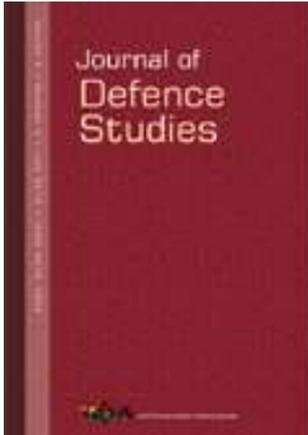


# Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

No.1, Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg  
Delhi Cantonment, New Delhi-110010



## Journal of Defence Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.idsa.in/journalofdefencestudies>

### India in Japan's Geo-strategic Outlook

Titli Basu

To cite this article: Titli Basu (2016): India in Japan's Geo-strategic Outlook, Journal of Defence Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3 July-September 2016, pp. 41-64.

URL [http://idsa.in/jds/jds\\_10\\_3\\_2016\\_india-in-japan-geo-strategic-outlook](http://idsa.in/jds/jds_10_3_2016_india-in-japan-geo-strategic-outlook)

## Please Scroll down for Article

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.idsa.in/termsfuse>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

Views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the IDSA or of the Government of India.

## India in Japan's Geo-strategic Outlook

*Titli Basu\**

*Japan's long-standing alliance with the US is the key feature of its defence and security policy. However, China's rise and impact on shaping the regional security architecture, and the vigour of US commitment in the backdrop of a G2 formulation, is making Japan diversify her options. Thus, India now features in the Japanese idea of Asia while it struggles to cope with the fluidity of the regional security landscape. This article critically analyses the increasing space accorded to India and the variables behind Japan's courtship of it. It probes whether Japan's India policy is Abe centric, or more enduring in nature, and examines India's position in Japan's defence outlook as Tokyo redesigns its security policy. India's advent in the Japanese geo-strategic frame will endure since the variables that pushed Japan to incorporate India in its strategic design will mature and complicate the regional security environment in the coming years.*

The United States (US) alliance structure continues to remain at the nucleus of Japanese defence and security policy. China's emergence as a key variable in shaping the regional security architecture coupled with the vigour of US commitment in the backdrop of Chinese push for a G2 formulation is making Japan diversify her options. Consequently, Japan is investing in countries like Australia and India, besides reinforcing its alliance with the US. India has emerged as an important variable in Japanese security discourse and has featured in Japan's first ever 'National Security Strategy' (NSS).<sup>1</sup> India has also figured in the 'National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2014 and Beyond' (NDPG),

---

\* Titli Basu is a Research Assistant at the East Asia Centre, IDSA.



released in December 2013.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, at the Japan-US Summit Meeting, President Obama stated that Washington would work towards building regional networks with Japan-US alliance as the cornerstone to safeguard peace.<sup>3</sup> In one of his signature moves, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's conceptualisation of the Quadrilateral Initiative, which was later refurbished in his second term as the Democratic Security Diamond, has considered India as an important pole of Japan's strategic design. India had hitherto distanced itself from such formulations. However, under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, New Delhi has articulated greater strategic coordination, as observed within the trilateral frameworks, including the India-Japan-US and India-Japan-Australia, and bilateral constructs, such as the 'US-India Joint Strategic Vision for Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean Region' and the 'India and Japan Vision 2025: Special Strategic and Global Partnership Working Together for Peace and Prosperity of the Indo-Pacific Region and the World', articulated during the bilateral summit in December 2015. However, this should not be interpreted as dilution of fundamental values of Indian foreign policy. India is expected to boldly engage, but certainly not align, with all regional actors to leverage partnerships.<sup>4</sup>

This article critically analyses the increasing space accorded to India in Japan's defence outlook and evaluates how congruence of strategic interests is shaping the contours of India-Japan relations. The aim is to situate India in Japan's security discourse and explore the variables that are making Japan court India as Prime Minister Abe attempts to design a regional security architecture to secure its interests in the Asia-Pacific. The article questions whether Japan's fresh momentum in its India policy is Abe centric, or it is more enduring in nature? Where does India fit in Japan's defence outlook as Tokyo redesigns its security policy? Beyond the defence and security strategy, how is India weighed by the Japanese defence industry? Japan's rebooting of its security posture is often analysed through the prism of rise of China, debate over the role of the US and securing maritime interests. Yet, to comprehend Japanese attitude towards India, it is imperative to cull out trends from the complexities in China-Japan, Japan-US, China-US, and India-US relations. The article begins by sieving India from Japanese security debate and policy evolution; and then explores the answer to each of the questions raised by analysing the variables that have placed India in the Japanese defence outlook.

#### INDIA IN THE JAPANESE SECURITY FRAME

Going beyond the simplistic narrative of shared values facilitating bilateral relations, it is evident that one of the key reasons for India to emerge as a logical option for Japan is due to the increased US interest in India as a stabilising factor in Asia.<sup>5</sup> As the post-Cold War developments led to a change in the US approach towards India and it started cultivating robust relations with India, Japan too was forced to reconsider its attitude<sup>6</sup> that was for long founded on the ideological fault lines of the Cold War. While the then US President Bill Clinton's India visit in early 2000 was followed by then Japanese Prime Minister Mori's visit to India in August of that year, the Indo-US nuclear deal provided Japan the confidence to add value to the strategic partnership.<sup>7</sup> Now, with the move forward on Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement, the foundation of India-US relations have reached new depths.

India began featuring in Tokyo's security outline once the US defence department acknowledged New Delhi as an enduring security partner. The May 2007 US-Japan Security Consultative Committee argued the case for nurturing 'partnerships with India' since India's sustained growth is 'inextricably tied to the prosperity, freedom, and security of the region.'<sup>8</sup> Later, Prime Minister Abe delivered his landmark speech—'Confluence of the Two Seas'—in the Indian Parliament in August 2007. The Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Japan and India was made in October 2008, the goals of which were further clarified by the Action Plan issued in December 2009. Moreover, the 2011 US-Japan Security Consultative Committee articulated welcoming 'India as a strong and enduring Asia-Pacific partner'<sup>9</sup> and supported India's increasing involvement in regional architectures. Furthermore, the committee urged promoting trilateral dialogue involving the US, Japan and India. Since 2011, seven US-Japan-India trilateral dialogues at the director-general level were held, which culminated into a ministerial dialogue in 2015.<sup>10</sup> The security cooperation intensified over the years through an elaborate framework of engagement at various levels, including the defence dialogue at the ministerial level. Both nations are negotiating to build a dialogue mechanism between their foreign and defence ministers, or a two-plus-two framework, something Japan has with the US, Russia, France, Australia, and, most recently, with Indonesia.<sup>11</sup>

The maiden NSS (2013) identifies India as a 'primary driver' of the shift in the balance of power besides China.<sup>12</sup> The NSS outlines that Japan will deepen cooperative ties with countries like South Korea, Australia,

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and India, with whom Japan shares universal values and strategic interests.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, 2013 NDPG categorically argues that 'Japan will strengthen its relationship with India in a broad range of fields, including maritime security, through joint training and exercises<sup>14</sup> as well as joint implementation of international peace cooperation activities.'<sup>15</sup> An older document, the 2010 NDPG, mentions India while talking about creating a security network aimed at stabilising Asia-Pacific 'by combining bilateral and multilateral security cooperation in a multi-layered manner.'<sup>16</sup>

