

CHINA FACTOR IN JAPAN INDIA SECURITY COOPERATION

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Relations between Japan and India two ancient civilisations and two vibrant democracies have been built on practice of Buddhist religion, cultural similarities and historical linkages. However, the defence and strategic complementarities that have developed in the last one decade have been because of changing regional dynamics and the lacklustre performance of the regional security organisations. References has been made that the China factor plays prominently in the development of the relationship which is one of the main factor but not the only factor in the ties. The rise of China and its effect on the bilateral relationship between India and Japan need to be evaluated from a rational perspective. India and Japan have explored new complementarities given the increasing liberalised trade and investment between the two countries and the need for Japan to diversify its investment and trade portfolio. The cause for security cooperation between the two is to maintain balance of power in the region and create adequate cooperative measures so that China enmeshes itself into regional security obligations without structurally changing the status quo both in the Indian Ocean, South China Sea and East China Sea. This article addresses the evolving power matrix from the point of view of Japan and how it strengthens security cooperation with India for a peaceful and stable region.

Keywords: Security Cooperation, Japan, India, South China Sea, Major Power, East Sea, China's rise.

When one thinks about Japan India military relations as they stand today, it must not be forgotten that Japan is located far from India. A ten hour flight separates the two capitals. The database hosted by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs points out that about 9,000 Japanese lived in India in 2016,

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about 422,000 lived in US, roughly 128,000 lived in China and about 19,000 lived in Indonesia. Such factors that create distance between Japan and India have also explain fewer military relations between the two countries geographically.

However, since 2000s, furthering cooperation in military relations between Japan and India has been more and more plausible. For example, Japan and India began the Japan India US foreign ministerial level trilateral dialogue, Japan India Australia vice ministerial level trilateral dialogue and Japan India vice ministerial level foreign and defence 2 + 2 bilateral dialogue. Since 2012, Japan has participated in the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS). The two countries began joint naval exercises as part of an annual bilateral exercise, called Japan India Maritime Exercise (JIMEX) in 2012. The India US Malabar exercises decided to include Japan as a regular member since 2016. In 2017, the largest warship of Japan, *Izumo* participated in the Malabar exercise in the Indian Ocean¹. It was the first occasion for Japan to dispatch one of its four helicopter carriers to the Indian Ocean. This makes the military ties between Japan and India quite remarkable. The increasing security convergence between the two countries need a more detailed analysis and need to address the following questions.

Why has Japan sought security cooperation with India? Japan India relations have advanced since 2000s when the threat perception of China began to increase. Therefore, China is certainly a decisive factor when assessing Japan India security cooperation. Therefore, this paper will analyse three following questions: (1) What is the China factor for Japan? (2) What can Japan India cooperation do to maintain military balance against China? and (3) Why does Japan believe India to be a responsible great power?

1. WHAT IS THE CHINA FACTOR FOR JAPAN?

While China's rise has had both positive and negative ramifications for Japan, the negative aspects had a more significant influence and will, therefore, be analysed first.

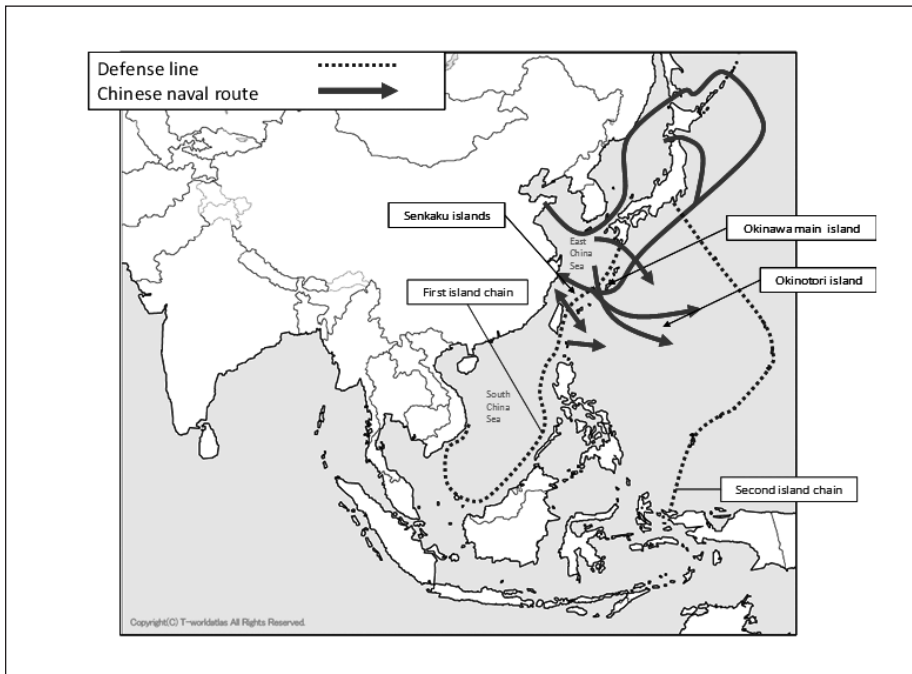
(1) Negative ramification of China's rise

China has been expanding its military activities around Japan and countries around South China Sea. For example, in the East China Sea a Chinese nuclear submarine violated the territorial seas of Japan in 2004. Since 2008,

¹ T Kelly and N Kubo, "Exclusive: Japan plans to send largest warship to South China Sea, sources say", Reuters, 14 March 2017 Web source: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-navy-southchinasea-exclusive-idUSKBN16K0UP> (accessed on 25 March 2017).

