

# Japan-India Military Partnership: India is the New Hope for Asia

Satoru Nagao

The year 2013 has been a very important one for Japan-India relations. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Japan early this year and signed the joint statement with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on May 30. Further, the Emperor of Japan will visit India in November. It is also likely that Japanese Prime Minister Abe, who happens to be pro-India, will visit India in December this year. Such high profile visits from both sides in one year prove that 2013 has been an exceptional case indeed.

In addition, in the May joint statement mentioned above, the two Prime Ministers decided to conduct Japan-India maritime exercises “on a regular basis with increased frequency”. And, “They decided to establish a Joint Working Group (JWG) to explore the modality for the cooperation on the US-2 amphibian aircraft.”<sup>1</sup> This statement is an important step towards strengthening Japan-India security relations as Japan has not entered into such a deep security relationship with countries other than the US and Australia. This exclusivity of military ties between Japan and India makes their case an exceptional one. Therefore, this paper will seek to analyse why Japan wants to cooperate with India. There are three important factors in this analysis i.e. “Japan’s perception of its threats”; “the decline of US power,” and “India is the new hope”.

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**In Japan-India relations, security is the most upcoming area.**

### **Japanese Perception of Threats**

In Japan-India relations, security is the most upcoming area. Thus, to know why Japan wants to cooperate with India, we need to analyse the way Japan perceives its imminent threats. Despite its Northern Territories problems with Russia, the Takeshima problem with South Korea and the nuclear missile and abduction problems with North Korea, China continues to be the most crucial threat as perceived by Japan. As an example of the public mood in Japan, a survey, conducted by Gerron NPO and *China Daily* on August 13, 2013, revealed, “Among the Japanese polled, 90.1 percent replied they have unfavorable impressions about China. A comparable figure for the Chinese polled came to 92.8 percent. Both findings were the worst results in the past nine surveys”.<sup>2</sup> This figure indicates the seriousness of Japan-China relations. Thus, to understand Japan’s perception of its threats, we need to analyse the threat perception of China in Japan.

There are three theatres of defence against China. In the East China Sea, Japan faces China in the sea around Japan. Japan’s Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs) stretch from the Indian Ocean to the East China Sea through the South China Sea. Thus, the sea around Japan, the Indian Ocean and South China Sea comprises an important theatre to analyse Japan’s threat perception of China.

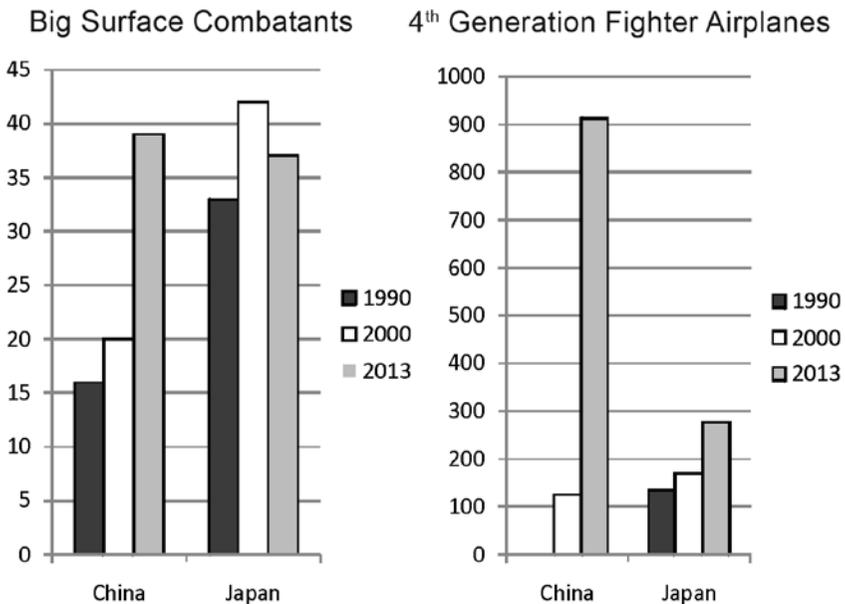
### ***Sea Around Japan***

The East China Sea includes the Senkaku Islands which are located just between Japan and China. The situation in the East China Sea reflects the power balance between Japan and China which is changing fast now. Japan’s White Paper on Defence of 2013 points out, “The nominal size of China’s announced national defense budget has approximately quadrupled in size over the past ten years, and has grown more than 33-fold over the past 25 years”.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the military balance between

Japan and China has been changing drastically. For example, in 1990, China possessed 16 “big surface combatants” which comprised more than 3,000 tonnes of full load displacement. The number has been increasing, from 20 in 2000 to 39 in 2013. Compared with China, Japan has not had such an increase. In 1990, Japan possessed 33 big surface combatants whose number went up nominally to 42 in 2000 and then decreased to 39 in 2013 (Fig 1).

**The military balance between Japan and China has been changing drastically.**

**Fig 1: Japan-China Military Balance**



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*.