The academic literature in Japan lately has debated the standing of India in its defence outlook. One strand in the security literature identifies India as the 'new hope' with reference to Japan's threat perception. Scholars like Satoru Nagao argue that as regional actors, including Japan, Australia and the South China Sea littoral nations, are expected to experience an assertive China given their comparatively weaker military potency, Japan requires a 'new rising power'. As both share resembling unease vis-à-vis China's military modernisation, the case of reinforcing India-Japan military cooperation is articulated, given Indian naval superiority in safeguarding the sea lines of communication (SLOCs) in the Indian Ocean; its capacity to surface as a security provider to Southeast Asia given its dynamic engagement with the region; and its reputation as a reliable country.<sup>17</sup> Another stream of scholarship opines that Indian 'intent' is centred on the South rather than the East, even as Japan comprehends the potential of an Indian blue-water navy with regard to the developments in the contested Senkaku Islands. Hence, the US, which is a more dependable partner, will continue to form the nucleus of Japan's security strategy in case of dealing with challenges stemming from China.<sup>18</sup>

One school of thought proposes that since Japanese policymakers consider the presence of the US military in the Asia-Pacific region to secure Japan and assure other regional actors by way of deterrence and crisis response, it is 'natural that Japan deigns Indo-Japan cooperation in tandem with India-US-Japan trilateral cooperation.'<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, a noted Japanese academic, Takenori Horimoto, articulated that for Japan 'close cooperation with India is desirable against the backdrop of declining US power in Asia vis-à-vis China.'<sup>20</sup> He further argues that augmenting relations with India would positively benefit Japan, whose bilateral ties with other nations, except for the US, are limited. Few scholars have argued that Tokyo regards its alliance with Washington as the nucleus of

its security policy, and uses other partnerships, for instance, the one with India, to support the alliance.<sup>21</sup> In the Japanese view, India features as the fifth most significant nation, after the US, South Korea, Australia and the ASEAN bloc, since India is progressively becoming more powerful and geopolitically significant for Japan.<sup>22</sup>

#### WILL JAPAN'S INDIA POLICY OUTLAST ABE ADMINISTRATION?

One of the focal points of discussion revolves around the following concern: is Japan's interest and investment towards India Abe-centric? Exploring the answer to this question indicates that India's significance in Japanese defence outlook will continue beyond Prime Minister Abe's administration since the variables determining the security discourse will continue in the evolving regional security architecture. Japan is dealing with the waning regional influence of its most precious strategic partner, the US, and the concern of managing a powerful China. Japan recognises that exclusively depending on the US-Japan security alliance may not further national interest in the rapidly developing regional security architecture.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, Abe conceived the first NSS in 2013, which charts measures to be undertaken in order to cope with the national security challenges. Subsequently, Abe encouraged the reinterpreting of Article 9 and pushing the boundaries of Japanese post-war defence posture. Furthermore, Abe has strengthened the alliance framework with the US, by creating space for limited exercise of right to collective self-defence by the Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDFs) in the revised US-Japan Defence Guidelines after 18 years from the last revision in 1997. Meanwhile, he has also attempted to expand diplomatic and security cooperation with like-minded nations. Here, India is gradually being measured as a key player in addressing the strategic challenges of Japan.

#### Japan's China Conundrum

The unfolding geostrategic developments in the Asia-Pacific are determining Japan's initiative to improve deterrence in relation to an increasingly severe security environment surrounding Japan as articulated in the 'Defense of Japan' white paper.<sup>24</sup> China's escalating clout in reshaping the canon of the international system, with the objective of better serving its interests, is an ongoing process. The phenomenon of China embracing a greater role in the international realm is likely to continue much after Abe leaves. China is emerging as a major factor in global affairs in the midst of the narrative of Chinese dream and the great rejuvenation of the

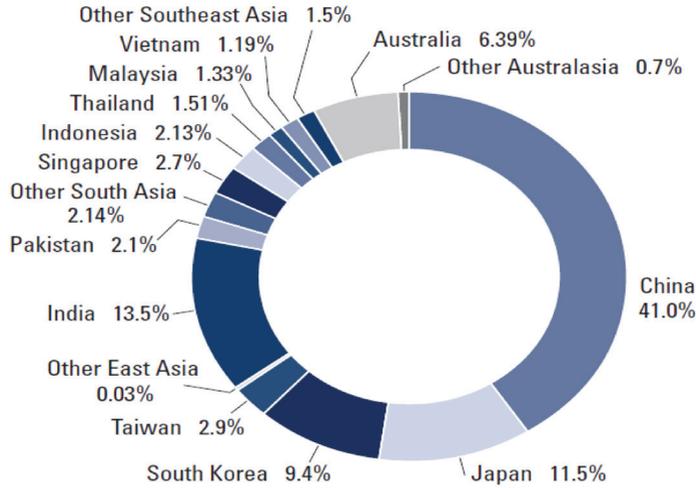
Chinese nation. China considers itself as a major power, at par with the US while conceptualising the new type of major-country relationship in 2012. Subsequently, in 2013, Abe argued at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) that Japan is back and that 'Japan is not, and will never be, a Tier-two country'.<sup>25</sup> Later, during his address to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in September 2015, Abe conceptualised Japan's role as a 'Proactive Contributor to Peace based on the principle of international cooperation'.<sup>26</sup>

The threat perception from China, whose activism is primarily manifesting in the maritime sphere, is one of the most critical challenges for Japan besides nuclear North Korea. Tensions over the contested territorial claims related to the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and the fear of entrapment rationale prevailing among a section of the US strategic community are making Japan seriously reassess its policy alternatives. Meanwhile, developments such as the designation of the Chinese Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea in November 2013, Chinese oil platform development in the East China Sea, and alleged violation of territorial waters and airspace are attempts to demonstrate Chinese determination to shape regional sphere of influence and put the US rebalancing to a litmus test. The gravity of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands challenge is deepened by mutual trust deficit and respective domestic constituencies. Moreover, Chinese military sophistication, facilitated by a continued increase in military budget (see Figure 1) and the shifting military balance in favour of China vis-à-vis the US, is making Japan anxious.