China has also begun naval exercises in the Pacific side of Japan. The area of these naval exercises has been expanding from the first island chain to the second, which form the defence line of China. In August 2013, five Chinese warships that had participated in the Russia China joint exercise travelled around Japan. This was the first time the Chinese navy moved around Japan (Figure 1). Along with these naval activities, the Chinese air force has also been expanding their activities².

Figure 1: China's naval activities around Japan



Source: Japan Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2016 (White Paper)*, p.54, 56. Web source: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2016/DOJ2016_1_2_3_web.pdf (accessed on 25 June 2017).

A White paper from the Japanese Ministry of Defense pointed out that “in FY 2012, the number of scrambles against Chinese aircrafts exceeded the number of those against the Russian aircrafts for the first time”³. The

² Ministry of Defense, Government of Japan, *Defense of Japan 2016 (Annual White Paper)*, Digest part III ,p.15 Web source: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2016/DOJ2016_Digest_part3_web.pdf (accessed on 27 November 2016).

³ Ministry of Defense of Japan, *Defense of Japan 2013 (Annual White Paper)*, Digest part III ,p.1 Web Source: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2013/04_Digest_part3.pdf (accessed on 25 October 2015).

⁴ Japan Ministry of Defense, *Statistics on scrambles through fiscal year 2016*, Web source: <http://www.mod>.

number of scrambles against Chinese aircraft increased to 851 in 2016⁴. In addition, in November 2013, China set up a new “Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ)”. This is tantamount to the Chinese navy being given air cover by the Chinese air force for expanding their area of activities. In the South China Sea too, China has expanded their military activities. However, the Permanent Court of Arbitration rejected China’s ownership claim of 90% of South China Sea in 2016, China is ignoring the verdict and building three new airports on their seven artificial islands in the South China Sea⁵. These facts indicate that China will deploy ballistic missile submarines under the protection of fighter jets launched from these artificial islands and then exclude all foreign ships and airplanes that might identify their submarines⁶. A report written by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe pointed out that “If Japan were to yield, the South China Sea would become even more fortified”⁷.

(2) Changing military balance as the background reality

Why has China’s intensified so much lately? In Aug 2013, then Japanese Defence Minister Itsunori Onodera’s said in a statement at a symposium in Tokyo 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.”⁸ This statement clearly denotes that Southeast Asian countries cannot deter China’s assertiveness as they do not have enough military power to do so.

It seems that China’s maritime expansion is based on military balance, if history is any guide. For example, when France withdrew from Vietnam

go.jp/js/Press/press2017/press_pdf/p20170413_02.pdf (accessed on 25 June 2017).

⁵ Prof. Swaran Singh, Dr. Lilian Yamamoto, “Spectre of China’s Artificial Islands”, Indian Defence Review, July-September 2015, pp.78-82.

⁶ Reiji Yoshida, “Beijing’s Senkaku goal: Sub ‘safe haven’ in South China Sea: Quest for isles a strategic aim: former MSDF rear admiral”, The Japan Times, 7 November 2012 Web source: <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2012/11/07/national/beijings-senkaku-goal-sub-safe-haven-in-south-china-sea/#.WDQ774VOKUk> (accessed on 25 November 2016)

⁷ Sinzo Abe, “Asia’s Democratic Security Diamond”, Project Syndicate, 27 Dec 2012 Web source: <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-strategic-alliance-for-japan-and-india-by-shinzo-abe#Vd6yytDokZJCiwv.01> (accessed on 27 November 2016)

⁸ Harumi Ozawa, “Japan Could Be ‘Main Player’ in Asia Conflict: Minister” Defense News, August. 26, 2013, Web source: <http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130826/DEFREG03/308260005/Japan-Could-Main-Player-Asia-Conflict-Minister> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

⁹ Japan Ministry of Defense China’s activities in the South China Sea, December 2016 Web source: <http://www.>

in the 1950s, China occupied half of the Paracel Islands. China occupied the other half of the Paracel Islands in 1974 immediately after the Vietnam war ended and the United States withdrew from the region. After the Soviet Union withdrew from Vietnam, China attacked the Spratly Islands controlled by Vietnam in 1988. Along similar lines, after the United States withdrew from the Philippines, China occupied Mischief Reef, which both the Philippines and Vietnam claimed⁹.

After the Cold War, the military balance around the South China Sea has changed. The procurement of submarines is a good example since the main task of submarines is to tackle statist threats by collecting vital information about the opponent and destroying their ships. China has acquired at least 43 submarines between 2000 and 2016. During the same period, Singapore and Vietnam have acquired only 5 submarines each, while Malaysia has acquired 2. In the South China Sea, there is no other coastal country that has acquired submarines until 2016. Similar to the situation in the South China Sea, the military balance between Japan and China has also been changing fast. Compared with China's whopping 43, Japan has acquired only 16 submarines since 2000.

