

India and Japan : A New Strategic Affinity

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I have read that during the recent cricket test matches between India and Pakistan, relations between the two countries had been scoring runs on and off the field. With the latest test matches being hailed as a victory for "cricket diplomacy" regardless of who wins, it appears that sport is one of the avenues for increasing peaceful people to people exchanges between India and Pakistan. Cricket - the national passion in both countries - could be the means with which to build stronger, sturdier relations.

Although cricket is a little known sport in Japan, we also recognise the power of sporting competitions to bring two nations together. Japan joined forces with its neighbour South Korea in 2002, to host the football World Cup. This joint sporting venture was heralded a magnificent success between the two former adversaries, highlighting the significant social as well as diplomatic impact sport can induce. Particularly among younger generations, sporting passions act as the best form of diplomacy and I wish that good-will sporting events like the World Cup and the cricket test series could last 365 days of the year.

Four years ago former Japanese Prime Minister Mori visited India and proclaimed in his speech that, "today Indo-Japanese relations also have a strategic importance, which is quite obvious when we glance at the world atlas". Now, although I am quite aware of the values of our peaceful friendship, I still find it hard to gauge this sense of strategic importance that former Prime Minister Mori was so keen to promote - no matter how many times I scrutinise the world map.

India and Japan are two geographically, as well as in many respects, psychologically distant countries. We only have to look at the number of foreign exchange students shared between us

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compared with China and Japan (whose relations, as you know, can often be described as "prickly") to realise that in both people's minds and in a physical capacity, India and Japan are very far away. For instance, there are now only 264 Indian students studying in Japan compared with a whopping 70,814 Chinese. Equally, a mere 65 Japanese students travel to India every year against 13,806 to China.

At the same time, however, as Hiroshi Hirabayashi, former Japanese Ambassador to India pointed out, there exists a "deep reservoir of good will" and it is true that India and Japan often gravitate towards each other. So now, the real stumbling block is how to translate this good will into a more clearly defined strategic policy and it is as yet unclear how relations will develop. I will try to explore the possible motivations for transforming Indo-Japan relations into a strategic partnership. But, speaking from a Japanese perspective - and I am happy to be challenged on this point - I would lean towards more of a "strategic affinity" between our nations.

Before I embark upon a comparison of national interests, I would like first of all to centre on Japan's case - analysing this century's challenges and strategic imperatives. As we all know, the 21st century has come to be defined by global security interests and globalisation and it is from this viewpoint and perspective of national power that I would like to elaborate.

New Threats

Since 11 September 2001 the threat of terrorism has been internationalised, spreading its wings to almost every edge of the globe. Now, new scares centring around the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) supplement this faceless foe, rendering terrorism and WMD the two most heavily used catch words to define our times.

In each decade the world's trouble spots have changed face - from the Cold War during the 1980s, to the Balkans in the 1990s. But now history seems to be repeating itself - remoulding past trends in new deadlier and uglier forms. As former National Security Advisor to the US President Jimmy Carter, Zbigniew Brezinski

has professed, the millennium's most explosive territory now stretches from the Suez Canal in the west to Russia's borders of Kazakhstan in the east - a region he has named "the global Balkans".

This dominantly Islamic area, home to 68 per cent of the world's oil reserves as well as in Brezinski's words, "so many people, so many conflicts" will pose the biggest challenge to the world in this decade and beyond. The importance of stabilising the area - starting with the reconstruction of Afghanistan and Iraq - will monopolise global strategic agendas in the years to come. The present preoccupations with Afghan and Iraqi nation building provide only the start of a new and lengthy Marshall plan type process that will testify to the world's continued involvement in Eurasia and the Middle East.

