isolation. China's growing assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific region, its occupation of the disputed islands in South China Sea have catalysed the Quad. Although it is not an anti-China grouping, China is a certainly a factor in bringing Quad countries together.

It is clear that there is a great deal of interest in the Quad and the political commitment to the Quad by all the four countries is

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quite apparent. In fact, the distinctive feature of the Tokyo Summit was that it was held at a time of great flux in international relations and in the wake of the Ukraine war.

Australia's newly-elected Labour Prime Minister Anthony Albanese arrived at Tokyo within 24 hours of his swearing in to attend the summit meeting. That underlined Australia's

continuing commitment to the Quad.

Accepting Differences

As is well known, there are differences between India and the other Quad member countries over the Ukraine issue because India has refrained from naming Russia directly. Other three Quad members have imposed sanctions on Russia. These

differences could have derailed the Quad, but that did not happen. It speaks for the maturity of the Quad leaders that they were able to live with these differences. This has to be appreciated, as in the future, too, there could be differences. But since the Quad has developed a very positive and practical agenda in the last two years, it was possible for the leaders to focus on critical issues and not be lost in highlighting the differences. Although there must have been a detailed discussion in the closed-door meeting, the joint statement had only a very brief reference to Ukraine. The Quad agenda continues to expand, including climate action, cybersecurity, critical and emerging technologies and infrastructure. Some new initiatives were also announced and some were in continuation.

Expanding Agenda

If member countries are able to deliver on the growing agenda, the Quadrilateral's credibility will be enhanced. That will be a great plus. The Quad has to be careful about what it promises because the agenda seems to be expanding so fast. Does the Quad have the resources and capabilities to implement and deliver in a timely and credible fashion tangible benefits to the diverse countries of the Indo-Pacific region? The way the Quad

addresses this question will have a bearing on its further development. For instance, on vaccines, the Quad countries have delivered around 600 million doses to the world.

The promise was to deliver one billion doses to the Indo-Pacific countries by the year-end. Slippages should be avoided. The progress on critical technologies has been slow. Some of the delivery is merely an aggregation of what the individual countries have been doing separately.

The Quad started essentially as a security dialogue. My assessment is that hard security issues are being deliberately underplayed. Whether it is good or bad, only time will tell. There are huge security challenges in the region. The Quad will be expected to provide some answers to the emerging security issues.

At the Tokyo summit, the four countries identified many issues such as supply chains, infrastructure, climate change, Quad fellowship programme, critical and emerging technologies. All this is very good, but the vision should not just remain on paper. The agenda is truly ambitious. . Whether the four

countries alone can deliver on these or not, is a question that needs to be addressed. Implementation is the key for Quad's credibility and future.

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New Actors

Meanwhile, the Indo-Pacific as a geostrategic concept is evolving. In the Indo-Pacific, Quad is only just one institution among many other institutions. There is Australia-UK-US (AUKUS) defence agreement.

The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has an overlapping jurisdiction with the Quad. ASEAN's East Asia Summit and various regional bilateral and trilateral arrangements are also functional. Australia has been included in the Malabar exercises, whose scope has expanded in recent years.

The Quad should not overlook the hard security issues and dilute its *raison d'être*. If it can deliver on its promises, then certainly Quad can emerge as a force for good.

India's Role

In the early years of Quad, India was seen as an outlier. This feeling persists even today to some extent because India is not interested in converting Quad into a security alliance. In 2018, Prime Minister Modi had spoken at the Shangri La Dialogue about an inclusive Indo-Pacific. That signalled to other member countries. India did not want to take on China head on. Subsequently, there was Chinese incursion and aggression in Galwan in 2020. India is the only Quad country that has faced direct military aggression from China. The Quad statements have refrained from mentioning China. For India, continental security is critical. The Quad focuses on many maritime issues.

Since India is not in favour of Quad becoming a security alliance, many non-security elements have been added to the Quad agenda. Each of these elements – cybersecurity, climate action, pandemic recovery, education, supply chains or critical technologies – are immensely relevant to India. They are essential part of India's foreign policy. Besides, there is a huge

bilateral agenda, which India is following with the Quad member countries and also in other fora.

Undoubtedly, India can benefit from Quad significantly. It gives certain visibility to India, both at the regional and global level. India has helped shape Quad to its present form. For instance, the Quad outlook on terrorism is reflective of India's viewpoint. The joint statement also mentioned the Mumbai and Pathankot terror attacks. This Quad's support to India on terrorism is a very positive development.

But it is not a one-way street. If India benefits from Quad, so does Quad benefit from India. Without India, the Quad is an empty shell. It is merely another alliance of the US, Australia and Japan. India is at the forefront of resisting the Chinese aggression. India brings huge capabilities to the Quad table. Differences over Ukraine did not weaken the Quad.

The Road Ahead

This is not the right time to expand Quad membership by taking on new members. There will be an effort to expand the Quad's

engagement with other countries without expanding the membership. Right now, Quad has to enhance its outreach and become acceptable in the Indo-Pacific region.

There are many countries in the region which approach the grouping with caution, because of the China factor. This is particularly true of ASEAN countries; many of them have very close relations with China, and China itself is very anti-Quad. This scepticism will be there for a while. But if Quad is able to deliver on its promises, it will become more acceptable.

In future, Quad's engagement with Europe, ASEAN or other countries should improve. It should also engage with countries on the east coast of Africa because Indo-Pacific region extends up to East Africa. For this, they need to develop appropriate mechanisms. At present the grouping does not have any mechanism for engaging with non-Quad entities. To sum up, Quad is now a very important part of India's foreign policy. It is a good vehicle for India to contribute to the shaping of the regional order, and also to benefit from it.

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TOMOHIKO TANIGUCHI

Adviser, former prime minister Shinzo Abe

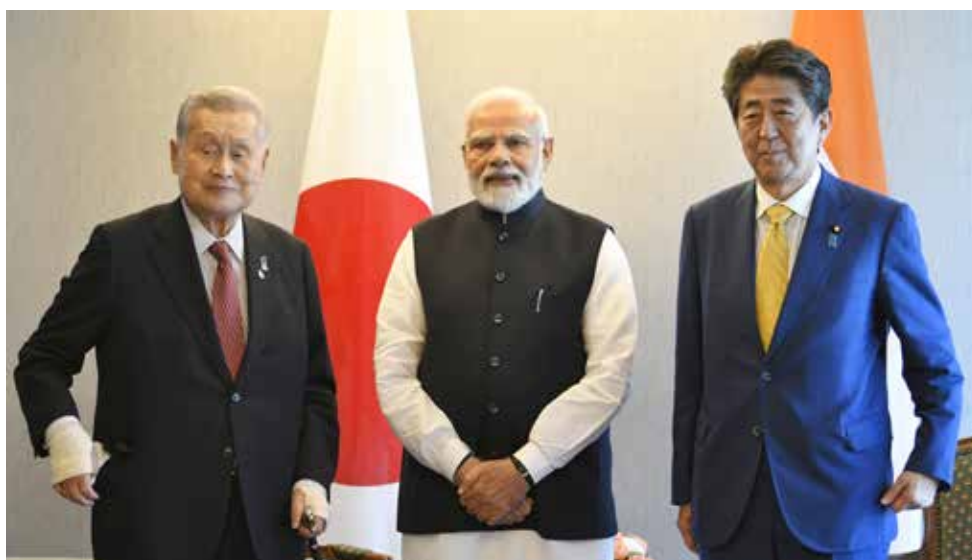
Security First

Quad was created out of a security threat in the seascape, and it must stick to the core security concerns of the region.

Quad has generated international headlines and conflicting interpretations. It is important, therefore, to understand its essential nature. Quad, from the beginning, has been about seascape, not landscape. That's number one. Number two, Quad could not have come into being without a new geographic concept pushed forward, and that is Indo-Pacific.

In the 1980s, the Prime Ministers of Australia and Japan got together and came up with a geographic concept of Asia-Pacific. Based on that geographic concept, the APEC, or Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, came into being.

Fast forward to 2010s: Shinzo Abe, based on his address to the Indian



parliament, "Confluence of the Two Seas," proposed a new concept of Indo-Pacific. The Indo-Pacific concept is always mentioned with adjectives of "free and open". So came about the new term, Free and Open Indo Pacific. We've been talking about the Quad being a seascape gathering, and then FOIP was its foundational concept.

Thirdly, if it had not been for an outgoing, forward looking - Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, who was willing to break out the non-alignment mould, Quad or for that matter, FOIP, couldn't have materialised. So those are the three points that I always associate with the emergence of this concept of Quad.

If it had not been for an outgoing, forward looking Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, who was willing to break out the non-alignment mould, Quad or for that matter, FOIP, couldn't have materialised.

Japan's Perspective

Quad is important for Japan to widen its breathing space or strategic space. Without it, Japan would likely be cornered into a narrow niche in the Far East or East Asia, with the resurgence of the gigantic power of China.

