The 60th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relationship between Japan And India

Session 1 : Regional Security in Asia

JIUS Maritime Security Coalition

December 13, 2012

VADM (ret) Hideaki Kaneda
Adjunct Fellow, JIIA
Asian Regional Security Environment (Overview)

- Complicating state to state relationship in NE Asia
  Stagnant US, Growing China, Returning Russia, Powering ROK, Terminating DPRK, Yielding Taiwan, ??? Japan

- Rapid Rise of Emerging Countries, such as China or India
  Political, economic, and military hub development

- Diversifying yet Congregating South East Asian Countries
  Movement in Congregating around ARF or Other ASEAN-centered Entity

- Intensified Competition to Secure Energy and Resources
  Increased Importance of Oceans in Resource Supply and Transportation

- New Threats from Non-State Entity, Radical Groups etc.
  Serious and Severe Threats Extending to Whole Region
Asian Regional Security Environment
(Each Country in NE Asia)

- **China:** Maritime Advancement / Military Built-up
  (A2/AD, Global Commons, Aircraft Carrier)

- **DPRK:** Keeping Brinkmanship
  (Nuclear, Ballistic Missiles, Irregular War Fighting)

- **Russia:** Regaining Military Power
  (Nuclear, Conventional Arms, Weapons Export)

- **ROK:** Military Enforcement beyond Peninsula
  (Outgoing Naval and Air Force Power)

- **US Force:** Strategic Reformation
  (Focusing on Asia, Consolidating Allies and Partners)

- **Taiwan:** Limit in Defense Built up
  (Unbalance with China, Weakening Support from US)
Asian Regional Security Environment
(Each Country in SE Asia and Beyond)

- **ASEAN**: Asymmetric Military Modernization
  (Changing Balance with China)

- **Australia**: Increasing Importance as Middle Power
  (Japan-US-Australia Minilateral Security Cooperation)

- **India**: Approaching Asia Pacific Region
  (Multi-Dimension Policy, Superiority in Indian Ocean)

- **UK, France**: Eyeing Asia
  (Advance to Mid-East, Indian Ocean, Asia-Pacific)

- **Non-State Actors**: Terrorism, Piracy
  (Multi-lateral Efforts)
Regional Security Risks Today
(Key Word: China Risk, Maritime Security)

Residue of cold war in North East Asia
Rapidly building China’s military (A2/AD* etc)
Disputes over maritime territories
Disputes over marine interests
Proliferation of WMD** & BM*** thru SLOC****
International and local terrorism
Organized illegal activities at sea as piracy
China’s strategic bases thru vital SLOC****

*A2/AD: Anti-Access/Area Denial  **WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction
***BM: Ballistic Missile  ****SLOC: Sea Lines of Communication
China’s Military Risks
（New Types）

• Anti-Ship Ballistic Missiles （Operational within a few years？）
• Attack Aircraft Carriers （Operational within several years？）
• Fifth Generation Fighters （Developing J-20 and 6th Generation？）
• Space Weapons （Killer / Guidance Satellite）
• Cyber War （In progress）
• A2/AD （??？）

• Asymmetric Risks
  Maritime Disturbance: Forceful Actions at Major Straits, Ports, Seas (East and South China Sea) through SLOCs in the Region
  ⇒ Freedom of Navigation
China’s Military Risks
（Qualitative Development）

• Anti-Ground Ballistic Missiles
  （Long-Range, Decoys, MIRV/MaRV, EMP/HPM Warheads）

• Anti-Ground / Ship Cruise Missiles
  （Long-Range, Multi-Platforms, Precision Guidance, High-Speed）

• Strategic (SSBN) / Tactical Submarines (SSN/SS)
  （SLBM not-operational, Stealth, Mobility, Attack Ability）

• Surface Warships
  （Anti-Surface / Ship Attack, Anti-Air Defense, Multi-Purpose）

• Fourth Generation Fighters
  （Anti-Air / Air Control Capability, Anti-Surface / Ship Attack）
  ⇒ Developing Quantitatively

⇒ Improving Qualitatively

• Operational Mobility
  （Amphibious Operation, Strategic Transportation, Logistics）

• War Sustenance Capability
  （Weapons, Equipment, Fuels, Bullets, Tactical Transportation）
  ⇒ Improving Qualitatively
Developing Naval Power of China

3 Fleets, about 950 Ships, about 1.343 million tons in total

Introducing from Russia and Domestic Production enabled
Rapid Built-up and Modernization of Naval Power
State Involved Unlawful Copying of Technologies

From Coastal to Near Sea Navy, Aiming to Outer Sea Navy
Whole State Efforts to Build Bases for Maritime Advancement

75 Destroyers, 9 Nuclear & 50 Ordinary Submarines (2010)
Surpassing Taiwan and JMSDF
Developing Offensive Capability to Invade Japan’s Remote Islands and
Taiwan’s Main Island

“Surpassing USN by 2020 (Rumsfeld)
Aiming for Own Aircraft Carrier Task Groups
History of Advancement toward Oceans

