

JAPAN IN SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of Social Science
University of Dhaka

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গ্রন্থাগার

In partial fulfillment to the requirement for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in Political Science

By
SYED ASHRAFUR RAHMAN
April 2010

DADICATED
TO
MY PARENTS, TEACHERS
AND DAUGHTER
SYEDA LABIBA ASHRAF

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Certificate of the Research Guide

This is to certify that Syed Ashrafur Rahman has prepared this thesis, titled "Japan in South Asian Security" under my supervision for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science.

I certify that the thesis is for submission to University of Dhaka for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science. I also certify that the thesis or any part of it has not been submitted anywhere for publication.

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Gyasuddin Molla

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Professor



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In spite of my best efforts there are some mistakes in typing the study. I regret these mistakes.

Dhaka
10th April,2010

Syed Ashrafur Rahman

Abstract

The Ph.D. dissertation examines Japan's security role in South Asia. The study identifies post Cold War South Asian security threats and discusses Japan's security and strategic policy in South Asia. The study also examines Japan's political, strategic and economic interests in South Asia and Japan's ODA policy in South Asia.

The study discusses Japan's traditional and non-traditional security role along with human security role in South Asia. Japan plays an important role in non-traditional and human security in South Asia by helping to reduce poverty, establishing democracy and human right, doing peace-building activities in Sri Lanka. Japan extends assistance to protect environmental threats, to improve health, sanitations and to control drugs trafficking, to stop small arms smuggling, and to combat organized and unorganized crimes in South Asia.

Major finding of the study is that Japan has been playing a significant role in South Asian security. Because Japan's national interest is directly related with the South Asian security. As an extra regional major soft power, Japan does not increase tension in South Asia like other majors powers; on the contrary, she helps to defuse tension in South Asia. Japan also plays an important role to free South Asia from nuclear proliferation, to defuse terrorism and extremism in South Asia, to checkmate China and to free Indian Ocean from piracy and terrorism.

Finally, the study summarizes the thesis and gives some recommendations in which way Japan can contribute to South Asian peace and security.

Abbreviations

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ACSA	Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASDF	Air-Self-Defense Force
ATTF	All Tipura Tiger Force
BHN	Basic Human Needs
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
BISS	Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies
BIMSTEC	The Bay of Bengal Initiative for the Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDG	Danish Demining Group
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GGHSP	Japan's Grant Assistance for Grass-roots Human Security Projects
GHG	General Heads Quarters
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IISS	International Institute of Strategic Studies
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IOM	International Oceans Management
IOM	International Organization of Migration
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JDA	Japan Defense Agency
JDRT	Japan Disaster Relief Team
JICA	Japan International Co-operation Agency

JMSDF	Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Force
JOCV	Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers
JSDF	Japan Social Development Found
LDCs	The Least developed Countries
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LTTE	Liberation Tiger of Tamil Elam
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
MSF	Maritime Security Force
NDPO	National Defence Programme Outline
NMD	National Missile Defense
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECF	The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund
OEF-MIO	Operation Enduring Freedom Maritime Interdiction Operation
RCUWM	The Regional Centre on Urban Water Management
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SDF	Self-Defence Forces of Japan
TDRI	Thailand Development Research Institute
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Asom
UNCND	United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNFCCC	UN Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNPKO	United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations
USA	United States of America
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

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Chapter I

Introduction

This chapter consists of five sections:(a)Brief analysis of the study;(b)Objectives of the study;(c)Importance of the study;(d) Methodology of the study;(e)Framework of the study;(f)Literature review;(g) Limitation of the study.

Brief Analysis of the Study

The world has observed tremendous political and economic changes since the end of the cold war. The old -fashioned philosophical rigidities have been replaced by new set of component that influenced nation states in the pursuit of their national priorities.The idea of security itself is being increasingly defined in non-military terms. Matters like technology transfer, trade investment, resource mobilization, economic cooperation, environment, etc, have presumed new importance.Radical changes in the information and communication spheres have indicated a new age of globalism .Trade and investments are increasing quickly, and financial markets are getting integrated across national boundaries. It is in the circumstances of this changed global scenario, countries are trying to craft new frameworks of their national goals setting aside their earlier mindsets. New pivot of power have emerged questioning the supremacy of any single country to be the main arbiter in international politics.

Japan's Economic Network

In this shift atmosphere, Japan has assumed great importance because of its economic and technological strength.Its contribution in the global GNP and trade amounts to about 15%.Its investments have a very wide covering in all continents. The U.S.A. Western Europe, ASEAN and China were the most important recipients of Japan's overseas investment. Japan also enjoys the position of being the biggest aid donor to the developing countries. Japanese aid investments and aid have contributed to trends favorable to globalization particularly in Asia. Japan is the second biggest financial contributor to the United Nations. In 2000, Japan's

contribution of the UN ordinary budget was 20.6 percent, and 2004 Japan paid 19.5 percent of the UN general budget, second only to the 22 percent funded by the United States.¹ UK provided 6.12 percent, France 6 percent, China 2 percent and Russia 1.1 percent.² What is worthy to note is that its contribution is bigger than the combined contributions of Britain, France, China and Russia.....four permanent members of the Security Council. More importantly, Japan's monetary contributions to international financial institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank are truly massive and second only to those of the U.S. Economic contributions to these institutions helped Japan to assume greater global responsibilities. The increasing role of Japan in these bodies also made prominent its claims. Consequently, Japan attained greater say on economic and political issues of developing countries.

Japan in South Asia

South Asia comprising of seven countries –India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Bhutan. South Asian countries are unique for their shared perceptions and values which have flowed from their common historical experiences. Long sufferings under colonial rule moulded their political and economic strategies until recently. India is the largest country in South Asia. Its size, population, resources, economic development, military strength quite unbalanced in comparison to other countries in South Asia. India has border dispute with all South Asian countries. After May 1998, India-Pakistan nuclear device explosions, South Asia had become , “the most dangerous place on earth,” opened President Bill Clinton during his trips to the region in January 2000.³ “South Asia is the hotbed of tension,” London –based International Institute of Strategic Studies(IISS) reported in its annual report of 2000.⁴ U.S. State Department identified South Asia as ‘a major hub of international terrorism, accusing Pakistan, the traditional U.S. ally , and especially Afghanistan of providing a heaven and support to international terrorist groups.⁵ Conflicts in South Asian countries emanated from undemarcated character of the state boundaries and unnatural division of state system left by the British authorities .⁶ India and Pakistan fought four wars(1948, 1965, 1971, 1999) during last sixty years, three of those over Kashmir. External factors also exert considerable influence on the South Asian security situation.

India and China fought a war in the winter of 1962 and a shadow of China loomed large on South Asian Security.

After the defeat in the Second World War, Japan, as a defeated nation, was at the kind of the United States for its domestic political reform, economic reconstruction, and international political rehabilitation.⁷ General Douglas Mac Arthur, Commander-in-Chief of the allied powers gave a new Japanese constitution, introducing the “no war” clause. In Article 9 of the Japan’s new constitution demobilizing all military personnel at home and abroad. It is said that Article 9 of Japan’s constitution has been “the most controversial issue in post war Japanese politics.” This two – paragraph – long, so-called peace clause reads:

“[1]Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

[2]In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air force, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.”⁸

With the emergence of communist China in 1949 and out break of the Korean War in 1950, the United States took advantage of its occupation of Japan to bring Tokyo into its strategic fold. Washington signed a security treaty with Tokyo in 1951, committing itself to defense of Japan against foreign aggression and giving itself access to Japanese bases from which to stage military operations throughout the Far East.⁹ In 1951, US-Japan security treaty stipulated that Japan will not raise its armed forces for her security.

Post-Cold War Japan has been expanding its international role, partly in response to growing international pressure and partly in pursuance of its own national interest.¹⁰ Shunji Kobayashi commented, “under the new world order that we seek, peace and security has to be ensured, freedom and human right have to be preserved.”¹¹ After Cold War, geo-strategic importance of South Asia has increased a lot.

South Asia has become one of the largest market and strategic and security partner of Japan. Japan positively engaged in efforts to achieve peace and stability in South Asia. Japanese Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi opined, "Japan will be positively engaged in efforts to achieve stability and prosperity in South Asia through the enhancement of its ties with the countries in the region."¹²

The security of sea lanes connecting Japan with the Middle East is a vital element of Japan's national security. About 60 percent of Japan's oil is imported and 40 percent of its foreign trade is transported via the Strait of Malacca and Lombok Straits.¹³ Though Japan is largely guided by the US, after Cold War, Japan has extended her security role in the Indian Ocean and South Asian countries.¹⁴

Disarmament and non-proliferation is one of the four pillars of Japan's diplomatic agenda.¹⁵ Japan attaches great importance to non-proliferation efforts in order to contribute to the enhancement of global and regional peace and stability as part of its security policies. Japan believes South Asia is an important region of nuclear race between India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan conducted in 1998, a series of nuclear tests. Japan is strongly against the nuclearization in South Asia. Japan is the only country in the world to have experienced the immense problems with the nuclear war. Japan believes that the use of nuclear weapons is clearly contrary to the spirit of humanity. Japanese representative of the international court of justice Mr. Kawamura Takekazu said in 1995, "the use of nuclear weapons is clearly contrary to the spirit of humanity that gives international law its philosophical foundation. Japan, based on the sufferings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, considers the nuclear weapons must never be used."¹⁶ In the late 1960s, Japanese Prime Minister Sato Eisaku, adopted the three non-nuclear principles. These principles prevent Japan from becoming a nuclear power by prohibiting it from owning, manufacturing or introducing nuclear weapons in the country.¹⁷ At the global level, Japan joined the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in July 1957.¹⁸ Japan has always supported IAEA activities. Japan ratified the NPT in 1976. Japan reacted quite sharply, when India conducted first nuclear weapon tests in May, 1974. The Japanese Diet passed resolutions criticizing India's action.¹⁹ Japan urged India to sign NPT. In May

1998, when again India and Pakistan both conducted nuclear weapon tests, Japan also reacted very sharply; imposed sanctions against India and Pakistan, and took leading role in the international organizations against the India-Pakistan nuclear tests.

China is the important factor of Japan's foreign policy in South Asia. China's economic growth and defense modernization are the security threat of Japan. Post Cold War, one of the key concerns of Japanese foreign policy is how to tackle China. In South Asia, in the security sphere, geopolitical rivalry between China and India seems inescapable. China seeks to prevent India from dominating South Asia and the Indian Ocean. China's naval strategy seeks to secure the countries oil supply and trade routes through the Indian ocean to the Straits of Malacca and the South China sea.²⁰ A rising China appears security threat for both India and Japan.²¹ Japan plays check-mating role in South Asia having security cooperation treaty with India.

South Asia is also called a heaven of terrorism. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Japan has become strong aware of the importance of the war on terrorism as a security undertaking. Japan's policies of the war on terrorism reinforce the international coalition against terrorism and providing assistance to the South Asian countries. Japan is proactively providing capacity-building assistance to South Asian countries. Japan plays an important role to remove tension in South Asian countries on Kashmir problem.

Human security is an important threat in South Asia. Most of the people live below poverty line in this region. Japan promotes human security as a pillar of international cooperation in the 21st century. Japan plays an important role to remove human security threat from South Asia. Ethnic and religious discrimination figure as another human security threat in South Asia. South Asia is considered one of the main hotbeds of ethnic conflicts in the world. Sri Lankan LTTE problem gave Japan another opportunity to perform peace-building role in South Asia. Japan took special initiative to resolve Sri Lankan LTTE problem.

Hypothesis of the Study

In light of the above analysis the following hypotheses follow:

First, Japan uses her economic aid to promote non-proliferation, war on terrorism and human security in South Asia.

Second, Japan has been a strong advocate of nuclear disarmament and the signing of NPT is consistent with that approach.

Third, Japan plays an important role in South Asia by check-mating China.

Four, Though Japan is largely guided by the US, it has its own security concern in South Asia. Japan plays an important role in South Asia according to US-Japan new Defense guidelines in 1997 and 1999.

Objective of the Study

The main objectives of the study is to make critical assessment of Japan's concern for South Asia's security. To attain these objective the following points will need to be dealt with:

- 1)To assess security threat of South Asia.
- 2)To evaluate Japanese security policy in South Asia.
- 3)To examine Japanese ODA in South Asia.
- 4)To assess Japanese attitude on the question of nuclear non-proliferation, terrorism ,bilateral conflict, extra- regional security threat and human security problem in South Asia.
- 5)To evaluate interplay of Japan interest to maintain South Asian Security.

Importance of the Study

- a)No major work is done so far.
- b)Helpful for the students and researchers of related discipline.

c)Assessment of Japan’s economic power having its impact on the international politics of South Asia.

Methodology of the Study

Selection of Field Sample Area and Respondents

Due to resource constraints and for research convenience researcher selected field sample area Bangladesh from the South Asian countries. It was planned to interview all South Asian countries diplomats in Bangladesh. But the researcher could not interview South Asian countries diplomats in Bangladesh due to their unwillingness. The respondents selected randomly were from six professional categories, viz. the university teacher, researcher, journalist, businessman, government and non-governmental organizations officials and political leaders in Bangladesh. The total number of respondents was sixty. The different categories of respondents along with their numbers are presented in Table 1.

Table-1
Different categories of respondents and their Number

Categories of Respondents	Number
University Teacher	10
Researcher	10
Journalist	10
Businessman	10
Government and Non-Governmental Organizations Officials	10
Political leader	10
Total	60

Technique of Data Collection

It is essential first to clarify the method of inquiry and procedures as means used for data collection for the present study. The researcher used both the primary and secondary sources to write the thesis. The present study is the result of not only of published materials but also of unpublished sources and archival report and documents available in Bangladesh and United States. Additional sources were also used such as conversations and interviews with University teachers ,

Researchers, Journalists, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leader.

In order to collect materials and documents, researcher spent one year in visiting all the major libraries in the capital city of Dhaka. These included the library of University of Dhaka, National Archives, the library of Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS), High Commission of India, Information and Cultural Center Library in Dhaka, the cultural library of Japanese Embassy in Dhaka, the American Center, Embassy of the United States of America in Dhaka, the library of Foreign Ministry of Bangladesh, the library of Bangala Academy, the library of Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), the library of External Resource Division Bureau Ministry of Finance.

Researcher also, spend two months in visiting some major libraries in the United States of America .Harvard University Library; Library of Social Science, Yale University; Yale University Library ; C.V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University; Library of Area Studies, Columbia University ; Library of American Asian Institute, University of Connecticut ; New York Public Library in U.S.A.

Researcher has arranged the source materials in the following manner:

1. Primary Sources
2. Secondary Sources
3. Tertiary Sources
4. Non-documentary Sources

1. Primary Sources

Primary data for the study were collected through interviewing with structured questionnaires and other techniques such as observation, informal meetings.

A. Questionnaire

One set of questionnaire was prepared in English keeping in view the objectives of the study. The set of questionnaire contained very simple questions. Before finalization, questionnaire was pre-tested.

Each questionnaire contained additional blank sheets for writing relevant information that came out during the time of interviewing which were covered in the questionnaire.

B. Observation

Besides the interviewing with structured questionnaire, observation technique was also adopted for primary data collection. Researcher attended various international seminars on Japan and South Asian relations. Researcher also observed the South Asian countries leaders visit to Japan, their meeting and bilateral treaty between Japan, and Japanese leaders visit in South Asian countries. Researcher recorded the relevant information at the time of their meeting.

C. Informal Meeting

Before and during data collection period, researcher informally met the senior Professor at the Department of Political Science and at the Department of International relations, University of Dhaka, Research Directors of Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS) requesting their help in connection with his mission. They helped researcher in various ways. Researcher also informally met South Asian countries Embassies some diplomats in Dhaka, they helped the researcher to give information and document to overcome the problems.

2. Secondary Sources

Researcher used widely secondary sources to collect relevant data for writing his thesis. Secondary data were collected from various sources which may broadly be divided into the following categories:

- i) The relevant books, research journals, periodicals, research monograph, year books, dictionaries, encyclopedias, hand books and others.
- ii) News paper clippings, News Weeklies.
- iii) Japanese government documents, such as Japanese constitution; Report of the various Commissions / Committees; Japanese Cabinet resolutions, rules, ordinances, notifications and other circulations; published materials of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA) and so on.
- iv) Used internet widely to collect information and data.

3. Tertiary Sources

Tertiary source includes directories, guides, and lists that researcher used meticulously for the study. All the above source materials are listed alphabetically by division of sources and appended in the 'Bibliography' at the end of this study.

Besides, the above three sources, researcher used the following, non-documentary sources for the last two years (2008-2009) for his work.

4. Non-Documentary Sources

It includes both the formal and informal sources. Formal sources cover discussion with experts, specialists, potential users, eminent scholars whose names are mentioned in the preface as acknowledgement. The informal sources include conversation with friends and other researchers.

Analysis of Data

The data collected through the above mentioned techniques. The analysis of some data was made assertive description and some data were coded and put into different tables so that they might yield meaningful results.

FrameWork of the Study

The dissertation has been structured in the following manner:

Chapter one, introduction: This chapter discuss importance of the study, hypothesis of the study, objectives of the study, justification of the study, methodology of the study, frame work of the study, literature review, and limitations of the study.

Chapter two, developed the conceptual frame work of the study.

Chapter three, analyses the South Asian security threat: Define traditional, non-traditional and human security, identify main traditional (intra-regional and extra-regional), non-traditional and human security threat in South Asia.

Chapter four, discuss Japan's South Asian policy: Japan's South Asia relations, Japan's interest in South Asia, Japan's diplomatic and strategic policy in South Asia, Japan's human security approach.

Chapter five, evolves the Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) in South Asia: Kinds of Japanese ODA, Japanese ODA history, objective of the Japanese ODA, Japanese ODA in South Asia.

Chapter six, discuss Japan's traditional security role in South Asia: How Japan plays traditional security role in South Asia, Japan's role in traditional (intra-regional and extra-regional) security in South Asia.

Chapter seven, discuss Japan's non-traditional and human security role in South Asia.

Chapter eight, conclusion and recommendations: is a concluding one which contains summary of the findings of the study and suggests recommendations.

Literature Review

There is a few of literature on Japan in South Asian Security. The researcher attempted to record whatever works on Japan in South Asian security are available. However, not all works are important. Indeed no works contained detailed account of Japan in South Asian security.

Hossain, Noor Syed wrote, Japan not in the West. A South Asian Perception of Japan Today, (Dhaka: The University Press Limited. 1993). The book in its finding suggests that, what is real identity of Japan? Is Japan merely an extension of the West? What roles do the Asian nations expect Japan to play in today's complex world, particularly in the matter of the eastern regions economic development? The author lucidly puts across his carefully researched answers to these vexed questions, analyzing and drawing upon Japan's generic links with South-East Asia, exploding the myth-from the Asian angle-that Japan is a Western nation, notwithstanding the unprecedented economic and industrial progress achieved by it.

The true character of Japan's internationalization must also reflect the views and aspirations of the Asian nations. The role that Japan is expected to play in international affairs, defense, as also in support of SAARC countries is critically examined. The author has also presented a case for deployment of Asian labour in Japan. Having established its strength and superiority in the economic and industrial fields, Japan, the author feels, has to take on the leading role as an Asian nation in Asia's emergence in the present century.

Dharamdasani M.D. wrote, Japan's Role in South Asia, (New Delhi: Kanisha Publishers, Distributors,2003). This book attempts to examine the different facts of Japan's interaction with the South Asian countries especially with India in the post Cold War era in the Japan's foreign policy. However, in the recent years due to liberal policies adopted by India and other South Asian countries, interaction between Japan and SAARC countries has entered into a new phase. Japan now is taking keen interest in cooperating in the economic development of South Asia and has also adopted a new approach in its security and defense policies towards these countries. Japan is also taking serious interest in India's nuclearization policy and its relation with the neighbours particularly with Pakistan. This book thus examines Japan's economic and security interests in South Asia in general and India in Particular.

Kesavan K.V. and Varma Lalima eds.,Japan-South Asia: Security and Economic Perspectives, (New Delhi: Lancer's Books,2000). This book attempts to make a comprehensive study of the different facts of Japan's interaction with South Asia during the post-Cold War period. South Asia remained on the periphery of Japan's diplomacy during the long Cold War period due to a variety of reasons such as ideological inhibitions and the inward-looking economic policies pursued by most South Asian countries. But since the end of the Cold War, interaction between the two has entered a new phase. Almost all countries of South Asia have adopted economic liberalization policies and welcomed foreign investment for their rapid economic progress. Though Japan's economic involvement in the region has expanded since then, the potential of Japan-South Asia economic interaction is yet to be fully tapped. Japan considers South Asia strategically important as it controls the sea lanes which are vital for West Asian oil supplies to Japan. Japan

also concerned that the nuclearization of South Asia could endanger the peace and stability of the region. This was indeed at the back of Japan's strong reaction to the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in May 1998. This book examines in depth Japan's security concerns in South Asia and also its role in such important areas like economic aid, foreign investment and trade. It brings in to sharp focus the differing perspectives of Japan and South Asian countries.

Kalam, Abul wrote, Japan and South Asia: Sub Systemic Linkages and Developing Relationships. (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 1996). International system in the current phase of post Cold War uncertainty demands a new pattern of relations at the national, interstate, sub regional, regional and global levels. A new framework of relationships, with a web of interdependence at different levels, has to replace the existing conflictual frame. This is the message the book conveys by analyzing the developing multifaceted relationship between Japan and South Asia. It diagnoses the lapses in their relationships and offers prognosis for change. In a system where major power plays are still in conflict, the author advocates a leading security role for Japan consistent with its economic standing and political aspiration, so that it can overcome its current "status disequilibrium," enabling her to assume a greater role in a region like South Asia as a development, dialogue and politico-security partner.

The book also pleads for a strategy of shared growth in South Asia in place of the confronting strategies, with reciprocal measures to move towards a common goal of prosperity in a "flying gees" formation led by Japan itself. It focuses, finally, on Bangladesh's national agenda in the context of Japan-Bangladesh bilateral relations, pleading for logic and perspective so that the warmth of support of development partners like Japan can be fully utilized for economic growth.

Emmott, Bill wrote, Rivals. How the Power Struggle Between China, India and Japan, will Shape our Next Decade, (England: Penguin Group, Penguin Books Ltd, 2008). Bill Emmott is one of the world's most authoritative international commentators. Nineteen years after his book 'The Sun Sets' predicted the decline of Japan in

the 1990s, Emmott returns not only to the Far East but to the wholly new different challenges which have arisen from and among China, India and Japan. *Rivals* will be the book which defines the geopolitics of the world's most rapidly evolving economies and nation states, assessing the challenge to America's global economic and military leadership posed by the emerging Asian superpowers. It is not just, as many argue, a question of the rise of China. For the first time in history Asia will not be dominated by one country or by outside powers. It will contain three large, economically powerful countries, all with interests and ambitions that range across the whole region and the world. The future of the world economy will be determined by the competition between these three countries, as will world politics. *Rivals; How the power struggle between China, India and Japan will shape our next decade* explores the legacy of history, the likely future trajectories of China, Japan and India, and the potential collisions and intersections between them which will shape the twenty-first century.

Takashi Inoguchi and Jain Purnendra eds, Japanese Foreign Policy Today, (New York: PalgraveTM, 2000). As the century draws to close, the military dimensions of power have receded while economic strength has gained muscle. The United States remains the leading world power, but across the Pacific, Japan has the world's second largest economy and great international economic clout. Some voices in the international arena have urged Japan to play more constructive and politically active roles in the international arena. This volume collects a series of essays analyzing relations as it heads toward a new world order: the pressing global and regional issues and their domestic implications, the actors, and major policy directions. The book brings together the leading specialist in the field of Japan's international relations to provide comprehensive detail and new interpretations on Japan's foreign policy.

General L. Curtis ed., Japan's Foreign Policy: After Cold War Coping with Change, (New York: Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, An East Gate Book, 1993). This volume of Japan's foreign relations covers a wide variety of subject matter diplomatic style, foreign economic policy, issues of national security, and Japan's role in multilateral organizations. The sixteen contributors come to the task of analyzing Japan's foreign policy

with different perspectives and different views on how to evaluate Japan's diplomatic behavior or what future development to expect. Some are impressed with Japan's ability to achieve its foreign policy goal; others are as impressed with its diplomatic shortcomings and failures.

Though all the analysis, however, run certain common themes, the most conspicuous is an emphasis on Japan's minimalist strategy in dealing with foreign policy issues. None of the writers would disagree that Japan has pursued a low-risk strategy with term "coping."

