



THE CENTRE FOR SECURITY STUDIES



# INDO-JAPANESE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

## FUTURE AND EXPECTATIONS

ONLINE LECTURE SERIES  
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DR SATORU NAGAO

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### SPEAKER BIO



Dr Satoru Nagao is a fellow (non-resident) at Hudson Institute, based in Tokyo, Japan, being associated with the Washington DC based institute since 2017.

Dr Nagao's primary research area is US-Japan-India security cooperation. He was awarded his PhD by Gakushuin University in 2011 for his thesis, "India's Military Strategy," the first such research thesis on this topic in Japan.

Dr Nagao holds numerous other research positions, including director at the International Security Industry Council, senior research fellow at the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies, specially-appointed research fellow at the Japan Forum on International Relations, research fellow at the Institute for Future Engineering (strategy, defense policy), lecturer at Gakushuin University, associate at the Society of Security and Diplomatic Policy Studies, research fellow at the Security and Strategy Research Institute for Japan, among several more.

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CSS ONLINE LECTURE SERIES REPORT

**INDIA-JAPAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP:  
FUTURE AND EXPECTATIONS**

11 June 2022

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### **About the Event**

The Centre for Security Studies at the Jindal School of International Affairs hosted an online lecture by Dr Satoru Nagao on the topic “India-Japan Strategic Partnership: Future and Expectations” on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2022. Dr Nagao is a non-resident fellow at the Hudson Institute, with his primary research area being US-Japan-India security cooperation. He was awarded his PhD by Gakushuin University in 2011 for his thesis “India’s Military Strategy,” the first such research thesis on this topic in Japan. The lecture focused on the significance of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) and the major reasons behind the formation of the grouping of Australia, India, Japan and the United States of America. Dr Nagao focussed on the increased security cooperation between India and Japan in the Indo-Pacific region, while the two Asian powers celebrate 70 years of diplomatic ties.

### **Highlights and Insights**

Dr Nagao began the lecture by stating that the close relationship between India and Japan is a recent phenomenon, “even though the diplomatic ties between our two nations are 70 years old”. The deep ties between the two countries have not occurred very naturally and have been a gradual process. The sphere which pushed both the countries together is the sphere of security. The formation of QUAD was a very important event in bringing both India and Japan closer, together.

The lecture discussed the concept of ‘Indo-Pacific’, which in itself is a very important concept because the rapid economic development in the region has meant that the region has become very important in world politics. The formation of the QUAD is very significant for many reasons: it aims at ensuring that China does not dominate the region and it also ensures that

India is brought into the global picture and is given the due space it deserves. Japan was a pioneer of the QUAD because the Japanese realise the importance of India in this region.

Dr Nagao argues that China's activity in the region has threatened the security of Japan. China has increased its naval activity in the seas surrounding Japan. China's activity in the Pacific side of Taiwan has especially been a major concern for Japan. Dr Nagao says that China has shown repeated disregard for international law and the rules-based international order. His other argument is that whenever Beijing sees a vacuum of power, it tries to fill that vacuum by expanding its presence in the region and asserting its interests.

Dr Nagao elucidates that there is a similar pattern between China's confrontations with India along the Indo-Chinese border and China's increasing presence in the waters around Japan. In both cases, China has shown an increase in activity, threatening the security of India and Japan. China's expansionism has not been merely from the military point of view but has happened even in non-military avenues such as the giving of high-interest loans to countries like Sri Lanka. Dr Nagao further argued that QUAD needs to do what China does not want the QUAD to do; it needs to focus on the importance of international law and uphold the rules-based world order, filling the power vacuum in the region and also expanding cooperation in non-military spheres, especially in the economic sphere.

Dr Nagao also explained the 'hub and spoke' system, in which the US plays a central role and the focus is only on Bilateral relations between the US and their allies in the region. This type of system, while having worked thus far, cannot work anymore and there is a need for a 'network based' system, where there is a 'network' of friendly countries that have a democratic security framework and share similar goals in the region. This type of system can effectively balance China in the region. He points out that for Tokyo the maintenance of the rules-based order is very important.