Maritime Advancement since China-Soviet Confrontations
* Focusing on Maritime Trade (Mao Tse-tung) for Survival
* Focusing on Maritime Interests (Deng Xiao-ping) for Development
* ’70s: South China Sea
  ‘80s: East China Sea
  ‘90s: Near Sea surrounding Japan, Western Pacific Ocean
  ‘00s: Outer Oceans

Objective of Advancement to Oceans beyond near Waters
* Absorption of Taiwan (Absolute Priority Issue among Domestic Issues)
* Economic Development (Consistent Pursuit of Energy and Resources)
* Political Influential Power (Global Influence in Global Stage)
* Maritime Hegemony (Securing Resources and Maritime Transportation, Aspiration for Regional then Global Hegemony)

⇒ Expanding National Power thru “Chinese Mahanism”
Chinese Maritime Advancement

- "String of Pearls"
- Anti-Piracy
- Chinese “9 Exits” toward Outer Sea
- 1st Island Line
- 2nd Island Line
- Diego Garcia
- Guam
- Hormuz
- Hawaii
- Pakistan
- Bangladesh
- Myanmar
- Sri Lanka

A2/AD

1st Island Line

2nd Island Line
Basic Policies of Japan’s Security (National Defense Program Guideline)

1. Japan’s Own Efforts
2. Cooperation with Ally
3. Multilayered Security Cooperation with the International Community

(1) Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region

--- ---Forming a security network through a multilayered combination of bilateral and multilateral security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, together with the Japan-U.S. Alliance, is essential for engaging in efforts for the further stabilization--- ---Japan also will maintain and strengthen security cooperation with the nations of ASEAN, and cooperation with India and other nations that share common interest in ensuring the security of maritime navigation from Africa and the ME to East Asia---

(2) Cooperation as a Member of the International Community
Japan’s Maritime Defense

Defending Territory, Surrounding and Strategically Vital Waters including East China Sea, Sea of Japan and Western Pacific Ocean

Maintaining Defense Posture for Deterring against A2/AD

Building Autonomous & Robust Maritime Defense Power

⇒ Rebalancing by Creating “Dynamic Defense Power”

Deepening and Widening Japan-US Maritime Alliance

⇒ Reviewing Japan-US Defense Cooperation Guideline

Securing Broad SLOCs by Own and with Like-Minded Maritime Security Coalition Sharing Common Value

⇒ Enlarging Regional Maritime Security Cooperation

⇒ Maritime Security Coalition in the “Expanded Asia”
Japan/India Relation

Partner with historic sympathy and common basic values (Freedom, Democracy, etc.)

Joint Statement of “Road Map on Strategic Global Partnership in new Dimension”

Emerging “Expanded Asia” integrating East and South Asia between two Great Oceans

(Abe’s Speech at Indian Parliament in 2007)

Bilateral Maritime Security Dialogue in 2009

Japan-India Joint Statement between Singh/Noda reinforcing “Strategic Global Partnership in 2011”

Bilateral Naval Exercise in Japan in 2012
Singh-Noda Joint Statement (Dec 2011)

Vision for the Enhancement of Japan-India Strategic and Global Partnership upon entering the year of the 60th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

4. --- The two Prime Ministers --- welcomed the launch of the Japan-India-US trilateral dialogue, which would deepen strategic and global partnership amongst the three countries.

5. Recognizing the growing security and defense cooperation between the two countries, the two Prime Ministers welcomed the bilateral exercise between the JMSDF and the Indian Navy to be held in 2012.

24. The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed the commitment of India and Japan, as two maritime nations in Asia, to the universally-agreed principles of international law, including the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and other relevant international maritime law. They affirmed expansion of cooperation in maritime security including safety and freedom of navigation and anti-piracy activities, by promoting bilateral and multilateral exercises, and through information sharing, as well as dialogues. In this context, they also welcomed the joint exercise between the JCG and the Indian Coast Guard to be held in January 2012.
Core Like-Minded Maritime Security Coalitions in Expanded Asia

E–W Expanded Asia
(JIUS Coalition)

India --------Japan/US--------- Australia
(ASEAN, Others)

N-S Expanded Asia
(JAUS Coalition)
JIUS Maritime Security Coalition

Chinese “9 Exits” toward Outer Sea

“String of Pearls”

Anti-Piracy

2nd Island Line

1st Island Line

Diego Garcia

Guam

Hawaii

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨

A2/AD

Pakistan

Bangladesh

Myanmar

Sri Lanka

JIUS Maritime Security Coalition

A2/AD

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨

Chinese “9 Exits” toward Outer Sea

“String of Pearls”
Regional Maritime Security Coalitions

- Sri Lanka
- Pakistan
- Bangladesh
- Myanmar
- "String of Pearls"
- Anti-Piracy
- Chinese "9 Exits" toward Outer Sea
- 2nd Island Line
- 1st Island Line
- Diego Garcia
- Guam
- Hawaii

Regional Maritime Security Coalitions

A2/AD