Morie Soderberg, Patricia A. Nelson eds., Japan's Political and Economy: Perspectives on 'Change,' (USA: Routledge Publication, 15 August 2009). Japan can sometimes be seen as moving very slowly in the face of globalization and the rapid change in the Cold World order. East Asia is changing with the economic and political rise of China and the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula. Japanese politicians increasingly have to take domestic opinions into consideration and in the economic field Japanese companies have to live with an utterly competitive domestic market. This book focuses on the processes of change taking place in Japan's politics and economy. The contributors look at a number of different areas including political leadership, the defence industry, security and diplomatic policy, peace building official development assistance, the economic and business areas and education policy. They consider the process of change rather than structural change and analyze how these processes of change are generated and move forward, as well as the implications of these changes on an implementation level is analyzed.

The contributions of this book offer fresh perspectives on aspect of change in Japan's political and economic environment. Taking a European perspective, and in some cases comparing directly the Japanese and European experiences, the authors seek to clarify what are the general trends and what are specific for Japan.

This book will be of interest to academics and postgraduate students within Japanese studies, politics, international relations, globalisation and economics.

Katzenstein J.Peter wrote, Rethinking Japanese Security Internal and External Dimensions, (U.S.A: Routledge, March 19 2008). Since the unexpected end of the Cold War, standard arguments about power politics can no longer be adopted uncritically. This has led to a renewed interest in Japan's unusually peaceful security policy. Peter Katzenstein's essays on Japanese security take on a new salience today, as Japan reconsiders its security options. In this volume, Katzenstein assembles works from 1991 through 2004, many written with Japanese collaborators, and he adds a new introduction that links them from the earlier essays to recent developments. In the process, Katzenstein not only "rethinks" Japanese security but he also challenges the core paradigms of international relations theory. Katzenstein's well-honed analytic sensibilities and insightful comparative perspective combine to provide readers with this exceptionally valuable and comprehensive examination of Japanese security policies. Exploring the full range of domestic and foreign security challenges faced by Japan, the book presents a trove of insights which will benefit specialists on Japan as well as generalists interest in global security challenges. Because he brings to bear a seasoned comparative perspective, Peter Katzenstein's views on Japan and Asian security issues demand our attention and respect. No one has wrestled with greater tenacity over the implications involved. The five collections of essays demonstrates the evolution as well as the depth and stability of his analysis.

Katzenstein J.Peter and Okawara Nobuo eds.,Japan's National Security, Structures, Norms and Policy Response in a Changing world. (New York: Cornell East Asia Series, Cornell East Asia Programme, 1993). The book focuses on a subject that, with the end of the Cold War, will become of growing importance for Asian and international politics. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the rapid rise of Japan as an economic power raise important questions about the manner in which the Japanese government will define and defend Japan's national security. An analysis of the Japanese military can teach us much about the organization of power in contemporary Japan and the form of democracy that has evolved in Japan since the end of world war II. And a study of the Japanese military should also help us gauge more accurately the character of

the Japanese state, a controversial subject among specialists and policymakers alike.

The book is part of a broader set of studies that seek to explain Japan's security policies in recent years. This explanation will be based on two comparisons: with Japan's policy of internal security on the one hand with Germany's policies of internal and external security on other. A comparison with Japan's internal security policy is a useful complement to this monograph's focus on the military and external security.

Funabashi Yoichi ed, Japan's International Agenda,(New York: New York University Press,1994).Over the past decade, Japan has been increasingly pressured to assume more financial and political burdens globally. Its foreign policy has thus evolved in a piecemeal manner, around the question of "managing foreign pressures." To day, policy has been largely developed by bureaucratic, who are traditionally responsible for public policy in Japan. The lack of a clear set of foreign policy objectives, however, has made it impossible for the bureaucracy to play its previous role as the arbiter of public interests. Today, there is increased recognition that in a more pluralistic society, nongovernmental public policy specialists are needed to provide a more integrated and long-term vision of foreign policy goals. This book represents the first private and nongovernmental indigenous effort to stimulate public debate of Japanese foreign policy.

Levin D.Norman, Lorell and Alexander Arthur eds.,The Wary Warriors. Future Directions in Japanese Security Policy, (USA:RAND, Santa Monica,1993).The book describes researchers assessment of how changes in the domestic, regional, and international environments are likely to affect future Japanese security policies and defense cooperation between Japan and the U.S.A. Researchers focused on our two key areas making our assessment: the broad policy trends in Japan and Japanese perspectives on evolving regional and global developments, and the force structure and operational capabilities of Japan's Self-Defense Forces(SDF).They also examined Japanese defense resource and procurement trends with a view to assessing how Japanese

technological developments and industrial policy decisions are likely to affect the Japanese force posture.

Pupphavesa Wisarn ed., BIMSTEC-Japan Comprehensive Economic Cooperation: A Step in the Future, (New Delhi: Book well, 2008). The Bay of Bengal Initiative for the Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is the youngest regional cooperation initiative in Asia. It is being increasingly seen as an important link between South and Southeast Asia. The publication contains papers presented by experts at an international conference organized at the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) in December 2006. It evaluates the current state of economic cooperation and integration between BIMSTEC and Japan, and also provides directions for enhancing economic integration between them. The analysis in this book will contribute to a deeper understanding of the process of economic cooperation and integration in BIMSTEC and also in Asia.

John W. Dower wrote, Emerging Japan in the Wake of World War II Defeat (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, The New York Press, 1999). John Dower's War Without Mercy, winner of the National Book Critics Circle Award, was held by The New Republic as "the most important study of the Pacific War ever published." Now this distinguished historian of modern Japan casts his eye on the immediate aftermath of World War II. Drawing on a vast range of Japanese sources, this new study illuminates how shattering defeat followed by over six years of American military occupation affected every level of Japanese society in ways that neither the victor nor the vanquished could anticipate.

The great achievement of Embracing Defeat lies in its vivid portrayal of the countless ways in which Japanese met the challenge of "starting over"-from top level manipulations concerning the fate of Emperor Hirohito to the hopes, fear and activities of ordinary men women in every walk of life. This is a fascinating portrait of an extraordinary moment in history, when new values warred with old and early ideals of demilitarization and radical reform were soon challenged by the United States's decision to incorporate Japan into the Cold War Pax Americana.

Dower shows us the intense and turbulent interplay of conqueror and conquered, West and East, in a way no Western historian has done before. The great issues that confront Japan today-including attitudes toward war guilty and responsibility, democracy, remilitarization, and the breakdown of the power "capitalist development state"- were forged in the crucible of defeat, and all receive consummate treatment here.

James I. Matray wrote, Japan's Emergence As A Global Power (Westport, Connecticut .London: Green Wood Press, 2001). Out of the ashes of defeat in World War II, Japan arose to become the foremost economic power in East Asia and a major player on the world economic stage. The work provides as a global economic power. Based on both the strength and softening of its economy in the 1990s, Japan is considered an unconventional global power. This status is outlined in five topical essays, which cover Japan's evolution as an economic giant. Also included are a timeline of events in postwar Japan, biographical profiles of key players, the text of important primary documents, a glossary of terms, and an annotated bibliography. Students will find this cogent examination of one of the key developments in the postwar world accessible and useful.

Shintaro Ishihara wrote, The Japan That can Say No. Why Japan will be first Among Equals (New York; London; Tokyo; Singapore:Schuster ,1989). Articulate and outspoken, Ishihara asserts that as Japan moves toward economic and technological supremacy it will no longer be content to play second fiddle to the United States in world affairs. If there is to be bilateral cooperation between the two nations, America must overcome its self-defeating superior attitudes and Japan must speak out in defense of its needs and concerns.

Highlights of Ishihara's argument:

- America's entire nuclear arsenal depends on Japanese microchips. If Japan sold these to the Soviet Union instead of to the United States, the entire military balance of the world would be upset.
- Japan is strong enough technologically and financially to create an independent defense force. It no longer needs America's military protection.

-When Japan decisively says “no” on an issue, America may react unreasonably. If so, Japan has the power and know-how to turn around and deal with the world from a different standpoint.

-Japan, not the United States, will be the power most influential with the developing economies of Asia.

-Racial prejudice is the greatest source of friction between the United States and Japan-the kind of prejudice that made America drop the atomic bomb on Japan but not on Germany.

The Japan That Can Say No is a fervently can did, frequently disturbing text, but Shintaro Ishihara’s views reflect an important part of U.S.-Japanese agenda, which until now has largely been masked by conventionally polite Japanese protocol. The book embodies two powerful trends in Japan today-an increasing national pride and self-confidence, and a growing dismay at what many Japanese consider foreign “misunderstanding” of their country .It is essential reading for any understanding and appreciation of modern Japan.

Part one of the book contains Ishihara’s words verbatim from the Japanese edition-hedging nothing. Part Two is entirely new, strengthening his view of Japanese- U.S. relations and amplifying his thoughts on Japan’s future role in Europe and Asia.

Ultimately, Ishihara’s appeal was for an open, direct dialogue between Japan and the United States with the aim of understanding the differences between the two nations and developing the foundation for a working partnership--a relationship based on trust and mutual respect.

Robert A.Scalapino edit.,The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan (University of California Press. Los Angeles.London,1977).The book delineates the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in determining Japanese foreign policy, and how its functions and powers compare with such other branches of the bureaucracy as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Is the Diet of significance, and how does the dominant Liberal Democratic Party determine its position on critical issues of foreign policy? Is public opinion a factor of importance in influencing policy

and what have been the basic trends in that opinion in recent years? What interest groups are most significant, and what has been their mode of operation with respect to such important issues as policies toward the People's Republic of China and Soviet Union? What is the importance accorded security issues by Japanese policy makers, and are current positions likely to hold in the course of the next decade? How should we judge the economic quotient in Japanese foreign policy? And finally, in what conceptual frame work should the foreign policy of modern Japan be placed? These are some of the issues with which this volume deals in an effort to shed light on many aspects of the subject that have previously been largely minimized or ignored.

The foreign policy of modern Japan is a product of the close collaboration of seventeen Japanese and American scholars each of whom brings to the subjects special training, experience, and interest. The book comprises a broad-gauged exploration of the process and institutions involved in the making of Japan foreign policy.

Not a single study is available which covers the study of Japan's security role in South Asia and perhaps this study will fill the gap.

Limitations of the Study

It has already been mentioned that no single study is available so far, which covers the Japan's security role in South Asia. Therefore, this study may be the first of its kind in the world. However, it has some limitations too.

Firstly, not many literature on the subject is available in the form of text books, research studies, reports, journals and magazines in the country. However, efforts have been made to procure them from abroad as far as possible, and to use these for the purpose.

Secondly, some of the data and information have been used after bringing them in desired forms, as these were not available as such in the sources. This might be due to the fact that less importance was attached to them by the concerned source agencies.

Lastly, there were some sources which could not be utilized in the study for want of desired co-operation from the agencies concerned and their unwillingness to make available some known materials.

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Chapter II

Security Complex Theory: Japan's Role in South Asian Security

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to discuss the conceptual framework of the study by using some main concepts of classical security complex theory. In developing this framework, our main concern is to conceptually integrate the various elements of classical security complex theory for understanding the Japanese role in South Asian security.

The classical security complex theory as developed up to 1991 and can be skipped by those well-known with Barry Buzan .Security complex theory was first delineated by Buzan in the first edition of *People, States and Fear* in 1983.The theory was applied to South Asia and Middle East,¹ then decorated and executed in depth to case of South Asia,² and later executed to Southeast Asia.³ Vayrynen,⁴ Wriggins,⁵ and Ayoob⁶ have executed interpretation of the theory to several regional cases ,and Waeber,⁷ Buzan and colleagues⁸ have used it to study the post-Cold War change in Europe.

Security is a relational matter. It involves not only the abilities, desires and worried of individual states, but also the abilities, desires and worried of the other states with which they interact. Because security is relational, we cannot realize the national security of any given state without realizing the international pattern of security interdependence in which it is embadded.⁹

Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi stated,“The reality of security interdependence is unavoidable.Two levels are readily apparent: the bottom one of the individual state, and the top one of the system as a whole. On the bottom level we are dealing with the basic unit of security in the international system. The security problem can examine on this level both in terms of the inherent stability of the state itself, and in terms of its vulnerabilities to threats from outside.

On the top level we are dealing with the structure and characteristics of the entire international system. At this top level, we will focus simple on the dominant pattern of interactions among the great powers, and the way in which this pattern penetrates and influences the security interests of local states.”¹⁰

Security is a vast idea than power, and it has the useful character of incorporating much of the insight which gather from the analysis of power.¹¹ The principal dimension that it includes to power is the pattern of amity and enmity. A strong view of balance of power theory would hold that patterns of amity/enmity are merely a creation of the balance of power, with states altering their alignments in accordance with the direction of movements in the distribution of power.¹²

Particular patterns of amity/enmity may emerge from local issues, like border disputes and ideological alignments, which could not be predicted from a natural consideration of the distribution of power. In genuine power terms, a Japan-Indian alignment against the China and China support for Pakistan, makes as much sense as the current pattern of alignment .By adding the dimension of amity or enmity to the picture, we get a clearer sense of the relational pattern and future of security than that provided by the genuine abstraction of the balance of power view. On this basis Barry Buzon define , “regional security subsystems in terms of patterns of enmity that are substantially confined within some particular geographical area .The assumption is that local sets of states exist whose major security perceptions and concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national security. Problems cannot realistically be considered apart from one another. In order to differentiate this type of set from other ideas of system, I propose to call such a set a security complex.”¹³

Classical security complex theory posits the existence of regional sub-systems as motives of security studies and proposes a methodical framework for dealing with those systems .In addition, like most other traditionalist work in this area, the theory has centered of attraction mainly on the state as the principal unit and on the political military sectors. This framework was constructed to focus the relative autonomy of regional security relations and to set those relations within the circumstances of the unit (state) and

system levels. One of its objectives was to provide area specialists with the language and concepts to expedite comparative studies across regions. Another objective was to offset the tendency of power theorists to underplay the significance of the regional level in international security affairs. The whole of the states in the system are enmeshed in a global net of security interdependence. The general pattern of security interdependence in a geographically diverse, chaotic international system is one of regionally based clusters, which call security complexes. Security interdependence is noticeable stronger among the states inside such complexes than among states outside them. Security complexes are about the comparative intensity of interstate security relations that guide to distinctive regional patterns shaped by both the distribution of power and historical relations of amity and enmity. A security complex is described as a set states whose major security impressions and worries are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot rationally be analyzed or resolved singly from one another.¹⁴

The theory posits that in a geographically different, chaotic international system, security complexes are a normal and expected character. Because they are shaped by local grouping of states, classical security complexes not only play a key role in relations among their members; they also vitally condition how and whether stronger outside powers penetrate the region. The internal dynamics of a security complex can be located along a spectrum according to whether the describing security interdependence is directed by amity or enmity.¹⁵

Theory believes that security complexes, like the balance of power, are an intrinsic creation of chaotic international systems. Other things be same, one should therefore expect to find them every where in complex security systems.¹⁶

In one perception, security complexes are theoretical formulations the analyst imposes on "reality". But within the theory they have ontological position: They demonstrate an observable modeling of global politics and so cannot be created merely at random. South Asia is a clear example of a security complex pivoted on the rivalry between India and Pakistan, with Myanmar acting as the border with the complex in Southeast Asia, Afghanistan delineating the

border with Middle East complex, and China , U.S.A., Israel emerging as intervening great powers.¹⁷

One advantage of classical security complex theory is that it attracts concentration away from the extremes of national and global security and centre of attractions it on region, where these two extremes interplay and where most of the act happens. Moreover, security complex theory relations studies of internal situations in states of the region, relations between regions and globally performing great powers. The theory proposes the descriptive ideas for both state and dynamic analysis and provides benchmarks for locating important change within the framework of international relations.¹⁸

Japan in South Asian Security: A Case Study of South Asia

Regional security complex in South Asia is taken as an ideal example. Security complex in South Asia has traditionally been described around the lengthy rivalry between India and Pakistan, with smaller countries caught in this pattern. But during the Cold War, South Asia had been an important crossroads of conflict, involving not only the two main actors in the region, India and Pakistan, but also the two super powers, the US and the Soviet Union. China also involved in South Asia through its acquisition of Tibet in 1950 and a number of border conflicts with India, specially, in the 1960s. Extending Soviet support for India only raised Chinese security sensitivities. The US-Sino-Pakistani anti Soviet coalition found its accurate cause in Afghanistan in 1979. The US and China interfered on the side of the anti-communist Afghanistan. India team up with the Soviet Union.¹⁹

After the Cold War, tensions in South Asia have really heightened, and the security alliance has become more complex than ever. India and Pakistan exploded nuclear devices on May 1998. Pakistan developed her nuclear weapons with the help of Chinese aid .The US and Japan pressured China to cease assisting Pakistan with its nuclear and missile program. The US and Israel have been pursuing better cooperative relation with India. U.S signed treaty of nuclear weapons technology exchange with India. Israel signed weapons supply treaty with India .Now Israel is one of the main weapons

supplier of India. So, it is clear that the lines of cleavage within the South Asian complex act as a conduit for enter in the region by extra regional powers. The fundamental mechanism here is the effort by local states to use connections with outside power as a means of improving their situation within the South Asian power structure. The great powers get engaged in South Asia much more in pursuit of their conflicts with each other, rather than because they have any worry for the outcome of conflicts within the region.²⁰

South Asia is an interesting case study to understand the Japan's security role. Japan is a soft power. Harvard University political scientist Joseph S. Nye coined the term "soft power" in the late 1980s to explain the ability of one entity to influence others without issuing threats or offering incentives.²¹

Joseph S. Nye mentioned, It is "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion and payments." It "arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies."²²

Since the "Let-a-thousand-flowers-bloom" theory comprises in documents of many categories, its overall activities will continuously change. In order to recover for this lively, we need to increase Japan's political leverage. In the previous, political hegemony has been won by activating hard resource, such as military capacities, economic prosperity, or technological assistance. By asymmetrically distributing such resources, a hegemonic country could guide the activities of the follower countries. A hegemon could then achieve a direction , hierarchical international system at its removal and reign over it.

In the theory of political power, these hard initiatives are called the "political base." However, the dealings of political participant can also be influenced, by the so-called soft resources such as intellectual persuasion, psychological threats, or flattery.

In international politics, power resources have been viewed mainly in provisions of hard resources, simply because the international system was often transformed by war, in which military abilities backed by economic strength played a supreme role. Since the end

of World War II, however, the role of military abilities has changed importantly. Although they were deployed in regional wars, these wars themselves did not impact the balance in the international system during the whole Cold War period.

During the Cold War period military capacities, worked mainly as a deterrent force to maintain the stability of the bipolar system. Then, a role is transfer from military to economic abilities occurred with the advent of detente. As the campaigner of complex interdependence argue, economic power has increasingly played a basic role in stirring the international system. But, in terms of the nature of the power base, nothing has shifted, because both military and economic capacities are the same in nature: that is, they engage hard resources. If an argument based on soft resources is enlarged to the level of international politics, there rises a new concept of “soft power.” Joseph S.Nye, Jr., writes, “The changing nature of international politics has also made intangible forms of power more important.....Power is becoming less transferable, less coercive, and less tangible.....Co-optive power is the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own. This power tends to arise from such resources as cultural and ideological attraction as well as rules and institutions of international regimes. The United States has more co-optive power than other countries.”²³

Geun Lee mentioned, “Soft power that uses soft resources such as culture or images can be roughly categorized into five categories in accordance with the policy goals to achieve .They are : (1) soft power to improve external security environment by projecting peaceful and attractive images of a country; (2) soft power to mobilize other countries’ supports for one’s foreign and security policies ; (3) soft power to manipulate other countries’ way of thinking and preferences; (4) soft power to maintain unity of a community or community of countries; (5) soft power to increase approval ratings of a leader or domestic support of a government.”²⁴

How can Japan win soft power? Now, Japan has neither an internationally acknowledged ideology nor a worldwide-penetrating culture. But as Richard Rosecrance puts it, “Japan is a trading state. Moreover, she is a technological state too, where two conspicuous

technologies namely manufacturing technology and environmental and/ or energy saving technology, enjoy world preeminence.”²⁵ Joseph S.Nye,Jr. stated, “Traditionally the test of a great power was its strength in war. Today, however, the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras. The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power, while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important.”²⁶ He also stated, “The success of Japan’s manufacturing sector provides it with an important source of soft power.”²⁷ Quick growth of private sectors performing across international borders, whether large co-operations or political groups was largely recognized in the early 1970s.Henry Kissinger told in 1975, “We are entering a new era. Old international patterns are crumbling.....The world has become interdependent in economics, in communications, in human aspirations.”²⁸

According to classical security complex theory external power moves directly into regional complex with the effect of suppressing the indigenous security dynamic. But the researcher’s assumption is that a soft external power Japan is not the threat of South Asian security. Rather, Japan plays an important role to establish peace and stability in South Asia. Because, Japan’s national interest is directly related with South Asia. The researcher’s study will make an attempt to examine Japan’s traditional,non-traditional and human security role in South Asia.

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Chapter III

POST COLDWAR SOUTH ASIAN SECURITY THREAT

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to discuss the South Asian security threats. This chapter consists of five sections:(a)Definition of the security;(b)Traditional security threat in South Asia;(c)Non-traditional security threat in South Asia;(d)Human security threat in South Asia, and (e) Conclusion.

Security is a basic human need. Without a peaceful, secure society, no human progress possible. National security is a western, largely American concept that emerged in the Post-World War II period. Various people have defined security in various ways. Edward E. Azar and Chung- in - Moon opined, “Security is measured by the ability to protect state, sovereignty to preserve territorial integrity, and to maintain autonomy.”¹ Talukdar Maniruzzamna affirmed, “A state is secure if it can preserve its minimum core values, political independence and territorial integrity.”²

A state is destined to provide a peaceful society, an environment free from external and internal threats. Security is related with some from of minimization of conflict endangering life, liberty and property, or the pursuit of happiness. In a society, country and in the world conflict is very natural. As Burned Shaw in his play, “Arms and the man” succinctly stated, “no conflict no life”. Indeed, “without conflict of ideas, thesis and antithesis developing toward a synthesis, as Hegal saw it, and varied challenges to the status quo and the responses.”³ One of the security analysts define security, “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged to maintain them by victory in such a war.”⁴

After the Cold War, scope of security studies has expanded to include human, environmental, social and economic security. Still now military security is the dominant paradigm. Military security cannot respond to some of the mankind’s fundamental needs like

freedom from poverty, threats to individuals and groups from multiple sources.⁵ So Grey Mills gives a comprehensive approach. He identifies four types of security threats : territorial threats (some in traditional sense but mostly in the sense sovereign incursions by population groups, resource extractions, fishing diversion of waters), economic threats (economic globalization and the sheer weight of international financial transactions provide opportunities to financial criminals to play fouls that affect developments and macro-economic stability, marginalization of the geographically disadvantage countries, intellectual property rights, demographic issues, pandemic threats of AIDS, malaria and water borne disease), political threat (corruption, piracy, illegal narcotics and small arms, extra parliamentary agitation and street violence, money laundering), and environmental threats (trans boundary pollution, global warming and nuclear waste, depleted natural resources including water, prospecting of trans boundary mineral and marine resources).⁶

Today non-military factors are the causes for most of the domestic and regional instabilities, violence, death and deprivation. This is why non-traditional security has attempts at redefining security that began in the mid 1980s. The most important redefinition is “threat, use, and management of military force and closely related topics” but recognized the need for incorporating economic, environmental issues, culture, values, non- military instruments of power and influence new actors and environmental issues.”⁷

During the mid – 1990s a new concept developed, which capture the non-traditional sources of insecurity. It is human security. Human security, define in terms of “freedom from fear and freedom from want.”⁸ The concept of human security was introduced by the UNDP in 1994. Sanjoy Bhardwaj mentioned, “The Changing power equations in the world polity following the end of the cold war brought about varying concepts of security. The human Development Report of 1994 shifted the emphasis from national security in terms of external threats to a country’s territorial integrity towards human security.”⁹ According to 1994 UNDP Human Development report, human security is defined as “Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life-whether in jobs, in homes, or in communities.”¹⁰ The world Bank,

world development report stated, “Today, security comprises two interrelated concepts; the state’s role in protecting its borders from external threats and its role in ensuring ‘human security’ for its citizens under the broader umbrella of human rights – meaning that every person is entitled to be free from oppression, violence, hunger poverty and disease and to live in an clean and healthy environment.”¹¹ So national security means not only safety against foreign aggression but also, it means free from hunger, disease, poverty and illiteracy.