Dr Nagao also explained how Japan is expanding its non-military cooperation with India, by giving the example of Japan's help in expanding the infrastructure of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, especially in the realm of connectivity with mainland India.

## Question and Answer Session

In addition to the key lecture by Dr Satoru Nagao he also actively participated in the question-and-answer section where the participants came up with queries and opinions on the same. Following is the transcription of the questions raised by the attendees, and answers by the lecturer, as transcribed from the recorded session:

**[Q1.1] We are seeing an upward movement in the defence relations between India and Japan, Japan has been finding ways to increase and re-establish itself as a defence power globally. Today especially keeping in mind China's behaviour, how does Japan plan to increase its self-defence forces. With regard to the issue that Japan is facing a steadily declining population and what do you think would be Japan's plan to move ahead and can India do anything to help Japan in this domain?**

**[Q1.2] The Senkaku Islands and the Kuril islands Japan is inevitably facing a two-front aggression from its neighbours, do you feel that Japan will be garnering support from the QUAD members, also if you think Japan will be garnering support from the QUAD members how can India help Japan in the Senkaku Islands and the Kuril islands disputes?**

**[Ans]** First one is yes, Japan is declining because of the population, that kind of discussion is indeed true. But at the same time, small population do not mean the small national power. If we succeed to use robot indeed how to deal the ageing society is a big matter in Japan. And in case of the supply of the soldiers indeed this is a big matter indeed for university teachers how to get the students also matter. But for the armed forces how to get the soldiers big matter. So yes it is impossible for example the National Japan Maritime self-defence was what is navy maybe need to deprive soldiers in the Indian Ocean region. This is why this is far from Japan but they have families they want to return to Japan how to do it that's big

problem currently. But if so simply said we need to reduce the work itself if they find but at the same time we need to reduce the number of crew of each worship is another answer. And recently Japan started to change to accept many radius of the armed forces because indeed this is related with question rising the social status of the ladies but at the same time number is shrink. That's also the fact, so when we talk with the self-defence wars they think Japan can deal with this problem at least the next decade over two decades. If we accept ladies or more elderly soldiers and robots they said. But in the future it will it will be the more serious problem and that times what they will do will be the matter there is a possibility Japan will accept huge nationals as a masteries like France. Of course that will be the one's option what some of the experts pointed out we also use private military companies to deal with this that's also another option. But it will happen, I think but not just now it's the current situation and another one Japan is facing many threats at the same time, can Japan contribute to the QUAD is a question. Because Russia is now the threat North Korea is a threat and China is slapped and Japan needs to support Taiwan, Japan needs to support Japanese to take some heavy, or to take Japan to take Japanese, that kind of situation can Japan contribute QUAD well it's a matter that's true. But at the same time automatically Japan can contribute this situation, because Japan decides to increase their defence budget nearly double currently Japan's defence budget is 1.4 per cent of the GDP. It depends on how to calculate, but so politically Japan's government for long time Japan's government say our defence budget is less than one percent of the GDP but when the calculation based on the NATO tax 1.4 percent Japan's defence budget has already entered in this area. But Japan will increase this 1.4 percent of the GDP objective to the 2 percent of the GDP. Japan's defence budget will increase

drastically from 1.4 percent of GDP to 2 percent and I think within five years that is above the goal Japan will say so. That's why we face a problem that's true but we try to catch up if that's also true. So China is increasing their military expenditure, Russia has increased the military expansion, North Korea they're increasing. North Korea is one kind of the crazy rebels because in this number of the soldiers every 1000 populations the North Korea is nearly seventy or eighty, three times bigger than, two times bigger than the Israel quite crazy level. So what I want to say is North Korea is quite militarized country so that's why all these three at the same time is very serious but at the same time Japan tried to catch up.