Perhaps the biggest black hole in the geopolitical configuration around the "global Balkans" to challenge the international community in the coming years could be Pakistan. Although the Musharraf regime has induced a more moderate political outlook from Pakistan, the underlying threat of Islamic radicalisation is never far away - as the two recent attempts on Musharraf's life remind us. Musharraf's progressive pro-US stance and alliance in the war on terror has alienated many of Pakistan's Muslims, provoking a backlash of anti-US and extreme Islamic reactions. As home to the only Islamic nuclear bombs, Pakistan looms large - if the Musharaff regime is deposed by the conservative Islamic clerics waiting impatiently around the corner - as the greatest threat to nuclear non-proliferation in the future. While the international community anxiously keeps its fingers crossed that US-association will coax Pakistan down the path Musharaff is already travelling, towards a more internationally compliant and liberal regime, the risk that relations could backfire weighs heavy in our minds.

In April 2004 the US Secretary of State Colin Powell elevated Pakistan to a new military status, prioritising it as a "major non-North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) ally" and rendering the regime eligible for priority delivery of defence material and for the stockpiling of military hardware. As I speak these words I get a lump in my throat as I recall the US backing for mujhadeen fighters in Afghanistan - many of whom may now be named amongst the

ranks of Al-Qaeda - a bleak picture which outlines the elementary importance of securing Pakistan and assuring that such a situation can never backfire again. Indeed, were the US alliance with Pakistan to disintegrate, Pakistan will be the biggest "blow back" of the 21st century.

Japan, as host to the world's second largest economy and a longstanding US ally will naturally have to develop a more prominent role in helping to secure world peace and stability in the future. With threats closer to home such as the North Korean nuclear and missile crisis knocking on Japan's doorstep, the coming years will demand greater global engagement. The dispatch of the maritime Self Defence Force (SDF) to the Indian Ocean during the Afghanistan war as well as the controversial dispatch of ground SDF forces to Iraq, should be viewed against this backdrop.

The recent discovery of trade links between Pakistan and North Korea over sensitive nuclear weapons technology is a shocking reminder that WMD proliferation is a real and living threat that will demand serious attention in the future. Japan has always viewed the struggle with North Korea in a regional context, yet with these latest developments with Pakistan; the North Korean risk has been internationalised.

Energy Security

Much of the world is dependent upon the rich energy reserves embedded within the "global Balkans" region and oil and gas are key driving forces for stabilising the area. Japan is the world's third largest oil importer (it was overtaken by China in 2003) and as such, relies heavily upon Middle Eastern suppliers. Indeed, approximately 80 per cent of all Japanese oil stems from this vulnerable region and even though it has been looking to follow the US post-1973 oil crisis example by diversifying to other areas (Japan is in the midst of securing a \$10 billion deal for an oil pipeline from Angarsk in Russia's Eastern Siberia, which, once fully developed, is forecast to reduce Japan's dependence on Middle Eastern oil to 63 per cent), peace and security in the Middle East, nevertheless, remain a priority.

Japan is not the only Asian country for whom this goal represents a key objective. It is without question that as India "rises" it will need to guarantee oil suppliers to feed its rapid growth. India will have to join the global competition for oil and gas. At present 70 per cent of India's 105 million ton crude oil requirement is reliant on imports and the International Energy Agency (IEA) estimate that by 2030 this dependence will grow to 94 per cent - almost all of which will have to come from the Middle East. The current contest between China and Japan to secure oil in Russia is a harbinger of things to come and will no doubt be strongly sensed among the oil producing countries of the "global Balkans". China and Japan, as the second and third largest oil and natural gas importers in the world, openly compete in the oil market and while Japan seems to have clinched the latest deal for supplies from Russia, this is an area where tensions could bubble. Japan has also recently been observing as Chinese activity increases in Japanese economic waters, threatening the reemergence of territorial wrangling as it seeks to extend its continental shelf. Japan's southern and western waters could witness a locking of horns in the future as territorial disputes resonate around contentious issues including the Senkaku and Diaoyu islands - believed to be home to rich oil and natural gas reserves.