Also, if you lose Japan, it would automatically mean that the great footprint of the US military would lose its value. So, there is an equation here. If you lose Japan, you will lose the US commitment in the region. And that awareness has brought the United States and Japan together to push this Quad concept forward.

There is a growing awareness among Americans that given this massive power of China, it will become even

harder for the United States alone to provide security to the region. The United States badly needed allies and alliance relationships are being readily provided by Japan and Australia. Herein comes the importance of India, because the Chinese are looking at Indo-Pacific as a combined sum. The Chinese Navy is busy building its presence in the Indian Ocean. Besides, the Indian Ocean promises to become almost like an industrial highway for the 21st century's economy, with the rise of African economies as well.

So, Quad is also about the future. Because it is about the future, the hiccups that you have in response to present day challenges should be overcome by the forward looking nature of the Quad.

As far as Japanese commitment is concerned, it's pleasantly surprising for me to see that the Japanese prime minister, who was previously dubbed dovish, has chosen to be very much buoyant and straightforward about Quad. This shows that there is a growing bipartisan awareness in this country, that without

an institution such as Quad, Japanese security and the region's security, especially the security of Taiwan, would be in jeopardy.

Mixed Bag

Prime Minister Kishida is supportive of that awareness. People tend to look at Quad as a basket that could contain many different items. I wouldn't disagree with that presupposition, but I would like the four leaders to focus their attention, first and foremost, on the security environment. After all, had it not been for this gigantic neighbour, Quad could not have materialised. So, the four leaders have to stick to the core thread of Quad namely security concerns.

Going forward, Quad is going to continue to work as a signalling institution. To keep the region free from coercion, the grouping signals that the four great democracies always shake hands with each other, work shoulder to shoulder with each other and set the goals rules for the 21st century's economy.

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SACHIN CHATURVEDI

Director General, RIS

IPEF's Role in Deepening Economic Content in Quad

IPEF has a significant role in deepening economic content in Quad. India is out of RCEP, but firmly in the IPEF, which makes this framework even more significant.



The Indo-Pacific concept now has two pillars, security and trade / economic growth. These two pillars are providing strength in terms of how we collectively go forward. This is where the Indo Pacific

Economic Framework (IPEF) comes in. The concept of IPEF came from the US. The bandwagon has all the right noises that the US would like. The six features that the US has identified are all included in IPEF.

Trade facilitation, the low hanging fruit, which was the focus of the Bali WTO ministerial, is an important dimension of IPEF. Though the fine prints are yet to be made available, it is expected to revolve around promoting



IPEF is not only going to be advantageous to the countries that are there, but also to our partner countries like Indonesia, which are also going to be hugely benefiting from the efforts that we are making for bringing resilience in the region as far as supply chain is concerned.

digitisation of the trade process, single window for import and export, and possibly, the interoperability of national single windows. These measures can reduce the trade costs and pave the way to deeper trade integration among participating countries.

IPEF vs RCEP

There are concerns in terms of the supply chain resilience that we need in the region. Dependence on one country for supply of critical inputs has proved detrimental since the outbreak of Covid. IPEF envisages establishing an early warning system, mapping critical mineral supply chains, improving traceability in key sectors and geographical diversification to make supply chains more resilient. This squarely addresses the huge challenge that the region is facing.

That's where, though India being out of RCEP, but being part of Quad, helps. IPEF is not only going to be advantageous to the member countries, but also to our partner countries like Indonesia, which will benefit out of the efforts that we are making for bringing resilience in the region as far as supply chains are concerned.

The third aspect is infrastructure. We are seeing the downside of the Belt and Road Initiative. It is not just about finance and the sovereign debt crisis; It, in fact, is going deeper in terms of the carbon footprint, the monopoly and inflation emanating from supply chain disruptions due to China blocking access to containers. The effort that China has made in blocking oil containers across the regions is a serious concern. We owe some arrangement to our

fellow developing countries in terms of how we deal with this issue. Given the focus on building infrastructure, along with trade facilitation, IPEF can potentially be utilised to address these concerns.

Digital moves

The fourth feature of the IPEF, which the US has announced, is bringing in the idea of standards for digital economy and technology. This is extremely important, given the points that the Japanese G20 presidency introduced. The idea of standards for the digital economy revolves primarily around promoting digital trade. India has different positions on several digital issues - data for development, on how we leverage data and the cross border flow of data. But as Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been saying, we need to have deeper dialogue

in terms of how we overcome these differences. With India assuming the G20 presidency next year, it will be even more important for us to work with Quad countries to see how global consensus may emerge. In this context, the idea of India working together with Japan and the US for formulating acceptable standards for digital economy and technology is extremely important. Apart from data, the digital agenda of IPEF also involves cyber security, and cooperation on this aspect is expected to benefit all participating countries.

With Australia, a separate track for our trade agreement has already been launched. We already have some sort of trade agreement with each member of the East Asia Summit process.

Clean and green

The fifth feature in IPEF for us to consider is about decarbonisation and clean energy. The Indian commitment on just transition, Germany's new proposal that has come up at G7 and the proposal of a climate club are important. There is growing global consensus in terms of the need for a strategy to mitigate

climate risk. However, there are some differences on how we evolve the strategy and how we reach there. The idea of a climate club that is being discussed as part of the G7 German presidency is on the table. The US emphasis on decarbonisation and the assistance that has been given to a couple of countries for just transition is extremely important.

India has raised the issue of access to green finance. We need to bring back on the table the idea of access to finance and how we do the delicate balancing between the development space and climate change. So, a complete blackout on financing of coal is one important dimension. Which is the way we are moving towards net zero, what time do we have for transition and how countries are going to balance mitigation and development priorities are some serious concerns. These are also areas in which there are serious differences between countries. However, I'm sure at the Quad platform, the countries have endorsed the US' idea of decarbonisation and clean energy as a broad objective.

In 2019, Modi, at the Indo Pacific Ocean Initiative,

emphasised on maritime ecology and maritime resources and capacity building for resource sharing, something that has also appeared in the Quad. The fact that the US could provide scope for Quad fellowships, almost 100 of them for students to come to the United States, is important from the point of view of how we collectively make the efforts of taking that forward also through maritime domain awareness.

India has raised the issue of access to green finance. We need to bring back on the table the idea of access to finance and how we do the delicate balancing between the development space and climate change

There is also a discussion on Disaster Risk Reduction and Management, which India is vocal on. The focus on a fair economy which emphasises prevention of money laundering and enforcing effective tax, augurs well for India. So, IPEF is bringing in the points which are important for India as well as for the region; they are important for all actors, and also for our partners.

Professor Sachin Chaturvedi is currently Director General at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), a New Delhi-based Think-Tank. He works on issues related to development economics, involving development finance, SDGs and South-South Cooperation, apart from trade, investment and innovation linkages with special focus on WTO. Currently, he is also Vice Chairman, Atal Bihari Vajpayee Institute of Good Governance and Policy Analysis; and Member, Board of Governors, Reserve Bank of India.



RICK ROSSOW

Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Focus on Improving Work Streams, Faster Delivery

The Quad is high on intent and agenda right now. However, it needs to establish sound and attractive platforms for roping in the private sector and partnering with other countries. It also needs clarity on its main objectives.

The Quad should focus on improving work streams in areas such as strategic infrastructure, rare earths and critical minerals, strategic technology and active pharmaceuticals. These areas have been chosen for the potential benefits it will bring to the region. It is focused on areas to degrade China's ability to use coercive commercial policies.

It is important to focus on areas where the Quad can make a difference. There is emphasis on a working group on climate, but I really do not think Quad is the right place for it. If we're talking specifically about breaking China's stranglehold on global production of products like solar panels, that is great. But if it is about strategy



and climate, there are other forums better suited for it.

A Need for Clarity

The initial Quad COVID cooperation focused on

security cooperation and Quad will be focusing on degrading China's ability to use coercive commercial policies. The gap I see in the work streams is the absence

of a platform to engage the private sector. We need the private firms of the Quad nations to step up and take advantage of the avenues being created. If Quad creates an architecture that the private sector isn't keen on using, China will continue to run the table in these areas.

First and foremost, we have to find platforms for inducting private sector ideas. Do the diplomats who are defining the Quad work streams really have the competence to understand how pharmaceutical companies find new sources of active pharmaceutical ingredients? When we talk about regional infrastructure, how are we going to fund it? Where does US infrastructure money come from? It comes from pension companies and life insurance companies. These are the most risk-averse industries in the US.

When you talk about some of the markets, where we will be competing with China — where there doesn't exist an infrastructure or debt market, where even the rule of law isn't followed properly, these conservative investors aren't going to be keen to join.

Mitigating those risks is going to be one of the ways to unlock the private sector. But overall, when we talk about rare earths development, pharmaceutical ingredients and infrastructure, we have

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to make sure the private sector has a very strong voice. We also have to be very wary that there's parity in opportunities.

If too many of the resulting commercial opportunities go a little bit heavy to a subset of the four countries, that will erode interest in the others.