**[Q2] Do you think there is a possibility like Israel has compulsory military training for its citizens do you think there is a possibility Japan could also have that in the future? Do you think uh like you said about robotics how do you plan to deal with robotics?**

**[Ans]** About the first one civil military organization should Japan establish, yes should Japan should establish but at the same time it is impossible under the current mood. Of course Russia's aggression to Ukraine change in Japan that's true. Japanese start to understand we need to increase the defence budget but at the same time still this war is on the screen Japan is island nation, island nation means all of the enemy we cannot see we can when we see the border this is the sea fishy we can see the fish not human so there is no threat. In this case how to ride the mood to defend our country or the how to make the how to persuade the people to accept the civil military efforts, it is nearly impossible and last 70 years the government tried to try to change the mind-set of the Japanese the national security his issue is not so important for you

should work as a businessman. In this case we need government need to change now need to change these people to be the warrior but a very big gap is exist. So civil military effort is not easy to establish. But at the same time Japan society itself is well organized that's why once something has happened Japan will move, Japanese are moving very other one organization indeed that is different because repeatedly earthquake has come and when we are building because of the earthquake, building because of the typhoon and repeatedly we fortifies our countries our towns, so bomb has come this is a different situation missile has come different situations with typhoon and earthquake but maintaining organization society has already changed, already trained. That's why if Japan is which other countries think that's not true, Japanese looks like a organization and they work as a team very well i think this is one kind of feature of the desired nation.

About robotics you can find many robotics in the in your life for example the one the example is smartphone now we can connect with internet anytime so knowledge is not matter we can check the smartphone and find the knowledge. This is one kind of robotics it looks like the teacher is teaching just side of your pocket or you can find smartphone like that something like that so what has changed along with these equipment anytime and everything is robotics so when we call this robot it looks like maybe it's a supporting robot like the star wars or something. But this is not only the robot every machine a lot so it it is import it is possible what kind of image for example the number of the crew to control the worst one worship it was 100 now or 50 this is robotics. By using this system we can use a number of the people we need to work the society works a military organization that could happen because automatically that could that will happen but we need to accelerate this move that is a situation Japan is facing. And

in case of India, India has a plenty of the human resources in this case no need to hurry. In case of India, India should develop their robots themselves but indeed demanding the society is a little minimum so but just in case of India, India needs a robot to enhance capability. In case of Japan, Japan is a robot to fill the gap of the declining population created by declining poverty that's the difference, but yes that is more serious in Japan.

**[Q3] Since the Indo-Pacific region has gained significant attention and the role of QUAD has been highlighted repeatedly, what role do the small island nations play for QUAD as a whole and for Japan specifically?**

**[Ans]** South Pacific is an area Japan has occupied in past that true and we know this area very well. But at the same time when Japan expand the ingredients that south pacific the relation with Australia has deteriorated very fast and the relation with the United States developed very fast and that was one of the one of the reasons US and Australia and Japan enter the QUAD too. So this area is very sensitive area for Japan so after the world war two Japan tried to support them because of the people to people connection. In this many island people are Japan oriented, Japan's occupation in this area and the human to human connection is very deep for example the President Nakamura has, Nakamura was the president, but this name of Nakamura is Japanese family name so indeed very strong connection with them so that's why even if after the Japan tried to support this islands economically in the Australia road Japan to the Dutch and in this case very good relation with them. Now China try to intervene this area and because this is one kind of repeated history but Japan and China have changed Japan is the Australian side and China tried to enter looks like the empire of Japan. So that's why that's why Japan collaborate with



Australia to support these industry at the same time view from Japan indeed this is suicide for Chinese. Because if China expand influence South Pacific it will create a very serious situation for the US and Australia and QUAD corporation will strength because of the motivation lies in the Us and Australia. So if so from Japan yes Japan can support this island but at the same time Japan do not need do not need to neutralize China's influence so strongly in the South Pacific because more than China expand the influence the more the US and Australia come to support Japan so of course Japan will do Japan will contribute to support Australia's role in this region but indeed this is beneficial for Japan strategically.