A 2015 Rand Corporation report argues that People's Liberation Army (PLA) has achieved great progress, and that the 'overall capability trend lines are moving against the United States. In some areas, such as ballistic missiles, fighter aircraft, and attack submarines, improvements have come with breath-taking speed by most historical standards'.<sup>27</sup> It further underscores that while

China has not caught up to the US military in terms of aggregate capabilities—and is not close to doing so—but it does not need to catch up to the United States to dominate its immediate periphery. China is increasingly capable of challenging the ability of US forces to accomplish mission-critical tasks in scenarios close to the Chinese mainland.<sup>28</sup>

Japan is anxious that the magnitude of Chinese defence spending has improved by four times in the last 10 years and 40 times in the

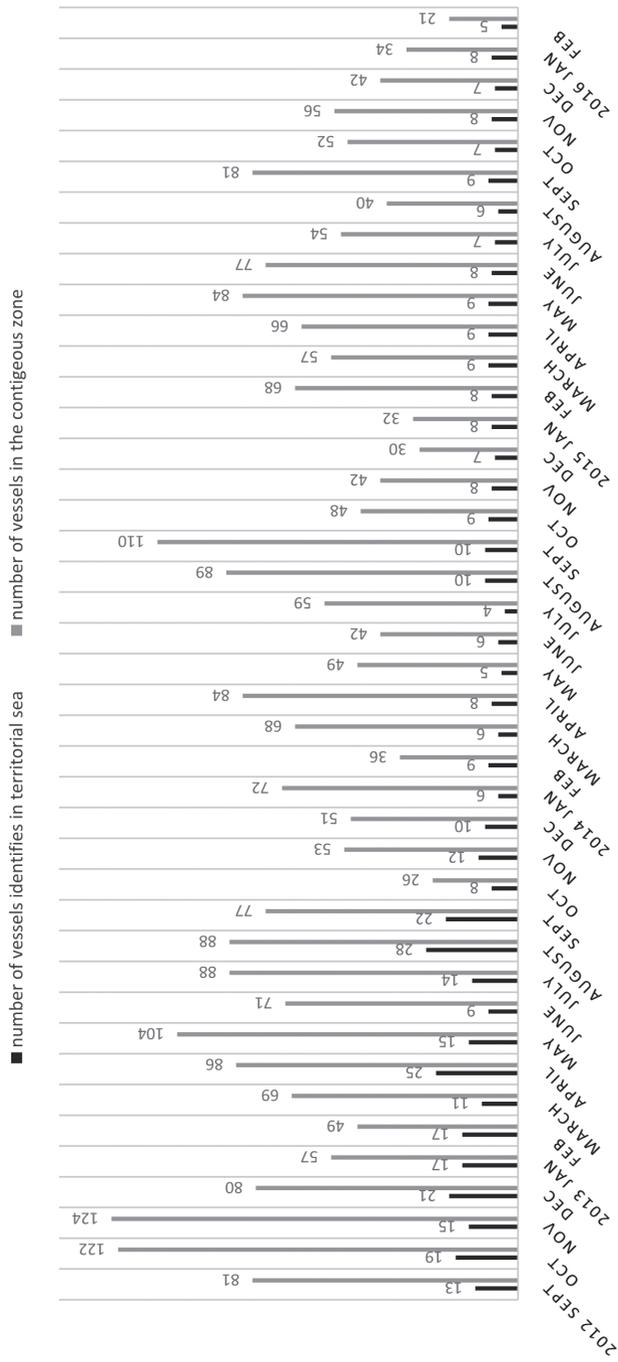


**Figure 1** Defence Spending by Asian Countries

Source: ‘Chapter Six: Asia’, in *The Military Balance*, 2016, p. 215.

last 26 years.<sup>29</sup> In March 2015, China declared a defence budget rise, with a nominal increase of 10.1 per cent to US\$ 145.8 billion.<sup>30</sup> Hence, Japan has nurtured and pursued the concept of ‘active pacifism’. Abe has managed to reinterpret the pacifist constitution, allowing Japan to redefine its right to collective self-defence, aimed at enhancing deterrence to manage the security threats.<sup>31</sup>

Japan is critical of China for attempting to alter the status quo by coercion. The Japanese foreign ministry has stated that Chinese ships traversed the adjoining waters of the Senkaku Islands more frequently since September 2012 (see Figure 2). In latest developments, on 9 June 2016, the Japanese defence ministry confirmed that its Setogiri destroyer had detected a Jiangkai I-class frigate of the Chinese Navy entering the Japanese contiguous zone at the northeast of Kuba Island<sup>32</sup> and exiting through the north-northwest of Taisho Island,<sup>33</sup> situated in the Okinawa Prefecture. Additionally, Japan also claims that a Dongdiao-class intelligence collection vessel of the Chinese Navy entered its contiguous zone at the north of Kitadaito Island on 16 June.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Japanese statistics on scrambles through the third quarter of 2015 reflect that Air Self-Defence Forces (ASDF) fighter aircraft scrambled 373 times against Chinese jets<sup>35</sup> (see Table 1). Despite robust economic engagement between the two nations, the Senkaku dispute along with Japan’s wartime history, including visits to the Yasukuni Shrine by the Japanese



**Figure 2** Alleged Violation of Japan's Contiguous Zone and Territorial Sea Surrounding the Senkaku Islands by Chinese Vessels

Source: Author, using data drawn from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.<sup>36</sup>

**Table I** Number of Scramble

<i>Financial Year</i>	<i>Country/Area</i>					<i>Total</i>
	<i>Russia</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>	<i>North Korea</i>	<i>Others</i>	
2011	247	156	5	0	17	425
2012	248	306	1	0	12	567
2013	359	415	1	9	26	810
2014	473	464	1	0	5	943
2015	288	571	2	0	12	873

*Source:* data gathered from Defence Attaché, Japanese Embassy, New Delhi.

leadership, has created an impasse that has the potential to escalate into a serious military confrontation. Hence, Japan is rethinking its strategy to strengthen its capabilities. Beyond catering to nationalism, China has a larger stake in Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands as China's posturing in the dispute in East China Sea will hold a message for the contending states in the South China Sea.<sup>37</sup>

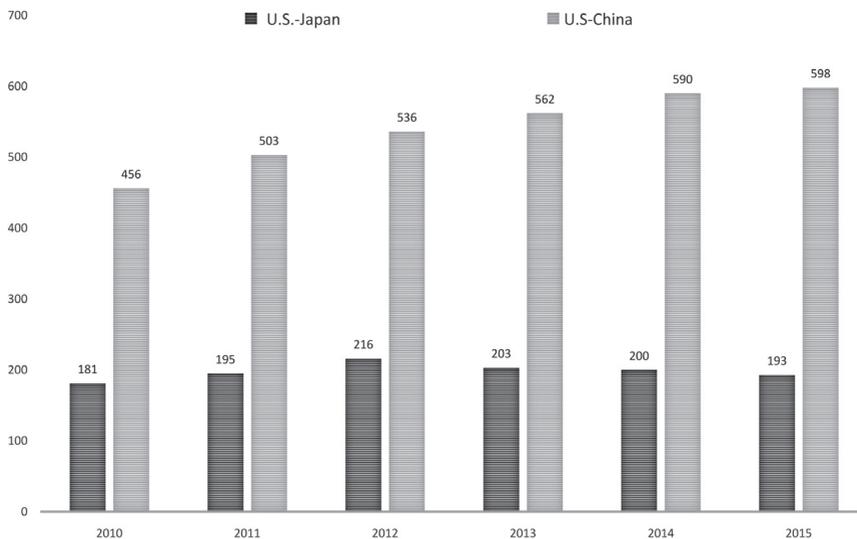
A section of the Japanese right-wing media has emphasised that a robust US-India-Japan security engagement is imperative in dealing with the developments in the disputed territorial claims in East and South China Seas and the Indian Ocean and defending the sea lanes.<sup>38</sup> China is mentioned while articulating that, as democracies, both India and Japan would be the 'stabilising factors in the equations of Asian security'.<sup>39</sup> Literature also reflects arguments that an initially reluctant Japan is cultivating India as a 'counterweight'<sup>40</sup> and seeking a strategic alliance to balance a powerful China.<sup>41</sup> It must be noted that few academics do not measure India for its individual weight but evaluate India as an essential card with regard to China. Japan is unable to grasp the diplomatic worth of India without the 'China factor'.<sup>42</sup>