Tomorrow's Work Streams

We've talked a little bit of military cooperation, but this needs to be highlighted much more deeply in the agenda. We cannot wait.

I think you saw some initial elements on information fusion, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief at the most recent Quad Summit. So that's pretty important.

We could all have a pretty good argument over whose fault it was the Quad collapsed the first time. At the end of the day, we did not make sure that everybody's interests were aligned. When the US announced its Indo-Pacific concepts, the first question that came to us from India was, what did the Indo

mean? Was it a ploy to drag India into the Pacific conflicts like those on South China Sea, East China Sea and the Straits?

The Indian Ocean is contested waters. Many Indian analysts would say that in the next 20 years, India may no longer be the dominant navy in their own neighbourhood. I think we can head that off by creating structures to make sure that India retains primacy, supported by friends. There is little being done in this direction, however.

Security cooperation in the Indian Ocean is important. We also need to look at coordinated sanctions, using our economic heft. So when the next time China announces a steep hike on duties on Australian wine, these four countries consult and immediately come up with a counter package together. That they confer real penalties on China, for using economic coercion against any of the Quad members or other friendly nations.

It can be done. India's announcement of bans on Chinese apps is an example. The rest of us should be jumping on board because we know there is no wall between Chinese private firms and information the Communist Party wants to get. So, we should all be acting in concert, when we

see that there are damages to our population and society by some of these steps that China takes.

Quad countries should share investment reviews. China is still trying to make investments in all the four countries. We all have our own process for investment reviews; are we sharing that intelligence with each other seamlessly?

If we find there are dangers to this investor, press a button and get that immediately in the hands of our partners. Even if that same firm is not looking at making an investment in the other countries, make that happen seamlessly and immediately.

Way Forward

Lastly, I would like to see Quad move into some bigger trade agreement. As far as future structure is concerned, the membership issue comes up a lot. The preferred model would be a little bit like the United Nations. These four countries are in the Security Council; they define the agenda. They have a veto on other initiatives. But Quad needs to define this process,



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so that other countries can begin to contribute in the Quad work streams and join.

Quad countries also need to look at setting up a Secretariat. These work streams are great, but they're

going to involve a lot of action and daily activities. It will be good to have senior teams from all four countries engaged in consultations, not just when summits happen, but on a more regular basis.

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THE HON. LISA SINGH

CEO, Australia India Institute

Quad 2.0: The View from Down Under

Australia's commitment to Quad, as well as to the Indo-Pacific, under the new Labour government, has been underlined by the way the new Prime Minister flew to Tokyo for the Quad summit within hours of being sworn in.



The Quad has evolved from what it was in phase 1 (around 2007); we are now in Quad 2.0. The commitment by all four countries to the Quad is fairly rock solid. We're in a whole new era. This era has a number of challenges, but also a number of opportunities.

From an Australian perspective, we have now got a new government. It is quite remarkable that one day after Anthony Albanese was sworn into office, he was on a plane to Tokyo to meet three world leaders. This was quite remarkable and showed the new

government's commitment to the Quad. It also underscored the importance of serving Australia's national interests, and the new government's interests in promoting peace and stability in the region.

The prime minister's attendance at the Quad put a new stamp on this government's focus on regional security, diplomatic relations, and most importantly, climate change measures. This signalling was very important by the new Australian government as the next Quad Leaders' Summit will be held in Australia in 2023. So, the scene has been set by our new prime minister, recognising the importance of climate change, and in doing so, at the Quad leader's Summit, it

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was not just to raise it as an environmental issue, but also as a national security issue, particularly in relation to the Pacific. It was encouraging to see that the Quad joint statement in Tokyo underlined cooperation among the four countries in addressing climate change – this was in a sense possible due to what this new Australian government was bringing to the table.

China Factor

US President Joe Biden stressed that Quad is not a passing fad. The positioning of Quad as a force for good is worth exploring because it does go beyond just the security prism from which we've been looking at the Quad since its inception. We are now continuing to focus on peace and security and stability in the region, but we are also looking at future technologies. The range of issues makes the Quad's agenda broader than what it set out with originally.

Beyond those three priority areas of this new Australian commitment that it brought to the Quad -- regional security, climate change and building diplomatic relations - Australia also wanted to focus on the China factor.

Currently, global attention is focused on the Ukraine-Russia conflict, but that is a conflict that will come and go, whereas the China situation will remain. And this is where we need to have a much stronger focus. What we undoubtedly mean when we talk about the Quad as a force for good is it's talking about peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific, ensuring a rules-based order in the region, and ensuring that Quad countries adhere to a set of values, a set of common interests that very much define that peace and rules-based order.

China is foremost a security challenge for India, as it is for other Quad members. The threat from China is obviously both direct and indirect, it is conventional and hybrid, and will continue to play out in the so-called



PM Modi holds bilateral talks with Australian Prime Minister Anthony Albanese in Tokyo.

Quad nations need to pull together to form intelligence gathering, to have a sharing platform and structure to ward off and deter any threats.

grey zone for most of the time, but this is where the Quad nations need to pull together to initiate intelligence gathering, to have a sharing platform and structure to ward off and deter any threats. The establishment of an intelligence-sharing mechanism is what we want to see coming out of the Quad as it continues to be a force for good. In this context, it's widely recognised that both India and the US have the capability to balance China militarily.

Strengthening Economic Cooperation

The Tokyo summit highlighted the need to develop economic cooperation in Quad. The recently held summit showed that the Quad is not only a security grouping with a force for good with focus on areas such as climate and infrastructure and humanitarian assistance and, but it is now becoming an economic partnership. That is something that was new that came out of this particular Quad meeting. It is quite significant in terms of India, and significant in terms of what the next Quad leaders

meeting will also focus on. The Indo Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity is going to deepen economic cooperation with these four countries in clean energy, supply chain resilience and the digital trade space.

What makes the IPEF more interesting is that unlike RCEP, the IPEF includes India. The negotiating pillars not only include clean energy and supply chains, but it also include anti-corruption.

IPEF helps India to get back into regional trade or some sort of regional trade forum, potentially, as opposed to how India left RCEP. But, of course, we do need to look at in terms of the Quad; this is primarily a US-led initiative at this stage. However, I think all Quad countries are committed to it.

Looking ahead, the overarching principles that Quad stands for – freedom, rule of law, democratic values, sovereignty, territorial integrity – which has been captured in the Quad joint statement, are the most important factors when we talk about Quad being a force for good.

Australia-India Ties

In terms of Australia- India relations, what this new Labour government has said and acted on is that it has a bipartisan position on India, the same as our

last government. We will continue to see the Australia-India relationship grow from strength to strength under this government. This commitment has been made clear, and particularly by Prime Minister Modi, who has already invited Australia's new prime minister to India. We are hoping to sign a new free trade agreement by the end of this year.

We have an interim trade agreement that was just recently signed, which has reduced tariffs or got rid of tariffs altogether on certain trading commodities. That's a very positive signal for both countries.

The recently held summit showed that the Quad is not only a security grouping with a force for good with focus on areas such as climate and infrastructure and humanitarian assistance, but it is now becoming an economic partnership.

The other focus of this government is that it really wants to engage the growing Indian diaspora here in Australia, which are the second highest taxpaying diaspora in the country. There is going to be a lot of scope for the two countries to continue to build the momentum, which has been enormous



over the past few years, to ensure that not only is there a stronger trading relationship, but a stronger bilateral geopolitical relationship, be it with each other or through the Quad.

This new government does have a focus on increasing both the geo-strategic lens and humanitarian aid and development into Southeast Asia and the Pacific. This is where both India and Australia, through the Quad

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as well, can play a greater role in supporting those small island states with some of the infrastructure needs, and in the areas of climate change.

The visits by Australia's new prime minister to Japan and Indonesia, and Australian foreign minister to Pacific island states just shows how engaged this new government is in terms of the Indo-Pacific and in upholding those important values and common interests that bind the Quad.

The Hon. Lisa Singh is a former Australian Senator and was the first woman of South Asian heritage to be elected to the Australian Parliament. She is currently the CEO of the Australia India Institute, a leading research and policy think tank advancing Australia-India relations at the government, business, diaspora and academic levels. She is also Deputy Chair of the Australian Government's Australia-India Council and sits on the advisory board of the University of Melbourne's Asialink. In 2014 she was awarded the Pravasi Bharatiya Samman by the President of India for building friendly Australia-India relations, the highest civilian honour for a person of Indian origin.



NANCY SNOW

Author and Government Advisor on Strategic Communications

Quad Should Rope in Youth to Broaden its Appeal

The Quad is increasingly seen as a force for good. This positioning of Quad can be very appealing to young people, and can bring them on board to support this process, especially if we view security at the level from the interpersonal to international.

Not everybody is going to be brought into the Quad process and care about it if they just think of it as a military or traditional security concept.