In the current climate, the first stepping stone in the energy sector will be the rapid reconstruction and stabilisation of Afghanistan and Iraq. For many oil producing countries, oil seems to work as a counter force against nation building. Indeed, some even go so far as to call it the "oil curse". As the high value of oil demands little or no tax revenue, no sense of public ownership has been developed in the oil producing regions. Yet, through successful nation building in Afghanistan and Iraq, the international community (Japan included) hopes that the Middle East will offer peaceful and competitive oil trade in the future, without any of the added security fears. The case of Afghanistan is particularly acute for India, as it is likely to serve as an oil "junction" through which reserves can pass from Turkmenistan to Pakistan, India and possibly other countries in South Asia. Not to mention Iraq, which will become the core Middle Eastern oil producer of the future if the situation can be stabilised.

Maritime and Naval Concerns

Japan is a maritime nation heavily dependent upon the seas for both energy transportation and fishing resources. Japanese fishing vessels operate in oceans all over the world (53 per cent of protein in the Japanese diet is fish-based) and its oil tankers navigate the Arabian Sea, Strait of Hormuz, Indian Ocean, Strait of Malacca, South China Sea, Bashi Channel and East China Sea before delivering vital oil imports to Japanese ports. Japan, therefore, strongly believes in the maritime ethic set out by the ancient Roman law of "Corpus Juris Civilis" - opening the ocean to all. In recent times, however, anxiety over the freedom of navigation has grown with particular doubts being cast over the safe passage of ships in the East China Sea and Strait of Hormuz. Maritime strategy is thus likely to gain in importance for Japan over the next few decades, with protecting its oil and searoutes riding high on the strategic agenda. Lately, Islamic terrorism in South East Asia has supplemented concerns over maritime security and this unnerving trend particularly in the seas around Indonesia will be one that Japan will continue to keep a watchful eye on in the future. Anxieties over piracy and other maritime security fears should not be left to grow.

The Rise of China

The tumultuous events surrounding Taiwan's 2004 Presidential elections were a stomach churning reminder of the potentially lethal security risk China-Taiwan tension over the Taiwan Strait could cause to Japan. If Taiwan chooses to continue on its path for independence as promoted by President Chen Shui-bian, Japan will find itself caught at the centre of a deadly power struggle. The US will undoubtedly call for Japanese aid should it choose to act in defence of its Taiwanese friends, yet neither country are eager to engage China in combat. Taiwan is starting to seriously test the US and Japan's resolve.

On the other hand, the build-up of Chinese military capability as a safeguard against a Taiwan independence quest poses its own security risks to Japan and the US. China's military expansion,

increasing air and sea power hardly allow for a comfortable night's sleep among the American and especially Japanese governmental ranks.

Considering the historical tensions with its neighbour, Japan's position is particularly acute *via-à-vis* China. As the recent controversy over the Senkaku and Diaoyu islands testify, relations between China and Japan can quickly turn to ashes. Although in the past few years, trade and investment have been pivotal in cultivating good relations with the phenomenal expansion of China's domestic markets offering a "second America" for Japanese export goods, political tensions remain. In economic circles the so-called "China threat perception" has all but disappeared, yet diplomatic disagreements continually arise. One particular bone of contention is the continued visits by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to Tokyo's contentious Yasukuni shrine. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao confirmed in a recent press conference that Yasukuni is the largest sticking point in bilateral relations.

So far China-Japan diplomacy seems to be following two different tracks with blossoming economic cooperation leading them down a path to close association. While on the other side, politics can be frayed. The two channels do not seem to have collided thus far but if Beijing chooses to reject Japan's bullet trains, carrying considerable design and technological advantages over the French, the business community's good work could soon be undone.