**[Q4] Which areas and critical technologies does Japan feel that could lead to QUAD partnership and feasible solutions? What is your opinion about formation of QUAD eyes network, is it similar to five eyes network? India has recently signed logistics support agreement with Vietnam do you think that a trilateral or relation between India Vietnam and japan is actually feasible?**

**[Ans]** Yes about the critical technology yes which area is a priority itself is the topic of the how to deal with the political technology or supply chain of the political technology

because when we start talk about political technology Japan understand

that we did not know what happened in Japan because one about critical technology how critical we need to define technology itself when we check the technology everything is technology for example the one only one small part is technology but big path is also technology and but big paths including the small parts of course so which one is critical when we talk about big one, of course, a big one is critical but bitcoin includes small one

means that all of the small one is critical too so under such kind situation firstly we need to do it we need to check the supply chain and we need to make the big list of the our taking a list of technologies that has and this is nearly impossible it will create one kind of space even if the company if we produce a big part did not know which parts came from which country so most critical part is of course latest military one greatest military technology related with hypersonic missiles or as a very important semiconductor related this was a priority that people think that's true. But indeed in this case simple answer and ambiguity answer is anything important case-by-case basis that is answer, so now was a Japan past view of the economic security and this bill including the rest of the critical technology but once a company developed a new technology every time Japanese government will check it and set up this is a critical technology do not publish it instead of this will forgive you the patent but secret patent something like that this new system has created under this law and try to protect case-by-case basis. Second one what kind of the QUAD is ideal QUAD yes five eye is more coherent because based on the former British empire these five countries cooperate in the secretary as a butcher formal framework this is five eyes sharing the information the five countries the US, Canada, Australia and British of course and New Zealand so and in the last year of course there was a discussion Japan will join these five eyes as a six sides but when we check the detail it is impossible for Japan to join because there is not a profit spy in Japan. You can see how different Japan is for a long time last 70 years Japan tried to ignore the national security so there is no law to prohibit spying so some people say this is a heaven of spy because no reason to arrest them so this means that if the five eye country tried to share the secret information with Japan and they identified the Russian spy or

Chinese spy on North Korea spy takes this information from Japanese officials but there is no law to arrest them so can't fight I share the information with Japan so indeed Japan cannot be the part of five eyes so when we talk about QUAD same situation has happened of course Japan can share the information with the other country and my Japanese police tried to exploit other roads to arrest someone to spy it in this case it is possible but at the same time this is not same level with the five eye so still QUAD is more strategic but not deep like military alliances or the sharing information framework like five eye. QUAD is dealing with more big issues and more the non-military issues mainly but the last question people start to realize that what is changing to be the original QUAD because they try to mention the non-military cooperation uh but do you want to use cooperation you are using the most military and non-military for example the sharing the information of the maritime security was sharing information with the satellite even if there is this is civil purpose etc etc this kind of the cooperation is sharing dual user information and this facility itself responsibility take responsibility by the military organization in some in in this some of the countries and at the same time humanitarian assistance disaster management is also mentioned this kind of the humanitarian assistance disaster management implemented by the armed forces and they carries a product from the land to sea or land to support or help the victims of this disaster this means that this this is looks like the military operation even if there is no fire in the missiles. So QUAD start to expand the security area it is obvious and so this cooperation is still not military alliances but security corporation.

About cooperation between India, Vietnam and Japan, yes that is possible but as a practical way which one is more faster than the others it's a matter in this case, of course I think each

we should create a trilateral cooperation mechanism in India in Vietnam and Japan. But at the same time once talk with Vietnam receives something equipment from India or from Japan in these countries they enjoy the bilateral basis negotiation because trader is more difficult to set up the database or introductory than the bilateral and to that is more difficult to arrange than the bilateral that's why the bilateral is always practical in some cases or many cases so that's why we should create a trilateral cooperation but at the same time indeed all of three countries are lateralising. Well that's the current situation so yes idea is of course i also strongly support it and then politically this message sorry that the message is good.

