

Visit of JINF Delegation to New Delhi, India

Japan Institute for National Fundamentals (JINF) sent its delegation to New Delhi from December 12 to 19, 2010, to exchange views about China with Indian government officials, scholars and journalists. The delegation found out there is a big room for security cooperation between Japan and India to counter China's pressure and threats. During a round-table meeting organized by Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) for the delegation, Ms. Yoshiko Sakurai, President of JINF, made a speech emphasizing the necessity to revise the constitution of Japan and gained understanding and support from most participants.

At a meeting with the JINF delegation, Dr. Brahma Chellaney, professor of strategic studies at the Centre for Policy Research, proposed that Japan, India, the Republic of Korea, Vietnam and other countries surrounding China build close strategic relationships to check China's arrogant behavior. Comparing Japan, India and China to the three sides of a triangle, the famed strategist noted that a combination of two shorter sides (Japan and India) would always be longer than the longest side (China). He thus emphasized that Japan and India should enhance their relationship to counter China's expansionism. In an article he later contributed to JINF, Professor Chellaney pointed out that Japan and India could be united with the United States and Russia to prevent any China-led new order from emerging in Asia (a "Speaking Out" column dated December 20, 2010).

At the ICWA seminar, Indian participants indicated they were not satisfied with the present level of Japan-India military cooperation. Although Indians welcomed the Japanese government's positive attitude on its strategic cooperation with India, cooperation had so far been limited to multilateral military exercises and the bilateral exchange of students from the armed forces, a participant said. Another Indian expert said Japan would have to revise Article 9 of its Constitution and the three principles on arms exports, thereby allowing for closer Japan-India cooperation to hold the key to Asian security.

At the JINF delegation's meeting with the Vuvekananda International Foundation (VIF), a newly established policy research institute composed of retired military officers and former government officials, the VIF side proposed a joint research with JINF on how to respond to a growingly assertive China and how Japan and India should militarily cooperate.

As possible areas for Japan-India military cooperation, VIF Deputy Director G.D. Bakshi cited: first, cooperation between the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force

and the Indian Navy in anti-piracy operations and secondly ballistic missile defense. No country may oppose Japan-India military cooperation if it is for anti-piracy, he said. In addition, Japan and India have become targets of China's Dongfeng 21 medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBM) and China's ongoing development of an anti-ship ballistic missile (ASBM) is expected to enhance its anti-access capabilities. That's why missile defense becomes suitable for Japan-India cooperation, he said.

Another area for future cooperation between the Japanese MSDF and Indian Navy might be securing free navigation in the South China Sea. At a meeting with the JINF delegation, the prime minister's national security adviser Shivshankar Menon said the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries and China alike may not like to see India's naval operations in the South China Sea, indicating that he was not necessarily enthusiastic about such an idea. But some scholars outside the government presented positive views on this issue.

On the MSDF's possible operations in the South China Sea, retired Rear Admiral Sumihiko Kawamura of Japan gave his views when he participated as guest speaker in a meeting of the JINF planning committee on December 9 prior to JINF's visit to India. He suggested that American military experts are in favor of the MSDF's participation in Japan-U.S. joint patrol operations in the South China Sea. In this connection, Admiral Kawamura noted; MSDF's P-3C anti-submarine patrol aircraft at the Naha base could conduct patrol operations in the South China Sea; Japan would not have to take any new legislative action for patrol in the South China Sea; China would have no reason to criticize such Japanese operations in the South China Sea as most of it is out of China's territorial waters. He explained nothing was necessary for P-3Cs to take part in patrol operations there but a decision by the Japanese government.

The delegation was composed of Ms. Sakurai, Dr. Tadae Takubo (Vice President), Mr. Katsuhiko Takaike, Mr. Yoichi Shimada, Mr. Yujiro Oiwa, Mr. Hironobu Ishikawa and Mr. Yasushi Tomiyama.

The people the delegation met in Delhi include;

- Government Officials: Shivshankar Menon (National Security Adviser), Gautam Bambawale (Joint Secretary, East Asia, Ministry of External Affairs),
- Former Government Officials: Kapil Sibal (former Foreign Secretary), Tibbu Daulet Singh (former Foreign Secretary), Jayadeva Ranade (former Additional Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat),
- Scholars: Brahma Chellaney (Centre for Policy Research), G. V. C. Naidu (Jawaharlal Nehru University), Sushila Narsimhan (University of Delhi), H. S. Prabhakar

(Jawaharlal Nehru University),

-Think Tanks: Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA): Sudhir Devare (Director General), Vijay Sakhuja (Director Research), Sanjeev Kumar (Research Fellow),

Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA): Rajaram Panda (Senior Fellow), Pankaj Jha (Associate Fellow), S. S. Parmar (Research Fellow)

Observer Research Foundation (ORF): K. V. Kesavan (Distinguished Fellow), Aftab Seth (former Ambassador to Japan), Rajeswari Rajagopalan (Senior Fellow), Niranjian Sahoo (Senior Fellow),

Vuvekananda International Foundation (VIF): Ajit Doval (Director), G. D. Bakshi (Deputy Director), Satish Chandra (Distinguished Fellow), Vinod Anand (Senior Fellow),

-Journalists: C. Raja Mohan (the Indian Express), S. Nihal Singh, Nitin Gokhale (NDTV)

Text of speech by Ms. Yoshiko Sakurai at ICWA on December 14, 2010

Changing International Environments Surrounding Japan
And the Position of JINF

Ambassador Devare, Director Research Dr. Sakhuja, friends from the Indian Council of World Affairs, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the opportunity to deliver a speech at the council today. I'm much honored to speak at the well-established and historic ICWA.

The Japan Institute for National Fundamentals, or JINF, over which I preside, is a small think tank founded only three years ago. As a completely free, purely private research institute, the JINF hopes to build a respectful, independent and self-confident nation. We possess the mettle to restore Japan to its true essence and to make significant contributions to the international community in the 21st century.

Here, let me explain briefly about history and the situation of Japan. In the eastern part of Eurasia, Chinese dynasties have been powerful throughout history. In modern times, relations between China and Japan have frequently become tense. In addition, preventing the Korean Peninsula from falling into the control of a hostile country is the top national security priority for Japan.

Wars that Japan fought since modernization in the late 19th century, including the Sino-Japanese War in the 1890s, the Russo-Japanese War in the 1900s, another

Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and World War II were all closely related to Japan's geopolitical position.

While postwar Japan has based its national security mainly on the U.S. -Japan alliance, Japan has become a country that cannot stand on its own. There are two reasons for this change. One is that Japan has gradually lost its spirit of self-respect and self-confidence as its dependence on U.S. military forces increased with the U.S. -Japan alliance continued long.

The other reason is the virtually U.S.-written Japanese Constitution has had great affect on Japanese society. Since Japan restored its sovereignty in 1952, the Diet has not initiated amendments to the Constitution and Japanese have accepted this. Japan created the Self-Defense Forces when the Korean War broke out in 1950, but the SDF have been so continually constrained by the Constitution's war-renouncing Article 9 that they cannot be viewed as a typical military of a normal nation.

Germany, on the other hand, has full-fledged armed forces that are obliged to defend Europe as part of their membership to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Germany is also able to dispatch troops to areas outside NATO's purview if it receives parliamentary approval. For example, Germany has lent troops to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. In stark contrast, Japan is heavily restricted when it comes to such assistance measures. Japan can dispatch SDF troops abroad for logistical and reconstruction support purposes. Even this is restricted to "non-combat areas."

One of the objectives for the creation of the JINF was to awaken Japanese out of pacifist complacency. To accomplish this the JINF has occasionally made policy proposals and held symposiums. In June this year, we sponsored an international conference in Tokyo on the "Rivalry in the Indian Ocean" to mark the 50th anniversary of the revised U.S. -Japan Security Treaty. We invited Professor Brahma Chellaney, who is famed as a world-class strategist from India, to discuss the theme with U.S., Chinese and Japanese experts.

For 21st-century Japan how to address fast-rising China correctly is extremely important. China's gross domestic product can exceed Japan's and become the second largest in the world within this year. China's military budget continued double-digit annual growth for 21 consecutive years, from 1989 through 2009. Its military spending might have grown to the second largest in the world after the United States.

An indication that Japan is exposed to a threat from China occurred last September when Chinese fishing boats violated Japan's territorial water near the Senkaku Islands. One of the boats conducted unprovoked attacks on two Japan Coast

Guard patrol boats. Japan then suffered a diplomatic defeat by succumbing to Chinese intimidation and releasing the boat's captain.

The Chinese government also summoned Japan's ambassador in Beijing several times, at one time midnight. It broke an agreement with Japan on their joint development of gas fields in the East China Sea and unilaterally began drilling for natural gas there. Further, it cancelled government officials' and tourists' planned visits to Japan and the planned acceptance of a Japanese delegation, suspended rare earth exports to Japan and detained Japanese businessmen effectively as hostages. The Chinese government thus continued to exert pressures on Japan.

The Senkaku Islands were incorporated into Okinawa Prefecture as terra nullius in 1895 and are Japan's territory. Until 1969, China admitted that the Senkaku were Japan's territory. When offshore oil resources near the islands were discovered, however, China changed its stance and began to make territorial claims to the islands. In 1992, China enacted the Territorial Water Law and unilaterally declared that the East China Sea, the Senkaku Islands, the South China Sea, the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands are its territory.