### **Japan's Concern over the Depth of the US Commitment**

Japan is concerned about the gravity of the US commitment towards the region. Strategic reassessment may make the US employ a conscious decision of not provoking China and respond to the new type of major power relations. Japan is aware about the fear of entrapment rationale prevailing in Washington. There is a school of thought which maintains that the US is anxious about being pulled into Japan's conflict. Even though Japan was nervous that the US would drag them into war for six decades, today the US is anxious that it may get tangled in Japan's

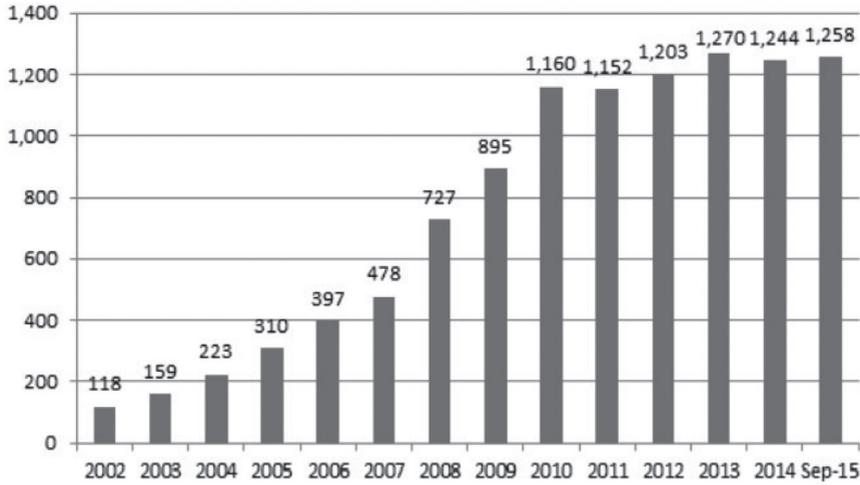
conflict due to Article 5 of the security treaty.<sup>43</sup> Japanese apprehension concerning the US commitment is deep-seated. Japan has kept the US anchored in East Asia but American military preoccupations in the Middle East and Central Asia and its reactions in Ukraine, the changing dynamics of the US pivot/rebalancing strategy in the region, and anxiety over cutbacks in the US defence budget have raised Japanese worries vis-à-vis the US obligation. Furthermore, the economic profile of the US's relations with China has made the strategic landscape rather complex. While bilateral trade in goods between these two 'integral trading partners'<sup>44</sup> amounted to \$598 billion in 2015 (see Figure 3), China has emerged as a key creditor for the US government, holding approximately \$1.3 trillion in treasury debt (see Figure 4). In 2014, the US investment in China touched \$65.8 billion and Chinese investment in the US has increased to \$10.2 billion. Therefore, US is deliberating carefully to avoid infuriating a major trading partner and creditor.

Even though the US-Japan security alliance serves as the base of regional security, the memories of the Nixon shocks, Clinton's Sino-centric approach, and the June 1998 nine-day summit trip with then Chinese President Jiang Zemin<sup>45</sup> have triggered unease in Japan. This



**Figure 3** US Trade in Goods with China and Japan

*Source:* prepared by the author based on the data from the US International Trade Data, United States Census Bureau.<sup>46</sup>



**Figure 4** China's Holdings of the US Treasury Securities: 2002 - September 2015 (\$ in billions)

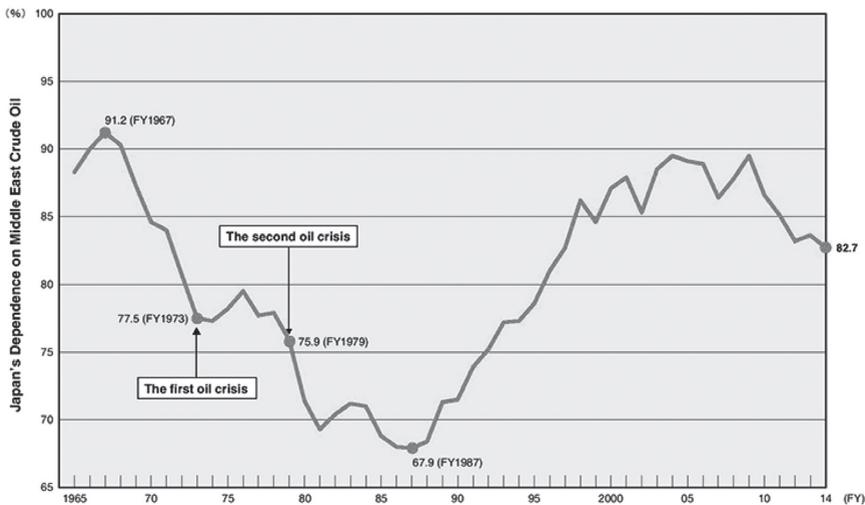
Source: US Department of the Treasury.<sup>47</sup>

thrusted Japan to reinforce the security alliance and explore new partnerships.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, a 'Global Partnership' was instituted with India in 2000, which eventually got upgraded to the 'Strategic and Global Partnership' (2006) and then a 'Special Strategic and Global Partnership' (2014). Furthermore, a 'Joint Vision 2025 Special Strategic and Global Partnership Working Together for Peace and Prosperity of the Indo-Pacific Region and the World' was articulated in 2015.

### **Prowess of the Indian Navy**

Another determining factor that will continue to present India as an important partner to Japan beyond Abe is the Indian Navy's reputation and credibility. India's military muscle, particularly naval competences, is favourably perceived by Japan.<sup>49</sup> Noted scholar Marie Izuyama argues the case of convergence of interest and 'shared responsibility' in securing the SLOCs as a 'public good' for the region.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Ambassador Hiroshi Hirabayashi also underscores the responsibility to 'secure peace and stability along sea lanes' in India-Japan cooperation.<sup>51</sup> Evaluating the regional developments pertaining to China's arrival and 'fragile partnership' with the US, Japan is ready to engage with India on serious issues in relation to sea-lane security.<sup>52</sup> Japan desires India's cooperation

in guarding the Indian Ocean SLOCs since it is critical for its energy shipments. With dependence on imports for 94 per cent of its primary energy supply, Japan is severely dependent on Middle Eastern oil imports (see Figure 5), and the Indian Ocean is, therefore, vital for Japanese energy imports from the region. Japan has habitually depended on the US Navy to safeguard its vessels in the Indian Ocean. However, Japan is increasingly realising India's productive role in defending the regional sea lanes. Chinese infrastructure activism along the Indian Ocean has made India, the US and Japan apprehensive. India's maritime competences are likely to guarantee secured passage of Japanese vessels through Malacca Strait.<sup>53</sup> Besides protecting energy interests, SLOCs, particularly the Malacca Strait, are exposed to the dangers of piracy and terror incidents. India had also extended help during the 1999 M/V Alondra Rainbow piracy episode.<sup>54</sup> India is valued as an important security partner in terms of its growing maritime power projection capacity to secure key SLOCs and chokepoints linking Middle East to the Indian Ocean.<sup>55</sup> The Andaman and Nicobar Command (ANC) serves as an important connection between India and the East Asia, consolidating India's status as a dependable naval power with power projection capability.<sup>56</sup>