Assessing the total number of 4<sup>th</sup> Generation fighter airplanes could be a good look-through to understand the situation in the air. In 1990, Japan possessed 135 4<sup>th</sup> Generation fighters when China did not have any.

By 2000, Japan possessed 170 fighter airplanes while China possessed 125. In 2013, Japan has only 277 fighter airplanes as compared to China's, a whopping 913.<sup>4</sup> China has been increasing its fighter airplanes drastically. In addition, these fighter airplanes are deployed towards Japan (Fig 2).

**Fig 2: China's Deployment of 4<sup>th</sup> Generation Fighter Airplanes**

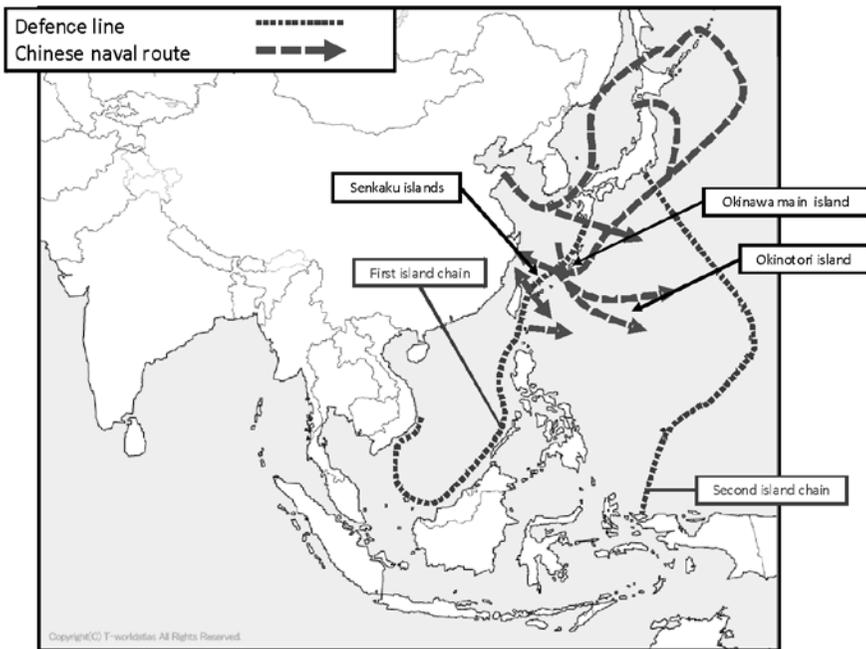


Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2013*, p. 48.

Along with such rapid military modernisation, China has started to expand its military activities around Japan. For example, in 2004, a Chinese nuclear attack submarine violated the territorial seas of Japan. Since 2008, China has started naval exercises in the Pacific side of Japan. The area of naval exercises has been expanding from the first island chain to the second island chain, which are the defence lines of China, according to a US claim. Further, the Chinese Coast Guard has intruded on more than 63 days in the past year since September 2012

by using 216 ships in total. On January 19 and 30, 2013, a Chinese frigate warship directed fire-control radar at a Japanese helicopter and destroyer. In August 2013, five Chinese warships which participated in the Russia-China joint exercise travelled around Japan through the Tsushima Strait, Souya Strait and the water between Okinawa’s main island and Miyako Island. This was the first time that the Chinese Navy had moved around Japan (Fig 3).

**Fig 3: Chinese Naval Activities Around Japan**

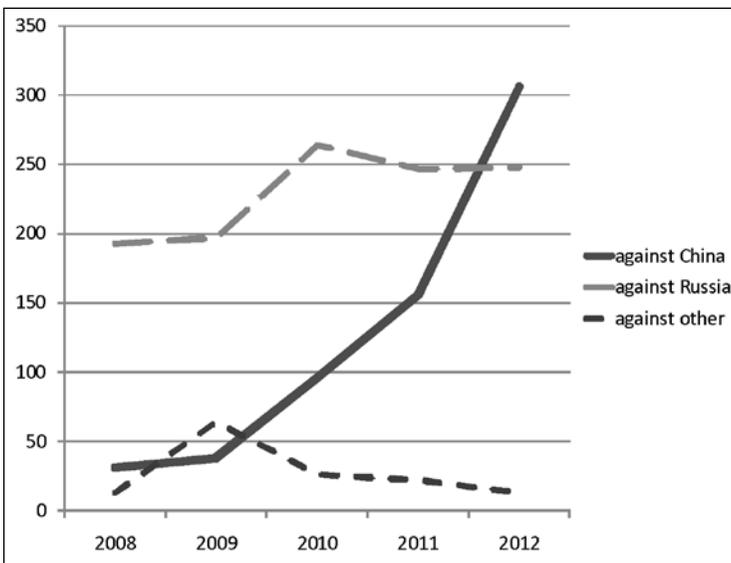


Source: Ministry of Defence of Japan, *Defense of Japan 2013* (White Paper), Digest part I, p.3, [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/pdf/2013/02\\_Digest\\_part1.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2013/02_Digest_part1.pdf).