Traditional Security Threats in South Asia

There are two types of traditional security threats in South Asia: (a) Intra-regional security threats and (b) Extra- regional security threats.

a) Intra-Regional Security Threats in South Asia

Intra- regional security threats in South Asia are following:

1. Indo-Pak Conflict

According to ‘two nations theory’¹² in 1947, the British partitioned colonial India into two independent states-India and Pakistan. The theme of participation was accepted as a compromise solution of the two major communities - the Hindus and Muslims for maintaining communal harmony. But after independence, both country India-Pakistan locked themselves in conflict. India- Pakistan relations developed with a huge baggage of conflictual history. The countries have fought four wars: 1947, 1965, 1971 and the 1999. Immediately after the Independence of India and Pakistan, the first conflict started with the Kashmir issue. The three wars over Kashmir in 1948, 1965 and 1999 ended in stalemate. “(T)he war over Kashmir crystallized and deepened the bitterness, the suspicion, and the rivalry between the subcontinent’s two most important actors.”¹³ A good number of crises in 1948, 1986-87, 1990, 1998, the Kargil conflict in 1999 and the attack on Indian Parliament on 13 December, 2001 and the Mumbai attack on November 2008 made the relations between two countries more hostile. The liberation war of Bangladesh in 1971, to the Pakistani psyche, was an act of subversion by India to cut Pakistan down to size.”¹⁴

Aftermath of the nuclear tests in 1998, the Indo-Pak relation became very low. On May 28 1998, Pakistan matched its neighbor India with five nuclear detonations. The then Pakistani foreign minister Gohar Ayub Khan declared, Pakistan a nuclear weapon state.¹⁵ Pakistan President declared a state of emergency, within hours of testing and opined, “emergency for the threats of external aggression.”¹⁶ Khan stated, Pakistan was on high alert for fearing an imminent attack by India on its nuclear installations.¹⁷ On the other hand, the report of the group of ministers aptly sums up the point of view of the government of India, “Pakistan believes that nuclear weapons can compensate for conventional military inferiority, its leaders have not concluded their desire to talk to India rings hollow against the backdrop of continuing Pakistani support for militants and his unremitting obsession with Kashmir. Pakistan is following the policy of bleeding India through a thousand cuts.”¹⁸

India and Pakistan continue to view each other as their principal security threat. Following the attacks, on the Indian parliament of India on December 13, 2001 and the attack in Mumbai on November 2008 were also increased Indo-Pak conflicts. India believes, the larger picture is the infiltration of Jihadi groups, such as the Lashcar-e-Toiba and the Jaish-e Muhammad into Kashmir and other parts of India, has “created an alternative military apparatus that Islamabad funds and supplies but cannot fully control.”¹⁹ India has viewed cross border terrorism as a proxy war or a low intensity war. On the other hand, Pakistan has viewed it a Jihad or a holy war. Pakistan’s President General Pervez Musharraf in an interview with New York Times opined that “Terrorism and Jihad are absolutely different. You in the west are allergic to the term Jihad. These people (the Mujahiden) are not terrorists. They are fighting a Jihad.”²⁰ The Mumbai attack of November 2008, has given India an opportunity to identify Pakistan as a terrorist country. Some of the terrorist attackers in Taj hotel were the citizens of Pakistan. India alleged Pakistani intelligence agency Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) for the attack. India declared for taking measures against Pakistan if the country fails to take effective measures for tackling boarder areas from the use of terrorist.

2. Kashmir Problem

Indo-Pak conflicts have largely focused on Kashmir, which has remained a bone contention between the two countries. Pakistan has primarily considered India as the principal threat, because of her territorial dispute on Kashmir. Kashmir presents a 60 year history of conflicts and continued nuclear and conventional arms build up. Kashmir continues to be focal point of Indio-Pak rivalry. The Kashmir dispute owes its origin to the portion of British. Indian Independence Act 1947, left the status of the princely states in Kashmir and the rulers were given the option to remain independent or to accede to either India or Pakistan. In October 1947 Kashmiri Maharaja acceded to India, which was challenged by Pakistan on the ground that act was against the will of the people of Kashmir. Now India, is retaining the control over approximately two thirds of the Kashmiri land and Pakistan over about one third. 'On April 21, 1948, the UN Security Council with the consent of both the belligerents adopted a resolution, which envisaged that Kashmir's fate would be decided by a plebiscite.²¹ But the proposed plebiscite was not held. Because, India and Pakistan could never come to an agreement on how a free and fair plebiscite could be held.

Since 1989, Kashmir situation was deteriorating due to the ongoing war between the Indian security forces and the Kashmir militants. Pakistan is supporting Kashmiri militant and sending armed volunteers or its troops to Kashmir. During the US-led war on terrorism, US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage dubbed the disputed Himalayan region of Kashmir the "most dangerous place in the world."²² He also stated, "there is a very high degree of dimension over Kashmir."²³ President Pervez Musharraf warned that 'Peace in South Asia would not be possible if Kashmirs were denied a chance to decide their future, "Establishment of peace in the region is not possible nor can the confidence- building measures proceed unless the Kashmir issue is resolved in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the Kashmirs," he mentioned in a message as Pakistan observed a day of "Solidarity" with the people of Kashmir.²⁴ Former Pak president Pervez Musharraf, the architect of the 1999 Kargil war, warned that there could be more such conflicts if the "Key dispute" and "sore point" Kashmir remains unresolved for long. He acknowledged that there are a "Lots of Mujahidin in

Pakistani society,” and “freelance Jihadis” who have “emotional involvement with the cause of Kashmir.”²⁵

2. Nuclearization

‘A nuclear weapon is enough to mass destruction of human lives and properties and it is ethically unacceptable. Nuclearization of South Asia, creates security threat of the human life in the region. In Pakhran, India blasted five nuclear weapons on May 11 and 13, 1998 and Pakistan matched it in Chagai Hill on 28 and 30 May 1998 by blasting nuclear device.

India’s nuclear program started from the pre-independence period. The Indian board of atomic energy research was established by 1946, under the direction of the Hami J Bhabha.²⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru encouraged this program. After independence of India, Nehru wrote to his Defense Minister, Baldev Sings, that not only did the “future belong to those who produce atomic energy,” but “Defense (is) intimately connected with this.”²⁷ On the other hand, the excuse that the 1974 Indian test was the reason for Pakistan deciding to follow the nuclear path is only half truth.²⁸ In fact, after the 1965 war with India, many politician, media men and scientists, pressed the government to develop nuclear weapons. The then Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that, “if Pakistan had to eat grass, she would develop nuclear bomb.”²⁹ In 1969, Bhutto had written, “All wars of our age have become total wars and it will have to be assumed that a war waged against Pakistan is capable of becoming a total war. It would be dangerous to plan for less our plans should, therefore, include a nuclear deterrent.”³⁰

The legitimate security interests of India and Pakistan drove them to become open nuclear states. Besides, India perceived long-term threat from China. Indian defense Minister openly declared that china is number one enemy of India.³¹ Pakistan’s explosions in turn was a direct response to Indian explosions.

India-Pakistan nuclearization made the region more dangerous and insecure. Because, India and Pakistan are two nuclearized countries in the world whose fought four direct wars last sixty years, and both the countries still in a state of animosity, trying to contain each others threat by spending for higher military expenditure and more

sophisticated arsenal. Besides, if a nuclear accident happen likes Chernobyl or a nuclear war between India and Pakistan in the densely populated South Asia, death and destruction of people in the event of an accident or nuclear war are enormous. An Analysis of nuclear war between India and Pakistan, conducted by the U.S. Defense Department and leaked to New York Times estimated up to 12 million will be killed, immediately in a nuclear exchange and as many another 7 million injure.³² More people would die in the result of firestorm in the cities and more people would die as a result of disease and starvation. A Pakistani Brigadier Mahammed Yaqub Khan mentioned, “any war with India could in danger of escalating into a full – bowled nuclear conflict. When you have got the armies deployed on the border and they are sitting eyeball – to eye ball with full preparations it is like a huge dump of exclusives. Even a small ignition can explode everything. In case, God forbid, there is a war then nobody would be able to control the events. And it comes to the survival of any one country, you cannot say they will not use nuclear weapons.”³³

The above factors are good enough to realize the nuclearization threat of the South Asian Security.

4) South Asian Small States Bilateral Disputes with Big Neighbor India

South Asia comprising seven countries-India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Bhutan. Among these seven countries, India by virtue of its geographic size and location, demographic composition, strong economic, industrial and military base, occupies a pivotal position in the region.³⁴

Indo-Bangladesh Bilateral Disputes

Bangladesh’s security concern is largely Indo-centric.³⁵ There is no Indo-Bangladesh security treaty. In the catalogue, the Indo Bangladesh disputed issues would be the following : (i) the sharing of the water resources of the common rivers including that of the Ganges, (ii) implementation of the 1974 land border agreement in general, and the undecided status of un-demarcated border, enclave and land in adverse possession, iii) India’s policy towards ethnic insurgency in the Hill Tracts, iv) demarcation of maritime boundaries and the ownership of South Telpathy islands, v) trade in

balance in favor of India, and vi) smuggling, illegal cross-border activities and a number of other issues.³⁶ Among those issues except Chittagong Hill Tract case, no one has yet resolved. Besides, some new issues arises, like export of gas to India from Bangladesh, push in of Bangla – speaking Indian Muslims in to Bangladesh, pressure for transit across Bangladesh territory, Indian propaganda about the presence of Al-qaeda elements in Bangladesh and the India's plan to divert water from the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Jamuna through a \$ 120 billion re-channel project,³⁷ Tipaimuk barrage. Indo-Bangla relations have to face controversies on issue of terrorism.

India-Sri Lanka Relations

India tightened her grip also on the strategic island of Sri Lanka through various treaty obligations and carefully cultivated politico-cultural relations both before and after independence. Because the strategic location of Sri Lanka in the Indian ocean has always provided the geopolitical compulsion for India to watch SriLanka's domestic and foreign policies with equal.³⁸ After independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, India-Sri Lanka relations become low on the question of the citizenship of nearly one million Tamils of Indian origin. This issue was solved through negotiations by 1974.³⁹ In the early 1980's Sri Lank often accused India for patronizing and assisting the Sri Lankan insurgents. Sri Lanka developed good military relationship with Pakistan and China. A veteran Indian diplomat observed that "Sri Lanka had the potential of being 'a running sore' like Pakistan with a similar danger of outside involvement."⁴⁰ On June 4, 1987 Indian Air Force (IAF) repeatedly violated Sri Lanka's air space to drop humanitarian supplies for the civilians trapped due to war.⁴¹ The protection of India's vital interest in Sri Lanka pushed India to a controversial peace accord in 1987 and sent one hundred thousand Indian troops in Sri Lanka but this peace mission totally failed. Moreover, due to the peace mission in Sri Lanka ,Indian Prime Minister Rajib Gandhi was assassinated by the Tamil Tiger suicide squad in India.

India's Relations with Nepal Bhutan and Maldives

"India considers Nepal and Bhutan as buffer states between her and china"⁴² India do not like to increase influence in either country. Nepal maintains friendly relations with her two giant neighbors - India and China. But India – Nepalese relation have been

occasionally strained in certain trade related and transit problems. "There were visible strains in India- Nepalese relation, the latest manifestation of which was the showdown of 1989 when India closed all the trade routes to the landlocked Himalayan country causing, considerable stir, in the region's security environment."⁴³

5. Terrorism and Extremism

South Asia is one of the notable regions facing the threat of terrorism. During the 2008, 604 people were killed by terrorist attack and 1243 people were injured.⁴⁴ Pakistan's former Prime Minister Banazir Bhutto, Sri Lankan President PramaDasha, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Ghandi were assassinated by the terrorist groups. South Asian terrorist groups have one of the ethno-religious characters. In India, not only Kashmir issue is the cause of terrorism but also threat of terrorism from other regions of its territory. In Bangladesh home grown terrorism and the rise of extremism became a concern for the country. Sri Lanka was facing the challenges on the issue of Tamil rebellion.

Terrorism is not a new experience for the South Asian people. The people of this region have seen the use of terrorism as a weapon during the partition of Indian sub-continent in 1947. The oldest terrorist group in the Indian Sub-continent is Naga rebels of the Indian Northeast.⁴⁵ In Afghanistan, most of the groups are part of Al-queda and Taleban. In Pakistan's border areas Al-queda and Taliban controls the region of Wajaristan.⁴⁶ Through out Pakistan there are three dozens Jihadist groups those are close to Al-queda operationally and ideologically. These include: Harkatul Jihadi Islam, Laskkar – e- Toiba, Jayashi–e-Mohammad and Harakatul Mujahidin.⁴⁷ A US commission accused Pakistan of supporting and offering a safe haven for international terrorists by the Islamabad government. Commission mentioned, "Pakistan provides safe – haven, transit and moral political and diplomatic support to several groups engaged in terrorism."⁴⁸ The terrorist groups of India are also linked with Pakistan terrorist groups. Most of the Indian terrorist groups known as Kashmir based terrorist groups are (some of them) linked with Al-queda. Besides, there are a number of radical Islamic terrorist groups active in India.⁴⁹ In addition India is facing the terrorist challenges from some regional groups like NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland), ULFA (United Liberation Front of

Asom), ATTF (All Tripura Tiger Force), NLFT (National Liberation Front of Tripura) in North–Eastern region of the country. India's West Bengal is affected by Maoists and Naxalities terrorist groups.⁵⁰ In Bangladesh, there are about two dozens of terrorist groups, of those, most active is Harkat-ul-Jihidi Islami Bangladesh (Hujib) and Jamiat-ul-Mujahidin Bangladesh.⁵¹

Since 1985 Sri Lanka has been going through the worst terrorist attack. The LTTE (Liberation Tiger of Tamil Elam) was raised with the support of external forces, mainly from India, under Indira Gandhi's backing.⁵² The LTTE introduced suicide attacks in South Asia. The Indian Home Ministry's annual report for 2004-2005 stated, "The LTTE, by carrying out several successful suicide killing missions in Sri Lanka and one in India has emerged as one of the deadliest terrorist organizations in the world, which has sympathisers, supporters and agents on the Indian soil."⁵³

6. Arms Race

South Asia's two rivals India and Pakistan's arms race also appear as the threat of the South Asian Security. Main cause of the arms race in South Asia is involvement of external powers, particularly superpowers - China, U.S.A & Israel. India and Pakistan gave up long-drawn ambivalence on their nuclear capability in May 1998. After 1998 period we see an accelerated nuclear arms race between the two countries. A source alleged India and Pakistan have capability in accelerating the development of nuclear warheads with the fissile materials at their possessions.⁵⁴ Changing global security scenario in the wake of US abrogation of 1972 (Anti-Ballistic Missile) ABM treaty is likely to be determined factor for a new chapter of arms race between India and Pakistan. Indian attempt to acquire ABM defense system to be justified on the grounds is highly destabilizing to strategic stability. An Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) defense system will establish India's superiority in both nuclear and conventional fields. Pakistan's action would potentially follow India's response to China's potential buildup. China acquires an incorporate (Multiple Independent Reentry vehicle) MIRV to its nuclear arsenal as a counter to America's (National Missile Defense) NMD.⁵⁵

Dr. Ahmad Farque of American Institute of International Studies estimated that India and Pakistan together spends annually over US\$ 30 billion. Calculations on ppp basis show India spending around us \$ 100 billion, the third highest in the world. 41% of India's defense budget is spend on acquiring submarines, aircraft carrier, modern fighter, jets and tanks. Us sale of arms to India and Pakistan has increased manifold. Pakistan also increased it defense budget by 15% which is double the rate of its economic growth.⁵⁶

b) Extra-Regional Security Threats

Extra-regional security threats in South Asia are following:

1.China

China, India and Pakistan are considered as three wheels on which the balance of strategic interests of the sub-continent depend. If China acquires modern weapons, India will respond to match China and Pakistan in turn will keep symmetry with India. It is the linkages among China, India and Pakistan that create complexity in security scene in the subcontinent. Naturally China wants to consolidate its relations with its old ally Pakistan to safeguard China's strategic interests in the region.⁵⁷ Both China and Pakistan fought wars with India for different reasons. Pakistan President Parvez Musharraf opined, "China has been our trusted friend and our relationship has remained time tested."⁵⁸ Musharraf stated, "we are very positive that in the future also this relationship, this strategic association relationship will continue."⁵⁹ On the other hand, India's main threat is China. Indian Defense Minister George Fernandez opined, "India faced a bigger threat from China than archrival Pakistan."⁶⁰ He also stated, "The potential threat from China is greater than that from Pakistan and any person who is concerned about India's security must agree with that fact."⁶¹ India claims, China still holds 40,000 square kilometers of its territory at Aksai Chin in Kashmir. Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee opined, "China was ultimately responsible for the tension in South Asia following nuclear tests of India and Pakistan. What is certain is that China has armed Pakistan. Beijing has supplied a whole arsenal to our neighbor from nuclear technology to ballistic missiles."⁶²

India strongly believes that China continues to pose a threat to its security. Indian Ministry of Defense's National Security Report

1996-97 stated the Indian government for the first time expressed explicit concerns over Pakistan's and China's development of nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities.⁶³ In the security sphere geopolitical rivalry between China and India seems inescapable, which is one of the main security threat of South Asia. Fundamentally China seeks to prevent India from dominating South Asia and the Indian Ocean.

China's naval strategy seeks to secure the country's oil supply and trade routes through the Indian Ocean to the straits of Malacca and the South China sea and thereby it challenges India's great power pretensions in the Indian Ocean. China is investing heavily in developing the Bandar Abbas base in Iran, the Gwadar deep-sea port in Pakistan, and the naval basis in Myanmar accessing the Bay of Bengal and the western entrance to the straits of Malacca.⁶⁴ Chinese access to Myanmarese naval base in Hiangyi Island and establishment of a monitoring station at Myanmar's Coco Island, both of which are close to the India's naval base in Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean.⁶⁵ On the other hand, Indian naval strategists make no secret of their country's intention to check Chinese naval developments in the Indian ocean by controlling choke points in the Malacca strait and through the establishment of a permanent naval base in the Andaman Island, thus putting them on the vital trade routes between Suez and Singapore.⁶⁶ Amit Gupta has argued that “(t)he Indian navy is unmatched in the region and is the most balanced naval force in the Indian ocean area. It enjoys maritime superiority in that area, with a large submarine fleet, an integral air arm, and a surface fleet of which over half of the ships are armed with missiles.”⁶⁷

Thus, Indian defense justifies its naval build in terms of China's naval modernization, especially its sea launched ballistic missile capability and its alleged desire to move into the Indian ocean.⁶⁸ This raises a possibility of conflict between the two nuclearized countries India and china.

2) U.S.A.

Asia is divided in the process of economic development and is going to divide it still further, in political terms. The rise of Asia is going to pit Asians against Asians.⁶⁹ There are three powerful countries in

Asia : China, India and Japan.⁷⁰ Since 1945, the United States has dominated Asia, thanks to its military presence, its importance as a market and as a source of foreign investment, and to its close alliance with Japan. The rise of China changed that specially during the 1990s and the present decade giving rise to a belief that during the twenty – first century China could eventually emerge to challenge America for global leadership.⁷¹ The Bush administration had spotted when it sought to strengthen India and to strengthen America's own alignment with India. It was playing Asia's new power game. It served U.S.'s own interest. A stronger India would usefully limit China's freedom of maneuver in the region, and would help to prevent it from using a dominance of Asia to rival America at a global level.⁷² So in May 1998, during the India's nuclear device test, U.S. role was very critical. Behind the huffing and puffing of the G-8 countries against India for holding the nuclear tests in May 1998, there was a view in some quarters that the major powers including the U.S. turned a blind eye to India's preparation for testing nuclear devices, despite warnings to the US from Pakistan, to use India as a checkmate to China.⁷³ Pakistan was feeling the heat of increasing Indo-US defense alliance. Pak-President Musharraf mentioned that we are feeling gradually the 'heat' at the increasing Indo-US defense balance. This was quiet evident from the sharp reaction voiced by Pakistan over the recent \$ 146 million sale of US sophisticated radars, billed as "Fire finders" the first military contract between India and American in more than a decade.⁷⁴

The US– India strategic partnership treaty increased South Asian arms race again and made South Asia unstable. "The summer of 2005 would be long remembered by Pakistan, as seemingly in its perceptions this summer has heated up the security environment for it in South Asia in the light of the United States unprecedented transformation of its strategic relationship with India."⁷⁵ Pakistan expectedly reacted to the two major strategic agreements signed between United States and India on June 28, 2005 and July 18, 2005. At the official level, reaction of the Pakistan's foreign ministry was "Pakistan was deeply concerned as this development would destabilize strategic balance in South Asia. Pakistan will respond appropriately to rectify any imbalance."⁷⁶ The "Indo-US partnership could make other extra regional powers more interested in South Asia."⁷⁷

The signing of the Indo- US deal coupled with the declaration by President George Bush assisted India to become a 'major world power in the 21st century' and generated deep concern in the region. Expert view suggests that the accord will result in a "three-way unclear arms race in South Asia. First, the deal undermines the NPT and the nonproliferation regime. Second, Pakistan may reach a nuclear deal with China :The Indo US strategic partnership might push Pakistan, a long-term US strategic ally, to seek agreement with others 'super power'-China. Third, the deal poses a threat to fragile Indo-Pak relations. The Indo-US strategic partnership posed a threat to the relatively improved relations that have been achieved between India and Pakistan during the 1999 to 2005.⁷⁸ Soon after the US-senate overwhelmingly approved the Indo-US nuclear deal on October 4,2008, Pakistan Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani indicated that Islamabad might seek a similar arrangement with China. He claimed, "Pakistan will now make efforts for a civil nuclear deal and they (the international community) will have to accommodate us."⁷⁹ He also announced, "no need to worry now that the civil nuclear deal with India has been finalized, Pakistan will have the right to ask for a similar deal because we do not want there to be any discrimination."⁸⁰ Gilani opined, "Beijing and Islamabad had a "unique relationship that was a time-tested and all weather friendship."⁸¹

3.) Israel

Ariel Sharon, the Zionist Prime Minister of Israel, made a triumphant visit to Delhi on September 2003. India established diplomatic relation with Tel Aviv in 1992. India's coalition government, which is dominated by the Hindu supremacist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), ruled out the red carpet reception for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon during a three day official visit to India. That definitely raised the eyebrows of many secularists within Indian politics. India- Israel relation developed not only on commercial sector, but also defense sector. Defense sector cooperation is not confined within armament sale but has enlarged to special training including intelligence training.

JANSA ,a Journal on Strategic Studies Published in India, came out with a report in August 2001, quoting Indian defense sources as saying that, "Israel is positioned to replace Russia", as India's main

weapons supplier.⁸² Pakistan expressed its concern over a visit to India by Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, saying the trip to boost defense cooperation with its nuclear rival could destabilize the region. India's Islamic neighbor Pakistan also claimed, "If this axis is directed against Muslims all over the world and if this axis is directed against Pakistan and Pakistan Muslims, we would be most concerned as this would be a negative development."⁸³ The Pakistani spokesman also opined, "The other dimension we are worried about is the growing Indo-Israeli defense cooperation. This has a destabilizing effect on the region and we are deeply concerned about it."⁸⁴ According to an Israeli defense source, "Israeli defense sales to India is \$ 2 billion a year."⁸⁵

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people about the traditional security threats in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. The total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administered the opinion survey as is presented in the table below.

Table -2 shows the field survey report of the main traditional security threats in South Asia.

Table – 2
The main traditional security threats in South Asia

The main traditional security threat in South Asia	In Percent
Nuclearization	0 %
Kashmir	30 %
South Asian small states by literal dispute with India.	20 %
Terrorism & Extremism	40 %
External big power role	3 %
Arms Race	0 %
Indo-Pak conflict	4 %
All those	3 %
Others	0 %

Source : Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table –2 shows that 40% respondents believe terrorism and extremism is the main traditional security threat in South Asia, 30% respondents believe Kashmir problem, 20% respondents believe South Asian small states bilateral dispute with big neighbor India, 4% respondents believe Indo-Pak conflict, 3% believe external powers role and 3% respondents believe all those are the traditional security threats in South Asia.

Non-Traditional Security Threats in South Asia

Non-traditional security threats in South Asia are following:

a) Small Arms Smuggling

The unchecked flow of small arms and light weapons to area of conflict represents a significant threat to South Asian peace and security. South Asia is experiencing a crisis due to the proliferation of small arms. In some cases, the proliferation is linked to insurgencies and sectarian violence in South Asian countries.