**Figure 5** Japanese Reliance on the Middle East Crude Oil of Total Imports

Source: Federation of Electric Power Companies (FEPC) website.<sup>57</sup>

### JAPAN'S DEFENCE INDUSTRY AND INDIA

With the instituting of the National Security Council, the enactment of the 'Act of Protection of Specially Designated Secrets', outlining of the 'Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology' and the reinterpretation of Article 9, Japan has transformed the essence of its security policy.<sup>58</sup>

#### Shifts in Japan's Defence Equipment and Technology Policy

In an important development in April 2014, in keeping with the country's first NSS, Japan planned the 'Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology' to suit the new security environment. These principles substituted the preceding 1967 'Three Principles on Arms Exports'<sup>59</sup> formulated under Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, which were further tightened in 1976 by Prime Minister Takeo Miki, where the policy guideline declared that 'Government of Japan shall not promote arms exports, regardless of the destinations.'<sup>60</sup> The notion of *tsutsushimu*, implying restraint in arms transfers stopped Japan from entering overseas defence markets and participate in global joint development and production of arms.<sup>61</sup> Based on the 1967 and 1976 guidelines, arms exports and arms technology transfers are prohibited barring few exceptions, for example, the Japan-US joint development/production of the ballistic missile defence system.

However, the domestic defence market has been very small, which in turn affects the maintenance of defence production base required to make quality defence equipment for the JSDFs. The defence ministry procurement level is relatively small, which makes the equipment too expensive and, subsequently, amounts to low profits for the defence contractors.<sup>62</sup> The Japan Business Federation (Keidanren), in its May 2013 proposal, has argued that with the aim of supporting and developing the defence industrial base, the government has to design strategies for defence production and firming the technological base; endorse international joint development/production; and mend acquisition and procurement policy.<sup>63</sup>

In one of the major policy initiatives in April 2014, Prime Minister Abe adopted the 'Three Principles on Transfer of Defence Equipment and Technology'. Scholars argue that changing the 1967 Principles of Arms Exports will enable revival in the defence sector.<sup>64</sup> The 2014 principles underscore the following: 'clarification of cases where transfers are prohibited', 'limitation to cases where transfers may be permitted as well

as strict examination and information disclosure', and finally 'ensuring appropriate control regarding extra-purpose use or transfer to third parties'.<sup>65</sup> Subsequently, the June 'Strategy on Defence Production and Technological Bases' argues that, based on the 2014 Three Principles, the defence ministry will undertake essential measures to promote defence equipment and technology cooperation, for instance, in international joint development and production, with the purpose of contributing to maintaining and improving defence production and technological bases. Besides the US, the Strategy talks about establishing new defence equipment and technology cooperation with the United Kingdom, France, Australia, India and Southeast Asia.<sup>66</sup> The defence ministry has argued that overseas transfer of defence equipment and technology supports firming up cooperation with ally like the US in addition to other nations. Moreover, it works towards augmenting Japan's defence production and technological bases and enhancing defence capability, since 'international joint development and production projects have become the international mainstream in order to improve the performance of defence equipment and to deal with their rising costs'.<sup>67</sup>

Keidanren has mapped India while articulating the need to promote equipment and technology cooperation with foreign nations and international organisations.<sup>68</sup> The 2015 'Keidanren Defence Industry Policy Proposal' underscores that the 'government should simplify the technology transfer procedure and accelerate conclusion of defence equipment agreements and information security agreements'.<sup>69</sup> The December 2015 'Joint Report of the India-Japan Business Leaders Forum' underscored that following 'an overarching agreement between Japan and India to cooperate in the defence and security sector, there is a need to promote engagement between Japanese and Indian private sector companies in the area of high-technology items'.<sup>70</sup>

### **Make in India**

India's Act East strategy and Modi's Make in India campaign intersects with the transition in Japan's post-war security attitude and the relaxation of the self-imposed arms export ban.<sup>71</sup> The December 2015 'Agreement Concerning Transfer of Defence Equipment and Technology Cooperation', marks new beginnings in bilateral defence cooperation by 'making available to each other, defence equipment and technology necessary to implement joint research, development and/or production projects'.<sup>72</sup> In addition, both sides signed an 'Agreement Concerning

Security Measures for the Protection of Classified Military Information' to ensure the 'reciprocal protection of classified military information.'<sup>73</sup>

India's defence modernisation and procurements offer enormous possibilities for Japan's defence industry, which until recently, focused on the domestic market to validate Japan's pledge to peace.<sup>74</sup> The March 2015 India-Japan Defence Ministerial Meeting stressed that defence technology cooperation 'can emerge as a key pillar of bilateral defence relations.'<sup>75</sup> Moreover, Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar has recognised Japan as a privileged partner in Make in India.<sup>76</sup> While Japan has a major concern relating to control of intellectual property in case of military technology, India has developed a stellar reputation when it comes to trust and protecting intellectual property rights. India has imported a number of equipment from various countries, including the former Soviet Union and then Russia, the US and Israel. Technology transfer has happened with India under licence and there are no cases so far when there has been a breach of intellectual property rights. India does not engage in reverse engineering or third country transfer.<sup>77</sup>

India is keen on joint development and production of defence equipment. The negotiations concerning obtaining defence technology from Japan, for example, the Utility Seaplane Mark 2 (US-2) amphibian aircraft negotiation, which started in 2013, have reached the concluding phase. ShinMaywa Industries, the manufacturers of the US-2 amphibian aircraft, began consultations with a few Indian companies as both countries reportedly debate on the prospect of assembling the US-2 aircraft in India. In this regard, ShinMaywa Industries may partner with Pipavav Defence and Offshore Engineering Company.<sup>78</sup> While ShinMaywa Industries have experience in India since it delivered aerobridges and set up waste water treatment pumps,<sup>79</sup> the US-2 is the first Japanese aircraft presented to the Indian market that is otherwise operated by the JMSDFs. Following the April 2014 policy shift, Japan has engaged in military technology cooperation. For example, the decision to export gyroscopes, made by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, to elevate precision of the US developed Patriot Advanced Capability-2 (PAC-2) missile interceptors, and providing sensor technology by way of a joint research to Britain intended at advancing air-to-air missiles' guiding competences.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile, Japan heavily invested diplomatic capital but lost the bid for a submarine contract in Australia.<sup>81</sup>