Along with naval activities, the Chinese Air Force has been expanding its activities, too. The White Paper of the Ministry of Defence of Japan pointed out, “In FY 2012, the number of scrambles exceeded 500 for the first time in 22 years. Also, the number of scrambles against Chinese

aircraft exceeded the number of those against the Russian aircraft for the first time”<sup>5</sup> (FY=Fiscal Year) (Fig 4). On July 24, 2013, a Chinese surveillance airplane flew over the waters between Okinawa’s main island and Miyako Island. It was the first time a Chinese airplane had been detected passing through the first island chain (though China claimed that it was not the first time). On September 8, 2013, two Chinese heavy bombers used the same route.

**Fig 4: The Number of Times Foreign Airplanes Forced Japan to be in Scramble Mode**



Source: Ministry of Defence of Japan, *Defense of Japan 2013* (White Paper), Digest part III, p.1, [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/pdf/2013/04\\_Digest\\_part3.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2013/04_Digest_part3.pdf).

Hence, China’s assertiveness has been aggravating along with the modernisation of its naval and air capabilities. Because China has been increasing its naval and air power drastically, there is a high possibility that it will opt for more assertive diplomacy, to emphasise its image as a strong power in the near future.

### *The Indian Ocean*

Japan's economy is heavily reliant on trade with foreign countries. In World War II, the US blockade of Japan by submarines and mines had forced Japan into a survival crisis. Thus, the protection of the SLOCs is vital for its security and Japan's main SLOCs are running in the Indian Ocean. It is noteworthy that 90 percent of the oil imported by Japan comes from the Middle East through the Indian Ocean. China has already started naval activities in this region. In 2012, at least 22 contacts were recorded with vessels suspected to be Chinese attack submarines patrolling in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). One contact took place 90 km from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, six took place northwest of the Malacca Strait, 13 were south of Sri Lanka and two were in the Arabian Sea. In addition, the Chinese Navy has dispatched anti-piracy missions since 2008.

China is modernising its capabilities in this region, but the weak point in its activities is that it does not have a naval port here. However, if the Chinese Navy uses a civil-purpose port as a naval supply base, the problem can be solved. Under the "String of Pearls" strategy, China is investing in the development of many ports in the Indian Ocean. Japan is concerned about the situation in this region because China's capability to interfere in Japan's SLOCs will be a card of negotiation in international politics.

### *South China Sea*

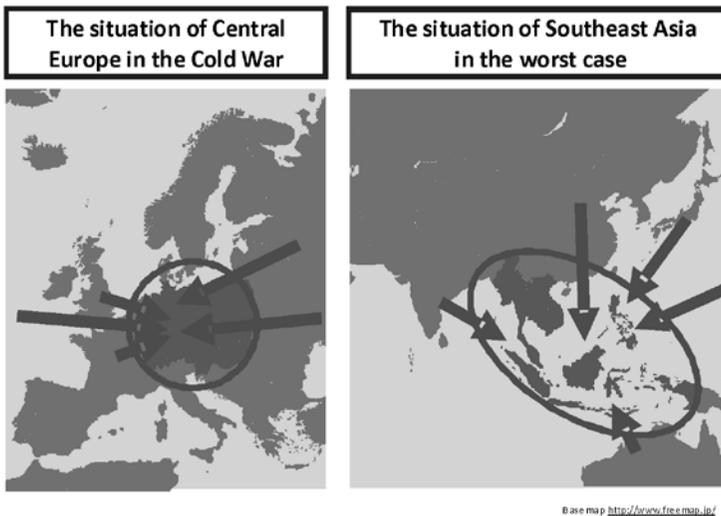
This region is vital for Japan's SLOCs because of three geographical reasons: firstly, the Southeast Asia region is a strategically important place.

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Southeast Asia is sitting on the key SLOCs between the Middle East and Northeast Asia. In addition, Southeast Asia is a resource rich region. Secondly, Southeast Asia is not an integrated region. Thirdly, Southeast Asia is surrounded by great powers like China, Japan, the US, Australia and India. The situation is similar to that of Central Europe during the Cold War (East and West Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc). During the Cold War, Central Europe suffered repeatedly due to the US-Soviet great power game. If Southeast Asia becomes the theatre of this great power game and is in an unstable situation, it is likely that Japan's SLOCs could face a serious crisis (Fig 5).