In terms of becoming a more responsible democratic member of international

society, the Quad has incredible promise if we represent really what the Quad stands for, and we deliver, we have specific actions that we deliver on beyond the rhetoric, that is nevertheless important such as democratic values. Going



The leaders of India, Japan, US and Australia launched the Quad Fellowship Programme in Tokyo on May 24. This prestigious fellowship programme will sponsor 100 American, Australian, Indian and Japanese students to pursue advanced courses in science and technology at US universities.

forward, the Quad should continue to focus on climate change and sustainability. If we focus on what we do the best--and this is a powerhouse of population among these four nation-states--and intellect and leadership, then we don't have to spend our energies and emotional energies on trying to counter negative propaganda.

You get counter propaganda when you're doing something that is threatening. But threat doesn't always have to lead to worst case scenarios. It could be competition. There's an opportunity for healthy competition here. All four Quad members deal with China regularly; economically, we're all dependent on China now. We can be a bridge really here as Quad members.

But I would like to see beyond the Quad Fellowship; I'd like to see much more engagement and exchange of persons among the Quad members. Because I think for the young people I talk to, sometimes 18 year olds, 20-year-olds, what do they care about? They care about a sense of security and about the future. And for them that means human security.



In terms of becoming a more responsible democratic member of international society, the Quad has incredible promise if we represent really what the Quad stands for, and we deliver, we have specific actions that we deliver on beyond the rhetoric, that is nevertheless important such as democratic values.

It's a much broader term. It involves Sustainable Development Goals. And the Quad is involved in that.

As Quad goes from strength to strength, we need to look at it within this landscape of what does it mean across generations of youth to elderly, and really bring in much more of a constituency than just elite nation states communicating with each other.

Dr. Nancy Snow is an author, professor, and government advisor in strategic communications and influence. She is editor and author of 14 books in six languages on foreign policy and media criticism. In fall 2022, Snow will serve as distinguished visitor professor of strategic communications in the Schwarzman Scholars Program, modeled on the Rhodes Scholars.



GURJIT SINGH

Green Teaming: India, Germany Eye New Frontiers

India's interactions with various European nations this summer shows that despite the instabilities of the post-pandemic rebuilding and the difference in opinion over Ukraine, both sides are interested in deepening engagements and working on areas of confluence.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Berlin for the sixth inter-government consultations (IGC) with the new German Chancellor Olaf Scholz on May 2 was an opportunity for furthering India's engagement with Europe. Over the last few years, India has implemented a European policy which sees frequent interaction at high levels, incoming and outgoing visits, and a restructuring of the engagement with the European Union (EU).

This is part of India's search for Reformed Multilateralism. India prefers a multipolar world in which neither the United States (US), nor China, are dominant. For such a multipolar arrangement, Europe, Japan, Australia and Russia are important nodes. In view of this thrust, the European policy acquired clear overtones over the last two years.

The India-EU virtual summit in 2020, followed by the unique India-EU Leaders' Summit in May 2021, provided a new impetus to India's engagement with the EU. This was



Strategic partnership that Germany implements is largely one relating to climate, sustainability and development. For several years, Germany has been providing about € 1 billion a year for green projects in India.

enhanced by the visit by EU President Ursula von der Leyen to India in late April, and the meetings they held with Modi on the sidelines of the G-20 Summit in Rome in October 2021. The political engagement with the EU means that now the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and investment treaty are on track, and expected to deliver in about two years.

The establishment of the Trade and Technology Council with the EU also shows that the transfer of technologies related to trade are ready to expand under a renewed matrix. Finally, India has become a partner of Europe in the global climate agenda. From 2015 onwards, India has robustly engaged at every Conference of Parties (COP), and not shied away from undertaking ambitious goals. Due to these efforts, India has become a partner of the EU on trade, technology and climate issues, rather than being an outlier.

Partnering with Germany

In this context, the relationship with Germany acquires new strategic overtones. The Angela Merkel period came to an end in

December 2021. A new 'traffic light coalition' took charge. That coalition was soon confronted with the Ukraine crisis. That crisis wrecked the European security matrix, which included peace with Russia in exchange for stable energy supplies. The Russian invasion of Ukraine set back Europe and its determined search for autonomy, particularly from a trans-Atlantic alliance with the US.

Germany was quickly forced into taking huge steps to augment its defence budget to 2% of the GDP, as demanded by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). It also froze the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline from Russia. These two essential points gave it a unique position in Europe, but now the position is shaky due to Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the US pressure on Germany and Europe to abide by its and NATO's priorities.

Despite struggling with COVID, sanctions on Russia, the Ukraine crisis and depreciating economy, Germany nevertheless chose to hold the inter IGC with India this May, within the first six months of the

establishment of its new leadership. This is a resonance of India's European policy that Germany, under the new coalition, also wishes to engage vigorously with it. Germany has an Indo-Pacific policy guideline under which it hopes to expand its relationship with Asian countries, particularly India, ASEAN, Japan and Australia. It had taken small steps in this direction, now it is up to the traffic light coalition to take them forward.

The Ukraine crisis has been a setback to Germany both policywise, and economically. The question was whether it would have enough bandwidth to deal with the European security concerns, along with new initiatives in the Indo-Pacific. However, in May 2022 not only did Chancellor Scholz receive Modi, but just before that, he made a visit to Japan. China, a major partner of Germany in Asia, has not been engaged with as yet, formally.

The Indo-Pacific policy of Germany is actually a China-plus-One policy, seeking to expand its Asian imprint without reducing it with China. Now, after the crisis with Russia, it understands that separating its values from its business interests is not the way to go. Just as Germany is having to deal with Russia more determinately, it is now likely that the Germans will

reassess their engagement with China, and try and align their value systems to it, rather than have only an economic functional relationship.

This change may lead to a nuanced difference, for which there is a window of opportunity for India to attract the German government and business attention beyond what has been provided over the last decade. However, it should be noted that Germany's trade with China is about €245 billion, compared to €21 billion with India. Any assessment that believes that China can be replaced in Germany's economic matrix is erroneous. What can best be thought is that German investment and trade with India could be expanded.

This is possible, since German companies now look

at India as a manufacturing hub and could expand their investments. Since Germany is always keen on FTAs and the FTA with India is now on the anvil, it could look at existing FTAs that India has with ASEAN, Japan, and now Australia, which could provide German companies in India preferential access to these markets.

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Green Teaming

The Germans do not have a strong defence relationship with India and they are averse to a nuclear

engagement. Therefore, the strategic partnership that Germany implements is largely one relating to climate, sustainability and development. For several years, Germany has been providing about €1 billion a year for green projects in India. These include solar energy, green transmission lines, river management, urban mobility, including ferries and metros and the like. This imprint of Germany has expanded now. Prime Minister Modi and Chancellor Scholz both signed a joint declaration of intent on a Green and Sustainable Development Partnership; for this, Germany announced the provision of an additional €10 billion by 2030. This is a significant enhancement for sustainable projects and provides the additional financing that India and the developing countries





With France, India has a much more robust and diverse partnership, which is more strategic in nature and includes defence, space and nuclear cooperation, besides the climate-friendly partnership.

have often sought from the developed countries.

It is a recognition of India's engagement on climate issues, and the partnership model that it has adopted. This is leading to economic benefits, which means that green infrastructure in India will get a further boost. This can also lead to production hubs in India for technology, machinery and services related to such green projects.

Another area where Germany and India have agreed is on trilateral partnerships. This implies that the experience that Germany has had with India on sustainable development projects has gone well. These could be emulated in other parts of Asia and Africa and could give an impetus to the

export of Indian goods and services.

Delhi-Paris Connect

It was fortuitous that the IGC dates were such that the election in France was over by then. Thanks to that timing, Prime Minister Modi could drop by Paris on the return journey and meet his best friend in Europe, President Emmanuel Macron, who had just been re-elected. With France, India has a much more robust and diverse partnership, which is more strategic in nature and includes defence, space and nuclear cooperation,

Nordic countries together are neither large, nor populous, but their total economy is larger than Russia's.

besides the climate-friendly partnership.

However, France did not commit large sums of funding to India like Germany did. Its commitment to making in India for defence equipment is notable. Together Germany and France provide two different models of strategic partnership in Europe, and therefore, are two important pillars of India's European policy.

The Nordic Route

In between Prime Minister Modi made a visit to Denmark. This was a rather rapid return visit since the Danish Prime Minister Mette Fredriksen had been here in October 2021. Not only was there a visit to Denmark, but the other four Nordic countries also came there



German Chancellor Olaf Scholz (R) and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi (L) after a contract signing ceremony at the chancellery in Berlin, May 2, 2022.

for the second India Nordic Summit. Thus, during this visit to Copenhagen, PM Modi met the five Nordic leaders bilaterally and plurilaterally. This gave a further impetus to the green and sustainable development agenda. Besides, some of these countries, which have capital surplus, are ready to invest in India in niche areas.

The Nordic countries together are neither large, nor populous, but their total economy is larger than Russia's. In this perspective, the engagement with them for functional technology

and economic cooperation is fulsome. Its expansion with India can give India several advantages.