**[Q5.1] In order to Japan to militarize there has to be a change at the constitution itself because of the post-war legal structure that Japan has what is the likelihood of that happening like changing of the legal structure and scrapping off of article 9. if i'm not mistaken and has japan fully committed itself to re-militarizing and acting as a regional counterweight to China if not is it likely to do so?**

**[Q5.2] Recently North Korea in particular has been a major cyber attacker for Japan in particular, in the domain of cyber security and also the outer space we are seeing that there is like a recent increase in that in the kind of like a race between the countries and Japan is also participating in that, So what do you think Japan and also India will play role in terms of these two domains and how geopolitics will be impacted by these two areas emerging areas which is kind of like not comprehensible for a lot of people?**

**[Ans]** The first question about the amendment of the constitution yes that is a matter for a long time but this issue is related

with the mood in Japan because for example the practical policy as a practical policy Japan has already changed the constitution many times indeed for example that when we read the constitution original sentences of the constitution everyone understands this is this constitutional prohibit to possess any armed forces but Japan possess self-defence force why and how because Japan have already changed their perception or interpretation of the constitution so if so changing the sentence of the constitution is it meaningful or not indeed this is meaningful if the mood in Japan has changed that's why this amendment of constitution is important. For example the status social status of the Japanese self-defence force members soldiers has changed if they is that there is a clear written sentences because still the people doubt reach this is legal or not that's not good for soldiers who sacrifice their lives in the battle and if the social status has rise what will happen that is another matter so that is a issue of the amendment of the constitution so amend of the constitution itself is not create something new, but if Japanese uh public opinion accept to amend the constitution this means that mood in Japan has changed that is the reason this amendment constitution is one kind of parameter to understand Japan. So that's my answer and another questions North Korea's cyber-attack japan was a cyber-security cooperation between India and Japan this is very important and really progress even if the QUAD they mentioned it and the bilateral summit of course they mentioned it cyber security is a big matter because cyber security is North Korea is very strong because their infrastructure do not depend on the internet but our infrastructure depends on internet so because they are very old that's why it is that kind of situation has happened but at the same time indeed about cyber security it's it is a little difficult to understand the capability of the cyber security of course some country is good in some countries but in the other

rank they try to do that this is an important suggestion the important challenge to solve this. But at the same time cyber security why small country has advantage small countries like North Korea or the recently COVID 19 pandemic the capability of the Vietnam has attracted because Vietnam has identified the pandemic before the world realized it and people think because of that because of their skill of the computer of course Vietnam will diffuse automatically to buffer it is true so it is true many media sync at least same. Capability of cyber security is a little difficult to identify even the small country can raise their capability and Japan tried to support the ASEAN countries and India tried to cooperate with ASEAN the cyber security area and the Indian and Japan has cooperated cyber security area so that's why cyber security cooperation is it is really possible, and so but I'm how is very difficult because in case of cyber security the most important problem is who takes charge indeed for example the company has a deal with sensitive technology but these companies computer controlled by our company government cannot interpret this inside object government cannot control the company itself because in case of the cyber security is inside of the company companies should take charge military force cannot control each companies because they do not have the right to control it they cannot control the business itself this area of the company should take charge so even if the other countries try to attack these companies the defence force cannot intervene the situation in this case companies should defend themselves so in the democratic countries a legal system is important when talk about the cyber security every time problem is who takes charge in the governmental organization of course the security force or the cyber security force of the police or et cetera can't take charge but civil sector we cannot intervene but civil said but weak point if the attacker found this is area of the bridge of

the defence line of the cyber security so that's why this is very difficult so controversial area so cyber security cooperation is possible but how to how to protect is very difficult indeed.