China and Japan should, therefore, continue to promote economic cooperation as the best hedging policy against a breakdown in relations. At the same time, however, Japan has to be aware that the Japanese economy is increasingly dependent upon the traditional industries such as steel, chemical, shipbuilding and so on. We now find ourselves in a situation where economic security will become more reliant upon the Chinese market. Whilst taking advantage of the Chinese economic boom, we cannot afford to put all of our eggs into one basket, which should politics begin to spill over into economics, could have damaging strategic implications for the future.

Globalisation

In this era of globalisation, information technology (IT), the English language and knowledge-driven economy are key players on the international stage, offering as India well knows, fruitful opportunities for economic advancement such as the “back office” economy. In the coming years, Japan needs to continue on its course of harnessing the globalisation wave, making sure that it does not fall behind like in the “lost decade” of the 1990s. Japan paid the high price of success after the bubble economy when complacency allowed wasted opportunities to pass it by. Economic reform and initiatives pushed by the Koizumi government have frequently been met with reluctance - even opposition - in Japan and the country now needs to turn to serious re-evaluation. Proposals to help Japan keep apace with globalisation such as the promotion of English as the country’s second official language need more earnest attention and Japanese society should take greater heed of the warning signs.

At the same time as the technologically advanced nations stride forward, there are also those countries that are falling on the steep side of the digital divide. The international community along with Japan has a responsibility to keep every country afloat and ensure that globalisation does not benefit some and severely disadvantage others. Conflict management will play a pivotal role in ensuring that backlashes against globalisation do not result in failing states deteriorating into anarchy. Those countries with valuable nation-building skills such as Japan and India must readily employ them to assuage the potential for globalisation induced chaos.

Population Problems

It is a highly publicised fact that Japan is - like many other developed countries such as Germany and Italy for example - afflicted with troublesome population demographics. As the birthrate declines and population ages, the picture for Japan’s future is increasingly bleak. By 2015 for example, it is estimated that one in four Japanese citizens will be aged 65 or over, (and I have to confess that I will also soon be a member of this “troublesome”

group) rendering it one of the 21st century's great imperatives that the island nation of Japan looks toward a more multiracial future. As former Prime Minister Obuchi's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st century advised, accepting the entry of non-Japanese people is an important option while Japanese society must systematically draw out "the latent potential of Japanese society to the greatest degree" - for instance pressing for women to be involved in society and the workplace on a major scale.

Japan needs to formulate a viable immigration policy and fast, as current strategies fall way short of the mark. In brief, this means building a future that will encourage foreigners to live, work and settle in Japan, achieving greater ethnic diversity to broaden the scope of Japan's international competitiveness. At the same time, Japan has to preempt the societal adjustments that a newly multiracial community will demand and ensure that the necessary structures and adjustments are in place to allow smooth passage towards a newly ethnically defined nation.

Since defeat in the Second World War, Japan's foreign policy and strategic bearings have always been characterised by bilateral and multilateral initiatives and this should not change as we take on these new challenges. In addressing the threats born of the new millennium, Japan should branch out even further to a "coalition strategy". And in my view, one of Japan's coalition partners should be India.

As I list the global goals and challenges for Japan in the 21st century, a number of areas in which a "strategic affinity" between India and Japan can be usefully deployed spring to mind. India and Japan have a number of shared interests especially in Asia and strategic cooperation between the two friends promise fruitful beginnings. I shall first of all address cooperation from a Japanese perspective.

Indo Japanese Cooperation

Global Balkans. Eurasia and the so-called "global Balkans" are one of the first areas in which India and Japan share this potential strategic affinity. And I believe that I am correct in

suggesting that both New Delhi and Tokyo are eager for the area's stabilisation. Cooperation between our two countries has, in fact, already been forthcoming on this point, as illustrated by maritime SDF manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean during the offensive against the Taliban in Afghanistan. But, as coalition-led forces struggle to calm the area, there is further scope for India and Japan to join hands through the United Nations (UN) and help secure a more stable future for Afghanistan and Iraq.