Overall, the visit to Europe was welcome. It showed that India is an important pole in the world today. India's ability to deal with the pandemic, with post pandemic economic recovery and stand its own ground on the Ukraine crisis has led to a respect for India.

European countries need economic outreach and markets. They also want to continue their green agenda.

India is now well placed to be their partner, and this is recognised by them. This made the visit of PM Modi to Europe an unqualified success.

India's ability to deal with the pandemic, with post pandemic economic recovery and stand its own ground on the Ukraine crisis has led to a respect for India. European countries need economic outreach and markets.

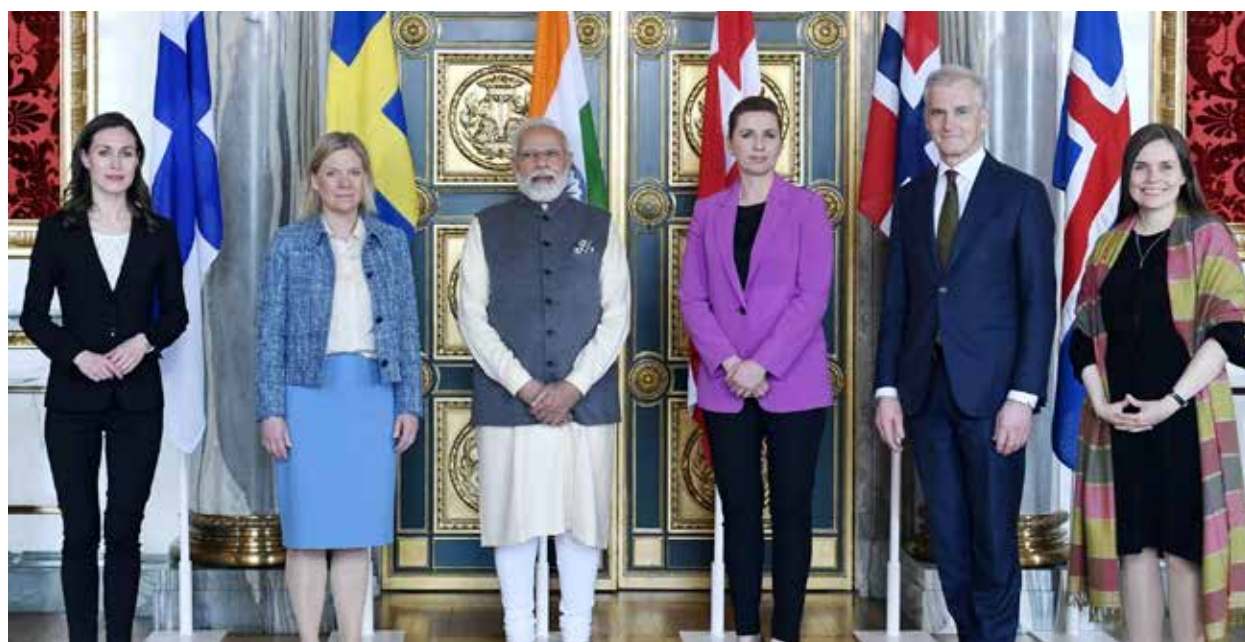
Gurjit Singh has been the Ambassador of India to Germany, Indonesia and ASEAN and Ethiopia and the African Union besides having been in Japan, Sri Lanka, Kenya, and Italy on assignment. He was the Sherpa for the first two India-Africa Summits. He is the author of The Harambee Factor, a definitive book on India's economic and development partnership.



ASHOK SAJJANHAR

India-Nordic Ties: Scaling a New Summit

The recently held second India Nordic summit showed that not only are the two sides keen to take forward their ties, but that there are also many complementary factors at play. India's demography answers the needs of the ageing Europe while climate change mitigation throws open co operation and business opportunities



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with Denmark's PM Mette Frederiksen, Norwegian PM Jonas Gahr Støre, Iceland's PM Katrín Jakobsdóttir, Swedish PM Magdalena Andersson and Finland's PM Sanna Marin during the India-Nordic Summit 2022, in Copenhagen, Denmark.

When the first India-Nordic summit was organised in April 2018 in Stockholm, Sweden, many thought that it would be a one-off event. It

is reassuring that the second Summit was held on May 4, 2022, exactly four years after the first gathering. Had it not been for the Covid-19 pandemic which

erupted at the beginning of 2020, the second Summit would have been held even earlier. Notwithstanding the pandemic, the Summit was scheduled to take place

in June last year. It had to be cancelled at the last minute because of a sudden resurgence of the pandemic.

It is to the credit of the leadership of the Nordic countries and India that they did not miss a step after the postponement, and organised the Summit at the earliest available opportunity.

Although Prime minister Narendra Modi's tour to Denmark for a bilateral visit and the India-Nordic Summit was sandwiched between two high profile visits to Germany and France, two of India's most significant partnerships in the European Union (EU), it was no less momentous, both in terms of optics and in substance and outcome.

Like last time, PM Modi met the Prime Ministers of all the five countries individually and separately, while also meeting all the leaders together in the format of the India-Nordic Summit.

The United States (US) is the only other country in the world with which the Nordic states have an engagement at the summit level.

Natural Partners

India and the five Nordic states, including Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden and Iceland, have huge complementarities. They share a convergence in values in democracy, pluralism, fundamental freedoms of speech, religion and media; all are free market

economies; all of them promote gender equality, women empowerment, social justice, human rights, and law and order. In spite of the harsh climatic conditions in all these countries because of their geographic proximity to the Arctic Circle, all figure amongst the top achievers in several areas of human endeavour, particularly innovation, clean energy, green technologies, education, health-care, conversion of waste to energy, transparency, good governance, social justice, human rights and rule of law. These present enormous opportunities for India to plug into the strengths of these countries to mutual benefit and advantage.



India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi with Denmark's Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen in Copenhagen.

Populations in all Nordic countries are greying and hence the young, educated, skilled and motivated population of India can meet an acutely felt demand in these countries.

It makes eminent political and economic sense for the Nordic countries also to step up their engagement with India. India is the third largest global economy at US\$9.5 trillion in purchasing power parity terms. It is also the fastest growing major economy with expected annual GDP growth of 7.4% in 2022-'23, after taking into account the adverse impacts of the pandemic and the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Several momentous initiatives have been taken by India in recent years including the Goods and Services Tax, Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code, improvement in Ease of Doing Business, Productivity Linked Incentive Scheme etc. which have significantly increased its attractiveness as a business and investment destination. Many new flagship schemes have been launched by India including Make in India, Atmanirbhar Bharat, Smart Cities, Skill India, Start-up India, Digital India etc. in which companies from Nordic countries can develop win-win solutions. India presents an ideal opportunity to these countries because of its large market as also its youth dividend. Populations in all Nordic countries

are greying and hence the young, educated, skilled and motivated population of India can meet an acutely felt demand in these countries. These countries need large and assured markets as reliable commercial partners. India eminently meets this requirement.

Bilateral Summits

On the sidelines of the India-Nordic summit, PM Modi held wide-ranging bilateral discussions with the Prime Ministers of Denmark (where he also paid a full-fledged bilateral visit), Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

Prime Minister Modi and his Danish counterpart Mette Frederiksen reviewed progress of the India-Denmark Green Strategic Partnership. Discussions covered cooperation in renewable energy, especially offshore wind energy and green hydrogen, as well as skill development, health, shipping, water and the Arctic. PM Modi appreciated the positive contribution of Danish companies in India to Indian flagship programmes while the Danish Prime Minister highlighted the positive role of Indian companies in Denmark. Both

leaders lauded the expanding people-to-people ties between the two countries, and welcomed the Declaration of Intent on a migration and mobility partnership which is expected to significantly contribute to a larger number of Indian students and professionals in Denmark. A detailed and comprehensive Joint Statement was adopted after the talks.

With Iceland, the two leaders, Modi and Katrín Jakobsdóttir, noted that areas like sustainability, digitalisation and cooperation in science and education were important pillars of the partnership. They discussed opportunities to expand cooperation in the fields of new and

Declaration of Intent on a migration and mobility partnership is expected to significantly contribute to a larger number of Indian students and professionals in Denmark.

emerging technologies like Artificial Intelligence, quantum computing, future mobile technologies, clean technologies and smart grids. They discussed ways to further strengthen economic cooperation, especially in the sectors of geothermal energy, Blue Economy, Arctic, renewable energy, fisheries,



food processing, education, including digital universities, and culture. Geothermal energy, in particular, is an area where Iceland has special expertise, and both sides stressed on collaboration between universities of both countries in this sector.