In the South China Sea, China has threatened use of or used its navy to expand control over Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries. A similar development is on the horizon in the East China Sea including the Senkaku Islands.

China's arrogance has recently grown conspicuous even outside territorial disputes. The Chinese government has loudly criticized the Norwegian Nobel Committee for awarding the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize to imprisoned Chinese democratic activist Liu Xiaobo. The government kept his wife under house arrest to prohibit her from attending a Nobel Prize awarding ceremony on behalf of her husband.

We also are alert to China's moves in the Korean Peninsula. If North Korea plunged into turmoil after the possible death of Kim Jong Il, China could take advantage of it and establish a China-controlled regime. China may also be planning to make the entire Korean Peninsula its satellite over the long term. If that occurs, the Korean Peninsula would be under the control of a country hostile to Japan. Such a development would be intolerable for Japanese national security.

I would also like to emphasize that North Korea's nuclear weapons development is a direct threat to Japan and has grave influences on India's national security via Pakistan. North Korea introduced uranium enrichment technology from Pakistan in exchange for its provision of medium-range missile technology to Pakistan, secretly breaking an agreement Pyongyang reached with the United States in 1994 to freeze its nuclear weapons program in exchange for supplies of heavy fuel oil. Pakistan

built on the North Korean missile technology, developing the Ghauri missile as a delivery means for nuclear weapons targeting India. This is a well-known fact. In response to Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear weapon delivery vehicles, India conducted a nuclear test in 1998 to enhance its nuclear deterrent. The Japanese government strongly protested India's nuclear test and imposed sanctions on India. North Korea could not have developed its missile technology without sophisticated technology and components provided from Japan through the pro-Pyongyang General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, known as Chongryon. It was unfair for the Japanese government to condemn India's nuclear test while ignoring this point.

Japanese people feel very close to India. Buddhism born in India came down to Japan in the sixth century and has been the backbone for Japanese people's spiritual life up until now. In the early 20th century, a friendship developed between Japanese artist Okakura Tenshin and Indian poet Sir Rabindranath Tagore built the foundation for Japan-India cultural exchanges. Indian independence activist Subhas Chandra Bose pursued India's independence with Japan's support. His fellow activist Rash Behari Bose, while engaging in Indian independence movements in Japan where he found an asylum, introduced the authentic Indian curry to Japan, making contributions to the enrichment of Japan's food culture. Japanese people feel deeply indebted to Indian Justice Radhabinod Pal in the postwar Far Eastern Military Tribunal for insisting that all Japanese defendants were not guilty as the allied powers had no right to punish Japan.

In addition to the Japanese people's good feelings, Japan and India have common ground linking the two countries together. Japan and India are both concerned about the expansion of China and can deepen cooperation in national security. We are aware that India and China have border disputes. We also know that India is concerned about China's naval buildup including its construction of port facilities in the Indian Ocean. As China is colluding with North Korea to threaten Japan, it teamed up with Pakistan to threaten India. China is a national security problem for both Japan and India.

Second, Japan and India share values such as freedom, democracy, rule of law and human rights. Japan and India can deepen solidarity with the United States, Australia, South Korea, Taiwan, ASEAN nations and others with the same values to keep China in check.

Third, Japan and India can cooperate together with the United States to maintain peace and stability in Asia. Japan bases its foreign policy on the U.S.-Japan alliance and will have to fulfill more international security responsibilities. In the

immediate future, Japan will have to change its ridiculous interpretation of its Constitution that bans the exercise of collective self-defense rights to defend its allies. It also will have to revise its three arms export principles prohibiting Japan's joint development of weapons with other nations. Ultimately, Japan will have to amend the section of its Constitution denying the right of belligerency and to reorganize the SDF into true, national armed forces.

As for Japan's responsibilities for security in the Indian Ocean, the Maritime Self-Defense Forces refueling operations have received high international praise as logistical support for antiterrorism operations in Afghanistan (the support the Democratic Party of Japan government terminated in January 2010 despite opposition from our institute, JINF and other organizations). Further, the ongoing Maritime SDF anti-piracy escort and patrol operations in waters off Somalia and the Bay of Aden have also received high praise. Japan's SDF should expand these kinds of presence in the Indian Ocean.

The Indian Navy and the Japanese Maritime SDF should consider their responsibility of securing the freedom of navigation threatened by China in the South China Sea.

The JINF is determined to continue its research activities and policy recommendations with a view to creating a stronger, more vital Japan.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.