South Asia has long been one of the major transit routes for the international arms trade, and the war in Afghanistan and the insurgencies in (Burma) Myanmar have been major causes for the transformation of the region in this direction.⁸⁶ India's far eastern borders, bordering Myanmar and Bangladesh are a gun runners paradise. A porous frontiers, thick with forest and corrupt border guards, have turned the area into one of the world's busiest small arms bazaars, feeding insurgencies and rebellions, across South Asia.⁸⁷ Chief Minister of Indian Mizoram Zoramthanga mentioned, "The international borders along the Northeastern states are arms bazaars for smugglers to sell weapons to the regions' insurgent groups."⁸⁸

a) Refugee Problem

Refugee has become a world wide problem. South Asian region is the fourth largest concentration of refugees in the world.⁸⁹ The partition of India gave rise to a serious problem of refugees in South Asia. In the South Asian region refugees flow to the region from outside, within the region and within the country. South Asian countries outside refugees are Arakanese, who are from the Arkan hills of Myanmar, they have taken shelter in India. The Chins are also from Myanmar and living in Nagaland, India. Rohingya's are from

Myanmar living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh.⁹⁰ Afghans, they took shelter in Pakistan. Tibetans took shelter in India, Nepal and Bhutan. After partition of the Indian sub-continent, most Hindu and Shikhs took shelter in India, Behari Muslims in Bangladesh. Tamil refugees took shelter from Sri Lanka to India. The refugee problem causes non traditional security threat in South Asia.

c) Drug Trafficking

In South Asia, drug trafficking is inextricably linked with the broader issue of regional security. Both India and Pakistan are the victims of drug trafficking. Drug related problems include addictions, arms induction, money laundering etc. Three areas are known to be poppy growing region of the world. These are the Golden Triangle (which includes Burma, Laos and Thailand), the Golden Crescent (Consisting of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan), and part of Latin America (i.e. Columbia, Mexico and Brazil etc). Among these three poppy growing regions, two are in South Asia. Pakistan is the leading grower of poppy and illicit opium; India is the largest producer of opium and Afghanistan also produces illicit opium; these countries are better known for heroin production.⁹¹ India is the transit point of heroin.⁹² An alternative trafficking route consisting of Pakistani Baluchistan, Iranian Baluchistan into Southeastern Turkey eventually, reaching some designated points in Europe.⁹³ According to US news and world report, "Pakistani heroin passes into the US market through New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco."⁹⁴

d) Money Laundering

Money laundering is also the non-traditional or non-military security threat of South Asia. Money laundering and transfer of precious commodities are caused by the inflow of enormous profits. Mostly drug trafficker, arms smuggler are related with the money laundering in South Asia. Despite India's concerted efforts to curb the moneylaundering and transfer of gold, the money laundering in these countries continues to pose a major problem.⁹⁵

e) Environment

Environmental security aims to protect people from the short and long term reverges of nature, man made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. South Asia is now depicts a frightening scenario in view of the rapid environment degradation of regions. Environment degradation in South Asia is related to over-population, poverty, under-development, and unplanned development etc.⁹⁶ “The region is extremely rich in biodiversity and several areas show high levels of endemic species. India and Pakistan, for instance, encompass a unique spectrum of ecological regions ranging from show-capped mountains to hot deserts and coastal mangroves. Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka also have a high diversity of plants, animal and a high degree of endemism. Maldives, on the other hand, possesses unique coral land formations and a large variety of reef fish. Very little of this bio-diversity has yet been studied but it is already under heavy threat of extinction.”⁹⁷

Environmental degradation are causes of the reducing economic opportunities, resulting in demographic displacements within state and across international borders. It is also the cause of political tension between neighboring countries in South Asia. Narottam Gain stated, “It is seen that environmental degradation in South Asian countries along with its social effects in terms of decreased agricultural productivity, poverty and economic decline, health hazards, displacement of people from rural to urban and sometimes to neighboring territories, and the growing incapability of the states to meet the basic needs of the people, have come as a greater threat than military.”⁹⁸ Deforestation is one of the main causes of soil erosion, siltation and flood in South Asia. Environmental problems have a negative impact on the domestic stability of the states of South Asia, which is the threat of human security.

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people about the non-traditional security threats in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. The total number of

respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table below.

Table-3
The main non-traditional security threats in South Asia

Main non-traditional security threats in South Asia	In Percent
Small arms smuggling	43%
Money laundering	5%
Refugee	5%
Drug Trafficking	5%
Environment	5%
All those	37%
Others	0%

Source : Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

The table-3 shows the main non-traditional security threats in South Asia. It appears that 43% respondents believe that the main non-traditional security threats in South Asia is small arms smuggling, 37% respondents believe all those (small arms smuggling, money laundering, refugee, drug trafficking, environment) are the threat of South Asian non-traditional security threat, 5% respondents believe money laundering, 5% respondents believe refugee problem, 5% respondents believe drug trafficking and 5% respondents believe environment is the main non-traditional security threats in South Asia.

Human Security Threats in South Asia

Human security threats in South Asia are following :

a) Poverty

Poverty and underdevelopment are the primary attributes of all South Asian societies. South Asia is considered to be one of the most poorly governed regions in the world. The region shares 22% of over one fifth of the world's population. The per capita GNP is \$ 440, the lowest in the world. The region shares only 13 percent of the global income and 40% of the global poverty.⁹⁹ South Asian states of the region belong to a category of states called the 'LDCs', and are handicapped by resource crunch, shortage of energy supply, small domestic markets, absence of technology and industrialization,

poor infrastructure, dependence on external aid and assistance, poor export basket, trade deficit, inability to cope with the process of globalization etc.¹⁰⁰ Poverty is the main cause of the terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, money laundering, arms smuggling, social and political violence in the South Asian region which destabilize the societies and countries and are the main threats of human security in South Asia.

b) Food Security

Food security requires that all people have all time-both physical and economic-access to basic food. Food security is one of the important dimensions of human security. More than one billion people in the world do not have enough food to eat.¹⁰¹ World bank report 1986 defined, food security as the access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life. South Asian countries are not food sufficient. Flood, famine, natural disasters are the main causes of food crises in South Asia. South Asian countries are concerned about serious problems of food in the region. Thus in 1987 the South Asian countries signed an agreement on the establishment of SAARC food security reserve. The preamble of the agreement recognized the importance of regional collective self – reliance with respect to food security.¹⁰²

b) Discrimination of the Ethnic and Religious Minorities

South Asia is a multi racial, multi-religious and multi-linguistic region. Almost people of all religions live in South Asia.

South Asia is ethnically diverse, with more than 2000 ethnic entities with population ranging from hundreds million to small tribal groups.¹⁰³ Discrimination of the ethnic and religious minorities are one of the main causes of instability South Asia. Almost in all countries of South Asia, ethnic and religious minorities are discriminated by majority people. Cases of India, Bangladesh Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan are same. Indian Muslim minority, Shikh minority and ethnic minorities are deprived by Hindu majority people. Babri Masjid incident, Shikh Golden Mondir incident are example of religious minority right violation. Indian Congress President Sonia Gandhi said, “the country faces a threat from forces within that were trying to divide it in the name of religion.”¹⁰⁴“The Nellie massacre on 1983 of thousands of Muslims including women

and children is a grim reminder of the communal dimension of the conflict.”¹⁰⁵ In Bangladesh minority Hindu community people and Ahmedia community people are deprived by majority Muslim. In Pakistan’s minority Hindu, Shia, Ahmodia community people are deprived by Muslim majority. In Bhutan, Nepal and Sri Lanka minorities are deprived by majority religion people.

South Asia is one of the worst victims of ethnic conflict. In Pakistan ethnic minority by Muhajir-Sindhi conflict has become more prominent problem in the world. In Srilanka the Tamil ethnic problem is basically a national integration problem. “The government controlled by Sinhala Buddhist majority of the country, have failed to integrate the Sri Lankan society. Grown out of a curious minority, complex the governments enacted’ numerous laws excessively discriminating its Hindu Tamil population. While promoting aggressive and exclusive Sinhala nationalism, the governments even denied equal opportunities to the Tamils in education, employment, trade and political participation.”¹⁰⁶ Chakma problem in Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, Indian’s seven sister problem, the problem Bhutan and Nepal arise considerable tension to ethnic discrimination. This is the threat of human security in the south Asian countries.

c) Law and Order

Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence. Crime is greatest source of anxiety for people. Particularly violent crime deteriorates the law and order in the country. There are two types of crimes which are prevalent-unorganized crimes and organized crimes. Unorganized crimes are theft, robbery, social violence, mob violence, transport accidents (road, water) etc. Organized crimes are drug narcotics related crimes, small arms, explosives bomb related violence. In South Asian countries unorganized and organized crimes are main cause of deteriorating law and order. Besides this, extreme poverty, terrorism, extremism, discrimination of ethnic and religious minorities rights and deteriorating law and order are threat of human security in South Asian countries.

e) Dysfunctional Politics

Dysfunctional politics, which is most frequent during political unrest, has been a major cause for violation of basic human rights of the people of South Asian countries. Political parties in South Asian countries call hartal and strikes, mobilize movement and commit violence in the country. Student politics have left impact of dysfunctional politics on student politics in some countries like Bangladesh. Politicians are not free from corruption in South Asian countries. Besides, some politicians are also involved in toll collection, terrorism, muscleman politics and fundamentalist politics. Dysfunctional politics like hartal, strike, violence, terrorism and intra and inter party conflicts are the threat of human security in South Asian countries.

f) Health and Sanitation

Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. But in South Asia, health and sanitation facilities are not good. About the health and sanitation Mahatma Gandhi opined, "The cause of many of our diseases is the condition of our lavatories and our bad habits of disposing of excreta anywhere and everywhere."¹⁰⁷ The financial health commitment to health care in South Asia is low compared to other parts of the world. For most conclusive evidence of the lack of the states commitment of health of the people is the lack of sustainable access to improved water (defined as regular access to potable water), to sanitation facilities and to drugs. It is sad that despite its claims to high economic growth, India has the worst access to sanitation facilities. For most part, access to sustained sanitation is between 30% to 80% in South Asia with Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Pakistan heading the pack.¹⁰⁸ For most part, between 40% to 70% of South Asians have access to common drugs except for Nepalese at about 30% and Sri Lankan's at about 90%. Indians has the worst access to drug.¹⁰⁹

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people about the human security threats in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman,

Government and Non-governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. The total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table below.

Table-4
The main human security threats in South Asia

The main human security threats in South Asia	In percent
Poverty	80%
Law and order	0%
Dysfunctional Politics	20%
Discrimination of the ethnic and religious minorities	0%
Health and Sanitation	0%
Food problems	0%
Others	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009.

Table -4 shows the field survey report on human security threats in South Asia. It appears that 80% respondents believe poverty is the main threat of human security in South Asia, 20% respondents believe dysfunctional politics is the main human security threat in South Asia. So, table -4 clearly indicate that poverty is the main human security threat in South Asia.

Conclusion

Bilateral conflicts of the two big countries in South Asia- India, Pakistan and their proliferation of nuclear arms and arms race, bilateral dispute of the small states with India, terrorism, religious extremism make South Asia a dangerous region in the world. On the other hand, extra-regional power-China, USA and Israel increase arms race in South Asia. Besides, on non-traditional security threats like arms smuggling, refugee problem, drug trafficking, environment and money laundering are also the threats of South Asian security. Moreover, poverty, discrimination of the ethnic and religious minorities, dysfunctional politics, health and sanitation problem make South Asian countries security complex. In conclusion, we can say that South Asian security is complex.

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Chapter IV

Japan's South Asia Policy

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to discuss the Japan's South Asian policy. This chapter consists of four sections: (a) Japan South Asia relation;(b) Japan's interest in South Asia;(c) Japan's diplomatic and strategic policy in South Asia;(d) The Japanese approach to human security; (e)Conclusion.

Japan South Asia Relations

Though Japan is one of the richest countries in the world, South Asia has become an important region to Japan for its geo-strategic location. About the geo-strategic importance of South Asia the Japanese Ambassador in India Hiroshi Hirabayashi opined, "A large part of Asia spreads out as an arch of the Indian Ocean, making the South Asian landmass the center. South Asia links the Eastern and Western flanks of the Asian continent. Hence, from the Portuguese to the British "greater India"(i.e., South Asia) occupied the key position in their broader Asian politico-strategic designs. The trade across the Indian Ocean is vitally important to Japan .All these that South Asia is a gate way to central Asia, which has been recognized as another area for the natural resources."¹ The relations between Japan and South Asia had been made from the long past. "Japan-South Asian relation is based on the following points.(1)Anthropological Identity,(2)Religion,(3)Trade,(4)Cultural and(5)Political."²

(1)Anthropological Relation

Looking at racial traits, one can say there is blood relation between the people of India and Japan, because "like Bengalese and Japanese are mixed trible."³Racially,across the world of plains migrated from the cradle of the human race in the Central Asia the "yellow", "white", "brown", "black" races eastward to Japan, South-Westward to India, West-ward to Europe in the past thousands of years. Here lies the reason to understan racial similarity today between the Aryans of India and Japan (Anus), between Mongolians

and Dravidians of India and Japan.⁴ In this respect Robinra Nath Tagore argued, “The Japanese have both the Mongolian and the Indian traits in their face and they have enough colure- diversity also. If my friend Taikkan, a painter, puts on the Bengali dress, nobody will recognize him to be a Japanese .I have seen many others like him.”⁵

(2) Religious Relation

South Asia claimed its link with Japan through the Buddhist religion, which becomes the part of the Japanese life. Since the ancient times, Shinto, Buddhism and Confusim-these three religions had their presence in Japan. South Asia, is the region where Gautama Siddhartha was born and the Buddhism originated. Buddhism did not come in Japan directly from India, it from China via Korea. According to Japanese chronicle, in A.D.552, a golden image of Buddha and few scrolls of the sutras were presented to the Mikado kimmei by the King of Hyakusai, one of the states in Korea.⁶ After Buddhism was introduced in Japan, it has spread widely and it is the religion, for a majority of the Japanese. Chamberlain noted, “In a sense Japan may be said to owe everything to India through Buddhism, and Buddhism brought civilization.”⁷

(3) Trade Relation

Japan is a trading nation. South Asia is an over populated region in the world. Japan’s trade relation with South Asia is old. South Asia is a one of the largest market of Japanese industrial products. During 2005-2006 Bangladesh imported \$584.1 million U.S. dollar industrial goods from Japan and exported \$ 167.7 million dollar goods to Japan.⁸ In 2007 India imported \$6.1billion industrial goods from Japan and exported \$4.1 billion dollar goods to Japan.⁹

(4) Cultural Relation

South Asia’s cultural relation developed with Japan by the Buddhism. Buddhism influenced the Japanese art and literature over the centuries. The Japanese poets throughout history drew great inspiration from this religion.¹⁰ Basil Hall Chamberlain stated, “All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands, as was the care of the poor and sick; Buddhism introduced art, introduced medicine, moulded the folklore of the country, created its dramatic poetry, deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and

intellectual activity. In a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese nation grew up.”¹¹ Some aspects, Japanese culture, Judo-Jujutsu-Karate, is gradually gaining popularity in South Asia.

(5) Political Relation

There are close political relations between Japan - South Asian countries from the British period. During the British period, there were different types of organizations and associations, which helped to build up co-operative relation and committed to establish peace and international understanding between Japan and the then British India.¹² Japan first established consulate in sub-continent in Bombay in November 1904 and a consulate General in Calcutta in March 1907.¹³

A good number of the earliest political leader went to Japan from the sub-continent was Maulobi A.H. Barkatullah of Bhupal, Bhagwan Sing, Abani Mukherji, M.N. Roy, C. R. Das, Moulana Muahammad Ali, S. Satyamurthi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rashbehari Bose and Subash Bose of unequivocal Japanese support for Indian independence.¹⁴ On 16th February 1942, General Tujio, the then P.M. of Japan in a declaration mentioned, “This time India is going to be liberated from the hands of the English oppressors.....We expect that very soon India will be able to achieve Independence. I further declare that the Japanese government will render all assistance to the people of India in their Independence struggle.”¹⁵

Justice Radhabinod Pal, played an important role in the war crime Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE). As the editors of the Tokyo War Crimes Trial wondered: “Did article 10 of the Potsdam declaration entitle the allies to try Japanese leaders for the crime of aggression? Can wars of aggression be differentiated from the wars of self-defense?.....Did an overall conspiracy really exist among the defendants?.....Did American acts months prior to Pearl Harbour “contribute” to the Japanese attack?”¹⁶ By challenging every aspect of the majority judgment at the Tokyo trial Justice Pal brought to the fore the travesty of the victors justice. Justice Pal’s dissent not only upheld what he considered legally right, it is also reflected the sentiments of the South Asian people.¹⁷

Though Japan's postwar foreign policy by its very nature was anything but articulated and it was low profile strategic posture, on October 6, 1954 Japan decided to participate in the Colombo plan and initiate technical co-operation with the Asian countries. After independence, India and Pakistan started well in their relations with Japan. Japan's interest to cultivate the South Asian nations was reflected in the exchange of some high level visits.

The diplomatic relations between Japan and South Asia started to improve in late 1980s. Post –Cold War, Japan –South Asia's relations have developed very rapidly. Japan took a positive attitude of the development of regional organization in South Asia, and welcomed the formation of SAARC. Japan was accorded the status of an observer in SAARC in 2005. This helped to deepen and strengthen friendly ties between Japan and South Asian countries.¹⁸ After 9/11, 2001 Japan and South Asian countries became very close, to face challenges of terrorism and extremism. Concerning South Asia's relation with Japan, many summit level and VIP exchange took place, including Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Prime Minister Dr. Yukio was visited South Asia, and South Asian countries leaders also visited Japan. Among the South Asian leaders were Bangladeshi Prime Minister Begum Khalada Zia, Pakistani Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and President Asif Ali Zardari, Indian Prime Minister Monmohan Singh. Besides, for the geo-strategic importance of South Asia, now India is the strategic and security partner of Japan. So Japan- South Asian relation is historical.

About the historical relations of Japan-South Asia, Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari opined, "South Asia is the birth place of an ancient civilization, which has left a unique and indelible impress on human history and which continues to influence the history and civilization of the world. Japan is one of the many countries which owe immense debt to the spiritual culture established in this region. Various insights in the areas of knowledge and experience to which the region gave birth, among them Buddhist culture, have been a source of inspiration in the development of Japanese thought and culture."¹⁹ Indian Prime Minister Monmohan Singh stated at Japanese Diet, "Japan and India are civilizational neighbours. The common heritage of Buddhism is our oldest bond. Our two cultures

have been enriched by mutual interaction throughout our history. The Indian Monk, Bondhisena, came to Nara over a thousand years, ago to be present at the consecration of Daibutsue at the Todaiji Temple. In more modern times, Tagore and Okakura Tenshin build new bridges of understanding between our two great Asian nations.”

²⁰ The then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan Taro Aso clarify Japan South Asian historical relation by the statement, “Japan would regard South Asia, which continues to grow economically and shares the common values of democracy, freedom, and rule of law, as a center of the ‘Arc of Freedom and prosperity,’ and would encourage regional cooperation in South Asia on the basis of the history of good relations between Japan and the countries in this region.”²¹

Japan’s Interests in South Asia

Though Japan is a developed country and South Asia is a developing region, Japan has political, strategic and economic interests in South Asia. Japan is the only extra regional power in world whose national interest is directly related with the South Asian peace and stability. Besides, after Cold War, geo-strategic importance of South Asia has largely increased. South Asia has become one of the largest market and strategic and security partner of Japan.

Though Japan’s global political activity is not yet highly visible, has grown enormously and is set to rise, following the demise of the Cold War. As part of her global political activities, Japan is a serious candidate for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.²² Japan seeks support of the South Asian countries in her quest for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. Japan’s press secretary for foreign affairs Hatsuhisa Takashima at a briefing in Tokyo on July 8, 2005 told, “Koizumi will seek Bangladesh’s support for draft resolution on UN Security Council reforms and look in to the possibility of Bangladesh co-sponsoring this resolution.”²³

Water ways of South Asia are significantly vital for Japan’s international transport system. Energy (oil and gas) is the life line of Japanese economy.²⁴ Over 80 percent of Japanese oil cargo from the Persian Gulf are transported though the strait of Malacca.²⁵ K.Ratnayake write,” These regions are also vital to Japan in the

conduct of its foreign policy. The shipping routes that run from the Middle East to Japan via the strait of Malacca make up the main artery that supplies the life blood of the Japanese economy."²⁶ Thus, South Asia's location makes, it strategically vital for Japan.

Japan would like to see peace and stability in South Asia. Because, a major military conflict or political crisis in South Asia that would threaten the closure of the Straits of Malacca, the Lombok and Makassar. Japanese Foreign Minister Tudashi Kuranari commented at Dhaka in 1987, "Japan expressed its intention to contribute the reduction of tensions and peaceful settlement of conflicts, by promoting dialogue."²⁷ Japanese Prime Minister Toshike Kaifu told at Dhaka, "I would like to pronounce clearly Japan's intent to continue its vigorous support for political stability and economic development of the South Asian countries as well as the rest to the world by engaging in dialogue and co-operation."²⁸ Besides, Japan uses her aid as a toll to maintain peace and stability in South Asia. David Arase stated, "Japan is considered to be committed to strengthen its assistance to those areas that are important to the maintenance of peace and stability of the world."²⁹

South Asia is a major source of essential raw materials for Japan, a sizable market for Japanese manufactured goods, and the site of substantial Japanese investment.³⁰ About the Japanese traders' diplomacy Yonosuke Nagai commented, "A diplomacy of the economy, by the economy and for the economy."³¹ South Asia is a largest market of Japan and main goal of Japan in South Asia is economic. By the uses of her aid Japan would like to capture South Asian largest market.

Japan's another interest in South Asia is the security of Japanese ships in the Indian Ocean. Many Japanese ships have been targets of attacks by pirates in the Indian Ocean. Japanese Foreign Minister Kawaguchi Yoriko stated , "cooperative maintenance of the maritime traffic in the sea-lanes that stretch across the Indian Ocean and the Strait of Malacca (is) among the security and defense issues that deserve our increased attention."³²

Countering terrorism in South Asia is also the interest of Japan. A terrorist attack in the Indian Ocean could have a large- scale negative

economic impact in Japan. Japan fears the growing specters of naval terrorism or the targeting of shipping containers by al-Qaeda. A terrorist attack could affect oil supplies from the Persian Gulf, jeopardizing the energy security of Japan.

Japan's another interest in South Asia is balancing China. China is a common security threat of Japan and India. China's ability to project naval power in the region and its improved ballistic missile capabilities has reason to be concerned of Japan and India. A Japanese Foreign Ministry report stated, "China's military build up can pose a serious threat to Japan and other countries of the region."³³ Japan making overtures to India for security cooperation. In May 2002, Prime Minister Koizumi called for a broadening of Japan's security co-operation with India.³⁴ Thus Japan's political role in South Asia can be a significant strategic value in future.

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia is also a goal of Japan. Non-proliferation is a strong principle of Japan's foreign policy. Japan believes that nuclear war is the threat of peace and security in South Asia and world. So, after the India Pakistan nuclear weapons test in May 1998, Japan reacted sharply. Satu P. Limaye stated, "Major Japanese diplomatic initiatives in the wake of these tests included promoting nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament and taking a leadership role in resolving the Indo-Pakistan dispute."³⁵

Japan would like to establish and patronize democracy in South Asia. Japan's aid programs did develop within the political framework during the Cold War. With strong American urging, aid flowed only to non communist nations in the East and South East Asia. Japan did not provide aid to any socialist country until 1973.³⁶ Japan sent election observers in South Asian countries general election and gives logistic support and aid to institutionalize democracy in this region.

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people about the Japan's main interests in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman,

Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table -5.

Table-5
Japan's main causes of interests in South Asia

Japan's main cause of interest in South Asia	Percent
Japan considers South Asia strategically important as it sea-lanes.	35%
Japan has been taking proactive role in regional and global peace-building.	8%
China factor' has enhanced the importance of South Asia.	20%
Japan is concerned about South Asian nuclear proliferation.	0%
The diplomatic support from South Asian countries can be vital importance for Japan in international forum.	2%
South Asia is an important market of Japan.	35%

Source:Field survey report of reasearcher in 2009

Table -5 shows that 35% respondents believe Japan considers South Asia is strategically important as it controls the sea lane, which are vital for Japan's energy security, 35% respondents believe South Asia is an important market of Japan, 20% respondents believe China factor has enhanced the importance of South Asia, 8% respondents believe Japan's regional and peace building interest in South Asia and 2% respondents believe the diplomatic support from South Asian countries can be vital important for Japan in international forum. So, it is clear that though Japan is a developed country in the world, Japan has political, security, strategic and economic interests in South Asia.