Reflecting on the situation of Japan and countries around the South China Sea, it becomes evident that despite not possessing enough military power, US emerges as the key player in maintaining a military balance in that region. The caveat, however, US power is also declining. Since 2000, US has acquired only 14 submarines while the total number of submarines possessed by the US has declined from 127 in 1990 to 73 in 2015. Although US submarines are far more sophisticated than China's, numerically they have been decreasing. Vice Admiral Joseph Mulloy, deputy chief of naval operations for capabilities and resources, said that "China has more diesel and nuclear powered submarines than the United States as of February 2015"¹⁰.

In addition, the US cannot concentrate all military power in Asia because it needs to deal with problems in other parts of the world as well. Japan and/or countries around South China Sea are concerned about a situation where the US might be involved in conflicts in Eastern Europe, Middle East, Central and South America or Africa and cannot provide enough military support in the South China Sea region in case of a conflict erupting in the latter.

mod.go.jp/j/approach/surround/pdf/ch_d-act_20161222e.pdf (accessed on 25 June 2017).

¹⁰ "China submarines outnumber U.S. fleet: U.S. admiral" Reuter, 25 February 2015 Web source: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/25/us-usa-china-submarines-idUSKBN0LT2NE20150225> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

¹¹ Tim Kelly and Nobuhiro Kubo, "U.S. would welcome Japan air patrols in South China Sea", Reuters, 29

Although President Trump promised to increase the number of warships and fighter jets to “make America great again,” US influence as a security provider has been declining. As a result, US allies and friendly countries in the Indo Pacific also view the future with anxiety. The US has not dissuaded China from building artificial islands in the South China Sea. US allies and friendly countries including the Philippines and Vietnam are concerned about the possibility that the US will strike a deal with China and abandon their interests.

US allies and friendly countries now require a new security framework to adjust to the situation.

(3) The positive side of China’s rise

Despite the negative ramifications discussed above, the positive aspect of China’s rise should not be overlooked. We are facing not only a continuous quest for power but also non state security threats and other global challenges. Although countries around the Indo Pacific have been undergoing increased economic development, challenges such as piracy, smuggling, terrorism and failed states remain. Thus, Japan holds China’s efforts to deal with Islamic extremism in Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa or anti piracy measures in the coast of Somalia in a positive light. Japan has already negotiated with China on how to keep peace and order in Afghanistan. Japan has also cooperated with China in anti piracy measures.

In addition, the world needs to collectively prepare for new challenges. Pressing concerns such as a rising sea level, climate challenge etc. will trigger novel security problems in the near future. In 2015, millions of refugees from Middle East, Africa and Central Asia have come to Europe. Such challenges will affect world politics sooner or later by changing the economic and environmental conditions of the region. Thus, if China shares the responsibility to tackle these global problems, China’s rise will have a positive impact.

However, what remains of concern is China’s irresponsible behaviour. In 2014, China sent submarines towards the Indian Ocean under the pretext of anti piracy measures although submarines are not an effective weapon to deal with piracy. If China shows such irresponsible attitude towards global issues, countries around China including Japan will not be able to perceive China’s rise in a positive light.

(4) Emerging “New Alliance” system

A central reason for the rising significance of new security partnerships for Japan is the pace at which the Chinese military is modernizing. On a positive

note, China's rise could be integral to dealing with pressing problems, but China needs to construct a responsible image and the surrounding countries need to persuade China enough to work on it. How should that be done? Two strategies might be effective.

First, maintaining the military balance is the topmost priority to prevent any worst case scenario. In view of declining US military power, the best method for maintaining the military balance should be devised. Secondly, great powers around China including Japan should show the Chinese that responsible behaviour will have mutually beneficial outcomes for all concerned. A cooperative system should emerge in this region to fulfil these two conditions.

After World War II, bilateral alliances led by the US, like Japan US, US South Korea, US Australia, US Philippines have maintained order in the Indo Pacific. After 1970s, even China has been friendly with the US against the Soviet Union. However, despite US allying with many countries in East Asia, a closer defence relation among these allies was lacking. For example, both Japan and Australia are US allies, but during the Cold War there were no close security relations between them. This system would effectively function if the US has enough military resources to tackle all the problems in this region.

In such a context, US allies like Japan and Australia, that are dependent on US military power and information, would require necessary help from the US and resolve issues if any.