**[Q6] What is Japan's response to within the QUAD structure and also outside of it regarding the increasing alliance between Russia and China and also what do you think other Asian countries which are neutral like India and more who are more pro-US or more pro-western countries in Asia should respond to this increasing partnership between the two giants?**

**[Ans]** Respecting rule-based order of course we should cooperate but at the same time each country has its interest and in case of Japan we have the big four big wars with Russia and we know the Russian soldier's war crime against Japanese in the past that's why when the war has started in Ukraine and the news of the war crime in the city around the queue or other cities we have we remember what happened against Japan, that's why Japan stands is very clear Japan stands with Ukraine. But in case of India, the India did not share as a border with Russia that's why the India is completely different in this case that's understandable indeed how to determine China and Russia this is a very important priority for both India and Japan in this case we should we should not allow the country to change the status quo by force by ignoring rule-based order that's very important that's why Japan tried to persuade India in the past but with the US or the European right that's true. But at the same time now Japan starts to understand how different between Indian - Japan and start to accept start to accept opinion of India or other Southeast Asian countries or countries in the Middle East also so Japan's right to just in Japan try to mend the situation currently for example the what is the what is the problem is of course how to determine the

problem how to detect China's problem don't not share deteriorating relation with the South Asia or India or Middle East this is not a situation we want to create so indeed we can understand each other in this case and it will create a bright future for us because and on a short time that i need to point at one thing Russia military reduction is strong but economically Russia is poor China military strong but economically they are strong too so in the long run china will be the big issue China will be the more big issue China will expand the influence to Russia in the future and China will be the only big matter for us in this case India and Japan share the same problem so in the long run there's no problem Russia's problem will not change the India Japan corporation, I think but that's I want to say.

**[Q7] Russia is not economically stronger but China is so in the long run china is a bigger issue so I wanted to ask like for us the way they have been focusing on the whole Russia Ukraine war they have been prioritizing Russia over China to the point that it may look like it the USA is playing a more increasingly more passive role in the in the pacific region so do you think this kind of a discord between the divergent views regarding who is the bigger threat with within QUAD nation especially like USA, Japan, India and Australia do you think that can actually become a problem for QUAD nations and also the other countries who want to cooperate with the QUAD to you know counter the Chinese presence and the Chinese threat in the pacific region?**

**[Ans]** Yes that's a big problem that's why Japan decided to increase our defence budget to share more security about in this region because uh if something happened in the in the past here because of the Russia Russia's main matter for the United States cannot share the enough support of Japan that will be the nightmare for Japan especially when the china



invaded Taiwan that case we are wearing just now so that's why Japan should take more role that's we start to understand. But at the same time why Japan focusing on the Russia's aggression of Ukraine because if the China invade Taiwan in this case we need not only the US support but also the European support too because if the European budge Chinese weapons or America was a surprise weapon passes to china our enemy will be big so that is that case we ask the Europeans to stop the cooperation with china because we cooperate with Europe in the Ukraine issue that is our deal I think so if NATO expands to the East Asia it will be welcome NATO side will not accept it I think, but anyway Kishida will join the NATO summit next week that because Japan tried to pass it European corporate counter China strategy that's true but at the same time in the future China and Russia will be one we expect because Russia needs China now and because the semiconductor supplied without a supply from China Russia cannot makes a semiconductor this means Russia cannot produce weapons now. So Russia needs China Russia and China is only by main buyer who's a Russian product now so this means that in the future in the future China will control everything and under such kind situations anyway Japan need to face all of the three China and China's home are right North Korea and China control Russia it is unavoidable at least the next near future and then if China and Russia will separate in the future that welcomed current situation we need to expect we need to fight there with them and this is the destiny and Japan's location we cannot escape one more thing I need to say last two thousand years only country to occupy Japan was the United States China tried to do Russia try to do every time Japan won, I think Japan still have the confidence to deal with all of the three enemies at the same time.