Building on the 'Special Strategic and Global Partnership', Prime Minister Modi has invited Japan to take part in Project 75 India. The

aim is to reinforce naval power by constructing six stealth submarines in India. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries and Kawasaki Heavy Industries, manufacturers of ultra-quiet Soryu class submarines, are welcome to participate and match strengths with other contractors such as DCNS of France, HDW of Germany, Rosoboronexport of Russia and Navantia of Spain.<sup>82</sup> But it is vital to understand that in these kind of projects, commercial feasibility, technology prerequisite, and project time frame often complicate military technology cooperation. Until now, the scope of the India-Japan defence cooperation has revolved around an elaborate framework of defence exchange at various levels but the December 2015 agreement is a concrete step that aims to boost bilateral relations with co-development and co-production of sophisticated defence equipment and technologies. While India navigates the challenges associated with indigenous production and improving the investment setting, Japan has the litmus test of transforming the defence industry, making it more competitive and globalised. Besides, shrinking the cost for domestic procurement is a concern because of the steep prices of domestically produced arms.<sup>83</sup> Also, experts argue that Japan's domestic market is only valued at about US\$12.5 billion annually. So, overseas deals will permit the defence contractors to step up and increase profits.<sup>84</sup> Meanwhile, Japanese companies are new to international competition, and therefore require government assistance. Robust longstanding fiscal subsidies are necessary.<sup>85</sup>

#### SUMMING UP

Japan's alliance with the US will remain the central pillar of its security policy. However, India has started to feature in the Japanese idea of Asia. India has been identified and will further be cultivated as a potential partner as Japan struggles to cope with the fluidity of the regional security architecture. India's advent in the Japanese security frame will continue and outlive the Abe administration since the variables that pushed Japan to incorporate India in the matrix of Asian security will further mature and complicate the regional security architecture in the coming years. India is not only mapped in the Japanese policy papers in the context of constructing a security network intended to stabilise Asia-Pacific, Keidanren has marked India while articulating the need to support equipment and technology cooperation with foreign nations and international organisations. As a late entrant in the international market, Japanese defence contractors are facing tough experiences while

measuring up to big players of international repute, as witnessed in the case of Australian submarine contract. Therefore, Japan should earnestly pursue the Indian market as engaging in the area of high-technology items will inject dynamism into India-Japan bilateral relations, which in turn will lay a strong foundation, beyond mere symbolism. As discussed earlier in the article that Japan almost always follows the US footsteps when it comes to engaging with India, the recent logistics support agreement with the US signals deeper US-India ties. This is expected to further instil confidence in Japan to seriously consider India as a valuable partner in its attempts to stabilise the volatility in Asia-Pacific.

#### NOTES

1. 'National Security Strategy', Provisional Translation, Cabinet Secretariat, 17 December 2013, p. 23, available at <http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryoku/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>, accessed on 20 May 2016.
2. 'National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2014 and beyond', Provisional Translation, Ministry of Defence Japan 17, December 2013, p. 11, available at [http://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/agenda/guideline/2014/pdf/20131217\\_e2.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/agenda/guideline/2014/pdf/20131217_e2.pdf), accessed on 20 May 2016.
3. 'Japan-US Summit Meeting', Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 20 November 2015, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/US/page4e\\_000351.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/US/page4e_000351.html), accessed on 20 May 2016.
4. Titli Basu, 'Japan In Prime Minister Modi's Vision For India', *Asia Pacific Bulletin*, No. 337, East-West Center, Washington DC, 30 March 2016, available at <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/japan-in-prime-minister-modi%E2%80%99s-vision-india>, accessed on 22 May 2016.
5. Titli Basu, 'India-Japan Relations: An Enduring Partnership', *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 3, July–September 2014, pp. 266-79.
6. Titli Basu, 'India-Japan Security Cooperation: Expectation, Challenges, and the Way Forward', in S.D. Muni and Vivek Chadda (eds) *Asian Strategic Review 2015-India as a Security Provider*, New Delhi: IDSA and Pentagon Press, pp. 268-84.
7. Purnendra Jain, 'Japan–India Relations: Peaks and Troughs', *The Round Table*, Vol. 99, No. 409, August 2010, pp. 403-12.
8. 'Alliance Transformation: Advancing United States-Japan Security and Defense Cooperation', Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates Minister for Foreign Affairs Taro Aso Minister of Defense Fumio Kyuma, 1 May 2007, p. 3, available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/>

- region/n-america/US/security/scc/pdfs/joint0705.pdf, accessed on 24 May 2016.
9. 'Toward a Deeper and Broader US-Japan Alliance: Building on 50 Years of Partnership', Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee, by Secretary of State Clinton Secretary of Defense Gates Minister for Foreign Affairs Matsumoto Minister of Defense Itazawa, 21 June 2011, p. 5, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/US/security/pdfs/joint1106\\_01.pdf](http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/US/security/pdfs/joint1106_01.pdf), accessed on 20 May 2016.
  10. 'Inaugural US-India-Japan Trilateral Ministerial Dialogue', Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 30 September 2015, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/s\\_sa/sw/page4e\\_000325.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sw/page4e_000325.html), accessed on 25 May 2016.
  11. Reiji Yoshida, 'Japan, Indonesia hold first two-plus-two talks, agree to work toward transfer of defense weapons', *The Japan Times*, 17 December 2015, available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/12/17/national/politics-diplomacy/japan-indonesia-hold-first-two-plUS-two-talks-agree-work-toward-transfer-defense-weapons/#.VxM1p3r9pHR>, accessed on 23 May 2016.
  12. 'National Security Strategy', n. 1, p. 6.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
  14. MALABAR exercise involving the Indian Navy, US Navy and the Japanese Maritime Self Defence Force was held in June 2016 with the objective of enhancing interoperability between these navies. The harbour phase was held at Sasebo and the sea phase in the Pacific Ocean. See 'Exercise Malabar-2016, Press Release, Indian Navy, 10 June 2016, available at <http://www.indiannavy.nic.in/content/exercise-malabar-2016>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
  15. 'National Defence Program Guidelines for JFY 2014', Ministry of Defence Japan, p. 11, available at [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96\\_abe/documents/2013/\\_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/12/17/NDPG%28Summary%29.pdf](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/documents/2013/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/12/17/NDPG%28Summary%29.pdf), accessed on 20 May 2016.
  16. 'National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2011 and beyond', Ministry of Defence Japan, p. 8-9, available at [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/d\\_policy/pdf/guidelinesFY2011.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/d_policy/pdf/guidelinesFY2011.pdf), accessed on 20 May 2016.
  17. Satoru Nagao, 'Japan-India Military Partnership: India is the New Hope for Asia', *CLAWS Journal*, Winter 2013, pp. 57-78.
  18. Toru Ito, 'China Threat Theory in Indo-Japan Relations', in Takenori Horimoto and Lalima Varma (eds), *India-Japan Relations in Emerging Asia*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2013, pp. 124-25.
  19. Marie Izuyama, 'India, Japan and Maritime Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific', in Takenori Horimoto and Lalima Varma (eds), *India-Japan Relations in Emerging Asia*, n. 18, p. 195.