Oil. Both India and Japan share links with Iran over oil. In February 2004 Japan signed a deal for the development of the Azadegan oilfields by a Japanese consortium. India-Iran negotiations over a pipeline running through Pakistan may also soon come into fruition. It is thus in both our interests to use respective relations with the US to coax it into a more progressive approach towards Iran - while at the same time remaining sensitive to Iran's violation of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) regulations. Oil cooperation between India, Japan, Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan will have long lasting benefits for the future. Possibilities should be explored to extend the currently proposed oil pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan via Afghan territory to India.

Proliferation Security Initiative. India and the Indian Ocean will rise to the forefront of international maritime strategies in the coming years. Indian cooperation to ensure the safe passage of oil tankers and energy suppliers through its waters will be crucial to the safety of traffic. India and Japan are both peace loving nations and perhaps through increased maritime coordination we can both work towards the safety and free passage of the seas. As the mother country to the Indian Ocean, India should perhaps be advised to join the US based Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). Although the PSI currently operates on the premise of a "coalition of the willing" it is a communal effort involving coast guards and occasionally navies to prevent WMD proliferation via the oceans - a concern I am sure India shares. To render it more attractive to important countries such as India, Indonesia and Malaysia who presently cannot be counted among PSI participants, the PSI should perhaps operate under the auspices of the UN.

China. Both India and Japan share historical tensions with their mutual neighbour China. As such we are both carefully observing China's expansion. New Delhi and Tokyo have vested interests in encouraging China's "peaceful ascendancy" and a new wave of Chinese thinking, which as one Chinese analyst put it, promotes China's "aim to grow and advance without upsetting existing orders" should receive our full support.

Indo-US Relations. In the past few years, there has been great talk of a "strategic partnership" being forged between India and the US. Through their joint alliances with Washington, India and Japan shall naturally be brought closer together. The US can serve a crucial stabilising role in the Asia-Pacific region through both relationships and its continued presence as a complement to regional initiatives for stability and security. India should perhaps also recognise and appreciate the stabilising role, which the US and the US-Japan alliance plays in the Asia-Pacific in slightly more explicit terms. Regardless of the "feel good" image of a "shining" India-US partnership, I do not feel entirely reassured that India intends this as a strategic long term commitment and perhaps New Delhi should be clearer on this point. At the same time, we can use our friendships with Washington to get the US to commit to a more multilateral line. We are all aware of the prominence of the US unilateralism (and the negligence of the UN) since 11 September 2001. India and Japan should work through their respective relations for a more international US foreign policy perspective.

Role of the UN. India and Japan are two countries heavily involved in the UN initiatives. Both of our countries have contributed significant efforts towards the UN peacekeeping operations (PKO) and peace-making operations (PMO) in the past. Yet, we also share the perspective of being the UN contributors that remain outside of the permanent membership circle. As former Prime Minister Shri IK Gujral, a fellow colleague at the International Crisis Group (ICG), phrased it, "the continued credibility of the UN requires a reform of the organisation to reflect present day realities better". As one of the UN's biggest donors, Japan could not agree more. We should, therefore, look into exploring a common approach to the UN reform whilst at the same time maintaining Indian and

Japanese involvement in peacekeeping activities - a national fort   for the both of us. The US-led "coalition of the willing" will render the UN-led PKO and PMOs more difficult in the future and it is hence an urgent necessity that we look towards raising the UN's credibility again.

Indian Economy. India has enjoyed a steady growth rate during the past decade. The biotechnology and information sectors in particular are now amongst the world's best. With a resourceful population of English speakers driving the economy forward, India has become and will increasingly emerge as a Mecca for foreign business cooperation particularly in the technology sectors. I visited the Gurgaon area upon the strong recommendation of Japan's Ambassador Yasukuni Enoki. It reminded me of Pu Dong in China more than 10 years ago when I was the first witness to the growing Chinese economic dynamic.