**Fig 5: Southeast Asia: Theatre of Great Power Game in the Worst Case**

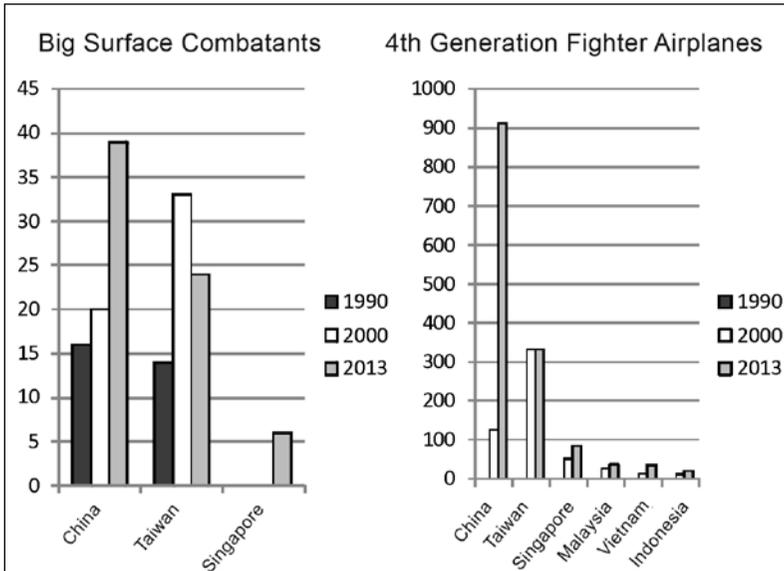


In addition, the power balance around the South China Sea has been changing. For example, in 1990, Taiwan and China were the only countries that possessed “big surface combatants”: China had 16 and Taiwan had 14. By 2000, this number increased to 20 for China and 33 for Taiwan and they continued to be the sole possessors of these. At present, China has 39, Taiwan 24, and Singapore 6. Further, there were no 4<sup>th</sup> Generation fighter

airplanes in 1990 in this region. However by 2000, many countries possessed these; China 125, Taiwan 254, Singapore 49, Malaysia 15, Vietnam 12 and Indonesia 10. These have further increased by 2013. China now has 913, Taiwan has 331, Singapore has 84, Malaysia has 36 and Indonesia has 20. However, the Philippines and Brunei still do not possess any fighter airplanes. The figures are an illustration of China’s speedy military modernisation (Fig 6).

**Along with the changing military balance in this region, China’s military activities have also been very aggressive in the South China Sea lately.**

**Fig 6: Military Balance Around South China Sea**



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*.

Along with the changing military balance in this region, China’s military activities have also been very aggressive in the South China Sea lately. Under its claim of “nine dot lines”, China demands almost all of the South China Sea as its “own sea”. The Philippines and Vietnam are specially suffering from China’s aggressiveness.

**Japan has trained the security forces of, and also plans to donate patrol craft to, the Philippines and Vietnam. However, Japan's support is not enough to stop China's current pace of aggressiveness.**

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If history may be referred to, the tendency of China's maritime expansion has been based on the power balance. For example, China occupied the Paracel Islands in 1974 just after the Vietnam War ended and the US withdrew from the region. After the Soviets withdrew from Vietnam, China attacked the Spratly Islands controlled by Vietnam in 1988. After the US withdrew from the Philippines, China occupied the Mischief Reef which both the Philippines and Vietnam claimed. And now, based on the military balance, China claims most of the South China Sea and has occupied

the Scarborough Shoal which the Philippines also claims. In August 2013, Japanese Defence Minister Itsunori Onodera's statement at a symposium in Tokyo reiterated that "China has made more and more advancement into the seas. When it did not have as much military capability, China tried to promote dialogue and economic cooperation, setting territorial rows aside. But when it sees a chance, any daylight, between a nation and its ally, it makes blunt advancements. This is what is happening and what we should learn from the situation in Southeast Asia."<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, the countries around the South China Sea need their own strong military capabilities. And Japan is willing to support their efforts. Japan has trained the security forces of, and also plans to donate patrol craft to, the Philippines and Vietnam. However, Japan's support is not enough to stop China's current pace of aggressiveness.

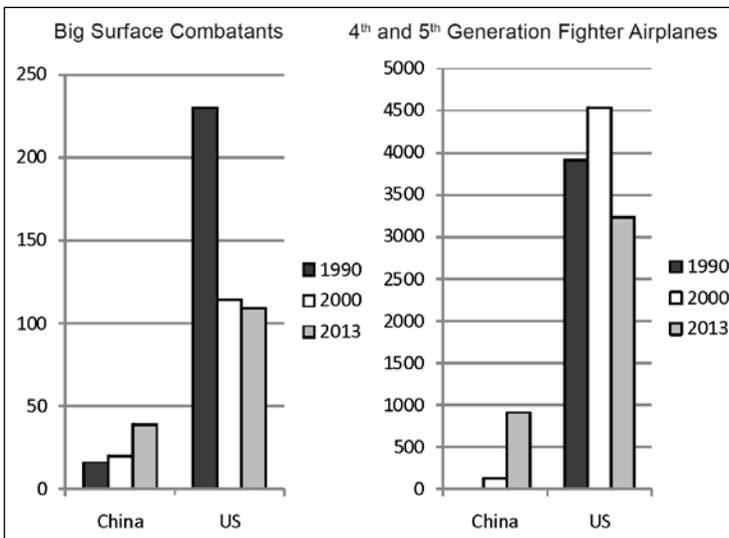
## **Overall Decline of US Power**

Reflecting on the situation of the military balance in the sea around Japan and the South China Sea, the US emerges as the key player in maintaining a power balance in Asia. But what is important to note is that US power is also declining.