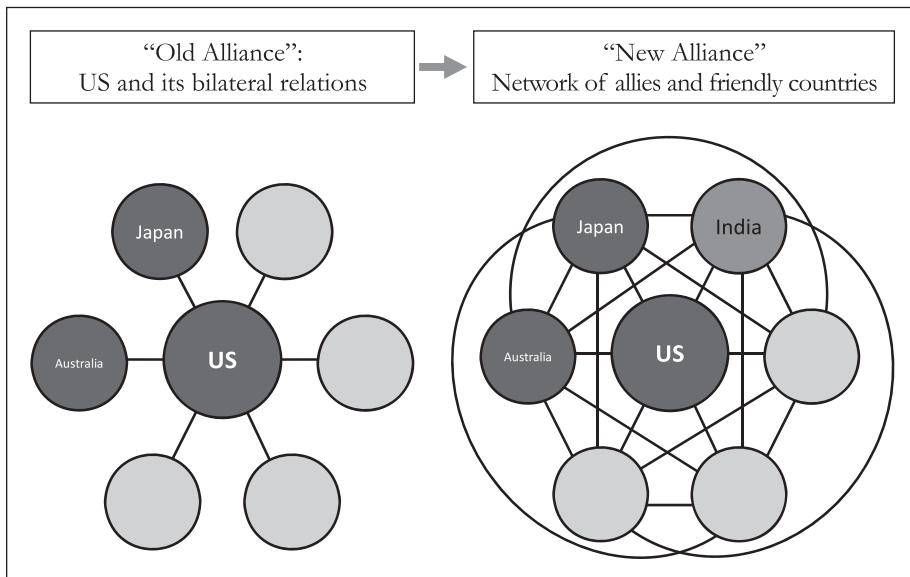
However, the situation has changed gradually on the ground. Owing to the decline of US military resources, the bilateral "Old Alliance" system is not sufficient to maintain peace and order in the region. The changing power balance is best reflected in China's assertiveness in the region and emphasizes the need for an alternative system.

Currently, a "New alliance" system has gradually emerged. Several multilateral security cooperation arrangements have recently emerged: Japan India US, Japan US Australia Japan India US Australia Singapore to name a few. These arrangements are of key importance to an understanding of the "New Alliance". There is a possibility that the network of these several bilateral and trilateral security initiatives would culminate in a collective security system in the near future (Figure 2).

The first Japan India Australia Trilateral Dialogue held in June 2015 was especially symbolic because it did not include the US. Declining military resources of the US demands that their allies share responsibilities and do so proactively. The trilateral dialogue (which did not include US) is an effort to

share responsibilities of the US. In January 2015, the 7th fleet commander of the US Navy mentioned that they would welcome Japan to patrol the South China Sea¹¹. This example shows that US wants Japan to share some of its naval responsibilities. Hence, in the near future, it is likely that countries in this region will start new trilateral frameworks like Japan India Vietnam¹², India Indonesia Australia¹³ etc. In the worst case scenario, this alliance system will maintain military balance with China.

Figure 2: “Old alliance” and “New alliance”



Source: Satoru Nagao, “The Japan India Australia “Alliance” as Key Agreement in the Indo Pacific”, ISPSW Publication September 2015, Issue No.375, (Berlin, The Institute for strategic, political, security and economic consultancy (ISPSW)) <http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital library/publications/publication.html/193713> (accessed 25 June 2017)

January 2015 Web source: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/29/us-japan-southchinasca-idUSKBN0L20HV20150129> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

¹² Satoru Nagao, “Assessing the Strategic Importance of Vietnam: Current Security Dynamics for Japan and India” Defence and Security Alert, April 2013, Volume 4, Issue 7, (New Delhi, Ocean Media Private Limited), pp.28-31. Web source: <http://www.dsalert.org/int-experts-opinion/international-geopolitics/594-assessing-the-strategic-importance-of-vietnam-current-security-dynamics-for-japan-and-india> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

¹³ Ashok Malik, Australia, India, Indonesia: A Trilateral Dialogue on Indian Ocean, (Observer Research Foundation, 17 September 2013) Web source: <http://orfonline.org/cms/sites/orfonline/modules/analysis/AnalysisDetail.html?cmaid=57164&mmacmaid=57165> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

However, it is crucial that the concerned countries do not ignore the flexibility of this “New Alliance”. The “New Alliance” system is not solely limited to allies and friendly countries, but could be extended to others including China and Russia if these countries act responsibly under agreed set of rules. For example, the US invited China to Rim of the Pacific Exercises in 2014. By such initiatives, the US tried to persuade China to cooperate with the US and its allies. India and other Southeast Asian countries have also held joint exercises with China. In anti piracy measures off the coast of Somalia, not only Japan, India, US and other Asian and European countries but also China and Russia cooperate amongst themselves. These examples indicate that this cooperative multilateral security framework has good potential not only for maintaining military balance but also for defusing tension.

Therefore, in view from both the positive as well as the negative side of China’s rise, the “New Alliance” system is an effective system. In this system, cooperation between a proactive Japan and a rising India will be the deciding factor. It is now fruitful to present an analysis of two related questions, i.e., “What can Japan India cooperation do to maintain military balance?”, “Why does Japan believe India to be a responsible great power?”

2. WHAT CAN JAPAN INDIA COOPERATION DO TO MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE AGAINST CHINA?

What could be the role of Japan India strategic cooperation in this regard? There are three areas especially where Japan India cooperation can help maintain the military balance with China and deter the worst case scenario.