Japan's Diplomatic, Security and Strategic Policy in South Asia

The main frame work of Japan's security policy is largely determined by the constitution of 1947 and the security treaty with the United States concluded in 1952 and extensively revised in 1960.³⁷ The constitution of 1947 was written under the strong influence of the U.S. occupation forces. The article 9 stipulates, "Aspiring sincerely ,to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerence of the state will not be recognized."³⁸

Under 1947 constitution, Japan did not posses military forces during most of the occupation period. But with the beginning of the Cold War, the U.S. posture toward Japan's armaments changed, and under Washington's strong pressure, Japan began to equip itself with armed forces under various names: the Police Reserve Forces were created in August 1950 under direction of General Headquarters (GHQ); the Maritime Security Forces were established in April 1952; the Police Reserve Forces and the Maritime Security Forces were reorganized under the heading of the Hoancho (Security Agency) in August 1952; and in 1954, these forces were further reorganized as the Self-Defense Forces.³⁹

During the Cold War period, South Asia continuously remained a less priority area in the foreign policy approach of Japan.⁴⁰ The Cold War period's diplomatic and strategic ties between Japan and South Asian countries remained largely undeveloped.⁴¹ The reasons were: firstly, most of the regional countries had a pro-Soviet foreign policy. Secondly, their economic policies being rigid that did not attract the Japanese businessman.⁴² After many years of Japan's diplomatic silence about South Asia this situation began to change in the early 1970s and 80s. Two important events helped to start Japan's foreign policies changes in South Asia. One, the 1973 oil

embargo by the Arab oil producers, Japan changed her policy not only in the Middle East region but also in South Asia.

South Asia is a gate way of Japanese oil supply. South Asia's strategic importance of the Sea lanes, gave South Asia a high priority of Japan's foreign policy. It was commented, "during the 1973 oil embargo by the Arab oil producers brought about a significant change not only to Japan's policy in the Middle East region but South Asia as well. For an unfettered energy supply from the Middle East, the South Asian location has an important bearing on Japan. South Asia being placed in the centre of Middle East and Japan and closer to Central Asia and the strategic significance of the sea lanes passing along the South Asian coasts have been rated highly among the foreign policy establishment."⁴³

After the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Union, Japanese involvement increased in South Asian regional politics. It was highlighted, "Only in the last couple of decades of Cold War there have been some movements towards resuming political dialogue and forging closer links in the South Asian countries. The region featured especially important since the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan. As a Western ally and Moscow's immediate neighbor Japan naturally shared the perception of Soviet threat and hence worked to intensify the political dialogue with the countries of the region."⁴⁴ Two Japanese Foreign Ministers visited India and Pakistan in 1980 and 1982. Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Nakasone visited Pakistan and India in April –May 1984 and re-established high level political contacts between Japan and South Asia after many years. Foreign Minister Mr. Kuranari Tadashi visited the India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh from August 10 to 15, 1987. It was a positive step in Japan's relations to the South Asia, because this was the first high level visit after establishment of SAARC as a regional forum in South Asia.

The establishment of SAARC in 1985 became an important frame for Japanese approach towards South Asia. It was stated, "The birth of SAARC gave Japan the impetus for a collective approach to the region."⁴⁵ During his visit in Bangladesh Mr. Kuranari pointed out three principles which formed the basis of future co-operation between Japan and South Asia. These are: (1) promotion of political

dialogue to seek peace for South Asia; (2) promotion of mutual understanding between peoples ; (3) strengthening mutually beneficial co-operative relations.⁴⁶

Since the World War II, the process and stage of involvement of Japan in South Asia with the evolution of foreign policy, three phases (1952-1960), (1960-1990) and (1990 to present)⁴⁷ can be identified.

During 1952-1960 Japan played no significant role in South Asia.⁴⁸ Because, after the defeat in the second World War, Japan was tied politically, economically and strategically to the Western bloc, regaining national independence as a close ally of the U.S.⁴⁹ Japan became independent after signing San Francisco Treaty on September 8, 1951 and received complete guarantee of its internal and external security from US by signing Japan-US security treaty the same day.⁵⁰ Hirose Takako stated, "After the second World War, the situation changed both in terms of global politics and Japan's position in Asia. Japan started making its own foreign policy as a member of the Western camp in the Cold-War context, which imposed a certain framework within which its foreign policy was to be made"⁵¹

During the period 1960-1990 Japan developed economic relation with South Asia. Japanese economy gained most during 1950-53 Korean war and was quick to declare in its 1956 economic white paper that post-war difficult years for Japan had been over.⁵² In the 1960s, the competitive strength of Japanese industry increased rapidly and "by the mid-1960s, both in terms of GNP and foreign trade Japan had come to occupy an important position in the world pecking order."⁵³ By the early seventies, Japan's post war diplomacy towards Southeast Asia had been labeled a "traders diplomacy."⁵⁴ Japanese scholar Yonosuke Nagai called it "a diplomacy of the economy, by the economy and for the economy."⁵⁵ For the Japan's rapid economic growth in 1960s, Japan came forward to make its economic diplomacy with South Asia. The 1975 Diplomatic Blue book of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs summed up Japan's South Asia policy as follows: "Good relations have been maintained between Japan and the countries of Southwest Asia on the basis of economic exchange ,economic and technical co-operation and

various kinds of interchange in person-to-person contacts. Japan's basic diplomatic policy towards its area is to maintain and promote friendly relations with all the countries concerned and to co-operate to the greatest extent possible for the stability and development of the area."⁵⁶

In 1988 Japan's total trade volume with the SAARC region was \$6,414 million. Among this Japan export was \$3,856 million and import was \$2,558 million leaving balance of \$1,298 million which was in Japan's favour. Japan has continued trade surplus with all the countries of South Asia.⁵⁷ Japan became the largest bi-lateral donor to countries in South Asia and it was one fourth of total Japanese ODA, by the end of the Cold War. Until the 1990s, economic diplomacy was the key character of Japan's policy towards South Asia.⁵⁸

In the phase from 1990 about the post Cold War Japanese diplomatic aims, the then Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs Taro Aso stated, "Diplomacy aims to promote the interests and welfare of people, while envisioning the distant future. Diplomacy is synonymous with tireless efforts to create a suitable global environment to achieve these objectives."⁵⁹ Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso mentioned at Diet, Japan would like to achieve her diplomatic goals, "strengthening the Japan-US alliance, this should always come first. With the following areas, meanwhile, it is difficult to set an order of priority. That said, second comes the goal of building regional stability and prosperity by working together with our neighbours China, the Republic of Korea and Russia, as well as other countries of the Asia-Pacific region and thus growing together. Third is to tackle the global issues facing human kind, such as terrorism, global warming, poverty and water issues."⁶⁰

In order to understand new developments in Japan's policy in South Asia, it is necessary to discuss new dimensions of Japan's foreign and security policy of post Cold War. After the end of the world war second, Japan could not develop regional strategy as it maintained a distant relations with Asia. But in the Post-Cold War days domestic forces in Japan mounted pressure and aspired for Japan's 're-Asianization.' The Plaza Accord of 1985, East European recovery in 1989, US-Japan trade frictions and the proximity of Asian booming

markets added potentials for Japan's neo-Asian policy.⁶¹ Besides, global political changes in the 1990s gave Japan an opportunity to transform its old fashioned diplomatic style, Japan took an independent and progressive foreign policy.⁶² Edward J.Lincoln mentioned, "The end of the Cold War opened the way for Japan to pursue an independent foreign policy."⁶³ In 1991, the vice-minister of Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr.Takakazu Kuriyama told,"Japan must take an active role in the reconstruction of the world order."⁶⁴

The main event that led to a shift in Japanese security policy was Tokyo's worst experience during the war of 1991. Japan had had huge financial contribution of the Persian Gulf War but faced criticism from both the Western and Arab states for not sending combat personnel to the Gulf War.⁶⁵ It helped Japan to think beyond the defense of its territory and participate in defining new rules to govern the international security environment in the post-Cold War period.⁶⁶ More over the Persian Gulf war demonstrated to Japan that military power shapes international relations to a significant degree in the post Cold War era and that Japan was not well equipped to deal with military crisis.⁶⁷ After the Gulf war, the security dimension in Japanese foreign policy gained prominence. Japan adjusted its security policy to allow for greater participation in the international security environment in the particular ways:

First ,Tokyo enacted the international peace co-operation law in 1992, which allowed Japan to play a more active security role through greater participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations (UNPKO).⁶⁸

Second, Tokyo reformulated the National Defence Programme Outline(NDPO) in 1995. It helped to emphasize Japan taking a greater role in UNPKOs, and the Self Defence Force(SDF) addressing low intensity threats like terrorism.⁶⁹

Third, the US-Japan security alliance is the most important pillar of Japan's security strategy ever since the end of the Cold War. In 1996, Japanese government started to talk with the United States to revitalize the US-Japan alliance to make it more relevant to the Post Cold War environment .In early 1999, the revisions of the US-Japan Defence Guidelines, signaled three important changes to Japan's role

in the post–Cold War security environment.⁷⁰ These are:“(a)Japan’s military was authorized to take various measures in the event of “emergencies near Japan,” allowing the SDF to provide rear-area logistical support to US forces during crises near Japan and to conduct near- area search and rescue operations for military power,(b)The Japan–US Acquisition and Cross- Servicing Agreement(ACSA) was revised.

The revision allows for expanded bilateral co-operation to include the supply of fuel and necessary goods during emergencies near Japan instead of during peace time only,(c)The SDF law was amended to allow for the evacuation of Japanese citizens from overseas. More over, SDF personnel could use weapons for self-defence in providing rear-area support and engaging in search- and-rescue operations for US military personnel.”⁷¹ Another land mark initiative was the meeting of the US-Japan security consultative committee (SSC) in Washington on February19, 2005 and the consequently released joint statement. The “common strategic objectives’ earmarked in the statement were the following:

- (1) Identification of international terrorism and proliferation of WMDs as common challenges.
- (2)Modernization of military capabilities in the region, to be paid attention to (an obvious reference to China).
- (3) Ensuring the security of Japan and regional peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region.
- (4)Support the peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula, as well as resolution of issues with regard to North Korean development such as its nuclear programme, missile activities and abduction issues.
- (5)Stress on cooperative relationship with China and encourage it to improve transparency in military affairs.
- (6) Resolution of the Northern Territories dispute between Japan and Russia.
- (7) Security of maritime traffic as well as ensuring of stability of global energy supply.”⁷²

Important turning point of Japan’s foreign and security policy came with the 9/11 terrorist attack and subsequent war on terror in Afghanistan and Iraq.⁷³ Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi introduced

three bills in the Diet including the anti-terrorism special measures law, which was enacted in October 2001.⁷⁴ This law helped Koizumi to send ships and troops to the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan. For the demand of the Japanese people and US request Japan reinterpreted the Japanese constitution article 9. Japanese Prime Minister Shonze Abe in his September 2006 inaugural speech at the Diet, “called for a new interpretation of collective defence, revision of the constitution, a larger military role for Japan and a more assertive diplomacy.”⁷⁵ Besides, the February 2005 meeting of the Japan–US security consultative committee also redefined the bilateral partnership as a “global” alliance with a number of common strategic objectives. At the broadest level, these include the promotion of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law; non-proliferation and counter terrorism, support for Japan’s permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council; and the security of global energy supply.⁷⁶ It provided a frame work for possible multilateral cooperation between the Japan–US alliance and other partners. Australia has shown a interest in joining the fold and Prime Minister John Howard and Japanese Prime Minister Abe signed, ‘a joint security declaration. That agreement focused on bilateral cooperation in range of security fields, including counter terrorism, maritime security and intelligence.’⁷⁷

The latest Japan- US security consultative committee meting on May 2007 high lighted the importance of security cooperation with two other major global players ;India and NATO.⁷⁸ Hiroyasu Akutsu stated,“it is becoming clear that the bilateral bonds between Washington and Tokyo are becoming the basis for multilateral strategic dialogue among the liberal democracies of Asia.”⁷⁹ Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso and Indian Prime Minister Monmohon Singh signed the “Joint declaration on security cooperation between Japan and India” on October 22,2008 in Tokyo.⁸⁰ Indian leading strategic analysts and political commentators over this joint security declaration “significant development,’ which would change the security architecture of Asia”.⁸¹

In the 1990s, Japan gradually came forward to play a significant role in South Asian regional politics. Both sides have taken some initiatives to promote their relation. Ambassador Hiroshi

Hirabayashi pointed out, “entering the 1990s, we have witnessed some very important changes in the parameters in this region.

First, the end of the Cold War allowed both Japan and South Asia to accommodate more flexible political maneuverability in their international relations. The redundant yoke of Cold War was removed.

Second, the economic liberalization taking place since early 1990’s in India as well as in its neighbouring countries has started to offer the international community possibilities of economic interactions.

Third, it would not be just if I did not mention the importance of democratization process going on this region as well.”⁸²

Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiku’s visit to Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka from April 28 to May 6 1990 was the important point in Japan –South Asia relations. During his India visit, Prime Minister Kaifu announced at the Indian parliament, “to visit South Asian countries this time in order to develop further friendly and cooperative ties between Japan and this region, which has potentials for development against the background of its great civilization and its billion people.”⁸³ The Japanese ambassador to Dhaka, on the eve of Kaifu’s visit narrated Tokyo’s “South Asia policy” and maintained that Japan attached great importance to the economic and political stability in South Asia as instability in the region would jeopardize the whole of Asia. Japan wanted to ensure economic development and political stability in South Asia.⁸⁴ In 1991, Japanese government established the South Asian Forum, to promote dialogue and encourage consultations on a regular basis.⁸⁵ Japan positively engaged in efforts to achieve peace and stability in South Asia. Japanese Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi mentioned, “Japan will be positively engaged in efforts to achieve stability and prosperity in South Asia through the enhancement of its ties with the countries in the region.”⁸⁶

One of the four pillars of Japan’s diplomatic agenda is disarmament and non-proliferation.⁸⁷ Japan is working strongly against the nuclearization in South Asia, because Japan is the only country in the world to have experienced the immense problems with the nuclear war. About the nuclearization in South Asia, Japan’s first policy was to force two big countries of the region to abandon their

nuclear programmes and sign the NPT treaty. Second, after the nuclear tests and formal declaration of their (India and Pakistan) nuclear weapons capability, to avoid any nuclear confrontation between two hostile regional powers.⁸⁸

Japan is the world's second largest energy consumer and the largest importer of crude oil as well as liquefied natural gas (LNG). Most of the Japanese energy are imported from the Gulf countries. The security of sea lanes of the Indian Ocean, connecting Japan with the Middle East is a vital element of Japan's national security. Two major powers of South Asia India and Pakistan in the region, plays a key role in the security of the Indian Ocean. Japan's policies to maintain, security in the Indian Ocean are bilateral security dialogues with Pakistan and signed security treaty with India. Three bilateral security dialogues were held between Pakistan and Japan, and Japan signed a security treaty with India on October 22, 2008.

China is the important factor of Japan's strategic policy in South Asia. China's economic growth and defense modernization are the security threats of Japan and India, because China through the use of 'rogue nations' like Pakistan and North Korea would attempt to checkmate an upward ascent of the strategic profile of India and Japan.⁸⁹ Besides, China wants to prevent India from dominating South Asia and the Indian Ocean. China's naval strategy policy seeks to secure her oil supply and trade routes through the Indian Ocean to the straits of Malacca and the South China sea.⁹⁰ China's naval strategy policy is the threat of Japanese energy security. Japanese Ambassador in India Mr. Hiroshi Hirabayashi stated, "Our country (Japan) largely depends on the import of oil from the Gulf region and the South Asia is located in the mid-way between that region and Japan. The so-called "sea-lanes" run through the Indian Ocean and it is the vital interests of Japan that the South Asian region remains stable and friendly. It is also to be noted that South Asia is a gateway to Central Asia, which has been recognized as another big potential area for the natural resources."⁹¹ In this context, Japan's strategic policy in South Asia, is to checkmate China having security cooperation treaty with India.

South Asia is called a harbour of terrorism. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Japan became very active against the war on terrorism and

took some measures against terrorism. The basic policy of Japan's International counter-terrorism measures are:

(a) Multilateral cooperation

1. Conforming and strengthening political will, regarding importance of the fight against terrorism: In September 2006, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the UN global counter-terrorism strategy. The Group of Eight (G-8) nations meanwhile, have confirmed in sharing political will to prevent and eradicate terrorism. Japan is playing a vigorous role at the UN, the G-8 and other forums.

2. Improvements in international law and creation of global benchmarks.

(b) Fulfillment of United Nations Security Council resolutions against actual threats.

(c) Counter-terrorism capacity building assistance.

(d) Legal provisions support: Japan is assisting by seminars regarding accession to international counter-terrorism conventions and implementing domestic laws.

(e) Law enforcement personnel capacity building assistance.

(f) Provision and improvement of equipments.⁹²

About the war on terrorism, Japan's strategic policies in South Asia are: First to reinforce the international coalition against terrorism. Second to provide capacity-building assistance to the South Asian countries in order to enhance their counter-terrorism capabilities. Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi opined, "Japan will continue to work on the diplomatic and other fronts to reinforce the international coalition against terrorism, to bring peace and reconstruct Afghanistan, and to strengthen international legal frameworks against terrorism."⁹³

The Japanese Approach to Human Security

Human security is protection of individuals and groups of the society from hunger, fear and freedom to live in dignity. Different countries

have differing interpretations of human security given their divergent historical experiences and domestic politics. Japan as one of the largest donors of foreign aid in the world, adopts a broader and more development-oriented notion of human security. Tokyo cannot embrace a more muscular form of human security such as military intervention or peace enforcement even for humanitarian purposes against the consent of a target state because it runs counter to the norms of Japanese pacifism.⁹⁴ The form in which Tokyo defines human security gives it the opportunity to play a leading role not only in South Asia, but also in the United Nations. Japanese Scholar Akiyama noted, “The introduction of the concept of human security along with ‘global rule making’ are important functions that the United Nations should play in the post Cold War world, which also suggests Japan’s willingness to exercise active diplomacy in multilateral arenas such as the United Nations, by advocating the concept of human security. By doing so, the Japanese government seems to establish its leadership role in multilateral diplomacy especially in the areas of ‘global issues.’ As the second largest economy in the world, Japan made huge financial contributions to international organizations; however, the Japanese government sought to play an influential, leading role in the multilateral arena, in a political sense as well. Setting agendas and making rules, or contributing to the creation of an international order, may be quite symbolic for political leadership in international relations since they require political capacity to let others follow either by power or by skills.”⁹⁵

Tokyo gives the following summary of its intends to lead in the establishment of human security as a norm in the United Nations and international society: “Japan has advanced diplomacy with an emphasis on the perspective of “human security” and as part of its efforts, Japan has advocated the establishment of the Commission on Human Security(co-chaired by former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Sadaka Ogata and Professor Amertya Sen, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge) and supported the activities of the Commission. This Commission under took the task of developing the concept of “human security” and discussed the methods of realizing it with a comprehensive consideration of a wide range of issues including conflict, development, economic stability, health and sanitation and education. A report was then finalized,

summarizing approximately two years of discussion, and it was delivered to Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in February. The final report was submitted to United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Kofi Annan on May 2000. Japan is striving to ensure that “human security” should be established as an idea that the efforts based on the final report of the Commission are put into practice.⁹⁶

In the final report of the Commission on Human Security, the key recommendations included the “protection of people in violent conflict” and “establishing human security transition funds for post-conflict situations.”⁹⁷ In his summary of the commission on human security and peace building: “The transition between war and peace should be seriously addressed. Greater institutional and financial concentration should be placed on this transition phase, with the belief that better management of the transition will lead to a better peace that assures the security of people and communities. A framework and a funding strategy are necessary to rebuild conflict-torn states-one that focus on protection and empowerment of people.”⁹⁸

In December 1998, the first Japanese Prime Minister to articulate the concept of human security as a principle in Japanese foreign policy was Prime Minister Keizo at the “Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia’s Tomorrow” in Tokyo. Two weeks later in December, Obuchi further elaborated on the concept of human security in Hanio, and announced that a Trust Fund for Human Security would be established in the United Nations with 500 million yen (\$4.2 million) in contributions from Japan. Moreover, Tokyo revised its Official Development Assistance (ODA) Charter in 2003 to adopt the new perspective of “human security” in its policies including grant assistance for grassroots human security projects. In March 1999, Japan also established a Trust Fund for human security within the United Nations. The Total contribution has amounted to \$227 million. Its objective is to translate the concept of human security into concrete activities by supporting projects implemented by international organizations that address threats from the perspective of human security.⁹⁹

While human security, Japanese-style, undoubtedly emphasises developmental aid and assistance, it also means various ends

including the consolidation of peace or peace building. Japanese scholar Fukushima noted, “Cognizant of the criticism that Japanese discussions of human security are merely rhetorical, the nation has departed from its traditional approach to ODA and, under the new concept of consolidation of peace, has entered uncharted territory in providing assistance to conflict-ridden areas prior to the conclusion of a peace accord.”¹⁰⁰ The then Foreign Minister of Japan Kawaguchi Yoriko commented Japan to addressing ethnic and other types of violent conflict in Sri Lanka and Afghanistan and building peace from the perspective of human security.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that Japan and South Asia's relation is very old. There are anthropological, religious, trade, cultural and political relations between Japan and South Asia. So Professor K.Okakura stated, "Asia is one. The Himalayas divide, only to accentuate, two mighty civilizations, the Chinese with its communism of Confucius, and the Indian with its individualism of the Vedas. But not even the snowy barriers can interrupt for one moment that broad expanse of love for the ultimate and universal, which is the common thought- inheritance of every Asiatic race, enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world, and distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and Baltic, who love to dwell on the particular, and to search out the means, not the end, of life."¹⁰²

As a major power in the world ,Japan has some political,economic, diplomatic , strategic and security interests in South Asia.Post Cold War Japan's strategic and diplomatic policy in SouthAsia is to check mate China and establish terrorism and piracy free Indian Ocean.

Moreover, for removing human security threat in South Asia, Japan has been giving huge financial aids to South Asian countries,send special envoy to Sri Lanka to mediate both parties,urged India-Pakistan to solve the Kashmir problem by bilateral dialogue and according to UN resolution. So,it is clear that though during the Cold War period, Japan-South Asian relation was very low; in the post Cold War period, South Asia's strategic and diplomatic relation increased significantly. Now Japan is not only economic development partner of South Asia, but also, it is a strategic and security partner.

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Chapter V

Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) in South Asia

In this chapter, an attempt is made to evolve Japan's ODA in South Asia. This chapter consists of five sections: (a) Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA), (b) History of Japanese ODA, (c) Japan's ODA Policy for Peace, Stability and Security, (d) Japan's ODA in South Asia, (e) Conclusion.

Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Japan developed the foundation for the present economic development with its own efforts by receiving assistance from other countries after war reconstruction period. From this experience Japan enlarged Official Development Assistance (ODA) for over half a century to countries those were trying to remove hunger, poverty, and other various hardships. In 1989 Japan was set to become the largest donor of foreign aid within the OECD's (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) Development Assistance Committee (DAC).¹ The Foreign Ministry's 1959 Blue Book proclaimed that "the economic development of the less advanced countries is of extremely great significance for the achievement of world peace."² By promoting economic and social development within developing countries, ODA helps to attain stability for the whole international community.

Different types of economic assistance provided to developing countries, ODA is that made by governments with concessionary elements in terms of lower interest rate and longer repayment periods.³ Japanese ODA can be broadly divided into bilateral ODA and multilateral ODA. Bilateral ODA consists of bilateral grants and ODA loans, and bilateral grants are further divided into grant aid and technical cooperation. Multilateral ODA refers to contributions and subscriptions to international organizations.⁴ Grant Aid is a kind of financial assistance entailing no repayment obligation. Japan provides grant aid mainly to countries that have relatively low

income among developing countries and regions. Grant aid is primarily channeled to support the basic human needs (BHN) (Such as medical services, public health, water supply and rural and agricultural development and human resource development). Grant aid is implemented by the ministry of foreign affairs, with the assistance of the Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA).⁵ Technical co-operation is targeted toward developing the human resources for the economic progress of developing countries. JICA is also responsible for most of the technical co-operation.⁶ ODA loans provide the governments and governmental institutions of developing countries needed development funds. ODA loans are concessionary loans, offering long term, low-interest funds with a grants element of 25% or higher to developing countries to assist their development effort. Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) designed the priority areas for its ODA loan operations in the medium-term strategy for overseas economic cooperations. JBIC extends an ODA loan following an exchange of notes between the governments of Japan and recipient countries.⁷ ODA loans are primarily extended to the Asian region in three priority areas: (1) poverty reduction and economic and social development; (2) global issues; and (3) support for structural reform.⁸ JBIC also intensify efforts to address problems related to the environment, energy, food and others.⁹

Japan attaches growing importance to aid provided through international organizations. International organizations are broadly divided into international financial institutions that provided funds needed for development and United Nations agencies are engaged in economic, social and humanitarian activities,¹⁰ which are categorized as multilateral grants.¹¹

Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) History

The development of Japan's ODA can be characterized in four stages in the post world war II period.