PMs of India and Sweden (Karin Soder) noted the longstanding close relations based on common values; strong business, investment and R&D linkages; and similar approaches to global peace, security and development. Innovation, Technology, Investment and R&D collaborations provide the bedrock of this modern relationship. The two leaders reviewed progress made in their bilateral partnership and agreements signed

Lead IT initiative, which is an India-Sweden joint global initiative to set up a Leadership Group on Industry Transition (LeadIT) to help guide the world's heaviest greenhouse gas (GHG) emitting industries towards the low-carbon economy.

during the first India-Nordic Summit in 2018. They expressed satisfaction at the progress made by the Lead IT initiative, which is an India-Sweden joint global initiative to set up a Leadership Group on Industry Transition (LeadIT) to help guide the world's heaviest greenhouse gas (GHG) emitting industries towards the low-carbon economy. Both leaders discussed the huge potential of deepening cooperation in areas like innovation, climate technology, climate action, green hydrogen, space,

defence, civil aviation, Arctic, polar research, sustainable mining and trade and economic ties.

PM Modi and his counterpart from Norway, Jonas Gahr Store, reviewed the ongoing activities in bilateral relations and discussed future areas of cooperation. PM Modi highlighted that Norway's skills and India's scope provided natural complementarities. Both leaders discussed the potential for deepening engagement in areas like Blue

Economy, renewable energy, green hydrogen, solar and wind projects, green shipping, fisheries, water management, rainwater harvesting, space cooperation, long term Infrastructure investment, health and culture. As members of United Nations Security Council (UNSC), India and Norway have been engaging with each other in the UN on global issues of mutual interest.

In the meeting with the Prime Minister of Finland Sanna Marin, the two leaders noted that areas like sustainability, digitalisation and cooperation in science and education were important pillars of the bilateral partnership. They discussed opportunities to expand cooperation in the fields of new and emerging technologies like AI, quantum computing, future mobile technologies, clean technologies and smart grids. PM Modi invited Finnish companies to partner with Indian companies and take advantage of the enormous opportunities that the Indian market presents, particularly in telecom infrastructure and digital transformations.

The India-Nordic Summit

The primary focus of the summit, in addition to several other important areas, was green energy, green technology, climate change, innovation and digitalisation.

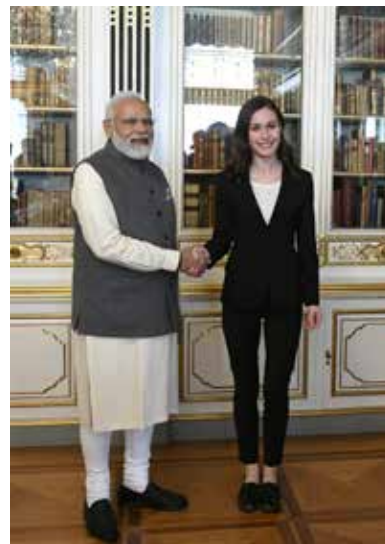


Prime Minister Narendra Modi with French President Emmanuel Macron in Paris.

The Prime Ministers pledged to further deepen their cooperation in key areas related to international peace and security, including the conflict in Ukraine.

The leaders deliberated upon the “destabilising effect of the conflict in Ukraine and its broader regional and global implications.” They condemned the civilian deaths in Ukraine, and called for an immediate cessation

of hostilities and affirmed their support for a “global order built on the UN Charter, international law and respect for sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states.” The Nordic Prime Ministers expressed “strong condemnation of the unlawful and unprovoked aggression against Ukraine by Russian Forces.” Like in the Declaration with Germany,(and later with



Nordic States also realised that with the role of China in geo-political and geo-economic affairs becoming more suspect, unhelpful and unreliable, they need a trusted, credible and resilient partner with a rapidly growing economy like India.

France), India did not join in this formulation.

The conflict in Ukraine has become a major security concern for Europe and particularly for the Nordic states. Russia's aggression had the immediate consequence of Sweden and Finland submitting their applications for membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) within two weeks of the Summit. As in Germany, and later in France, the divergence of views between India and

Nordic states on the war in Ukraine was not allowed to derail discussions on the huge potential and opportunities of enhanced cooperation between India and the Nordic States in a multitude of areas.

The leaders reviewed progress in India-Nordic relations since the first summit in 2018, and discussed multilateral cooperation in areas such as post-pandemic economic recovery, the climate crisis, sustainable development, digitalisation, and green

growth. They affirmed their support for a rules-based international order and to make multilateral institutions more inclusive, transparent, and accountable with the aim of addressing global challenges more effectively. The leaders also reaffirmed the importance of free trade as a driver for achieving inclusive growth and realising Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Nordic Countries reiterated their support for India's permanent membership of a reformed and expanded UNSC.

The leaders discussed collaboration on environmental sustainability, including clean water, clean air and circular economy. They recommitted themselves to adopting the ambitious Post 2020 Global Biodiversity Framework in the upcoming second part of the Conference of Parties (COP) 15 of Convention on Biological Diversity, and to work together in its implementation.

They agreed that the blue economy can deliver economic growth, new jobs, improved nutrition, and increased food security. The leaders discussed the potential of stimulating business cooperation and investments in sustainable ocean industries in their countries, including in the maritime, marine, and offshore wind sectors.

PM Modi invited the Nordic companies to invest in the blue economy, especially India's "Sagarmala" project. He observed that India's recently launched Arctic Policy is a good framework for expanding cooperation with the Nordic states in this critical region. He also invited the sovereign wealth funds of the Nordic countries to invest in India. The leaders committed themselves to jointly fight

climate change. They described the acceleration of the global green transition as one of the paramount global challenges. They underlined the need to set ambitious goals for reducing emissions and welcomed the international agreement at COP26 to encourage countries to adopt policies to restrict the increase in the global average temperature to below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, and launching strenuous efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C.

The leaders also discussed collaboration on environmental sustainability, including clean water and air and the circular economy, for maintaining biodiversity, water and wildlife and to ensure food security.

Conclusion

The wide-ranging and comprehensive discussions between PM Modi and Danish PM Mette Frederiksen, the substantive bilateral interactions between PM Modi and his four other Nordic counterparts, and critical outcomes of the India-Nordic Summit have given a vital impetus to relations, not only between these countries but between India and Europe. The timing of the visit by PM Modi to

Copenhagen, and also to Berlin and Paris, was most opportune.

While the last few months have brought differences between India and the West on Russia's aggression against Ukraine to the fore, this issue was not allowed to hijack the bilateral relationship between India and these countries.

PM Modi was successful in advancing India's position on this issue with confidence, self-assurance and firmness which led to better understanding and appreciation of the Indian stand.

The Nordic States also realised that with the role of China in geo-political and geo-economic affairs becoming more suspect, unhelpful and unreliable, they need a trusted, credible and resilient partner with a rapidly growing economy like India.

PM Modi's visit to Copenhagen for bilateral meetings with his Nordic counterparts and the India-Nordic Summit as also to Berlin and Paris have the potential of becoming a game-changer in relations between India and Europe, and India and the West.

Ashok Sajjanhar is a foreign policy commentator and served as India's ambassador to Sweden, Kazakhstan and Latvia. Currently, he is president of Institute of Global Studies, New Delhi.

Japan will Surpass 5 Trillion Yen Investment in India: Envoy Verma



With every passing day, India-Japan relations are scaling new frontiers. The bilateral talks between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Japanese counterpart Fumio Kishida on the sidelines of the Quad summit in Tokyo on May 24 provided a fresh momentum to the blossoming India-Japan relations. In this interview with Manish Chand in Tokyo, India's Ambassador to Japan Sanjay Kumar Verma highlights developing personal chemistry between the leaders of India and Japan and visible progress in crucial areas such as trade and investment, supply chains and defence. The geostrategic and geo-economic aspects of the relationship are getting intertwined. Alluding to new developments, the Indian envoy hints that the prospects of India and Japan jointly producing a high-end defence equipment are high and expresses hope that the 35 billion Yen (42 billion USD) package of investment announced by PM Kishida during his visit to India in March will be surpassed. **(Excerpts from the interview)**

Q) Prime Minister Modi held wide-ranging talks with Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida in Tokyo after the conclusion of the Quad summit. What was the major takeaway from these talks? How do you see personal chemistry developing between the two leaders?

A) The two prime ministers spent quite a bit of time discussing how to further engage in

finding new domains for expanding India-Japan cooperation. On the global stage, the chemistry between the leaders is extremely important - we saw that chemistry developing between the two leaders in March earlier this year and now at this meeting in Tokyo. Personal chemistry with leaders of the past had been good and personal chemistry amongst the leaders of today are the best.

We have not yet reached the situation where India and Japan can jointly produce a defence product. But I hope that due to such interactions between the prime ministers, probably this will be possible at an early future date. Technology and equipment cooperation will be a major focus area in defence cooperation.

Q) One of the key outcomes was to take forward defence cooperation through joint defence manufacturing. How do you see this initiative progressing despite the nature of Japan's pacifist constitution?

A) India-Japan cooperation in the defence domain has been developing over the years. Agreements concerning transfer of defence equipment and technology and cooperation on security measures for protection of classified military information were signed in 2015. The signing of Reciprocal Provision of Supplies and Services Agreement between the two sides in September 2020 was a landmark step. We would certainly like to see much more happening in the area of defence equipment and technology cooperation. But it is a field which is sensitive. It is an area where a lot of issues have to be discussed before you take the next step. The discussions are happening in good faith and trust. We see a gradual trust building process taking place. We have not yet reached the situation where India and Japan can jointly produce a defence product. But I hope that due to such interactions between the prime ministers, probably this will be possible at an early future date. Technology and equipment cooperation will be a major focus area in defence cooperation.