(1) The linkage of Indo China border area and East China Sea

In the context of the Indo China border area, it is known that the military balance is changing due to rapid infrastructural modernization by the Chinese military. Within 48 hours, Chinese armed forces can be ready for battle in the border area whereas India needs one week for preparation due to the lack of connectivity¹⁴. This means that India could land up in a dangerous situation facing a more than three times bigger Chinese force in the border area¹⁵.

¹⁴ Deepthiman Tiwary, “Chinese clearing forest cover to grab border land” The Times of India, August 26, 2013 Web source: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-08-26/india/41453967_1_chinese-troops-incursion-sino-indian-border (accessed on 25 October 2015).

¹⁵ Rajat Pandit, “India boring border tunnels to take on China, Pakistan” The Times of India, 16 August, 2012 Web source: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-08-16/india/33232484_1_tunnels-rangposikkim (accessed on 25 October 2015). Raful Singh, “India far behind China’s combat power” Hindustan Times, 12 December 2013 Web source: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/india-far-behind-china-s-combat-power/article1-1161711.aspx> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

Along with such rapid military modernization, the area of Chinese military activities too has been widening. Since 2011, India recorded more than 300 incursions every year. In addition, China is deploying troops in Pakistan administered Kashmir as well as a part of “China Pakistan Economic Corridor”.

Thus, nowadays, Japan and India are sharing a similar problem. Owing to their geographical location (located at opposite sides of China) Japan India cooperation can rectify their respective numerical inferiority. For example, if India cooperates with Japan, India will not need to deal with all the Chinese fighters at once because China is likely to keep some of their fighters in their east side against Japan and vice versa.

Therefore, under the Japan India strategic cooperation, by using know how of high end military infrastructural development, Japan is willing to support India’s efforts to modernize India’s defence in the Indo China border area. Since 2014, Japan has planned to invest in India’s strategic road project in the Northeast region of India. By using this road, the Indian army can deploy more forces and arrange supplies to the border area. This road building project is just a beginning. The Japanese government will ease regulations that restrict Japan’s Official Development Assistance to support military related infrastructural projects, further substantial support from Japan’s side may be expected in India’s strategic projects like construction of roads, tunnels, airports and helipads of strategic importance.

(2) India’s rise helps lower the heavy burden of Japan and US in the Indian Ocean

a. China has started to increase their military activities in the Indian Ocean

Secondly, in the Indian Ocean, China has started to increase their military activities in the India Ocean. China is concerned about their total dependence on Sea Line of Communications (SLOCs) from Middle East to China through the Strait of Malacca, in response to which they have tried to make an alternative route via Middle East Pakistan China and/or Middle East Myanmar China through the Indian Ocean, as a part of “One Belt One Road” initiative.

Since the middle of 2000s, China’s military activities in the Indian Ocean have been expanding. At least 7 deployments were recorded which involved Chinese submarines patrolling the Indian Ocean since 2013¹⁶. In addition,

¹⁶ “Six cases of Chinese submarine deployment in Indian Ocean in four years: Navy chief Sunil Lanba”, Indian Express, 30th March 2017) Web source: <http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil-nadu/2017/mar/30/six-cases-of-chinese-submarine-deployment-in-indian-ocean-in-four-years-navy-chief-sunil-lanba-1587558.html> (accessed on 29 June 2017).

China also exports submarines to countries around India. Bangladesh received two submarines from China in 2016 and Pakistan decided to import 8 Chinese submarines for their navy. The possibility that Pakistan may also be willing to possess nuclear submarines must not be overlooked. Because Pakistan does not have the technology, there is again reasonable possibility that China will support such “indigenous” nuclear submarines to counter India.

The activities of these submarines indicate that the area of influence of China in the Indian Ocean is going to expand. The Indian Navy will need to have enough ships to keep a regular watch over the location and purpose of other countries’ submarines, because these “Chinese” submarines can potentially attack India’s nuclear ballistic missile submarines and SLOCs. This means that these submarines will, to a great deal, regulate India’s naval activities.

China’s strategic weakness is, however, that it does not have a naval port in the region. Therefore, China is setting up their base in Djibouti. In addition, under the “String of Pearl Strategy”, China is investing to develop ports such as Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Chittagong in Bangladesh and Kyaukpyu in Myanmar in the Indian Ocean. If the Chinese navy uses civil purpose ports as naval supply bases, China could successfully tackle their weakness of not having a naval port in the region. Currently, China is planning to deploy two marine brigades to defend base in Djibouti and Gwadar¹⁷.

b. India set to key role in the Indian Ocean

Why has China’s assertiveness heightened the Indian Ocean lately? The changing US China military balance could have affected the situation. The US influence in the India Ocean region increased in the 1970s. The US dispatched aircraft carrier battle groups several times in order to respond to conflicts within the region, such as the third Indo Pakistan War, the Gulf War, *Operation Enduring Freedom* after 9/11 and the Iraq War. The US used the island of Diego Garcia as a hub to deploy military power. However, because US naval power has been declining, China has been increasing naval activities in the Indian Ocean similar to its activities in the East China Sea and South China Sea. Thus, we need to find alternative country to fill a potential power vacuum in this region.