*Declining US Naval Power*

After the Cold War, US naval power has been declining. In 1990, the US Navy possessed 15 aircraft carriers, 230 “big surface combatants” and 127 submarines which included 126 nuclear submarines. However the number has been decreasing. In 2000, the US possessed 12 aircraft carriers, 114 big surface combatants and 74 submarines. By the end of 2013, the US Navy consisted only of 10 aircraft carriers, 101 “big surface combatants” and 73 nuclear submarines. In addition, there is a possibility that the US will reduce the numbers further due to budgetary limitations in the near future (Fig 7). As a result, despite what the US Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta said at the annual Shangri-La Dialogue, “By 2020, the Navy will reposture its forces from today’s roughly 50-50 split between the Pacific and the Atlantic to about a 60-40 split between those oceans”;<sup>7</sup> the number of deployed warships in the Pacific will be nearly the same in 2020 because the total number of warships is declining.

**Fig 7: US-China Military Balance**



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*.

### *Declining US Air Power*

In 1990, the US possessed 3,911 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Generation fighters. The number increased to 4,540 in 2000. In 2013, the US still has 3,232 which is a far bigger number when compared with China's 913. Hence, the US will still have a dominant presence in the region. Because the US has strong air power, it can plan an air-sea battle which includes blistering attacks on mainland China.<sup>8</sup> Currently, the US Air Force plans to send its airplanes on regular deployments to bases, including Darwin in Australia, Changi East air base in Singapore, Korat air base in Thailand, Trivandrum in India, Cubic Point and Puerto Princesa in the Philippines, and some others in Indonesia and Malaysia. These deployments will fill the gap in the power balance between China and the Southeast Asian countries. Strong US air power is the key to Asian security.

However, there are some points of concern about US air power. Firstly, the budgetary limitations. After 9/11, the US has started to shift its budgetary priorities. The share of the Navy and Air Force in the defence budget reduced from 54 percent in 2000 to 41 percent in 2008. As a result, US air power has been declining. In 2000, the US possessed 4,540 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Generation fighters. Now with 3,232 in 2013, it is only about 70 percent of the fighter airplanes which the US possessed 13 years ago.

In addition, there is a possibility that the US cannot concentrate all its air power in Asia because it needs to deal with problems in other parts of the world as well. According to "The National Military Strategy of the United States of America 2011: Redefining America's Military Leadership",<sup>9</sup> the US has abandoned the "Two Major Regional Conflicts Strategy" that had implied that the US shall maintain capabilities to defeat the enemy in two major regional conflicts occurring nearly simultaneously. With abandonment of this strategy, Japan and/or countries around the South China Sea are concerned that there may come about a situation when the US is involved in a conflict in the Middle East or Africa and

is unable provide enough military support in the South China Sea region in case of a conflict erupting in the latter simultaneously.

### *US Needs Friendly Forces*

As a result, theoretically it can be concurred that China's assertiveness in the West Pacific and the Indian Ocean reflects this power shift in Asia. The US needs an ally or a friendly country to fill the power vacuum against China. For example, Mr. Richard L Armitage, former US Deputy Secretary of State pointed out that the US needs a "strong Japan" when he published the report "US-Japan Alliance" written by him and Prof. Joseph S Nye of the Harvard University.<sup>10</sup> However, as is mentioned above, Japan's power is limited, too. Apart from Japan, Australia too is a friendly country for the US. Australia is planning to change the location of its naval force from the southeast coast of the country to the west (Perth) and north (Darwin) of Australia to tackle the problem in the Indo-Pacific region.<sup>11</sup> However, its power, too, is limited. Therefore, Japan, the US, Australia and the countries around the South China Sea need a new trustworthy rising power. In this context, India is the new hope. Why is India so important? What hopes are there for India? Four reasons are given below to prove that India will decide the future of Asia.

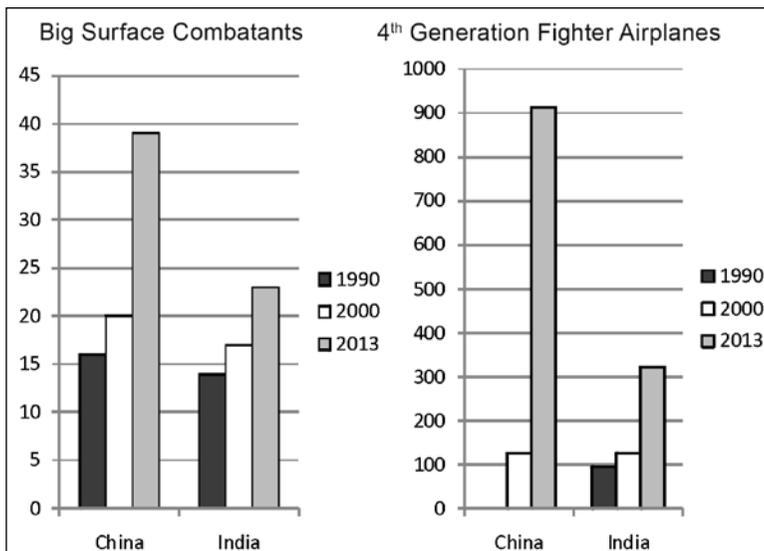
**Within 48 hours, the Chinese armed forces can be ready for battle in the border area, whereas India needs one week as there are not enough roads on the Indian side.**