20. Takenori Horimoto, 'Japan-India Rapprochement and Its Future Issues', *JIIA Japan's Diplomacy Series*, Japan Digital Library, 12 April 2016, p. 15, available at [http://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/pdf/digital\\_library/japan\\_s\\_diplomacy/160411\\_Takenori\\_Horimoto.pdf](http://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/pdf/digital_library/japan_s_diplomacy/160411_Takenori_Horimoto.pdf), accessed on 22 May 2016. The chapter was originally published as chapter 3 in Takenori Horimoto, *Toward the World's Third Great Power: India's Pursuit of Strategic Autonomy*, Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, 2015.
21. Noboru Yamaguchi and Shutaro Sano, 'India-Japan Security Cooperation: In Pursuit of a Sound and Pragmatic Partnership', in Rohan Mukherjee and Anthony Yazaki (eds) *Poise for Partnership: Deepening India-Japan Relations in the Asian Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 153-78.
22. Ibid.
23. Titli Basu, 'Shinzo Abe's Visit to India: Reviewing the Strategic Partnership', IDSA Comment, 27 February 2014, available at [http://idsa.in/idsacomment/ShinzoAbesVisittoIndia\\_tbasu\\_270214](http://idsa.in/idsacomment/ShinzoAbesVisittoIndia_tbasu_270214), accessed on 20 May 2016.
24. 'Press Conference by the Defense Minister Nakatani (10:34-11:02 A.M. July 21, 2015)', Ministry of Defence Japan, 21 July 2015, available at <http://www.mod.go.jp/e/pressconf/2015/07/150721.html>, accessed on 28 May 2016.
25. Shinzo Abe, 'Japan is Back', Prime Minister of Japan at CSIS, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 22 February, 2013, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/abe/US\\_20130222en.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/abe/US_20130222en.html), accessed on 28 May 2016.
26. 'Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the Seventieth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 29, 2015, New York', Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 30 September 2015, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/unp\\_a/page4e\\_000321.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/unp_a/page4e_000321.html), accessed on 28 May 2016.
27. Eric Heginbotham, Michael Nixon, Forrest E. Morgan, Jacob L. Heim, Jeff Hagen, Sheng Li, Jeffrey Engstrom, Martin C. Libicki, Paul DeLuca, David A. Shlapak, David R. Frelinger, Burgess Laird, Kyle Brady, and Lyle J. Morris, *The US-China Military Scorecard: Forces, Geography, and the Evolving Balance of Power, 1996-2017*, Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2015, p. 322.
28. Ibid.
29. The Advisory Panel on Reconstruction of the Legal Basis for Security, 'Report of the Advisory Panel on Reconstruction of the Legal Basis for Security', Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 15 May 2014, available at [http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/anzenhosyou2/dai7/houkoku\\_en.pdf](http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/anzenhosyou2/dai7/houkoku_en.pdf), accessed on 28 May 2016.

30. 'Chapter Six Asia', *The Military Balance 2016*, p. 214.
31. 'Press Conference by Prime Minister Abe', Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 1 July 2014, available at [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96\\_abe/statement/201407/0701kaiken.html](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/statement/201407/0701kaiken.html), accessed on 26 May 2016.
32. 'Movement of a Chinese Navy Warship', Ministry of Defense Japan, 9 June 2016, available at <http://www.mod.go.jp/e/pressrele/2016/160609a.html>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
33. 'Movement of a Chinese Navy Warship', Ministry of Defense Japan, 9 June 2016, available at <http://www.mod.go.jp/e/pressrele/2016/160609b.html>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
34. 'Movement of a Chinese Navy Vessel', Ministry of Defense Japan, 16 June 2016, available at <http://www.mod.go.jp/e/pressrele/2016/160616c.html>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
35. 'Statistics on Scrambles through the Third Quarter of FY2015', Ministry of Defense Japan, 22 January 2016, available at [http://www.mod.go.jp/js/Press/press2016/press\\_pdf/p20160122\\_02.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/js/Press/press2016/press_pdf/p20160122_02.pdf), accessed on 20 June 2016.
36. 'Trends in Chinese Government and Other Vessels in the Waters Surrounding the Senkaku Islands, and Japan's Response- Records of Intrusions of Chinese Government and Other Vessels into Japan's Territorial Sea', Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 9 June 2014, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/page23e\\_000021.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/page23e_000021.html), accessed on 25 June 2016.
37. Basu, 'India-Japan Security Cooperation: Expectation, Challenges, and the Way Forward', n. 6.
38. 'Policy Alert: India-Japan New Strategic Partnership Prompts Reactions from Asian Powers', *The Rising Power Initiative*, 8 September 2014, available at <http://www.risingpowersinitiative.org/policy-alert-india-japan-new-strategic-partnership-prompts-reactions-from-asian-powers/>, accessed on 22 June 2016.
39. Hiroshi Hirabayashi, 'The Direction of Japan's Foreign Policy in the Coming Years', in K.V. Kesavan (eds), *Building a Global Partnership: Fifty Years of Indo-Japanese Relations*, New Delhi: Lancer Books, 2002, p. 29.
40. Michael J. Green, 'Japan, India, and the Strategic Triangle with China', in Ashley J. Tellis, Travis Tanner and Jessica Keough (eds), *Strategic Asia 2011-12: Asia Responds to Its Rising Powers - China and India*, The National Bureau of Asian Research, September 2011.
41. Purnendra Jain, 'The China Factor in Japan's Rising Interest in India', *EAI Background Brief No. 326*, 29 March 2007, available at <http://www.eai.nUS.edu.sg/BB326.pdf>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
42. Ito, 'China Threat Theory in Indo-Japan Relations', n. 18, p. 116.

43. Beina Xu, 'The US-Japan Security Alliance', Council on Foreign Relations, 1 July 2014, available at <http://www.cfr.org/japan/US-japan-security-alliance/p31437>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
44. Ziad Haider, 'Remarks at the Asia-Pacific Council of American Chambers of Commerce (APCAC) Gala Dinner', Special Representative for Commercial and Business Affairs, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, Renaissance Beijing Capital Hotel, Beijing, China, US Department of State, 14 April 2016, available at <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/rm/2016/255825.htm>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
45. Peter Brookes, 'Don't Bypass Japan', Pacific Forum, CSIS, June 1998, available at <http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/pac9826.pdf>, accessed on 21 June 2016.
46. 'Trade in Goods with China', Foreign Trade, US International Trade Data, United States Census Bureau, available at <https://www.censUS.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html>, accessed on 29 June 2016. Also see 'Trade in Goods with Japan', Foreign Trade, US International Trade Data, United States Census Bureau, available at <https://www.censUS.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5880.html>, accessed on 29 June 2016.
47. Wayne M. Morrison, 'China-US Trade Issues', Congressional Research Service, 15 December 2015, p. 15.
48. Arpita Mathur, 'India-Japan Relations: Drivers, Trends and Prospects', RSIS Monograph No. 23, 2012.
49. Yoichiro Sato, 'Japan's Maritime Security Interests in the Indian Ocean Region and Prospects for India-Japan Cooperation', ICRIER, available at <http://www.icrier.org/pdf/satojapan.pdf>, accessed on 27 June 2016.
50. Izuyama, 'India, Japan and Maritime Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific', n. 19, p. 195.
51. Hirabayashi, 'The Direction of Japan's Foreign Policy in the Coming Years', n. 39.
52. Akihiro Iwashita, 'India-Japan Dialogue: Challenge and Potential', *Comparative Studies on Regional Powers*, no. 6, Slavic Research Center, Sapporo, 2011.
53. Yoichiro Sato, 'Japan's Maritime Security Interests in the Indian Ocean Region and Prospects for India-Japan Cooperation', *FPRC Journal*, Volume 4, 2012, available at <http://fprc.in/pdf/J-12.pdf>, accessed on 29 June 2016.
54. 'Present State of the Piracy Problem and Japan's Efforts', Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, December 2001, available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/piracy/problem0112.html>, accessed on 20 June 2016.