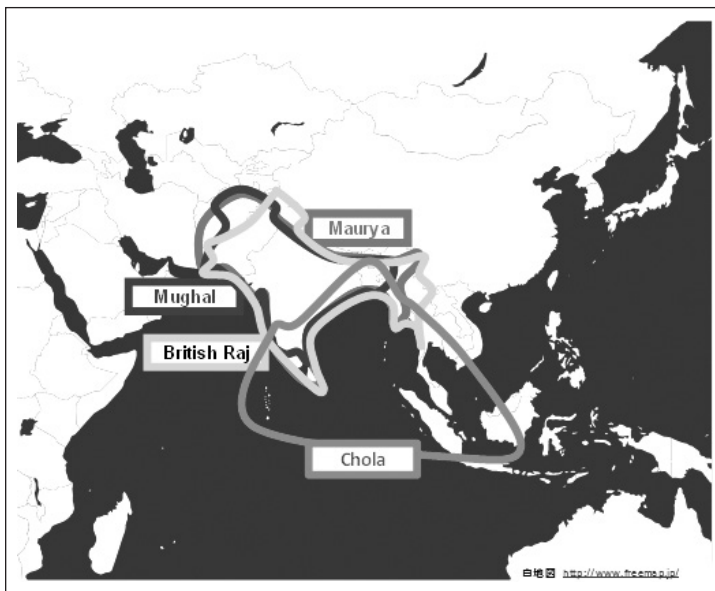
There is a high possibility that, in the near future, India will be the most influential sea power to fill the power vacuum in the Indian Ocean region. There are six reasons which Alfred Thayer Mahan (1890) who analysed why

¹⁷ “China may station Marines in Gwadar, say PLA insiders”, Indian Express, 13rh, March 13, 2017 Web source: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/pla-navy-plans-china-navy-marine-corps-gwadar-djibouti/1/903117.html> (accessed on 29 June 2017).

Britain had been a sea power, pointed out. He listed six core factors i.e. 1) “Geographical Position”, 2) “Physical Conformation (especially, the length of coast lines)”, 3) “Extent of Territory (especially the balance between the extent of coastal line and military defence resources)”, 4) “Size of Population (for working at sea)”, 5) “Character of the People”, and 6) “Character of the Government”.

Taking these factors into account, India has an advantageous “geographical position” because the Indian subcontinent is separated from the Eurasian continent by high mountains. This advantage has historically proven significant. There were only 3 empires which dominated most of the sub continent in Indian history: The Maurya Empire, the Mughal Empire and the British Raj. The territories of these three empires were very similar and all their territories are based on the mountain range (Figure 3). Thus, the Indian sub continent is one kind of island. India can concentrate on its naval forces only if it possesses the necessary will.

Figure 3: Influential area of empires in the sub continent



Source: Satoru Nagao, “The emerging India is not a threat. Why? An assessment from Japan” Asia Pacific Journal of Social Science, Vol. III, Jul. Dec. 2012, pp.99 -109.

In addition, the history of Cholas indicates another geographical advantage for India. Representatives of the Chola Empire, which was located in Southern India, made an expedition to Southeast Asia in the 11th century.

The sphere of its influence had expanded along the entire coastal area off the Bay of Bengal. This historical fact is another prominent example of India's geographical advantage. Since India is located at the northern centre of the Indian Ocean, it is not only able to access Southeast Asia but also all sides of the Indian Ocean, including the Middle East and East Africa.

India has "physical conformation" because it has 7517 (only mainland 6100) km of coastline. This means that India has enough "Extent of Territory". Presently, India is acquiring more than 100 warships. By 2030, India is planning to increase the number of warships from 139 to 212¹⁸. There is a possibility that India will possess 3 aircraft carrier battle groups and 9 nuclear submarines by 2030.

India has the fifth or sixth largest number of seafarers, about 55,000 sailors employed around the world. Thus, India also satisfies the condition of "number of population" working at sea. Based on the history of the Chola Empire, there is also a possibility that the "character of the people" in India could be sea power oriented. Finally, taking these two characteristics and the "character of government" into account, the Indian government is interested in expanding its sea power.

The 2012 "Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the Twenty First Century" report, based on the discussions of many former National Security Advisors of India states that "presently, Indian military power has a continental orientation. Emerging as a maritime power should thus be India's strategic objective."¹⁹ And India's defence budget has increased the share of its navy from 12.7% in 1990 to 15.8% in 2015²⁰.

Thus, according to Mahan's theory, India has sufficient potential to become a sea power and thereby an influential country in the Indian Ocean Region. If India has the required will and develops sufficient capabilities, the cooperation with India could contribute significantly for Japan. This is because Japan and its ally US will be able to release themselves from the

¹⁸ KS Subramanian, "Bridge the Gap Between Plan and Execution What Ails Warship Building in India", *Indian Military Review*, Volume 7, December 2016, pp.10-12. "Indian Navy to have 200 warships in next 10 years", *The Times of India*, 13 November 2013. Web source: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-11-13/india/44028232_1_ins-vikramaditya-navy-day-ins-khukri (accessed on 12 March 2017).