Q) What's the status of India's long-pending request to purchase amphibious aircraft?



A) It didn't figure in this round of talks. Discussions are still going on. There is no finality at the moment because it's a very technical issue about the capability and also the suitability of the aircraft. So, unless both sides are fully satisfied with the terms and conditions of its purchase and use, it will be kept on the discussion table.

Q) Prime Minister Modi met over 30 business Japanese leaders in Tokyo. Do you see a very visible change in the sentiment of the Japanese business community towards investing in India?

A) Japan is the fifth largest investor in India. Bilateral trade is growing every year. We are looking at around 14% increase in Indian exports to Japan. On trade and investment side, cooperation has been steadily expanding. In March, when Prime Minister Kishida visited India, there was an intention by the two prime ministers to have 5 trillion Japanese yen investment coming into India through private, public and financial modes. If you



India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida (R) feed carp fish before their dinner at Akasaka State Guest House in Tokyo in May.

look at the earlier similar figure in 2014, it was fixed at 3.5 trillion yen which we surpassed. I have no doubt that even 5 trillion Yen will be surpassed over next five years' time period given to it. There is visible enthusiasm in Japanese industry for investing in India. It is both a result of the attractiveness of India, and the result of disruptions, which these companies experienced during the COVID-19 pandemic period.

Q) In the wake of the pandemic, India, Japan and Australia forged Supply Chain Resilience Initiative. How is this initiative progressing?

A) Supply chain was a major underlying factor in many of the discussions, including

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in the business round table chaired by PM. When supply chain is seen holistically, it does not involve only commercial products, but also energy, food, other supply chain-related integrations. Japan has a policy of supply chain diversification. India is very much

a key partner there. Many of the Japanese companies have gone more towards India for their fresh investments or their reinvestments; they're also relocating themselves or diversifying these companies themselves into other countries in the Southeast Asia region. This particular initiative is going well. With each day, we find new interest among the Japanese companies to go to India and try to have the full supply chain possibility or integration of supply chain.

Q) Another important development in India-Japan relations is the deepening of the strategic connect. In what ways can India and Japan deepen collaboration in the Indo-Pacific?

A) Whenever we talk about the Indo-Pacific, we talk about a shared vision, which has some key components. The first thing is the peace and stability in the region, which is of paramount importance, both from an economic perspective as well as geostrategic and geopolitical perspectives. Secondly, rule of law. Prime Minister Modi has spoken about it in various meetings and platforms about rule of law. Rule of law, with peace and prosperity, is equally important. Without following the rule of law, stability cannot be achieved. With the rule of law comes the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). We need to make sure through international integration that the sea lanes are free to everyone for peaceful purposes such as trade.

Q) Was there any specific discussion on Chinese activities in the region? How can India and Japan can collaborate to counter such activities?

A) Common threats were discussed but with that, common opportunities were also discussed. These threats will have to be known to all like-minded countries in advance. At the same time, opportunities for

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further international collaboration emanating from these kinds of threats are also important and they, too, were discussed.

Q) What will be the major focus areas for India-Japan relations in the future?

A) Geostrategic and geopolitical would be key factors in taking the relationship forward. Economic cooperation, for example, is a cornerstone of India-Japan bilateral relationship. That would only prosper if you have peace and stability in the region. Geostrategic and geopolitical will become the main pillars of the relationship, which in turn will drive other areas of cooperation such as critical technologies, research and





development, trade and investment and supply chain resilience.

Q) Do you think this is going to be essential partnership of the 21st century, especially for both countries?

A) Yes, not only for both countries, but also for the entire region as India and Japan are two giants in the region. If India and Japan have excellent intensive relationship, we can assure other geographies in the world that the world will be better and a peaceful place to live in. Looking ahead, enhancing people-to-people contacts will be crucial in driving the relationship forward. The government should send its ambassadors, but any Indian

India and Japan have excellent intensive relationship, we can assure other geographies in the world that the world will be better and a peaceful place to live in. Looking ahead, enhancing people-to-people contacts will be crucial in driving the relationship forward.

who comes to Japan is a people's ambassador. Any Japanese who goes to India is a people's ambassador. Therefore, it becomes extremely important for both countries to focus on P2P relationship, which will also galvanise other aspects of the relationship.

(Manish Chand is CEO-Editor-in-Chief, India Writes Network, India and The World magazine and Director, Centre for Global Insights India, a think tank focused on global affairs)

Without India & Modi, Quad Could Not Fly: Former Abe Adviser



The second in-person Quad summit held in Tokyo on May 24 cemented solidarity among four major liberal democracies and strengthened their cooperation to deal with emerging challenges to the rules-based order. The summit in Tokyo has shown that Quad is here to stay, says Tomohiko Taniguchi, Special Advisor to the Cabinet of then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. In this interview with Manish Chand, CEO & Editor-in-Chief, India Writes Network and India and The World, in Tokyo, Prof. Taniguchi underlined the pivotal role of India and Prime Minister Narendra Modi in shaping Quad as a powerful force of regional stability. Prof. Taniguchi, a leading foreign policy commentator and Professor, Graduate School of SDM, Keio University, also speaks about new initiatives that are required to strengthen people-to-people relations between India and Japan so as to take this partnership to new heights. **Excerpts from the interview**

Q) What was the big takeaway from the Quad summit in Tokyo? Do you think the Quad summit has restored the focus back on the Indo-Pacific, which suffered in the wake of the pandemic?

A) This summit has been very significant. First, because it took place right in the middle of the bloody war raging in Europe when the United States was forced to pay much more attention to the European front than to the Indo-Pacific. Notwithstanding, President Biden chose to bring his frail body somehow

to Seoul and Tokyo to showcase to the rest of the world and to the domestic audiences that here in this part of the world and the Indo-Pacific, you get future opportunities and future challenges. Therefore, there will continue to be a need for the United States to concentrate its attentions and assets not on Europe, but more on Indo-Pacific. This was a powerful message to the region.

Prime Minister Fumio Kishida was largely dubbed as dovish, compared to his predecessor, especially Shinzo Abe, who

actually designed Quad. Still, he succeeded in making a pledge to the international community using the next five years as a window of opportunity. The Japanese government is going to incrementally increase its defence budget to make it finally on par with European NATO member nations. Third, about Australia. Scott Morrison was one of the founders of Quad. There was a degree of uncertainty, especially because the new prime minister was sworn in only one day prior to the Quad meeting. So once again, it showed the Quad is here to stay. And I think that was a powerful demonstration of the longevity of Quad. Overall, Quad has succeeded in strengthening its image overriding some of the changes of the government, and some of the changes in the international environment.

Q) How do you look at the role of India in strengthening Quad?

A) Without India, without Narendra Modi, Quad could not have flown. There was a degree of hesitancy among the elite

Prime Minister Fumio Kishida was largely dubbed as dovish, compared to his predecessor, especially Shinzo Abe, who actually designed Quad. Still, he succeeded in making a pledge to the international community using the next five years as a window of opportunity.

community members of Delhi, about India joining largely US-led camp. It took the courage and straightforwardness of Narendra Modi to have overcome the legacy of non-alignment. Furthermore, since the war erupted in Ukraine, India led by Narendra Modi showed its less determined posture of helping Ukraine and it struggled, it seems to me and to many others, to find a balance between Russia and Ukraine. But when it comes to the Indo-Pacific theatre, he is well aware that the immediate challenge may be about Russia-Ukraine war, but the long term challenge will continue to be in the Indo-Pacific region.



The reason why Shinzo Abe expanded the geographic horizon from Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific was primarily because he wanted to include India, being aware that the Indian Ocean would be the industrial highway for the 21st century. And given the fact that if there is any country in the world that feels very much responsible of the peace and safety and prosperity in the Indian Ocean region, it is India - which is the reason why Shinzo Abe spoke of the “Confluence of the Two Seas” back in 2007, and expanded the geographic concept of Asia-Pacific to Indo-Pacific. Narendra Modi is fully aware of that conception, and has demonstrated vividly to the rest of the Quad member nations that India is very much a responsible partner of the Quad arrangement.

Q) Before the summit, there was a lot of talk about Ukraine as a potentially divisive issue, and India was sought to be portrayed as an outlier by some critics. Do you think the Tokyo summit found a balance on this issue?

A) You could not possibly alienate India. That’s going to do harm to the Quad. The relationship that India has with Russia is a friendship of convenience, not of heart. And since 1962, there has been actually no option other than India relying upon some of the material that came from Russia, Soviet Russia at the time. So, it’s been an institutionalized legacy.