Indo-Japanese Economic Relations. From India's point of view, strategic affinity with Japan is fortuitous particularly from the standpoint of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA). In 1958 India became the first recipient of Japanese ODA (only four years after Japan was delivered from the US occupation). Japan has been India's biggest donor since 1986. This relationship is likely to continue in the future - allowing India to benefit from Japanese capital, technology, managerial expertise and foreign direct investment (FDI). Japan, particularly its business community, should also reorganise and appreciate the enormous potential for an Indo-Japan economic relationship. The phenomenal success of the revival of Shinsei Bank was due in part, to the great lessons learnt from its Indian IT specialists whose reforms to Shinsei's software programmes are proof of the potentially bright future of economic cooperation. Japan should establish more such connections by inviting Indian professionals to Japan in the coming decades.

Free Trade Agreement. It is advisable that India and Japan form a free trade agreement (FTA). Japan's immediate priority is developing an economic partnership agreement (EPA) with Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Korea, yet India should be the next. First, however, we should set up a high-level study group consisting of specialists from both sides to explore further such ties.

Association for South East Asian Nations. Negotiations with Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) should be combined. At present India liaises with ASEAN on a "plus one" basis, yet why not transform separate Indo-ASEAN cooperation to a "plus four" framework including the ASEAN + 3 countries of China, Japan and Korea?

Peaceful Outlook. India and Japan are countries of peace that have cultivated and cherished a peaceful outlook since the end of World War II and in India's case, since its independence. Now almost 60 years have passed since the end of the war and we are both seeking to assume a more global role on the international diplomatic scene. The Indian Foreign Minister Shri Yashwant Sinha has articulated, India is "ready once again to engage with the world".

Nuclear Issues

Despite the largely friendly nature of Indo-Japan relations in the past, nuclear issues have been the most conflicting and detrimental factor to affect the relationship. In October 2001, Tokyo decided to discontinue measures enforced against India after the nuclear tests of 1998, which clashed deeply with the fiercely non-nuclear sentiment in Japan. I believe it is fair to say, however, that few desired to punish India - a nation towards whom we had enjoyed largely peaceful ties. The former Prime Minister Mori assured in his speech four years ago, these measures were "not economic sanctions". I am glad that Japan's ODA has also been resumed with the understanding that India keeps its promise in regards to the nuclear testing moratorium. I hope that India will stick to its pledge and redouble its efforts on WMD non-proliferation as a responsible global player.

Japan is a religiously non-nuclear country (some have even nicknamed us the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) fundamentalists) that is keen to share its experiences with WMD. Priding itself upon its fervently anti-nuclear post-war identity, Japan felt wounded by the nuclear tests and was disappointed with the homeland of Mahatma Gandhi, which in every other respect appeared devoted to peace, had forged ahead in exercising its nuclear might. During

the 1990s, however, Japan has gradually come to terms with, in the prominent scholar and Senior Director of Asian Affairs at the National Security Council Michael Green's words: a "reluctant realism" and now admits a more sober view of the world. Indeed, Japan now understands threats to her through the launching of Taepodong missiles from North Korea in Japan's direction and Pyongyang's development of nuclear weapons.

Tokyo retains its non-nuclear foundations but this "reluctant realism" during the past few years has articulated itself in the exploration of missile defence. With India's own missile defence interests, this is perhaps an area that India and Japan can possibly investigate together in future. Equally, Japan is a great admirer of India's space technology and cooperation on this front (in a peaceful capacity) is a second subject for consideration.

India Rising

There are, as I have mentioned, a number of new frontiers for a "strategic affinity" between India and Japan. We should in the 21st century, seize the opportunity for improved cooperation. At the same time, however, we have to be realistic in understanding that India and Japan are still distant friends and for Japan especially, India's unique power is difficult to define and comprehend.