¹⁹ Sunil Khilnani, Rajiv Kumar, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Lt.Gen (Retd.) Prakash Menon, Nandan Nilekani, Srinath Raghavan, Shyam Saran, Siddharth Baradarajan, *Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the Twenty-first Century*, (2012), P.38. Web source: http://www.cprindia.org/sites/default/files/NonAlignment%202.0_1.pdf (accessed on 25 October 2015).

²⁰ Ministry of Defence (Government of India), "Annual Report 2015-2016", p.13. Web source: <http://mod.nic.in/writereaddata/Annual2016.pdf> (accessed on 12 March 2017).

heavy burden to safeguard security in the Indian Ocean and can deploy more military force in the East China Sea and West China Sea to maintain the military balance in Asia.

c. What could be the contribution of Japan India defence cooperation in the Indian Ocean?

Firstly, India can use Japan's technology to strengthen its naval power. For example, Similar to the cooperation in the Indo China border area, Japan is also planning to assist India's airport project in the Andaman Nicobar Islands. If India could strengthen these bases, it would be relatively easy to project power in the Malacca Strait.

Japan will also contribute to India's shipbuilding capabilities to build warships including aircraft carriers and submarines. Japan already possesses sophisticated helicopter carriers, cruisers, destroyers, frigates and conventional submarines etc. At present, India wants to not only get arms, but also the capacity to build under "Make in India" policy. If so, Japan and India shipbuilding cooperation would be an important initiative.

Beyond shipbuilding, arms trade will be another important part of Japan India strategic cooperation. Currently, Japan and India are under negotiation of trading US 2 rescue planes. This rescue plane can land on the sea and take off on sea. Despite rescuing being the main purpose of the plane, it can also be used for marking the country's presence. For example, if India deploys this plane for rescuing people or for disaster management in other countries, it will be perceived as a marker of India's will to extend tangible support to those in need and thus mark India's presence. Their image of India will improve and India can expand its influence in these countries. From Japan's perspective, this plane could be a very useful political tool for India.

And, US 2 is just a beginning to trade arms between the two countries. Japan has considerably many such sophisticated technologies and know how. For example, to protect India's aircraft carriers, India needs to deal with China's anti ship ballistic missiles which can attack India's aircraft carrier. This means that India needs sea based missile defence system. Now, under Japan US joint development of sea based missile defence system, Japan is developing some of the most important parts of this system. If so, Japan and India along with US can cooperate in the missile defence sector. And because missile defence system is closely related with space technologies, there is a possibility that Japan - India - US cooperation in missile defence sector will develop to space defence cooperation as well.

Mine sweeping is also an important tool for India to deal with Chinese submarines because submarines can set up sea mines. Japan has good know how and equipment to deal with sea mines. Because of World War II, Japan needs to sweep these sea mines more than 65 years after the war. In 1950, Japan joined the Korean War to sweep sea mines (Japan was not independent in 1950). And after the first Gulf War in 1991, Japan deployed mine sweepers to deal with mines after the Gulf War. As a result, under the Japan US alliance, US holds up a hope to these Japan's sea mine sweepers. Japan is proud of their world class know how and equipment to deal with sea mines. If India needs to deal with sea mines set up by China's submarines, Japan and India can share this skill and equipment under the Japan India strategic cooperation.

Therefore, to deal with China's naval activities in the Indian Ocean, Japan India strategic cooperation could be very effective and useful.

d. Japan India collaborate to support coastal countries in the Indian Ocean

When we think about developing infrastructure in countries around India, Japan India cooperation is useful there too. In the countries around India, China has invested heavily to build infrastructure and expanded their influence. If India does not possess adequate budget and technology, China will increase their influence in the Indian Ocean region and harm the 'great power image' of India. For example, Sri Lanka has an important location safeguarding sea lines of communications in the Indian Ocean. For that reason, China has been very active in the immediate area. In fact, China is building ports in Colombo and Hambantota. Coming along with economic support, Chinese submarines have visited Sri Lanka. If China supports Sri Lankan development, then little motivation exists for Sri Lanka to refuse economic support from China.

Thus, Japan India cooperation is a useful method to rectify India's individual numerical inferiority. Japan and India can cooperate to develop Trincomalee port to neutralize China's influence. If India's knowledge in South Asia and Japan's budget and technology could be coupled, India's influence would strengthen.

Currently, Japan and India are planning to develop Chabahar Port in Iran. In addition, the "Asia Africa Development Corridor" vision, based on India's goodwill and Japan's financial resources was launched in 2017²¹.

²¹ Dipanjan Chaudhury "India, Japan-come-up-with-AAGC-to-counter-China's-OBOR", Economic Times, 26th May 2017. Web source: http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/india-japan-come-up-with-aagc-to-counter-chinas-obor/articleshow/58846673.cms?utm_source=WAPUsers&utm_medium=twittershare&utm_campaign=socialsharebutton&from=mdr (accessed on 29 June 2017).

(3) Japan and India can collaborate to support countries around South China Sea

In the South China Sea, because China's military power is far bigger than other countries, the countries around South China Sea need to amalgamate their leadership as one integrated power and beef up their military power with a trustworthy partner to provide coastal countries with military support. In this case, Japan India strategic cooperation will be useful.