### **India Shares Similar Concerns**

India has been facing a threat from China for some time. China is modernising its military infrastructure, including all-weather roads, tunnels, strategic railway lines, airports, etc, in the Tibet Autonomous Region, in front of India. China has held many exercises in this area. These infrastructural developments and exercises enable it to redeploy its main land and air forces from the area in front of Japan to the Indo-China border area rather rapidly.

Within 48 hours, the Chinese armed forces can be ready for battle in the border area, whereas India needs one week as there are not enough roads on the Indian side.<sup>12</sup> Within 30 days, China can move around 30 divisions (each with over 15,000 soldiers) to the border. This means that India will face more than three times bigger Chinese forces in the border area after China finishes the massive infrastructure development<sup>13</sup> it has begun. In the air, the situation is similar. In 2009, Air Chief Marshal P V Naik had accepted that India’s “aircraft strength is inadequate and is just one-third of China’s air force”.<sup>14</sup> India increased the number of 4<sup>th</sup> Generation fighters from 96 in 1990 to 126 in 2000, and 322 in 2013, while China increased the number from 0 in 1990 to 125 in 2000, and to 913 in 2013 (Fig 8).

**Fig 8: Indo-China Military Balance**



Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*.

In addition, the US’ “Military and Security Developments Involving the People’s Republic of China 2011” has pointed out, “To strengthen its deterrent posture relative to India, the PLA has replaced liquid-fueled, nuclear-capable CSS-2 IRBMs with more advanced and survivable solid-fueled CSS-5 MRBM systems. China is also investing in road development

along the Sino-Indian border.”<sup>15</sup> (PLA=Chinese People’s Liberation Army, IRBM=Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile, MRBM=Medium Range Ballistic Missile). The possibility that China could use these ballistic missiles or other cruise missiles to destroy the air bases of India cannot be overlooked.

**Over the last three years, India recorded nearly 600 incursions into its territory.**

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Along with such military modernisation, China’s aggressiveness has been escalating gradually. Over the last three years, India recorded nearly 600 incursions into its territory. And this year, Chinese troops set up tents and stayed inside Ladakh in India for about three weeks. The report submitted by the National Security Advisory Board Chairperson to Prime Minister Singh on August 10, 2013, points out that Chinese Army troops are not allowing Indian troops to patrol the Line of Actual Control in eastern Ladakh.<sup>16</sup> In 2012, Chinese heavy fighter airplanes, carrying live ammunition, cruised along the India-China border.<sup>17</sup> And this year, in 2013, China held a high-altitude night flying exercise in Tibet.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, India has already begun to rebalance in the Indo-China border area. For example, India is raising new mountain divisions to defend the mountainous Indo-China border. Until 2010, India had 10 mountain divisions. In 2011, India established two more divisions. Likewise, in 2013, India decided to establish the strike corps which consists of two new divisions in the border which can implement offensive-defence operations in Tibet, if required. India is modernising its military infrastructure like roads, helipads and airports too. The Indian Air Force has deployed Su-30 4<sup>th</sup> Generation fighters in the northeast region, in Tezpur, Chabua, etc and C-130 transport airplanes in Panagarh, and is thereby, filling the gap of anti-air radar, missile networks, etc.

However, because China spends more on its military budget than India does, India alone cannot make enough efforts to rebalance. Thus, both Japan and India have common interests. If China needs to spend

**If China needs to tackle all its fronts with Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, the US and India, its military budget will get even more widely dispersed.**

money against both Japan and India, its military budget gets dispersed on two fronts which is beneficial for both Japan and India. If China needs to tackle all its fronts with Japan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, the US and India, its military budget will get even more widely dispersed. India-Japan cooperation could be a factor persuasive enough to make China realise that its aggressive international behaviour is counter-productive.

### *The Indian Ocean is India's Ocean*

When we think about security in the Indian Ocean, India stands out as a new hope, because there are three reasons to assert that the Indian Ocean will be India's Ocean. Firstly, India is located at the northern centre of the Indian Ocean. This means that India can access the Indian Ocean from all sides relatively easily. Secondly, India is the only country among the countries around the Indian Ocean to possess a strong Navy. Thirdly, India has long respected the freedom of navigation in the SLOCs for all the countries which are near India, in the manner of a responsible maritime power. Thus, if India has the will and enough capabilities, the Indian Ocean will become India's Ocean.