Although I hesitate to compare it with China, India's "rising" is not altogether dissimilar. I do not want to enter into a discussion on the comparisons between the two countries - which is somewhat of a cottage industry these days - yet China and India are two great nations on the rise. India's rise is likely to be far more sustainable than China's since it has been "democratically produced" (as Yahseng Huang and Tarun Khanna suggested in their *Foreign Policy* article of July 2003). We all know the pitfalls of China's ascendancy - whose expansion at the expense of human rights was clearly pronounced during the Tiannamen Square incident of 1989. On the other hand, India's pitfalls - if I might call it the Indian risk - is its relationship with Pakistan. In the summer of 2002, the international community (including Japan and the US) looked on nervously as India-Pakistan tensions flared, calling their citizens to leave the area. We heaved a deep sigh of relief that nuclear war

would not - at that point anyway - be the cost of India's ascension. But, as I am sure you are all well aware, a potential showdown with Pakistan still looms as the greatest risk for the future. The international community remains greatly fearful of an Indo-Pakistan nuclear war and joins what I am sure are your own hopes, that recent cooperation will be the first step on the road to achieving full reconciliation one day.

If India can rise whilst keeping faith with its democratic ideals - upholding human rights whilst avoiding an adverse effect on its neighbours, this will be one of the greatest achievements in human history. India's potential is vast, yet it will not be able to cash the benefits of this success, unless it devotes serious attention to a carefully formulated "ascendancy strategy" - one which will accommodate all of India's internal and cultural boundaries. After all, Indian society is a society more diverse than the US, Canada, Mexico, South America, France, Germany and the UK put together.

In the years after 1945, Japan embraced peaceful ideals and became a specialist in nation building, developing in the decades after, its own peaceful ascendancy formula. During the past 60 years this formula has owed its success to the solid principles upon which Japan modelled its peaceful rise, namely: no wars, no use of military force, a close alliance with the US, a peaceful constitution, various measures of self restraint and above all political will and consensus. These are the fundamental sources of Japan's remarkable peaceful ascendancy path.

Now that India is on the rise, I am sure there are many lessons our mutually peace-loving nations can share. India and Japan as non-Western societies are successful models of democracy and our experiences and stories of nation building can and should be shared with the rest of the world. We share a special responsibility and even a special privilege in this mission. Perhaps then, it is in this area where Indo-Japan "strategic affinity" can find its greatest strength.

Ideals of Gandhi and Nehru

I would lastly like to finish on a personal note of thanks to India. As a child growing up in the post-war era I remember that

the ideals of Gandhi and Nehru were widely taught in schools. They served as beacons of faith for a bright and peaceful future. Whilst in those days Japan still found itself surrounded by hostile nations, India offered it an olive branch, giving Japan coal and steel when others would not and reaching out the hand of friendship. This friendship was soon symbolised in 1949 by the gift of an elephant named after Prime Minister Nehru's daughter *Indira*. I was one of millions of lucky Japanese school children to see *Indira* shortly after she arrived in Japan as part of a school trip. Since then, four Indian elephants have been welcomed to Japan's soil and the latest - an elephant named *Surya* donated in 2001 - is a living reminder in Tokyo's Ueno zoo of the friendship India has offered us.

USI RESEARCH PROJECTS FOR THE YEAR 2004-2005

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| (a) Field Marshal
KM Cariappa Chair. | "Suicide Terrorism : Relevance in the
Indian Context"
Lt Col Behram A Sahukar (Retd). |
| (b) Admiral
RD Katari Chair. | "Maritime Development and Coastal
Security: An Integrated Approach"
Capt Iwan K Joseph, IN. |
| (c) Air Marshal
S Mukherjee Chair. | "Aerospace Defence : A Holistic
Approach"
Air Vice Mshl AK Tiwary, VSM. |
| (d) Prof DS Kothari
DRDO Chair. | "Implications of Ballistic Missile
Defence for Southern Asia"
Cdr PK Ghosh. |
| (e) Ministry of
External Affairs Chair. | "International Defence Cooperation for
Indian Armed Forces in the 21 st Century"
Col KA Muthanna. |