Indian opinion-makers should come out and tell to the Japanese, Australians, Americans that basically without the supplies and components that India continues to buy from Russia, you couldn’t feed, you couldn’t maintain the Indian Army where its number one threat comes from over Himalayas, from China. On the whole, leaders of Quad countries have made a wise decision, demonstrating again to the world that Quad is about the future. And there is no point to be made by pushing India further to the other end.

Without India, without Narendra Modi, Quad could not have flown. There was a degree of hesitancy among the elite community members of Delhi about India joining largely US-led camp. It took the courage and straightforwardness of Narendra Modi to have overcome the legacy of non-alignment.

Q) At the Tokyo summit, the Quad partners have pledged \$50 billion plus for sustainable and transparent infrastructure building. Do you think this Quad infrastructure partnership will be strong enough to pose an alternative to China-led BRI?

A) I think it’s already effective. When there was a gathering of G7 leaders back in 2016 in Japan, Shinzo Abe first proposed quality infrastructure. Quality infrastructure indicated that the infrastructure that the Chinese were building was not quality infrastructure. Now, look at Sri Lanka, and look at what’s happened in many other African nations. As far as the Belt and Road Initiative is concerned, there is now much less talk; few Chinese leaders talk anymore about Belt and Road initiative. Where has BRI gone? Now, there is actually less need for the democratic nations to counterbalance the Belt and Road Initiative.

Nonetheless, I think India, Japan, Australia, United States continue to have to show to countries such as Uganda and the Maldives that we’re here to help build ports, dams and electricity power plants and with government-sponsored relatively affordable loans. In the long term, this is going to help support your own infrastructure building.

The thing is, we cannot give bribes to leaders in some of those countries. So, if you wish to get bribe, go to the Chinese. So, it’s once again to show to the world that who should be trusted.

India-Japan Connect

Q) This is a high moment for India-Japan relations in many ways. The meeting between Prime Ministers Narendra Modi and Fumio Kishida in Tokyo was quite constructive and forward-looking. Do you see this as a strong expression of political will to take the bilateral to new heights?

A) I must tell your audience that if Indians are from Earth, then we Japanese are from Mars. We are very different. You are a restless bunch of people. The Japanese are not so. This country is aging. It is risk-averse. An 80-year-old person cannot take risks. India has a young population, you are about the future. But Japan is not going to disappear, of this, we are certain. So, my request is to be patient in dealing with the Japanese. Everything progresses incrementally.

But ten years from now, we will be able to look back and say we came a long way over the decade. Suzuki has chosen to invest a huge amount of money in electronic vehicle technologies in India, the pharmaceutical industry continues to spend more in India. There is talk of collaboration between the Indian Space Agency and the Japanese Space Agency to jointly put a rover on the moon. My own wish is that the Japanese defence industry should do a much better job in helping the transition of India's defence procurement from one big source to more diversified sources.

India-Japan relations are about the future. When Shinzo Abe said that India-Japan relationship is the most promising relationship, he meant it. And it will still continue to be valid. The question here is, when will that future come?

Q) Prime Ministers Modi and Kishida also discussed joint manufacturing of defence equipment. How do you see defence cooperation moving forward?

A) Much more should be done at both ends. I gather that there is a strategic rigidity in

India's defence and military outlook. The situation is worse in Japan because all the defence contractors have done business only with a single customer, the Japan Self-Defence Forces.

You talk about cutting edge technologies -Japanese military tanks are more capable than the British-made ones. You often talk about Javelin missiles. Lockheed Martin's Javelin missiles are being used by the Ukrainian forces. The Japanese Ground Self-Defence Force has an advanced version. But under existing laws, it is forbiddingly difficult for us to sell anything outside of Japan. Furthermore, the price tag is extraordinarily expensive, which has been one of the reasons why US-2, the flying boat [amphibious aircraft] could not

India-Japan relations are about the future. When Shinzo Abe said that India-Japan relationship is the most promising relationship, he meant it. And it will still continue to be valid. The question here is, when will that future come?

actually fly in India. But there is a growing awareness in this country that the defence industry is withdrawing from the contract that they had with the Self-Defence Forces. There are various reasons for it.

- It is not profitable.
- Most companies are under heavy shareholder pressure to divest some of those businesses that are not profitable.
- There is no economy of scale or economy of scope.

This year, the Japanese government is going to issue some important documents about Japan's defence, in which it will likely highlight the importance of Japan's defence industry being able to sell its equipment overseas. Now, who is going to be an ideal candidate? India. It is very easy to see that India is about the future and India's economy will grow bigger.



Q) On the economic front, India regards Japan as an indispensable partner. PM Kishida pledged a 5 trillion-yen package when he visited India. Has the image of India as an investment destination changed?

A) It is much more encouraging than the scene ten years ago. In 2007, when Abe addressed the joint session of the Indian parliament, only Suzuki was a visible presence in India. Much has changed since. The pharmaceutical industry has carved a niche in India. Now, there is a growing sense of uncertainty about maintaining their businesses in China. It is a matter of how soon China is going to invoke some dangerous acts over Taiwan. And if that happens, we must evacuate Japanese citizens from China.

So, there is growing awareness among Japanese industrial leaders that geostrategic uncertainty and geostrategic risks pertaining to China cannot be neglected anymore; there is no certainty about their businesses in China. So, they are looking at alternatives. One alternative destination of investment is Vietnam, but Vietnam's economy is not big. Which other candidate can be considered for absorbing Japanese investment? Again, that's India. It is important for Japanese companies

to maintain a firm foothold in India, because it is about the future. From the vantage point of India, they can get a better grasp of the Middle East and the African continent. I would urge Japanese industrial leaders to send top class employees to India. Thus far, the top educated people from companies like Mitsubishi and Mitsui have all gone to the US, UK or China.

Q) Looking ahead, what will be major focus areas in India-Japan relations.

A) The most devastating aspect of the India-Japan relationship is that we have a very small exchange of students. We need to strengthen people-to-people connect at the youth level. Shortly before the pandemic, the number of Indian students studying and working in Japan was only 16. The number of Indian students enrolled in Japanese higher education institutions was less than 2,000, even fewer than the number Uzbekistan sent to Japan. Neither do many Japanese students express interest in spending time in Indian universities.

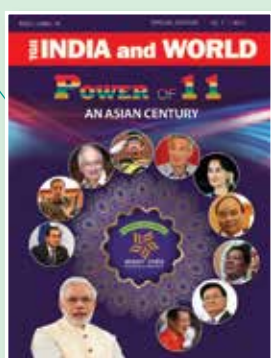
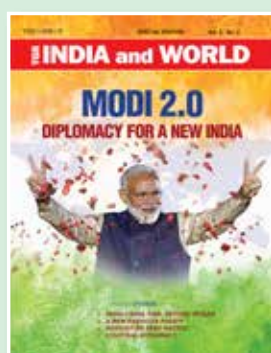
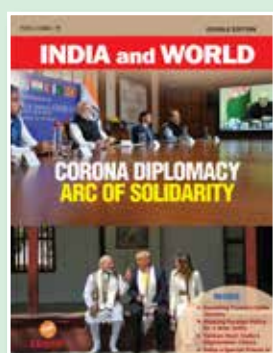
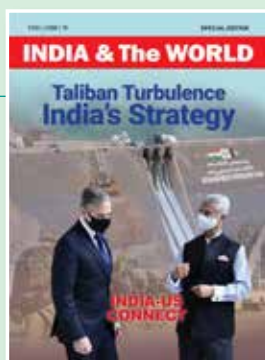
Secondly, the two countries need to focus on expanding defence cooperation, especially in defence production.

Thirdly, Japan should think on the lines of an India First policy, and India, too, should prioritise Japan. To make this possible, there must be exchanges of all kinds- from political to people-to-people.

There is a striking commonality in our spiritual outlook. You believe in reincarnation. In which other Asian country, apart from Sri Lanka, do people still believe in reincarnation? Only in Japan.

I invite people to see Japan and experience the spiritual connection. In any Buddhist temple, in Japan, you will be surprised to see the dozens of Hindu gods that are also worshipped. Till date, every Indian ambassador to Japan has been bewildered by the presence of Hindu gods in our temples.

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He is Editor-in-Chief of India and World magazine and India Writes Network (www.indiawrites.org), the print and digital publications of TGII focused on international affairs.

The logo for the 75th Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav. It features a large, stylized '75' in a brownish-gold color. To the right of the '5' is a circular emblem containing the Ashoka Chakra. Further right is a stylized representation of the Indian national flag (Tiranga) with its saffron, white, and green horizontal stripes, flowing to the right.

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

POWER OF INDIA

India's ongoing emergence as a global power is the unfolding story of our time. Armed with the world's fastest growing economy and driven by surging aspirations, the world's largest democracy is proactively shaping the global agenda. But there are formidable challenges ahead as India scripts its global ascent; rampant poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment will continue to hobble India's rise unless these issues are addressed in a time-bound manner.

Against this backdrop, The Global Insights India (TGII) is pleased to launch the "Power of India Initiative", which seeks to generate a public debate about India's global profile and the kind of power India can become.

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