First, Japan's involvement with economic assistance in the postwar period as a major recipient of foreign Aid.¹² After war the first and foremost mission of the Japanese government was to reconstruct.¹³ A total of \$5 billion was provided from the United States between 1946

and 1951. Japan also received thirty-four loan projects (worth about \$860 million) from the World Bank.¹⁴ The World Bank loans were mainly infrastructure projects such as the construction of the No. 4 Kurobe Dam for hydro-electric power generation, the Tokaido Shinkansen, and the Tomei/Hanshin expressways linking industrial regions in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Kobe. The last project financed by the World Bank was completed in 1966 and finished repayment as July 1990.¹⁵

Second, in 1954, Japan started paying war reparations to countries in Southeast Asia. According to the San Francisco peace treaty of 1951, Japan was required to pay war reparations to 12 countries in East Asia to compensate for damages inflicted on them during World War II. It was a condition to be met before Japan could rejoin the international community. Japan signed agreement on reparations and economic cooperation with Burma in November 1954, with Philippines in 1956, with Indonesia in 1958; quasi-reparations (grants in lieu of formal reparation commitments) with Laos and Cambodia in 1959.¹⁶ Reparations were provided as grants and loans throughout the 1970s. Japan completed her last payment of reparations to the Philippines in July 1976.

In 1954, Japan's first foreign aid to developing countries was provided in the form of multilateral aid through its participation in the Colombo Plan. The Colombo Plan started in 1950 in Sri Lanka to facilitate economic and technical cooperation among the member countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. During the early years, Japan's assistance was limited to mainly technical assistance.¹⁷ India was the first country to receive yen loans in 1958.¹⁸ Japan provided US\$100,000 for technical cooperation under the Colombo Plan in 1955. Since then it became an important element of Japanese ODA.¹⁹

In 1961, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) were established. Japan was the founding member of DAC. DAC introduced the concept of official development assistance (ODA). Japan became the member of OECD in 1964. The DAC has influenced Japanese ODA policy making and aspired to be a well-performing donor since its inception. Japan continued to enlarge its

ODA and in 1964, Japan's total ODA was US\$100 million .Japan became the second largest donor in OECD and DAC in 1974.²⁰

Third period of Japan's ODA history upon completion of reparations in 1976 when it began a period of systematic expansion .In 1978,Japan expanded its contribution to international society through a series of medium-term ODA plans with quantitative goals.²¹

Fourth, Japan became the largest bilateral ODA donor in the post Cold War period. Post Cold War period removed the ideological division between East and West.In this perspective industrialized countries have used their aid to spread democracy and market economy. This stream has opened large opportunities for attractive economic relations with many more countries.It also encouraged Japan to play an important political role in world affairs.²² Lalima Varma stated, "Since the early 1990s Japan's effort has been to accrue maximum political advantage from its ODA programme. Japan which attaches considerable importance to the UN is a strong contestant for the permanent seat in the Security Council. As a non-permanent member of Security Council, Japan feels to elevate its stature in the world community. In this regard its endeavor is to win the support of as many countries as possible. The third world constitutes two thirds of the membership of the UN General Assembly and a positive support from these countries can to some extent help Japan in fulfilling its ambitions."²³ A DAC report mentioned that in the twenty-first century, the international community needs to continue ODA," in order to reverse the growing marginalization of the poor and achieve progress toward realistic goals of human development."²⁴

Japan's ODA Policy for Peace,Stability and Security

In May1988,Prime Minister Takeshita declared an "international cooperation initiative," in which the increase of ODA, meet as a pillar of Japan's present and future foreign policy. Takeshita also mentioned economic cooperation as, "the most valued aspect of Japan's international contribution."²⁵ Japan does not have a ministry to oversee the ODA policy and its implementation. Japan's three ministries oversee the ODA policy and its implementation. The three

ministries, namely MITI/METI, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs(MOFA), and the Ministry of Finance (MOF) coordinate Japan's ODA. A coordination committee, advisory council for foreign economic cooperation, formed of cabinet members and prominent private sector leaders, is organized under the cabinet office to oversee Japan's foreign economic policy.²⁶ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs(MOFA), in general, emphasises the promotion of friendly relationships with other nations, and MOFA utilizes ODA as a tool to increase diplomatic ties with developing countries. Foreign aid policy within the ministry is coordinated by the Economic Cooperation Bureau, and MOFA's foreign economic policies are encouraged through the use of the Japan International Cooperation Agency(JICA).²⁷

There are two theoretical perspectives on Japan's foreign aid policy. The first is the international politics perspective. In this perspective, Japanese foreign policies and relations are defined by its position in the international structure. During the Cold War period, Japan was a junior partner to Washington and had a close relation with the country in the security, political and economic sectors. At that time, Japan had few opportunities to make a high-profile foreign aid policy. The structure of international politics has influenced Japan's foreign aid policy. External power United States was a decisive factor in making Japan foreign aid policy. Miyashita stated, "Japan, which was asymmetrically dependent on the United States for security and the import of Japanese products, had tuned its aid policy to US preferences in order to avoid a major discord in the bilateral relationship."²⁸

The second perspective of Japan's foreign aid is mercantilist in nature. In the 1960s and 70s, the primary aim of Japan's foreign aid was to explore its overseas markets for its products and securing the sources of its raw materials. In the 1980s, when Japanese firms intensified their international operations, the government began to utilize its foreign aid power, which closely coordinated with trade and foreign investment activities in the private sector.²⁹ Moreover, Japan's ODA supported projects, which were on 'request basis,' enabled Japanese businesses operating in the recipient countries to influence the specifications and allocation of the government's foreign aid.³⁰

In the post Cold War period Japan shifted her aid policy .Japan used her ODA for her strategic interest and Japan also gave ODA for the humanitarian sectors. Lalima Varma stated, “During the Cold War period, ODA was utilized mainly to serve Japan’s economic interests. However , political and strategic dimensions were added to ODA’s utility in the 1990s which , to some extent, were evident even earlier, but were not spelt out clearly,ODA is now seen as a means by which Japan can comply with the demands of the international community to play a role in world affairs which commensurate with its economic power. It is undoubtedly an important tool by which it can maintain and enhance its stature in the world.”³¹ Juichi Inada opined, “Japan provides aid, its intentions are: first, to cooperate in countries’ economic development as a means of strengthening bilateral relations with them; second, to foster international economic stability and thereby promote Japan’s own economic well-being; third, to fulfill a part of its international responsibilities by indirectly contributing to the political stability of the countries receiving aid.”³² In 1981 Japanese foreign ministry expresses Japan’s aid philosophy, describing ODA spending as “the cost of building an international order so as to achieve comprehensive security for Japan.”³³

Japan’s aid is awakened by humanitarian consideration and awareness of “interdependence” among nations. Japan’s aid is conducted on the “request” principle(yosei shugi) which pre-requisites that Japan give economic assistance only when a request is made from a foreign country. Japan can use its own criteria to select various countries request. ³⁴ In 1991, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu announced that, “Japan will pay full attention in the implementation of ODA to the following points of the recipient countries : (1)trends in military expenditure;(2)trends in the development production, etc., of weapons of mass destruction such as atomic weapons and missiles;(3)trends in the export and import of weapons; and(4)efforts for promoting democratization, the introduction of a market-oriented economy, and the security basic human rights and freedom.”³⁵ On 30,1992, the Japanese government officially formulated an “Official Development Assistance Charter”- which reconfirms Kaifu’s guidelines.³⁶In 1992,ODA charter setting the following criteria that would guide it in the implementation of its economic aid policy are as follows:

“(1)Environmental conservation and development should be pursued in tandem.

(2)Any use of ODA for military purposes or for aggravation of international conflicts be avoided.

(3)Full attention should be paid to trends in recipient countries’ military expenditures, their development, and production of missiles and weapons of mass destruction, their export and import of arms, etc., so as to maintained and strengthen international peace and stability, and from the viewpoint that developing countries should place appropriate priorities on the allocation of their resources for their own economic and social development.

(4)Full attention should be paid to efforts in promoting democratization and introduction of a market-oriented economy, and to the situation regarding the securing of basic human rights and freedom in the recipient country.”³⁷

The principles set forth in Japan’s ODA charter show clearly that ODA cannot be provided without this linkage to foreign policy. It is entirely natural that areas of conflict may eventually arise between national interest and development when ODA is provided.³⁸ The year 2003 marked a significant turning point for Japan’s Official Development Assistance(ODA) given that the ODA charter, the basic document on Japan’s ODA policy, was revised for the first time in 11 years at a cabinet meeting in August 2003. The revision of the ODA charter is attributed to the dramatic changes that had occurred in the domestic and international situation surrounding ODA since the previous ODA charter was adopted by a cabinet decision in June 1992. Since 2002, the Foreign Ministry of Japan has dynamically implemented concrete measures for ODA reform.

Basic principle for the review ODA charter:

a. Philosophy: Objectives, policies and priorities of Japanese ODA charter.

1.Objectives:Contribute to the peace and development of the international community, and thereby to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity.

2.Basic policies: i. Supporting self-help efforts of developing countries ii.Perspective of "human security". iii. Assurance of fairness(environmental and social impact, perspective of gender equality ,etc.).iv.Utilization of Japan's experience and expertise.v. Partnership and collaboration with the international community.

3.Priority issues:i.Poverty reduction,ii.Sustainable growth,iii. Addressing global issues, vi.Peace building.

4.Priority regions: Asia, which can have a major impact on Japan's stability and prosperity for Japan. However, Japan will strategically prioritize, fully taking into account the diversity of the Asian countries, socioeconomic assistance needs.

b. Principle of ODA implementation:i. Pursue in tandem environmental conservation and development .ii.Avoid any use of ODA for military purposes or aggravation of international conflicts. iii. Pay adequate attention to trends in military expenditures and WMD. iv. Pay adequate attention to effects for democratization, the introduction of a market –oriented economy, and the situation regarding the protection of basic human rights and freedoms.³⁹

Japan's ODA in South Asia

South Asia is home of one-fifth of the world's population ,many of whom live in poverty.Moreover to its poverty and population problems, South Asia is also plagued by low rates of primary school enrollment, inadequate health care, and infectious diseases. Director Mr.Ikuro Sato, Development Assistance Department, Japan Bank for International cooperation mentioned, "Japan's ODA objectives of the South Asian region are mainly devoted to attain higher economic growth and reduce poverty. In the light of these objectives,ODA provides fund to projects in such areas as transport, energy, water supply, sewerage and rural development. Recently Yen grant provides funds to the disaster –affected countries in the region the reconstruction work and recovery from natural disaster."⁴⁰In South

Asian countries Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India ,Pakistan, Nepal are the main recipients of Japanese aid.

After 1979-80 for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and internal conflict of Sri Lanka, India , Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh,Japanese interest in South Asian countries covered not only commercial sector but also political as well as humanitarian sectors.⁴¹ After the establishment of SAARC forum, Japanese assistance in South Asian region began to take a new shape.⁴² Besides, in 1991 as India started to liberalise and thereby globalize her economy, Japanese assistance also increased for India .⁴³ In 1989 India had received only\$ 257.23 million dollar worth of Japanese assistance which stood up to\$579.26 million for 1996.Equally,Japan's ODA for Pakistan,increased and stood at \$262.20 million.⁴⁴ South Asia has become the focus of major concern in the international community, in part because of the nuclear nonproliferation issue. In May 1998, after India –Pakistan nuclear tests, the Japanese Government had frozen Yen loans for the new projects. Grants aid for new projects was also frozen except emergency aid.⁴⁵ Yet after October 2001, Japan's economic measures against India and Pakistan was discontinued.⁴⁶ In the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, moreover, there has been considerable emphasis on the strategic importance in the “fight against terrorism .”⁴⁷

Japan started ODA to India in 1958 in the form of yen loan. This was the Japan's first case of yen loan.⁴⁸ Since then , Japan has been extending ODA to India mainly in the yen loans(approximately 95% of Japan's ODA to India is yen loans)⁴⁹ By the ODA Japan wants to improve political and economic relationship with India, the largest democratic country in the world. Japan also believes that steady development of India is a key to maintaining stability in South Asia and improving the economic condition of the poor, who constitute 30% of India's population ,as well as important to achieving Millennium Development Goals.⁵⁰

Table -6
Japan's ODA disbursements to India
(Net disbursements, \$ million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Total
1999	596.97	14.57	22.48	634.02
2000	343.31	3.47	21.38	368.16
2001	505.52	5.32	18.03	528.87
2002	474.30	3.18	16.15	493.64
2003	304.66	2.31	18.82	325.79
2004	-109.37	7.73	19.59	-82.05
2005	40.27	14.75	17.45	71.46
2006	-7.63	17.60	19.61	29.58
Total	7,807.31	557.27	398.61	8,763.16

Source:OECD/DAC. MOFA:Japan's ODA Data by Country- South Asia.http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/02ap_sa01.html [Accessed ,14/6/2009]

Tale -6 shows that during 1999 to 2006 Japan's ODA disbursement to India. During the period total Japan's ODA disbursements was \$ 8,763.16 million US dollar to India. Table -6 also shows that in 1999 Japanese loan, grant and technical cooperation of ODA disbursement was highest \$634.02 million US dollar but after then it decreased. In 2006, Japanese loan, grant and technical cooperation of ODA disbursement was only \$29.58 million US dollar to India.

Focus Areas of Japan's ODA to India have been follows;

- 1.Development of economic infrastructure, mainly in the area of power and transportation.
- 2.Poverty reduction through agricultural, rural development, and so on.
- 3.Environment protection, through forestation and improvement of quality of water.
- 4.Assisting to improve health and medical care.⁵¹

Japan started ODA to Pakistan in 1954 with providing technical training in line with Colombo Plan, and Japan first yen loan was extended in 1961.⁵²Main goal of Japan's ODA to contribute to consolidating peace and in the entire Asia as well as the region by

assisting steady development of Pakistan, which is playing a crucial role as a front-line state in the “fight against terrorism.”⁵³ Three priority goals of Japan’s country assistance program for Pakistan formulated in February 2005.(i.)Securing human security and development(mainly in the area of education and health).(ii)Development of a sound market economy(agriculture sector diversification of industries , economic infrastructure).(iii)Achievement of balanced regional socio-economic development.⁵⁴

Table-7
Japan’s ODA disbursements to Pakistan
(Net disbursements,\$ million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Total
1999	135.07	22.85	11.82	169.74
2000	265.60	1.36	13.40	280.36
2001	159.55	40.03	11.83	211.41
2002	243.40	44.55	13.17	301.12
2003	191.75	54.76	19.70	266.22
2004	75.60	41.45	17.06	134.11
2005	24.02	31.11	18.64	73.78
2006	110.42	95.47	19.14	225.03
Total	3,746.89	1,366.33	349.11	5,462.33

Source:OECD/DAC.MOFA:Japan’s ODA Data by Country-Southwest Asia.

http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html

[Accessed, 14/6/2009]

Table -7 shows that during 1999 to 2006 Japan’s ODA disbursement to Pakistan.During the period Japan’s total ODA disbursement, (loan ,grant and technical cooperation)was \$5,462.33 million US dollar to Pakistan.Table-7also shows that after 1999 Japan’s ODA disbursement to Pakistan not decreased, it increased except the years of 2004 and 2005.

Bangladesh was one of the top beneficiaries of Japanese ODA program of the world. In 1989, Bangladesh was the fifth largest bilateral ODA recipient country of Japan in terms of total cumulative total of commitment Bangladesh was the ninth largest recipient

country of the ODA loans in Asia.⁵⁵ Japan is providing assistance to Bangladesh taking into account the following factors:

- (1) Bangladesh maintains traditional friendly relations with Japan.
- (2) Bangladesh has the largest population (about 120 million) of the least developed countries (LDCs) and has a large demand of aid.
- (3) Bangladesh is often hit by floods, cyclones and other natural disasters.

(4) Bangladesh has been moving ahead with structural adjustments, including democratization and economic liberalization since 1991.⁵⁶

The government of Japan sets three goals of Japan's ODA for promoting poverty reduction in Bangladesh. These are:

- 1) Social Development with Human Security: Education, Health, Environment, Disaster Management.
- 2) Economic growth: Agriculture/Rural Development, Power, Transportation, Private sector Development.
- 3) Governance: Changing mind-set for challenges in 21st century. Capacity development on issues such as public administration, police reform, local government through training program. General training program. Japanese grant aid for human resources development scholarship.⁵⁷

Table-8
Japan's ODA disbursements to Bangladesh
(Net disbursements, \$ million)

Year	Loan	Grant	Technical cooperation	Total
1999	-102.81	201.43	25.04	123.66
2000	-40.90	201.96	40.55	201.62
2001	-76.65	169.22	33.06	125.64
2002	-96.03	185.23	33.52	122.72
2003	-12.38	94.63	31.01	115.27
2004	-265.35	271.51	32.07	38.23
2005	-75.74	44.43	30.30	-1.01
2006	-278.88	252.27	19.29	-7.31
Total	814.57	3,862.56	612.35	5,287.49

Source: OECD/DAC.MOFA: Japan's ODA Data by Country-Southwest Asia.

http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html

[Accessed, 14/6/2009]

Table -8 shows that during 1999 to 2006 Japan's ODA disbursements to Bangladesh. During that time Japan's ODA loan, grant and technical cooperation disbursements was \$ 5,287.49 million US dollar to Bangladesh. Table-8 also shows that after 2000 Japan's ODA disbursements to Bangladesh tremendously decreased and in 2006 it was only \$-7.31 million US dollar.

Japan established diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka in 1952.⁵⁸ Japan's ODA to Sri Lanka for its socio-economic development has contributed to the consolidation of democracy and political stability in the entire South Asian region as well as securing the sea lane.⁵⁹ Japan worked out its assistance plan to Sri Lanka in April 2004. Priority areas of Japan's ODA to Sri Lanka are: (1) Establishment of peace and assistance for rehabilitation, and "humanitarian and restorative assistance," "country building" assistance. (2) Assistance in accordance with the mid-and long-term development vision assistance for improvement of economic infrastructure and institutional reform, assistance for development of ability for acquisition of foreign-currency-measures for poverty, etc.⁶⁰

Table-9
Japan's ODA disbursements to Sri Lanka
(Net disbursements, \$ million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Total
1999	71.45	34.10	30.48	136.03
2000	94.19	34.23	35.26	163.68
2001	133.46	19.61	31.65	184.72
2002	65.21	24.79	28.93	118.94
2003	125.76	19.46	27.03	172.26
2004	131.77	25.31	22.45	179.53
2005	188.19	97.38	27.33	312.91
2006	161.06	11.30	30.36	202.73
Total	2,476.24	1,243.74	574.37	4,294.36

Source: OECD/DAC. MOFA: Japan's ODA Data by Country-Southwest

Asia. http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html
[Accessed, 14/6/2009]

Table-9 shows that during 1999 to 2006 Japan's total ODA disbursements to Sri Lanka. During that time Japan's total ODA loan, grant and technical cooperation was \$ 4,294.36 million US dollar. Table-9 also shows that after 1999 Japan's ODA disbursements to Sri Lanka increased ,except the year of 2002.

Japan's ODA to Bhutan started in 1964 before the establishment of Japan –Bhutan diplomatic relations.⁶¹Japan's ODA has been contributing to improvement of agricultural productivity and capacity building in Japan. Japan supports Bhutan's efforts towards the political reform and socio- economic development. Japan provides its ODA for the realization of poverty alleviation as one of the priority areas to be pursued in Bhutan under the national development plan which aims the realization of the Gross National Happiness.⁶² Priorities in Japan ODA's to Bhutan are: Rural and Agriculture development, Infrastructure development(roads, bridges, local electrification, communication),social development(education, health etc),good governance.⁶³

Table-10
Japan's ODA disbursements to Bhutan
(Netdisbursements,\$
million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical cooperation	Total
1999	-	11.23	6.58	17.81
2000	-	0.86	6.32	7.18
2001	-	7.42	4.36	11.78
2002	-0.16	10.08	5.41	15.33
2003	-	9.01	7.20	16.21
2004	-	0.55	9.95	10.51
2005	-	8.08	8.72	16.80
2006	-	12.64	8.21	20.85
Total	-0.16	192.79	98.90	291.57

Source: OECD/DAC. MOFA: Japan's ODA Data by Country-Southwest

Asia.http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html

[Accessed,14/6/2009]

Table -10shows that during 1999 to 2006 Japan's ODA disbursements to Bhutan .During that time Japan's total ODA loan, grant and technical cooperation disbursements was \$291.57 million

US dollar. Table-10 also shows that after 1999 Japan's ODA disbursements to Bhutan decreased except the year of 2006. Besides, the table-10 indicated that Japan's ODA grants and technical cooperation disbursements to Bhutan was very limited. Nepal – Japan economic cooperation started, after the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1956.⁶⁴ Japan's first aid to Nepal was technical. Japanese ODA to Nepal has been directed towards agriculture, power generation and distribution, health transportation, communication, human resource development, environmental preservation on so forth.⁶⁵

Table-11
Japan's ODA disbursements to Nepal
(Net disbursements, \$ million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Total
1999	1.08	41.63	22.88	65.59
2000	27.74	46.69	25.50	99.93
2001	15.10	49.72	19.57	84.39
2002	3.43	79.87	21.01	97.45
2003	3.82	38.48	18.31	60.61
2004	0.30	36.86	19.27	56.43
2005	-30.15	75.53	18.00	63.38
2006	-31.04	58.50	14.26	41.72
Total	191.33	1,301.04	484.07	1,976.46

Source: OECD/DAC.MOFA: Japan's ODA Data by Country-Southwest Asia. http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/02ap_sa01.html [Accessed, 14/6/2009]

Table-11 shows that during 1999 to 2006 Japan's ODA disbursements to Nepal. During the period Japan's total ODA loan, grant, and technical cooperation disbursements to Nepal was \$1,976.46 million US dollar. Table-11, also shows that after 2002 Japan's ODA disbursements to Nepal decreased.

After establishment of diplomatic relations with Maldives in November 1967,⁶⁶ Japan provided ODA to Maldives. Japan mainly provided ODA in Maldives on the agriculture, human security, power supply, good governance, democratization, human resource

development and infrastructure development sector. Table-12 shows Japan's ODA Disbursements from 1999 to 2006 to Maldives .

Table-12
Japan's ODA disbursements to Maldives
(Net disbursements, \$ million)

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Total
1999	-	15.44	3.78	19.22
2000	-	5.56	2.46	8.02
2001	-	7.67	1.76	9.43
2002	-	7.44	1.68	9.12
2003	-	4.14	2.09	6.24
2004	-	3.08	2.02	5.10
2005	-	21.13	3.10	24.23
2006	-	1.73	3.08	4.81
Total	0.27	193.41	49.09	242.19

Source:OECD/DAC.MOFA:Japan's ODA Data by Country-Southwest

Asia..http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html
[Accessed,14/6/2009]

Table-12 shows during 1999 to 2006 Japan's total ODA loan, grant, and technical cooperation disbursement to Maldives, it was \$242.19 million US dollar. Table-12 also shows that after 1999 Japan's ODA disbursements in Maldives decreased except the year of 2004, during the year Japan's ODA disbursement in Maldives increased. More over Table -12 shows during 1999 to 2006 Japan's ODA disbursements was only grant aid and technical cooperation aid not loan aid.

If we, comparatively analyses the table -6,7,8,9,10,11,12,we see during 1999 to 2006 Japan's ODA disbursements to the most South Asian countries decreased except Pakistan and Sri Lanka. During the period, Japan's ODA disbursements increased only Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that Japan is one of the largest ODA donor of South Asian countries. After the war Japan started to disburse ODA to South Asian countries. The main objectives of the Japan's ODA in SouthAsian countries are to improve human security, develop infrastructure, strengthening democracy, disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, remove terrorism and establish peace , stability and security in South Asia. Though during the Cold War period Japan used her ODA only for mercantile interest, in early eighties, it took a new dimension in South Asia. In the wake of Soviet invention in Afghanistan, Japan started to use her ODA for strategic interest in South Asia. Japan day by day increase her ODA especially in Pakistan and Sri Lanka for removing terrorism, improvement of displaced people, human security and establish peace and stability in South Asia. In a word, now Japan's ODA becomes an essential tool for the establishment of human security, peace, stability and security in a complex security threat region South Asia.