“With increasing Chinese assertion in the South China Sea since 2001, many countries like Vietnam, Philippines and Singapore want India's increased presence in the Southeast Asia²².” And by now, India has already started to support armed forces in Southeast Asia as a part of “Look East Policy” and its updated version “Act East policy”.

India has trained the crew of aircraft carriers in Thailand, crew of submarine and fighter pilots in Vietnam and pilots and land crew of fighter airplanes in Malaysia. Further, India has agreed to train the pilots and provide maintenance to the fighter airplanes in the Indonesian Air Force. Singapore is using India's land and air base for their training.

Although Japan has not supported armed force in Southeast Asia since long, but has supported many systems including the anti piracy system, Tsunami warning system, cyber defence system and building infrastructure like air and sea ports. These systems are indirectly related with maritime security in South China Sea. In addition, under the current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan has also started arms donation to these countries. For example, Japan will donate patrol ships to Vietnam and the Philippines.

Thus, if Japan and India collaborate with each other, we can support countries around South China Sea more effectively. For example, if Japan built the airport in Vietnam and the Indian Air Force trained Vietnam's fighter pilots, Vietnam can get both an airport and fighter pilots. Furthermore, if accepted by Vietnam, both Japan and India can share the airbase for refueling and thus support Vietnam by showing their presence in this region. Hence, under the Japan India Vietnam cooperation, we can create a win win win situation.

To achieve this goal, what kind of systems ought to be established? In January 2014, when PM Abe visited Delhi, the two prime ministers “welcomed the launch of a bilateral dialogue on ASEAN affairs.” It will be useful if such dialogue will promote a more practical trilateral strategic dialogue.

²² Pankaj K Jha, *India and China in Southeast Asia: Competition or Cooperation?*, Manas Publications, 2013, p.132.

For example, Japan India Vietnam, Japan India Philippine, Japan India Singapore, Japan India Indonesia, Japan India Malaysia etc. Through such dialogue, both Japan and India can share the information, better identify the needs of these Southeast Asian countries and decide how to cooperate or support these countries.

3. WHY DOES JAPAN BELIEVE INDIA TO BE A RESPONSIBLE GREAT POWER?

If India challenges the status quo and disturbs stability in the region like China, India will no longer be trustworthy for Japan. How responsible is India's behaviour likely to remain? Because of three factors it can be inferred that India will remain trustworthy.

Firstly, India is a democratic country which Japan has trust in. A holistic understanding and assessment of military strategy is based not only on official documents but also by exchanging opinions among experts in and out of government. However, when Chinese experts are asked about matters related to defence, their replies are the same as the official views. They are not 'allowed' to have a different view on such matters. The lack of critical thinking and opaqueness in access to information in China raises fears among the neighbouring countries about its real intentions. India, on the other hand, there is no such regulation.

Secondly, India is not likely to challenge the status quo in South Asia. Because India has already been the only great power in South Asia, it cannot garner more benefit from bullying smaller neighbours. India's GDP is seven times bigger than Pakistan's since the 1971 Indo Pak war²³. Now, about 80% of the total defence budget spent in South Asia is spent by India alone. If India tries to attack small neighbours, size of the opponent being far smaller, India can get only some marginal benefit at best. Instead of bullying its neighbours, India has shown a generous attitude to persuade them to cooperate. Such policy reflects a much expected maturity on the part a leader in South Asia. Thus, such generosity encourages Japan to trust India as a responsible country that will neither challenge status quo nor disturb peace. Simply said, India's attitude in South Asia is not China's attitude in West Pacific.

And thirdly, international cooperation inevitably leads to greater Indian influence since the country has a long experience of joint international military operations. Why is international cooperation so important for

²³ Angus Maddison's database of GDP, Population from 1926-2010. Web source: <http://www.ggdc.net/MADDISON/oriindex.htm> (accessed on 25 October 2015).

an influential country? There are three reasons. Firstly, an open society builds a secure feeling for other countries. Secondly, the experience gained through several multi national operations, such as the PKO, joint exercises, and military capacity building activities contributes to acquiring the know how to manage multilateral cooperation necessary for becoming a leading country in this region. Thirdly, rich experience of international cooperation implies sufficient contribution towards global problems as a responsible great power.

4. CONCLUSION: WHY HAS JAPAN SOUGHT SECURITY COOPERATION WITH INDIA?

To summarize the salient points of the article, Japan wants to deter China's assertiveness by maintaining military balance and persuading China to show more responsible behaviour. For this cooperation (particularly in the realm of security) between pro active Japan and rising India will be the decisive factor. To maintain military balance, Japan and India must cooperate by using the linkage of East China Sea and Indo China Border, share the burden in the Indian Ocean and collaborate to support countries around China in the South China Sea. India's behaviour is also likely to remain that of a responsible power. Collectively speaking then, these are the reasons why Japan is seeking more cooperation with India lately. The time has come to proactively further this cooperation to ensure prosperous stability in the whole of Indo Pacific.