55. Christopher W. Hughes, 'Japan's Response to China's Rise: Regional Engagement, Global Containment, Dangers of Collision', *International Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 4, 2009, p. 837–56.
56. Mathur, 'India-Japan Relations: Drivers, Trends and Prospects', n. 48.
57. FEPC website, [http://www.fepc.or.jp/english/energy\\_electricity/supply\\_situation/sw\\_index\\_02/index.html](http://www.fepc.or.jp/english/energy_electricity/supply_situation/sw_index_02/index.html), accessed on 15 June 2016.
58. Heigo Sato, 'Japan's Arms Export and Defense Production Policy', CSIS, 2014, available at [http://csis.org/files/publication/150331\\_Sato\\_JapanArmsExport.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/150331_Sato_JapanArmsExport.pdf), accessed on 26 June 2016.
59. Japan outlined Three Principles and argued that 'arms exports to the following countries or regions shall not be permitted: (1) communist bloc countries, (2) countries subject to 'arms' exports embargo under the United Nations Security Council's resolutions, and (3) countries involved in or likely to be involved in international conflicts'. Japan's Policies on the Control of Arms Exports, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan website, available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/disarmament/policy/>, accessed on 29 June 2016.
60. Ibid.
61. Sato, 'Japan's Arms Export and Defense Production Policy', n. 58.
62. Ibid.
63. 'Proposal for the National Defense Program Guidelines', Keidanren, 14 May 2013, available at [http://www.keidanren.or.jp/en/policy/2013/047\\_proposal.html](http://www.keidanren.or.jp/en/policy/2013/047_proposal.html), accessed on 29 June 2016.
64. Bee Yun Jo, 'Japan Inc.'s Remilitarization? A Firm-centric Analysis on Mitsubishi Heavy Industries and Japan's Defense Industry in the New-TPAE Regime', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Oxford University Press in association with the Japan Association of International Relations, 2015 available at <http://irap.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2015/05/29/irap.lcv011.full.pdf+html>, accessed on 22 June 2016.
65. 'The Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology', Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 1 April 2014, available at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press22e\\_000010.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press22e_000010.html), accessed on 20 June 2016.
66. 'Strategy on Defense Production and Technological Bases Toward Strengthening the Bases to Support Defense Forces and "Proactive Contribution to Peace" June 2014', Ministry of Defense Japan, p. 16, available at <http://www.mod.go.jp/atla/soubiseisaku/soubiseisakUSeisan/2606honbuneigo.pdf>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
67. 'Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology', Ministry of Defense Japan, Press Release April 2014, p. 1, available at

- [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/pressrele/2014/140401\\_02.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/pressrele/2014/140401_02.pdf), accessed on 20 June 2016.
68. Policy Proposals Industrial Policy, 'Proposal for Execution of Defense Industry Policy', Keidanren, 15 September 2015, available at [https://www.keidanren.or.jp/en/policy/2015/080\\_proposal.html](https://www.keidanren.or.jp/en/policy/2015/080_proposal.html), accessed on 20 June 2016.
  69. Ibid.
  70. *Joint Report of the India-Japan Business Leaders Forum 2015*, New Delhi, 11 December 2015, available at <https://www.keidanren.or.jp/en/policy/2015/115.html>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
  71. Titli Basu, 'Make in India and the Expanding Scope for India-Japan Defence Cooperation', IDSA Comment, 29 December 2015, available at [http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/make-in-india-scope-for-india-japan-defence-cooperation\\_tbasu\\_291215](http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/make-in-india-scope-for-india-japan-defence-cooperation_tbasu_291215), accessed on 20 June 2016.
  72. 'List of documents exchanged during the visit of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan to India in New Delhi (December 12, 2015)', Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 12 December 2015, available at [http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateraldocuments.htm?dtl/26177/List\\_of\\_documents\\_exchanged\\_during\\_the\\_visit\\_of\\_Prime\\_Minister\\_Shinzo\\_Abe\\_of\\_Japan\\_to\\_India\\_in\\_New\\_Delhi\\_December\\_12\\_2015](http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateraldocuments.htm?dtl/26177/List_of_documents_exchanged_during_the_visit_of_Prime_Minister_Shinzo_Abe_of_Japan_to_India_in_New_Delhi_December_12_2015), accessed on 20 June 2016.
  73. Ibid.
  74. Basu, 'Make in India and the Expanding Scope for India-Japan Defence Cooperation', n. 71.
  75. 'India and Japan Hold Defence Dialogue', Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Defence, 30 March 2015, available at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=117830>, accessed on 20 June 2016.
  76. 'Parrikar Meets Japanese Foreign Minister', Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Defence, 31 March 2015, available at <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=117865> accessed on 20 June 2016.
  77. Brigadier Rumel Dahiya, Deputy Director General, IDSA in a meeting conversation at IDSA, 23 February 2016.
  78. 'Indian Partner for \$1.6-bn Japan Aircraft Deal to be Selected Soon', *The Financial Express*, 2 December, 2015, available at <http://www.financialexpress.com/article/economy/indian-partner-for-1-6-bn-japan-aircraft-deal-to-be-selected-soon/173155/>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
  79. Sangeeta Saxena, 'Japanese Amphibious Aircraft US-2 for Indian Navy', *India Strategic*, December 2013 available at <http://www.indiastrategic.in/>

- topstories3131\_Japanese\_amphibioUS\_aircraft\_US-2\_for\_Indian\_Navy.htm, accessed on 25 June 2016.
80. 'Japan OKs First Major Military Tech Deals Since Arms Export Ban Eased', *Reuters*, 18 July 2014, available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/07/18/national/japan-supply-arms-parts-u-s-sensor-technology-u-k/#.V3OlPtJ961t>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
  81. 'Australia Says French Company Wins Huge Submarine Contract', *AP, KYODO*, 26 April 2016, available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/04/26/national/politics-diplomacy/australia-rules-awarding-japan-contract-next-generation-submarines-sources/#.V3Oo-9J961t>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
  82. Rahul Bedi, 'India Asks Japan to Offer Soryu Subs for Project 75I Requirement', *IHS Jane's Defence Weekly*, 29 January 2015, available at <http://www.janes.com/article/48448/india-asks-japan-to-offer-soryu-subs-for-project-75i-requirement>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
  83. Mina Pollmann, 'The Trouble With Japan's Defense Exports', *The Diplomat*, 2 October 2015, available at <http://thediplomat.com/2015/10/the-truth-about-japans-defense-exports/>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
  84. 'Japanese Military Manufacturers Still Struggling Despite Relaxed Export Ban', *AP*, 13 May 2015, available at <http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/1795066/japanese-military-manufacturers-still-struggling-despite-relaxed>, accessed on 25 June 2016.
  85. Bee Yun Jo, 'Japan Inc.'s Remilitarization? A Firm-centric Analysis on Mitsubishi Heavy Industries and Japan's Defense Industry in the New-TPAE Regime', n. 64.