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Chapter VI

Japan's Role in Traditional Security in South Asia

After Cold War, Japan became a major power in the world. Now Japan not only plays an important role in the economic development of South Asia, but also she plays a significant role in the traditional security in this region. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to discuss Japan's role in traditional security in South Asia. This chapter consists of three sections:(a)To discuss how Japan plays role in traditional security in South Asia,(b)To discuss Japan's role in traditional security in South Asia, and(c)Conclusion.

How Japan Plays Traditional Security Role in South Asia

Japan's South Asia policy is now focusing not only on the issues of economic development but also on the issues of politico –strategic cooperation. Japan would like to play a more active role in South Asia in the sphere of peace, security and stability. Japanese leaders show their interest to obtain a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Japan has been increasing her Official Development Assistance (ODA) for peace and stability in the world. Japan is the only Asian country, who is the member of the Group of eight Countries (G-8), she is in a position to offer a bridge between developed and developing countries. Japan has a great expectation to do a meaningful contribution of peace and security in South Asia and the World. Takako Hirose mentioned, "Many in Japan believe that their country should be assigned a special role in the global nuclear disarmament because of Japan's traumatic exposure to atomic bombing in 1945."¹ Shunji Kobayashi stated, "After Cold War Japan's role in the emerging situation. The imminent task ahead for the international community is twofold. Firstly, there must be established a new international political order that ensures the maintenance of peace and stability. Secondly, the international trade has to be reorganized and strengthened, so as to be able to effectively with stand and the pressure of protectionism and economic nationalism."² Japan Diplomatic Blue Book, 1991 mentioned, "Partly in response to growing international pressure and

partly in pursuance of its own national interest, Japan has been expanding its own national interest, Japan has been expanding its international role through its ‘international cooperation initiative; the main contents of which include expansion of ODA , promotion of cultural exchange and cooperation for peace.’³ Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe opined, “The times demanded that Japan shift to proactive diplomacy based on new thinking.”⁴

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, about Japan’s active peace and security role in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh .Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table-13 in below.

Table -13 shows that 8% respondents believe that Japan plays an active peace and security role in South Asia,25% respondents believe to some extent Japan plays an active role, 59% respondents believe Japan’s security role is not much and 8% respondents believe Japan has no security role in South Asia.

Table-13

Does Japan play an active peace and security role in South Asia?

Japan plays an active peace and security role in South Asia	In percent
Plays active	8%
To some extent	25%
Not much	59%
Not at all	8%
No idea	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009.

Japan plays traditional security role in South Asia in following ways:

First, Japan plays traditional security role in South Asia through dialogue. Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari in Dhaka in 1987 clarified Japan’s intention to contribute to the relaxation of

tensions and peaceful settlement of conflicts, by promoting dialogue. He said, “active contributions, cooperating with other peace-loving nations of Asia, to the relaxation of tensions and peaceful settlement of conflicts, by promoting dialogue.”⁵ During the visit of the South Asian countries, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu opined, “I would like to pronounce clearly Japan’s intent to continue its vigorous support for the political stability and economic development of the South Asian countries as well as the rest of the world by engaging in dialogue and cooperation.”⁶

Second, Japan plays traditional security role in South Asia by security cooperation agreement with India. After security cooperation agreement with Japan, Indian Prime Minister Dr. Monmohon Sing told, “On the strength of our strong bilateral partnership, we stand today as to major powers ready to play a commensurate global role.”⁷ He also mentioned, “India believes that a strong and dynamic Japan is a powerful factor of peace and stability in Asia and the world at large.”⁸ The Japan-India joint declaration issued on the occasion of Prime Minister Vajpayee’s visit to Japan in December 2001, urged both countries to cooperate together for taking various issues such as terrorism, arms control, and nuclear non-proliferation from regional and global perspectives.⁹

Third, Japan uses her aid to maintain peace and stability in the South Asia being committed to strengthen its assistance to “those areas that are important to maintenance of peace and stability of the world.”¹⁰ Japan uses her aid as a tool to maintain peace and stability in South Asia.

Fourth, Japan plays an active security role in South Asia to send Maritime Self Defence Forces in the Indian Ocean. Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan Mr. Masahiko Koumura mentioned, “Japan should never drop out from the fight against terrorism, we passed a new law on January 11th 2008, based on which Japan’s Maritime Self Defence Forces are about to resume their replenishment activities at sea in the Indian Ocean.”¹¹

Fifth, maintaining balancing role against China, Japan plays an important security role in South Asia.

Last, supporting Japan's allies peace and security activities in South Asia, Japan plays security role in South Asia.

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, how Japan plays peace and security role in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Government organizations officials and Political leaders. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table -14.

Table-14

How does Japan play a peace and security role in South Asia?

How Japan plays a peace and security role in South Asia.	In percent
In peace keeping	7.50%
Use of aid as a tool	47.50%
By supporting counter terrorism	7.50 %
Doing security treaty with India and holding security dialogue with Pakistan	0%
Sending Maritime Self-Defense Forces to Indian Ocean for maintaining security in the Indian Ocean with Indian blue naval force and US naval force.	7.50%
Balancing against to the rise of China	15%
Supporting Japanese allies peace and security activities in South Asia.	15%
Develop strategic partnership with India	0%
Others	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table-14 shows that 47.50% respondents believe Japan plays peace and security role in South Asia by using aid as a tool ,15% respondents believe by balancing against the rise of China,15%

respondents believe supporting Japanese allies peace and security activities in South Asia, 7.50% respondents believe by peacekeeping, 7.50% respondents believe by supporting counter terrorism and 7.50% respondents believe sending Maritime Self-Defense Forces to Indian Ocean, Japan plays security role in South Asia.

Japan's Role in Traditional Security in South Asia

After the defeat in the second world war, Japan came under the security umbrella of U.S.A. with signing of US-Japan security treaty in 1951. Japan had no option to develop independent diplomatic relations with other countries. Post Cold War global political changes gave Japan an impetus to transform its old-fashioned diplomatic style into a more independent and progressive way to conduct foreign policy. In 1991, the Vice Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) Takakazu Kuriyama mentioned, "Japan must take an active role in the reconstruction of the world."¹² In the new security environment in the world, Japan gradually entered into a new security role in South Asia. Shunji Kobayashi stated, "under the new world order, Japan's aim is to make meaningful contribution to establish peace and security and to ensure freedom and human right. First, let us discuss the efforts within the framework of the United Nations. The significance of the role that may be played by the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security will continue to increase in decades to come. The second area in which Japan is attempting to play a meaningful role is arms control and disarmament. The third item on Japan's agenda for action is peace and stability in the Asia and the Pacific region, although the order does not really mean any order of priority."¹³ Japan's traditional security role in South Asia are following:

(a) Japan's Role in Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament in South Asia

As the only country ever have experienced nuclear devastation, Japan firmly maintains the "Three non-nuclear principles" of not processing nuclear weapons, not producing nuclear weapons and not permitting their introduction into Japan. Japan places great importance on the nuclear disarmament and Nonproliferation of Nuclear weapons Treaty(NPT).On its own initiative, Japan has

been submitting draft resolutions on elimination of nuclear weapons to the UN General Assembly since 1994, and these have been adopted with an overwhelming majority. Nuclearisation is a common threat of the South Asian countries. South Asia's two nuclearized countries Pakistan and India has always created tension in this sub-continent after their independence. For their nuclear arms race, Japan found South Asian security situation simply exclusive. Hence, Japan wanted to initiate moves to stop a further drift.

Japan ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1976.¹⁴ Japan reacted clearly when India tested its first nuclear device in 1974. Japanese Diet passed an unanimous resolution condemning the Indian test.¹⁵ Later, Japan urged India to join the NPT, and made at the 1975 review conference, a pointed reference to India's non-participation in the treaty.¹⁶ Before May 1998, Japan took some steps to prevent nuclear race in the South Asian region.

Japan used her aid as a tool to proliferation of nuclear arms race in South Asia. According to 1992, ODA charter, the flow of aid would be determined by the use of certain criteria like (a) trends in military expenditures by the recipient countries, (b) trends in arms exports, and proliferation of nuclear weapons; (c) trends in the promotion of free economy, and (d) trends in human rights and environmental promotion.¹⁷ During India's Foreign Minister Madhavsingh Solanki visit to Japan, Japan government stated, "its economic aid to India would from then on be linked to India's adherence to the NPT."¹⁸ The then Indian Foreign Minister Madhavsingh Solanki replied, "India was not in a position to sign the NPT due to the complex situation arising out of China-Pakistan nuclear collusion."¹⁹ In June 1992 when Indian Prime Minister Narashimha Rao visited Tokyo, Japan raised the same nuclear issue again.²⁰ In April 1993, at the vice-ministerial consultation meeting held in New Delhi, Japan also raised the subject.²¹ In 1992, an NBC television interviewed former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, who claimed that Islamabad was capable of putting together seven nuclear devices within hours.²²

Japan used its aid punitively against Pakistan nuclear program. During Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit to Tokyo in 1992, Japan postponed signing a yen-loan agreement.²³ Besides,

Japan worked in cooperation with her ally US and took the initiative of talking to both countries India and Pakistan. In February 1993, a high-level official delegation under the leadership of Donowaki Mitsuru visited both Islamabad and New Delhi. In 1994 and 1995 another such two meetings were held. But India and Pakistan did not change their nuclear positions.²⁴ Japan extended full support to the US during 1995-96, when Clinton administration revived the US interest in working out a comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) as part of its programme to promote disarmament, for that if India and Pakistan could sign the treaty.²⁵ Moreover, the CTBT became a subject of discussion between Japan and India at various official levels.²⁶ In July 1996, at the meeting of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Japanese Foreign Minister Ikeda Yukihiko, discussed the issue with Indian Foreign Minister Mr. I. K. Gujral and wanted New Delhi to sign the CTBT.²⁷ Japanese Foreign Minister Mr. Ikeda Yukihiko visited India and Pakistan in July 1997, and urged India and Pakistan to sign the CTBT to remove nuclear threat free South Asia.²⁸

On May 11, 1998, India undertook her three nuclear tests and formally declared herself as a nuclear state, and Pakistan matched it by testing nuclear devices on May 28 and 30, 1998. About these tests and counter tests Professor Akmal Hussain commented, "The reaction of Japanese government should be seen from two perspectives. Having a public opinion staunchly against nuclear weapons and the country's stated position on nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear weapons, the tests conducted in South Asia would lead to the expected response from Japan what actually she did. Secondly, immediately following these tests, there was a fear that domestic concern about Japan's security would grow because having armed with nuclear weapon now India and Pakistan might go for a full-fledged military confrontation which would effect China's nuclear policy and North Korea's nuclear development programme."²⁹ After India-Pakistan's nuclear tests in May 1998, Japan strongly reacted and took measures against India and Pakistan. Japanese Diet unanimously adopted resolutions condemning India over her nuclear tests.³⁰ On May 11, 1998, after India's first Nuclear Tests, Japanese chief cabinet secretary Muraoka released a statement. The statement said, "The international community including Japan has repeatedly urged India to exercise

restraint. Therefore, it is highly regrettable that India should have conducted nuclear tests against the global stream to ban nuclear tests.”³¹ In Japan, Siddharth Sing, India’s ambassador to Japan, was summoned to parliament where Japanese Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi told him the tests, could harm the stability of South Asia.³² Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto told parliament about India’s second round of tests which “forced us to decide to take additional steps.”³³

In the wake of the Indian nuclear testing, Japan repeatedly demanded Pakistan to exercise its utmost restraint by sending a special envoy Noboro Seiichiro to Islamabad with a letter of Prime Minister Hashimoto, Prime Minister also made a direct phone call to Prime Minister Sharif, urging Pakistan to exercise restraint.³⁴ K.V. Kesavan mentioned, “There were reports that Japan would be inclined to even increase its financial assistance to Pakistan if it did not conduct tests.”³⁵ But Japan failed to convince Pakistani leaders. After, May 28, 1998 Pakistan nuclear testing Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto called, “If it is true, we could never forgive Pakistan’s action.”³⁶ Japan adopted measures against Pakistan like India. Japan’s chief cabinet secretary stated, “It is extremely regrettable that Pakistan has conducted its nuclear testing in the defiance of the earnest demands: from the international community including Japan.”³⁷ He also stated, “Japan would not tolerate the Pakistani nuclear testing, because it would exacerbate the crisis of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation which was already been affected by the Indian nuclear tests, and greatly harm the stability of the region.”³⁸ At the same time, Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Keizo Obuchi, summoned Miss. D.S. Kureshi, charged d Affairs of Pakistan to Japan, strongly protested the testing, and urged Pakistan to immediately cease nuclear testing and development of nuclear weapons.³⁹ After India-Pakistan nuclear testing, Japan took following measures against them :

1) Using Aid as a Tool

According to the provisions Japan’s ODA charter, Japan immediately suspended all grant aid and subsequently no new yen loans to both countries India and Pakistan was granted and hinted its intention to disapprove loan programmes to India and Pakistan by international financial institutions.⁴⁰ After India’s second nuclear

test Japan's chief cabinet secretary announced, "in light of the principle of the ODA charter, the government has now decided to take the following additional measures: (i) yen-loan for new projects to India will be frozen; (2) the government will cautiously examine the loans extended to India by international financial institutions."⁴¹ After nuclear test in Pakistan, Japan's chief cabinet secretary also announced, "the government has decided to take the following measures in view of the principle of the ODA charter: (i) grant aid for new projects will be frozen, except emergency and humanitarian aid and grant assistance for grassroots projects; (ii) yen-loan to Pakistan for new projects will be frozen; (iii) The government will cautiously examine the loan programs to Pakistan by international financial institutions."⁴² The economic costs to India and particularly Pakistan were not trivial. In 1997, Tokyo offered India 132.7 billion yen loans (US \$1.11 billion) and grants 3.5 billion yen (US\$29.4 million). In 1998, 11.5 billion yen loans (US\$ 96 million) and grants 398 million yen (US\$3.3 million). Likewise, in 1997 Japan offered to Pakistan 32 billion yen loans (US\$ 270 million) and grants was 5.7 billion yen (US\$47.6 million) and in 1998, Japan offered to Pakistan grants was 566 million yen (US\$4.7 million).⁴³

Japan, as the largest provider of bilateral assistance to both countries, could have turned the economic screws harder by cancelling aid in the pipeline. Japan was trying to coordinate with other countries.

2) International Initiatives Related to Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Against India and Pakistan

After May 1998, India –Pakistan nuclear tests, Japan played a leading role in international initiatives related to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation against India and Pakistan. Japan consulted her ally US and agreed that India and Pakistan should not be recognized as nuclear countries or gain benefit from their nuclear power status. They also agreed to call on other countries to take a strong action against the two countries including introduction of economic sanctions.⁴⁴ Japan sent an urgent message asking the foreign ministers of the five permanent UN security council member at the Geneva conference on disarmament in June 1998, not to recognize India and Pakistan as nuclear power and urged them to

include Japan's views on the subject in their projected statement.⁴⁵ The Geneva P-5 conference called upon both India and Pakistan to stop conducting any more tests and to take steps to immediately adhere to the NPT and the CTBT.⁴⁶ In New York, as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, Japan called for an emergency meeting following the final tests on May 30, 1998. Hisashi Owada, Japanese ambassador of the United Nations, wrote and introduced a co-sponsored resolution (with Sweden, Costa Rica and Slovenia) condemning the tests and outlining demands on India and Pakistan. The United Nations Security Council adopted this resolution unanimously.⁴⁷

Parallel to these efforts, Japan used another forums like G-8 to undertake more concerted actions. To discuss further their ideas on the India-Pakistan nuclear issue, on June 12, 1998, an emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the G-8 countries was convened at London.⁴⁸ At G-8 foreign ministers conference in London, Tokyo gained approval for its proposed Task Force on nuclear tests by India and Pakistan.⁴⁹ The Task Force comprising senior officials from the G-8 countries, European Union, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China and Ukraine.⁵⁰ About the aims of the Task Force, Japan's Foreign Ministry stated, "The Task Force was to consider the broad question of nuclear issues as well as the question of reducing tensions between India and Pakistan."⁵¹ Another initiative was the emergency action forum on nuclear issues as well as the question of reducing tensions between India and Pakistan, disarmament and non-proliferation (Later renamed as the Tokyo Forum).⁵² The Forum has been managed by Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). The G-8 also decided through international financial institutions to block new international loans to the two countries India and Pakistan.⁵³ In July 1999, Tokyo Forum issued its final report.⁵⁴

Japan also resubmitted its annual draft resolution on nuclear disarmament to achieve the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons.⁵⁵ Japan helped the 2000 NPT review conference to adopt a final document for the total elimination of nuclear arsenals.⁵⁶ Japan sponsored a resolution, "A path to the total elimination of nuclear weapons" at the UN General Assembly in November 2000.⁵⁷ Moreover, Japan played a leading role in ARF to discuss the India Pakistan nuclear tests on July 27, 1998. In a weekend statement of the

ASEAN Regional Forum(ARF) stated, “the group deplored the series of nuclear tests conducted recently in South Asia that exacerbated tension in the region and raised the specter of a nuclear arms race.”⁵⁸

3)Direct Talks with India and Pakistan

After India-Pakistan nuclear tests,Japan involved herself in several number of high level direct talks with India and Pakistan.During these talks Japan called India and Pakistan to sign the CTBT and to undertake other non-proliferation measures.⁵⁹Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee held a meeting in New Delhi on August 23, 2000.During the meeting Japanese Prime Minister Y.Mori reaffirmed Japan’s commitment to working with India toward the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons and cooperation with India to ensure that comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty(CTBT) will go into force as soon as possible.⁶⁰ On August 21, 2000,when Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori visited Pakistan,he asked Pakistan chief executive Pervaz Musharraf for Pakistan’s understanding regarding Japan’s request for efforts by Pakistan on the nuclear non proliferation issue, bearing in mind the fact that Japan was the only country to have suffered atomic bombing and that the Japanese people had strong feelings on this issue.⁶¹At a news conference in Islamabad, the Japanese Ambassador Tanaka mentioned, “Nuclear non-proliferation was an important issue which could not be ignored by the Japanese government and its people. We hope to have more information about A.Q.Khan and his alleged cooperation with North Korea. We have good reasons to get worried about alleged Pakistan-North Korean cooperation. North Korea had been involved in kidnapping of Japanese citizens and it continued to be a threat for the existence of Japan.”⁶²

A channel of communication between Japan and Pakistan on the nuclear issue was maintained. Equally, Pakistan and Japan continued to hold regular talks on disarmament and arms control issues.⁶³ On October 22,2008,India–Pakistan signed security cooperation treaty. In a joint declaration on security cooperation between India and Japan, reiterating their common commitment in pursuing disarmament and non-proliferation as partners seeking a peaceful

nuclear-weapon free world and working together against proliferation.

4) Signing Agreement with South Asian Countries

Japan plays an important role in South Asia in disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation by signing agreement. In April 2005, when Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi visited Pakistan, Japan signed an agreement with Pakistan to hold regular talks on disarmament and arms control issue. These talks were divided into two senior level expert meeting groups: first, on counter terrorism and the other on disarmament, nuclear safety and space technology.⁶⁴ During the Japanese Prime Minister visit to Pakistan, both countries issued a joint declaration called, “the two governments share the serious concerns regarding international black market networks for the proliferation of technologies and equipment related to weapons of mass destruction and underscored the need for all countries to identify and dismantle such networks through cooperative efforts. The two countries reaffirmed their commitment to strengthen international disarmament and non-proliferation framework.”⁶⁵ Second round of Pakistan –Japan security dialogue was held in Islamabad on September 14, 2006. During this dialogue, both countries exchanged their ideas on bilateral relations as well as a host of issues of mutual concern took place. These issues included, security environment and security policies of the two countries, counter terrorism, disarmament, non-proliferation issues, regional cooperation in the context of ASEAN regional forum and SAARC.⁶⁶

Japan –Pakistan third round of security dialogue was held on February 12, 2009. Both sides exchanged views on the security policies of their countries and regional security issues.⁶⁷

On October 22, 2008, Japan signed a security cooperation treaty with India. In a joint declaration on security cooperation between India and Japan reiterating their common commitment in pursuing disarmament and non-proliferation as partners seeking a peaceful nuclear-weapon free world and working together against proliferation.

5) By Appreciating Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Activities

Japan wholeheartedly welcomed the decision made by Bangladesh to deposit the instrument of ratification of the comprehensive Nuclear- Test –Ban Treaty(CTBT) with the UN Secretariat. Japan stated, “The decision is very encouraging a positive a far-reaching signal for global nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.”⁶⁸ Japan appreciates Bangladesh’s role of the peace and stability in South Asia. On August 19, 2000, Japanese Prime Minister Mori met Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina of Bangladesh in Dhaka. During the meeting Sheik Hasina referred to relations with India and Pakistan. She said that she invited both countries after the nuclear tests, in efforts to improve regional stability through such initiatives as a three nation business summit in South Asia. Japanese Prime Minister Mori praised Bangladesh’s ratification of the comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and its energetic role as the proposer of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).⁶⁹ On the eve of his landmark trip to Dhaka Japanese Prime Minister Mori stated, “Japan highly commend these diplomatic efforts for stability in the region. Japan looks forward to further efforts on the part of Bangladesh.”⁷⁰

6) Opposing Indo-US Nuclear Deal

Japan strongly opposed the US-India nuclear technology exchange deal. Japan’s concerns are related to non-proliferation aspects of the deal. Japan believed that the deal would undercut global nuclear NPT policies.⁷¹ Talking to the parliamentary committee of the Japanese Diet on March 22, 2006, the then Foreign Minister, Taro Aso told that as a result of the non-proliferation treaty(NPT) would lose its substance, because India has not signed the treaty unlike the United States.⁷² Japanese media strongly condemned US-India nuclear deal. Asahi Shimbun wrote in editorial that the deal “is totally unacceptable for Japan, the only country to have been attacked by the atomic bombs, and one that strongly insists on nuclear non-proliferation and the abolishment of nuclear weapons.” The paper also wrote, “if the United States, which has led this concerted efforts, is going to allow exceptions, then the entire framework of non-proliferation is in jeopardy.”⁷³

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, how Japan plays an active role in disarmament and nuclear-nonproliferation in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leader in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table –15 in below.

Table-15

How does Japan play an active role in disarmament and nuclear-non proliferation in South Asia?

Japan plays an active role in disarmament and non-proliferation in South Asia.	In percent
By taking resolution in the UN Security Council against nuclear tests.	15.50%
At various international forums, Japan has been campaigning for nuclear arms control and disarmament.	46.50%
Using aid as a tool, and imposed sanctions against nuclear states.	22.50%
By good will visit.	0%
Security dialogue with India and Pakistan.	15.50%
By using military power.	0%
Others.	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table-15 shows that 46.50% respondents believe that Japan plays an active role in disarmament and non-proliferation in South Asia at various international forums, campaigning for nuclear arms control and disarmament, 22.50% respondents believe that Japan plays an

active role in disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia by using aid as a tool, and imposed sanction against nuclear tests, 15.50% respondents believe by taking resolution in the UN Security Council against nuclear tests and 15.50% respondents believe by security dialogue with India and Pakistan Japan plays an active role in disarmament and non-proliferation in South Asia.

(b) Japan's Role in the Counter Terrorism and Extremism in South Asia

Terrorism and extremism are the another common security threat of South Asia. In the terrorist attack of 2008 in South Asia, 459 people died and 1259 people were injured.⁷⁴ Among them 296 people died and 777 were injured in India and 165 people died and 476 were injured in Pakistan.⁷⁵ The terrorist groups assassinated lot of political leaders in South Asia like Sri Lankan President Premadasa, Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadir Gamar, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Bangladesh former Finance Minister Shah A.M.S.Kibria, Pakistan former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Before 9/11 the word terrorism appeared as a regional issue, specially related with Middle East, Kashmir, Ireland, and Sudden etc.⁷⁶ After 9/11, it became a global issue. South Asia became a global concern, because terrorism was linked with Pakistan and Kashmir and Afghanistan.