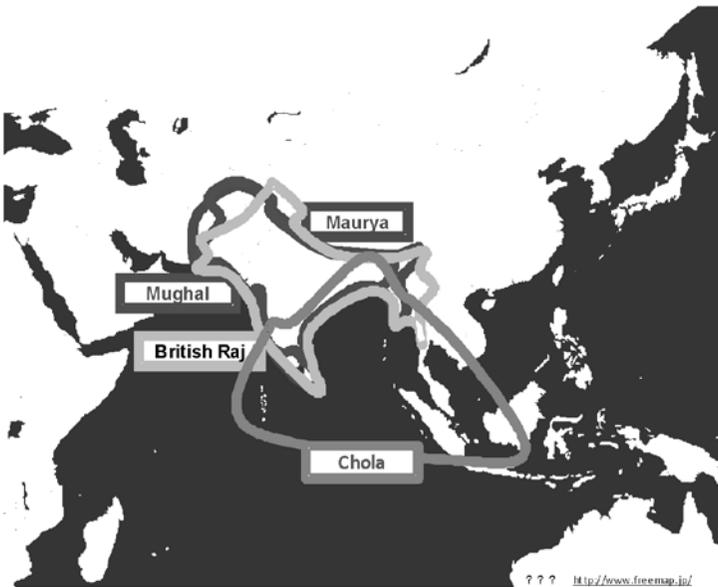
There is a possibility that India will possess enough naval power to be projected as a strong naval power in the future. For example, the number of big surface combatants has been increasing rapidly in the Indian Navy. The number will reach 28 in 2013, up from 14 in 1990 and 17 in 2000. Generally, big ships can operate in a wider area than smaller ones can. As a "Blue Water Navy", the capability of the Indian Navy is improving rapidly. Japan wants to cooperate with India to protect the SLOCs because the Indian Ocean is important in assuring Indian dominance in the Indian Ocean Region.

*Strong Military Relations with Southeast Asian Armies*

India has had strong military relations with Southeast Asia geographically. The history of India indicates this fact. Historically, three centres of power had dominated the subcontinent: the Maurya Empire, the Mughal Empire and the British Raj. These three Empires could not project their land power far beyond South Asia because India is surrounded by high mountains. However, as a naval power, the area of influence of the Chola Empire extended to Southeast Asia. The history of the Chola Empire indicates that the strategic connection between India and Southeast Asia existed since ancient times. Today, India has the potential to be a security provider in Southeast Asia geographically (Fig 8).

**Freedom of expression in India proves that experts can voice their complaints against government institutions freely.**

**Fig 9: Geographical Potentiality of India**



**India's restraint in the use of force is a consistent strategy.**

After 1979, India-Vietnam military relations have been strong. And after the Cold War, India has started to cooperate with the Southeast Asian countries as a part of its "Look East Policy". India has trained the crew of an aircraft carrier of Thailand, the crew of the submarine forces of Vietnam, pilots and the land crew of fighter airplanes of Malaysia and provided technical training for the Indonesian armed forces. Singapore uses Indian facilities to train its armed forces. Myanmar and Vietnam have imported weapons and/or spare parts. Thus, when the Southeast Asian countries need to strengthen their armed forces, India has been the security provider. Now, not only do the countries around the South China Sea need strong military forces, but Japan also has the will to support them. Japan wants to cooperate with India as a security provider for Southeast Asia.

*India is Trustworthy*

There are two reasons as to why India is perceived as a trustworthy partner by most countries except China and Pakistan. When we try to understand the military strategy of other countries, we collect information by not only reading official documents but also by exchanging opinions between experts in and out of government. Freedom of expression in India proves that experts can voice their complaints against government institutions freely. Thus, people can trust these experts in India. Secondly, because India has exercised restraint in the use of military power as a strategy in the past, most countries trust India. Below is given a list of India's military operations. This list proves that most of India's operations were *reactive* and the Indian Army has not crossed the border since 1972 except for peace-keeping or peace-building operations. India's restraint in the use of force is a consistent strategy. For most countries, the perception of India is that of a trustworthy country (Table 1).

**Table 1: The List of India's Military Operations<sup>19</sup>**

	<b>Active or Reactive</b>	<b>Type of Operation</b>	<b>Area of Operation</b>
Junagadh(1947)	Active	Limited war	Outside
India-Pak(1947-48)	Reactive	Limited war	Outside
Hyderabad(1948)	Active	Limited war	Outside
Northeast(1956-now)	Reactive	Counter-insurgency	Inside
Goa (1961)	Active	Limited war	Outside
India-China(1962)	Reactive	Limited war	Inside
Kutch (1965)	Reactive	Limited war	Inside
India-Pak (1965)	Reactive	Limited war	Outside
Nathu La & Chola (1967)	Reactive	Limited war	Inside
Maoist (1967-now)	Reactive	Counter-insurgency	Inside
India-Pak(1971)	Active	Limited war	Outside
Siachen(1984)	Active	Limited war	Inside
Falcon & Checkerboard(1986-87)	Reactive	Coercive diplomacy	Inside
Punjab(1984-92)	Reactive	Counter-insurgency	Inside
Brasstacks (1987)	Active	Coercive diplomacy	Inside
Sri Lanka(1987-90)	Active	Peace-building	Outside
Maldives(1988)	Reactive	Peace-building	Outside
Kashmir(1989-now)	Reactive	Counter-insurgency	Inside
1990Crisis(1990)	Reactive	Coercive diplomacy	Inside
Kargil(1999)	Reactive	Limited war	Inside
Parakram(2001-02)	Reactive	Coercive diplomacy	Inside
UNPKO	Reactive	Peace-keeping	Outside

### **Need for a Fixed Response**

To summarise the article, Japan faces China's aggressive maritime expansion in three theatres: the sea around Japan, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea. And Japan, the US, Australia and the countries around the South China Sea cannot persuade China to stop its aggressive policy in the near future because their military power is not enough. Thus, these countries, including Japan, need a new rising power. There

are four reasons why Japan wants to cooperate with India. Firstly, because India has a similar problem, dispersal of the China's military budget becomes a common interest between Japan and India. Secondly, India will be the country responsible in the Indian Ocean, with SLOCs for many countries, including Japan too. Thirdly, because India is a security provider of Southeast Asia, Japan wants to cooperate with India to strengthen Southeast Asian defence capabilities. And, finally, India is trustworthy.

In conclusion, in the article, the author suggests a fixed policy to enhance the Japan-India security cooperation to its next level. There are three options. Firstly, we should establish a Japan-India-Vietnam, Japan-India-Indonesia, Japan-India-Singapore, etc Trilateral Strategic Dialogue. Through the dialogue, both Japan and India can share information, discover the needs of these Southeast Asian countries and decide how to cooperate with, or support, them. Secondly, joint exercises could be useful in understanding each other and sharing knowhow. There has been a Japan-India Maritime Exercise since last year. We should think on the lines of starting similar trilateral or multilateral Japan-India-Vietnam, Japan-India-Indonesia, Japan-India-Singapore, etc exercises. Thirdly, Japan-India-Southeast Asian countries should equip their militaries with the same weapons. In the joint statement signed in May 2013, there is an important mention as follows: "They decided to establish a Joint Working Group (JWG) to explore the modality for the cooperation on the US-2 amphibian aircraft."<sup>20</sup> If Japan and India possess the same equipment, it will be easier to find ways to share knowhow. And if India procures the US-2 sea plane, Japan will export the same sea plane to the Southeast Asian countries. Furthermore, Japan is planning to export C-2 transport planes as the next step.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Japan has sophisticated know-how and equipment for submarine rescue and minesweeping. Japan has the technological capability to build all-weather roads, tunnels,

strategic railway lines, airports and helipads. Japan-India cooperation will be fruitful in many ways. Finally, we should remember a statement made by Prime Minister Abe at the Indian Parliament that will further reiterate this argument. He declared, “A strong India is in the best interest of Japan, and a strong Japan is in the best interest of India.”<sup>22</sup> If so, now is the time to begin the work.

## Notes

1. Joint Statement, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, *Strengthening the Strategic and Global Partnership between Japan and India beyond the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations*, May 30, 2013, at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000005381.pdf>
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15. Office of the US Secretary of Defence, *Annual Report to Congress; Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2011*, p. 38.
  16. Shishir Gupta, "PLA Restricting Indian Patrol Area: Report," *Hindustan Times*, September 3, 2013.
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  18. Report "Chinese Air Force Holds Night Flying Exercises in Tibet," *The Times of India*, July 23, 2013.
  19. Satoru Nagao, "The Emerging India is Not a Threat, Why? An Assessment from Japan," *Asia Pacific Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 3, July-December 2012, pp. 99-109. In this list, India's military operations have been divided into three categories. Firstly, 'active' or 'reactive', which refers to who sent combat troops first. Secondly, there are five types of operations: 'limited war' (the probability of total wars may have reduced after World War II, thus, most wars are limited wars); 'coercive diplomacy' (coercive diplomacy is one kind of diplomatic persuasion by using military intimidation; coercive diplomacy is not war or deterrence. In a war, one country compels its opponent by using military operations. In coercive diplomacy, attempts are made to persuade the opponent; "Whereas deterrence represents an effort to dissuade an opponent from undertaking an action that has not yet been initiated, coercive diplomacy attempts to reverse actions which have already been undertaken by an adversary"[Gordon A Craig and Alexander L George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Times Third Edition* (Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 196.); 'peace-building' (peace building is forceful operations for peace-keeping); 'peace-keeping' (peace-keeping is military operations based on the agreement of all the warring parties), and "counter-insurgency" (domestic operations to maintain law and order); And, thirdly, "area of operations" which refers to 'inside' or 'outside' of India.
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