Since the terrorist attack in the US on September 11, 2001, the international community promoted international cooperation in a broad range of areas regarding counter terrorism. Japan believes that it is necessary for the international community to be united and maintain its endeavors over the long term on wide range of fronts, and has been actively participating in the international efforts.⁷⁷ After the September 11 terrorist attacks, Japanese policy makers repeatedly made it clear that Tokyo would take a firm stand in any international move to curtail the activities of organized terrorists groups. Even Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi went to Washington to ensure President George W. Bush of Tokyo's commitment to stand beside Japan's most trusted ally. Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi states, "I myself and the people of Japan are together with President George W. Bush and the people of the United States in that we shall never forget the September 11 tragedy and our common resolve to fight against terrorism."⁷⁸ Japanese Diet passed Anti-

Terrorism Special measures law on 29 October, 2001. Based on this law, Self-Defense Forces (SDF) vessels are providing supply of fuel to US and UK ships, and SDF aircraft are implementing transportation support as cooperation and support activities.⁷⁹ After 9/11 2001, Japan evolving relationship with the US and the South Asian region. Japanese government carried out the following steps:

“First, enabled by legislation passed in November 2001, it dispatched total of six naval vessels to the Indian Ocean to provide rear-area support. This support was to include transportation of supplies (between Australia and an America based on Diego Garcia, and tents and other relief supplies to Pakistan), repair work, and possible search and rescue.

Second, \$300 million was provided to Pakistan as grant aid and additional \$37 million was given to assist internationally displaced persons in Afghanistan. The government also indicated willingness to discuss debt forgiveness for Pakistan.

Third, the government acted to increase security measures at home, such as at airports. However, this homeland security also included use of Japanese military forces to guard American military bases in Japan, a new step in the bilateral relationships.

Finally, a new law passed in December 2001 that slightly eased the terms under which Japanese forces can participate in peacekeeping missions, there by highlighting the possibility that Japanese forces would participate in a peacekeeping force in Pakistan.”⁸⁰

On September 19, 2001, Pakistan President Parvez Musharraf in his T.V. speech addressed to the nation, stated that Pakistan would cooperate with the international community as a responsible member, and asked for the understanding and support of the Pakistani people. Japan highly values President Musharraf’s leadership and efforts of the President and the people of Pakistan, at a time when the country is in a difficult situation. Determined to join the combat against terrorism, Japan has already decided to provide emergency economic assistance to Pakistan, which is cooperating with the US as one of Japan’s measures to that end.⁸¹ Japanese Prime Minister held a telephone conversation with Pakistan President

Pervaz Musharraf for approximately 30 minutes on 17 October 2001. Prime Minister Koizumi stated that Japan is combating terrorism by taking substantive and active stance, and expressed his profound respect for President Musharraf's cooperation with the international community despite the difficult domestic situation. Prime Minister Koizumi stated that Japan would continue to provide assistance to Pakistan, including in economic areas. Concerning the matter of economic measures, Prime Minister Koizumi stated that he would like to make an overall judgment, taking various matters into consideration, including Pakistan's progress in nuclear non-proliferation, bilateral relations and the international situation.⁸²

Japan appreciated Pakistan's role against terrorism. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi said that he was delighted to be able to meet President Musharraf, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the terrorist attacks in the United States. He also expressed respect to President Musharraf for exercising leadership in the fight against terrorism despite the fact that he was facing various difficulties.⁸³ For the eliminating terrorism and extremism in South Asia, Japan has been taking following initiatives:

1) Using Aid as a Tool

Japan played an important role by giving aid to eliminate extremism and terrorism in South Asia. After 9/11 US- Pakistan's critical role in the war against terrorism, Japan announced to provide US\$300 million grant assistance to Islamabad and also rescheduled Pakistan's debt amounting to US\$4.5 billion. Moreover, Japan called leading international financial agencies like World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to provide aid and assistance to Pakistan.⁸⁴ Also Japan gave remarkable assistance and played a leading role in the international aid groups in strengthening Pakistan's counter terrorism capability. On December 14, 2001 at the conference of creditor countries (Paris Club) held in Paris, Pakistan and the creditor countries reached an agreement on the rescheduling of Pakistan's public debt. The agreement was the result of Japan's active contribution in the discussions at the Paris Club.⁸⁵

On April 17, 2009 a Pakistan donors conference and friends of democratic Pakistan group Ministerial meeting held in Tokyo. Japan and World Bank were the joint initiator. At the donor conference in

Tokyo, Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso stated, “Seven and half years have passed since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and the world is still facing the threat of terrorism. Even now, tragedies are being repeated in Islamabad, Lahore, Mumbai, and Kabul. Terrorism is posing a threat to the international community, and we cannot help but acknowledge that efforts to eradicate terrorism are now at a crucial stage.”⁸⁶ At the opening session of the Pakistan donors conference, on April 17, 2009 in Tokyo, Japanese Foreign Minister Mr. Hirofumi Nakasone called, “Japan has been providing proactive assistance to Pakistan for many years. In May 2008, Japan extended ODA approximately 48 billion yen for infrastructure development in Pakistan.

In addition, on April 7, 2009, Japan decided to extend emergency assistance to provide some relief from the hardships confronting the internally displaced persons that have emerged as a consequence of the fight against extremism in Pakistan. In light of Pakistan demonstrating its determination on this occasion for economic reforms and counter-terrorism, the Government of Japan decided to extend US\$ 1 billion in assistance, premised on the continued steady implementation of the IMF program underway since November 2008.”⁸⁷

2) Giving Concession

Giving concessions Japan played an important role to eliminate terrorism and extremism in South Asia by giving concession. After 9/11 Pakistan’s critical role in the war against terrorism, Japan announced following concessions to Pakistan : (a) Lifting of economic sanctions; (b) Debt reduction (later changed into debt rescheduling) ; (c) Resumption of budgetary support to Pakistan; (d) Access of Pakistani goods to Japanese market.⁸⁸

3) To Supply Technical Support

Japan plays an important role in South Asia to supply technical support to eliminate terrorism. The exchange of notes between the Government of Japan and the Government of the Pakistan concerning the contribution of supplies and services to the armed forces of other similar entities of the Pakistan in accordance with the anti-terrorism special measures law took place on July 13, 2004, in Tokyo between Ms. Yoriko of Japan, and Mr. Kamran Niaz

Amssador of Pakistan to Japan.In extending assistance to Pakistan under the anti-terrorism special measures law, these notes are intended to guarantee, in relation to the three principles on arms exports and other policy guidelines, that the supplies and services to this country will be utilized in accordance with the charter of the United Nations and that they will not be transferred to third parties without the prior consent of the Government of Japan.⁸⁹

4)Giving Information

Japan played an important role in South Asia to eliminate terrorism by giving information.For the exchange of information on terrorism, Japan's Maritime Self –Defense Force is helping Pakistan's naval vessels participation in the Operation Enduring Freedom Maritime Interdiction Operation(OEF-MIO) in the Indian Ocean.⁹⁰

5)Develop Joint Working Group

To develop joint working group on counter terrorism Japan plays an important role in South Asia to eliminate terrorism. India's location in the Indian Ocean lies between the Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca. A terrorist attack in the SLOCs of the Indian Ocean could have a large-scale negative economic impact in the region and in the world. India and Japan are afraid the growing specter of naval terrorism or the targeting of shipping containers by groups like al-Qaeda. So,in July 2005, in Tokyo, India –Japan set-up the Japan – India joint working group on counter terrorism to coordinate their efforts.⁹¹ In December2006, when Prime Minister Monmohan Singh visited Japan, the two sides expressed their intent to continue to cooperate through the working group.⁹²

6)Supporting Japan's Allies Counter Terrorism Activities

Supporting Japan's allies counter- terrorism activities,Japan plays an important role to eliminate terrorism in South Asia.With regard to the activities in and around Afghanistan by the US and other countries, based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law(entered into force on November 2, 2001),Japan has been providing assistance that includes the Maritime –Force(MSDF) refueling ships of the US and the United Kingdom (UK) forces participating in maritime intercept operations and Air-Self-Defense Force(ASDF) airlifting goods for US force. Through these

efforts, Japan is making substantial contributions aimed at preventing and eradicating international terrorism.⁹³

7) By Freezing of Terrorist Assets

Japan plays an important role to eliminate terrorism in South Asia by freezing terrorists assets. Based on Security Council Resolution 1267, 1333, and 1390 as well as 1373, Japan is implementing measures based on the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade law, including the freezing of assets against 500 Taliban-related and other terrorist individuals and organizations (as January 12, 2006).⁹⁴ Japan signed UN nuclear terrorism Acts. The international convention for the suppression of Acts of nuclear Terrorism, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in April 2005, was signed by Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi in September 2005, immediately after it became open for signature.⁹⁵

8) Supporting Pakistan Membership in ARF

For the eliminating terrorism in South Asia, Japan supported Pakistan's membership on the ASEAN-Regional Forum (ARF), which eventually helped Pakistan to join that vital regional forum.⁹⁶ In a ARF official opined, "ASEAN's decision to push for Pakistan's inclusion in Asia-Pacific's top security grouping- the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) will boost moves against terrorism and towards resolving the India- Pakistan dispute." He also opined, "with the imminent terrorism threat, you cannot leave out Pakistan, who is an important player in addressing the issue in the region, you have to bring on board."⁹⁷

9) Condemning all Terrorist Activities in South Asia

Condemning all terrorist activities, Japan plays an important role to eliminate terrorism in South Asia. Japan strongly condemned all terrorist attacks and killing in South Asian countries especially on 21 August, 2004 terrorist attack on Awami league leaders Sheikh Hasina on January 27, 2005, former Finance Minister Shah A.S.M. Kibria in Bangladesh, on April 12, 2006, Bomb attack in Karachi, on August 2008 suicide Bombing in Islamabad, on September 20, 2008 suicide terrorist attack in front of Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, on December 27, 2007 Pakistan former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's killing and on February 19, 2007 in Haryana train bomb attack, on May 13, 2008 in Jaipur series

bombing, on July 28, 2008 series bombings in Bangalore, on September 13, 2008 series bombings in New Delhi, on October 30, 2008 series of bombing in Guwahati city, on November 27, 2008 series of terrorist attack in Mumbai, India.

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people opinion, how Japan plays an important role to eliminate terrorism and extremism in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalists, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administered the opinion survey as is presented in the table-16 in below.

Table -16

How does Japan play an important role to eliminate terrorism and extremism in South Asia?

Japan plays an important role to eliminate terrorism in South Asia	In percent
Develop Japan South Asian countries joint working group on counter terrorism	33%
By giving Aid and technical equipment support to controlled terrorism in South Asia.	25%
Giving information	8.50%
Freezing terrorist and extremist organization property	0%
Supporting allies counter terrorism activities in South Asia.	25%
Giving concessions in the South Asian countries.	0%
Others	8.50%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table-16 shows that 33% respondents believe Japan plays an important role to eliminate terrorism and extremism in South Asia by develop South Asian countries joint workings group on counter terrorism, 25% respondents believe by giving aid and technical equipment support to controlled terrorism in South Asia, 25% respondents believe supporting allies counter terrorism activities, 8.50% respondents believe in giving information Japan plays an important role in South Asia, 8.50% respondents believe Japan plays no role in South Asia to eliminate terrorism and extremism.

(c)Japan's Role to Ease Indo-Pak Conflicts, Kashmir Problem and Bilateral Disputes in the South Asian Countries

Two nuclearized countries India and Pakistan bilateral conflicts, Kashmir problem and bilateral disputes of the South Asian countries are main security threats in South Asia. After their independence, India and Pakistan have fought four wars: 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999. The three wars over Kashmir in 1948, 1965 and 1999. Indo-Pakistan conflicts have largely focused on Kashmir, which has remained a bone contention between the two countries. Abue Taher Salahuddin Ahmed stated, "The Kashmir conflict is recognized as one of the world's most complicated protected conflict."⁹⁸ Japan has considered tensions between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue as one of the major reasons for the main cause for the nuclear race on the subcontinent. There is a realization in the Japanese diplomatic circle that resolving the Kashmir issue may bring an end to the nuclear race in South Asia.⁹⁹ Japan has been taking following steps to resolve Indo-Pak conflicts, Kashmir problem and bilateral disputes in the South Asian countries:

1) Giving Kashmir Problem as an International Framework and Supporting U.N. Resolution

Japanese experts feel that the most important task for Japan in the Kashmir dispute is to help create an international framework to ease tensions between India and Pakistan.¹⁰⁰ The day after Pakistan's nuclear tests, Japanese Prime Minister Ryutro Hashimoto said to the international media, "the situation could have been different if the Kashmir issue had been put on the UNSC agenda straight after India conducted its nuclear tests."¹⁰¹ Mr. Hashimoto also, "called for the need of the international community to take strong interest in the root causes for the tension between India and Pakistan, including

Kashmir, and consider how to maintain the security of the South Asia region.”¹⁰² Japanese representative Hayashi at the 54th session of the UN General Assembly on October 12, 1999 stated, “The nuclear tests conducted in South Asia last year were challenge to the nuclear non-proliferation regime and to the disarmament efforts made by the international community....events such as the recent armed conflict over Kashmir and the announcement of the draft Nuclear Doctrine are source of concern.”¹⁰³ Japan played an important role to take a resolution by the UNSC and G-8. The UN Security Council resolution and the G-8 joint communiqué urged India and Pakistan to resume bilateral dialogue on the Kashmir problem.¹⁰⁴ Japan also plays important role by strongly supporting U.N. resolution.

2)By the Inclusion of Pakistan at the ASEAN Regional Forum(ARF)

By the inclusion of Pakistan at the ASEAN Regional Forum(ARF), Japan likes to ease India-Pakistan tensions.¹⁰⁵ Because, the ARF, which is the political and security framework for the entire Asia-Pacific region with participants from major Asian and Oceanian countries, aims to advance dialogue and the cooperation in the following three stages.(1)the promotion of confidence-building;(2)the development of preventive diplomacy and (3)the elaboration of approaches to resolve conflicts.¹⁰⁶ Japan supported Pakistan’s membership on the ASEAN-Regional Forum, which helped to Pakistan to join the ARF. ASEAN’s head of external relations Sundram Pushpanathan called, “By bringing in Pakistan, the ARF will provide an important forum for Pakistan and India to discuss a regional flashpoint Kashmir.”He also called, “while the move would give a higher profile to the ARF as a mechanism to resolve the India-Pakistan dispute.”¹⁰⁷

3)By Mediation

Japan was inclined to mediate between the two countries on the Kashmir conflict.¹⁰⁸ Pakistan has formally asked Japan to act as mediator between it and the international community to ease tensions raised by Islamabad’s nuclear tests explosions.¹⁰⁹ Pakistan’s Foreign Minister invited Japanese Ambassador Kubota and wanted Japanese mediation on the Kashmir issue. ¹¹⁰Japanese Foreign Minister Keizu Obuchi told a news conference in Tokyo, “It would

be good if we could initiate the two countries and work for a peaceful solution.”¹¹¹ Japan floated the idea of arranging talks between Pakistan and India in Tokyo to discuss a decade long dispute between the two countries over the Himalayan state of Kashmir.¹¹²

4)Using Aid as a Tool

By using aid card and sending envoy, Japan would like to ease tension between India and Pakistan. Japan the biggest donor in India and Pakistan, sent an envoy to the nuclear armed neighbours on May 28,2002 and the diplomat said Tokyo could play its aid-card to try to bring the rivals back from the brink of conflict.¹¹³ Japanese Vice Foreign Minister Seiken Sugiura visited India and Pakistan to play a mediating role in resolving the tense military standoff.¹¹⁴ Japanese diplomatic sources said Tokyo could revive economic sanctions against Pakistan and India or threaten to stop providing aid if the Southwest Asian countries defied calls from the international community. Diplomatic source said,“There is a possibility of Japan reviewing aid programmes for India and Pakistan if the military stand off gets out of control.” Japanese diplomatic source also said, “That may include the reinstating of economic sanctions.”¹¹⁵ Japan lifted sanctions on Pakistan and India on October 2002 after the two countries offered support for the US-lead operations in Afghanistan following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States.

5)Appreciate Dialogue

Japan worked on both India and Pakistan to endeavor to solve the Kashmir problem peacefully through dialogue and urged both sides to exercise self-restraint.¹¹⁶ Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari told, “Japan intends to contribute in South Asia to the relaxation of tensions and peaceful settlement of conflicts,by promoting dialogue.”¹¹⁷ On October 17,2001, Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro held a telephone conversation with Pak President General Musharraf.¹¹⁸ During the telephone conversation Prime Minister Koizumi expressed his strong hope that through bilingual dialogue both governments of Pakistan and India would make efforts to resolve a number of issues, including that of Pakistan. He explained that he expected that an improvement in India – Pakistan relations would lead to the creation a more desirable environment that would reduce tensions and heighten stability in the South Asian

region.¹¹⁹ The joint declaration when Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visited Pakistan in April 2005 mentioned, "Japan welcomed composite dialogue process, which include confidence- building measures, Jammu and Kashmir, and other bilateral issues India and Pakistan aimed at peacefully resolving Pakistan-India differences, and hoped for its success."¹²⁰ The 1990 Diplomatic Blue books stated, "India and Pakistan should restore peace in Kashmir through dialogue and political accommodation and in the latter and spirit of the Simla Agreement."¹²¹

6) Sending Peace-Keeping Force

Sending peace-keeping force in South Asia, Japan played an important role to peace and stability in this region. On March 26, 2007, Japan deployed a small defense team to Nepal to monitor the country's ceasefire.¹²² Japanese defense Ministry said, "Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's cabinet decided to dispatch six personnel to Nepal to observe arms control for a year."¹²³ The six-unarmed military personnel will help monitor weapons and soldiers as part of the UN mission observing the accord that ended the Himalayan kingdom's bloody decade-long Maoist insurgency.¹²⁴

7) Supporting SAARC Activities

Japan believes SAARC is an important organization, which can help to ease bilateral tension between South Asian countries. In order to support SAARC activities, Japan would like to play an important role in South Asia. Ambassador of Japan to India, Hiroshi Hirabayashi told, "It is my firm belief that improvement of the bilateral relations between member countries of SAARC is a factor essential to maintaining regional stability and to making SAARC more an organization to be reckoned with. On the other hand, in promoting SAARC cooperation, conducive atmosphere should be created by SAARC member countries to resolve difficult problems among member countries."¹²⁵ Japan created Japan-SAARC Special Found in 1993.¹²⁶ In 2005, during the 13th SAARC Summit held in Dhaka, Japan was accorded an observer status of SAARC. Japan signed a MoU as an observer state.¹²⁷ Japan welcomed the news that Japan's observer participation is agreed in principle at the 13th South Asian Association for Regional cooperation (SAARC) Summit meeting.¹²⁸ Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs press secretary stated, "Japan has supported SAARC's activities through

the Japan-SAARC special fund, amongst other means, on the understanding that SAARC is contributing to regional stability and development in South Asia,...Japan will coordinate the modalities of its observer status, and remains committed to strengthening its relationship with SAARC, through the observer participation.¹²⁹ Pakistan Prime Minister Showkot Aziz called, “ the entry of Japan and China will have positive impact on the working of the grouping.”¹³⁰

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, how Japan plays an active role in the Indo-Pak peace process, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials, and Political leaders in Bangladesh .Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table -17.

Table-17

How does Japan play an active role in the Indo-Pak peace process?

Japan plays an active role in the Indo-Pak peace process.	In percent
By sending special envoy	15.50%
Using aid as a tool	7.50%
By regional organization	23.50%
By giving Kashmir problem as an international frame work and supporting U.N. resolution	38%
Good will visit	0%
Others	15.50%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher on 2009

Table-17 shows that 38% respondents believe Japan plays an important role in the Indo-Pak peace process by giving Kashmir problem as an international framework and supporting U.N. resolution, 23.50% respondents believe by supporting regional organizations activities, 15.50% respondents believe by sending special envoy, 7.50% respondents believe by using aid as a tool and 15.50% respondents believe by others way(Through a

combination measures like, persuasion, encouragement, deep efforts, development assistance and the likes) Japan plays an active role in the Indo-Pak peace process.

(d) Japan's Role in the Indian Ocean security

The security of sea lanes connecting Japan with the Middle East is a vital element of Japan's national security. Because energy (oil and gas) is the life lines of Japanese economy.¹³¹ About 60 percent of Japan's oil imports and 40 percent of its foreign trade are transported via the Straits of Malacca and the Lombok Straits.¹³² So, the Japan's strategic interests converge on the issue of enhancing maritime security in this region. During the cold war period Japan's Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF) did not play any role in the Indian Ocean,¹³³ because during the Cold War period, the Japanese navy, which grew under the guidance of, and active assistance by, the United States.¹³⁴ But after Cold War, Japan has faced serious security threat in the Indian Ocean. According to the US-Japan, new defense guidelines in 1997, Japan expanded her security role in the Indian Ocean of bilateral cooperation.¹³⁵ Though the US still possesses power and intention to cope with any incident in the world, but it is difficult to deal with all of them. Thus US expects to share security role with the concerned countries.¹³⁶ For the removing Indian Ocean security threats, Japan has been taking following initiatives:

1) Bilateral Defense Exchange Treaty with India

Doing bilateral defense exchange treaty with India, Japan plays an important security role in the Indian Ocean. Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee signed Japan -India defense exchange treaty in August 2000.¹³⁷ The treaty helped for the first meeting of the Japan -India Security Dialogue and the Japan -India Military-Military consultation. The meetings was held in Tokyo in July 2001.¹³⁸

Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee signed a joint declaration in December 2001. In this declaration India and Pakistan agreed to cooperate in supporting the war on terrorism, counting the proliferation of WMD, and ensuring the safety and security of marine traffic and reaffirmed their intention to foster defense exchange.¹³⁹ In April 2005 Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi and Indian Prime

Minister Manmohan Singh said in a joint statement, “(a) further developing dialogue and exchanges, including through full utilization of existing consultation forums, (b) strengthening service-to-service exchanges between defense establishments of the two countries, (c) working to ensure the safety and security of maritime traffic through joint exercises against piracy and the annual Japan Coast Guard-Indian Coast Guard talks, and (d) building up cooperation between the MSDF and the Indian Navy in recognition of the importance of marine security.”¹⁴⁰

2) By Exchanges, Dialogues and Joint Exercises

Japan plays an important role in the Indian Ocean by exchanges and dialogues between agencies concerned, mutual visit of ships, joint exercises.¹⁴¹ In the Indian Ocean during last two decades, India developed her blue water naval capacity. For India's advanced military technology with satellite-based military communication, the Indian Navy now enjoys the capacity of deeper naval reach and punch.¹⁴² Japan started exchange of naval visit with India in 1995. It was reciprocated by Japanese training ship *Kashim* in 1996. In June 1997 the Indian Chief of Naval Staff, Mr. Vishnu Bagwat visited Japan.¹⁴³ In December 1997, the Deputy Director General of the Japanese Defense Agency (JDA) visited New Delhi.¹⁴⁴ About the importance of naval exchange between India and Japan, Japanese Foreign Minister, Yoriko Kawaguchi stated, “Cooperation between Japan and India is also demonstrating important new progress in this area. Japan has dispatched five Maritime Self-Defence Force ships to the Indian Ocean, with support from India, in the fight against terrorism. The activities of these ships have further underscored the importance of defense exchanges with India.”¹⁴⁵

Japan and India built up security cooperation efforts at the political level, forming the groundwork for dramatic advances in cooperative activities in 2007, including the inaugural of Japan – India Defense Policy Dialogue at the vice ministerial level on April 11.¹⁴⁶ On April 16, 2007, the first Japan-India-US trilateral maritime exercise was held at the Boso Peninsula of Japan. MSDF's first participation in the multilateral maritime exercise “Malabar 07-2,” that involved Japan, India, the United States, Australia, and Singapore, was conducted in the Bay of Bengal from September 4 to 9 2007.¹⁴⁷

These initiatives in Japan's cooperative ties with India helped to improve the security of sea lanes in the Indian Ocean.

3) Building a Regional Network

Japan plays an important role in the Indian Ocean by developing a regional network among the coast guards of Asia and established a new maritime network in the region. In April 2000, Japanese Prime Minister Mori Yoshiro, hosted the 'Regional conference on combating piracy and armed robbery against ships' in Tokyo. The conference adopted a set of guidelines dubbed the "Asia Anti-piracy challenges 2000." The participants of conference agreed to start work on regional anti piracy cooperation, which helped for Japan to play a leading regional role in the area of maritime security.¹⁴⁸ Japan also hosted meeting of the top-level commanders of coast guards from Asian countries on June 17-18, 2004.¹⁴⁹ The main themes were measures to cope with piracy and maritime terrorism. Japan, South Korea, China, Hong Kong, the 10 members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh were present in the meeting. The UN international Maritime Organization and the piracy reporting center of the International Maritime Bureau representatives were also present in the meeting. Besides, for the regional maritime security, Japan took leading role in this area by doing its parts to help strengthening and fostering the coast guard's human resource. Because, many Asian countries, cannot upgrade the human resources of their coast guard to confront three major hurdles: insufficient know-how, a lack of funds, and inadequate facilities.¹⁵⁰ For the training of Asian coast guard personnel, Japan going to established "Asian coast guard Academy."¹⁵¹ A Japanese Maritime expert Yoshihikoyamada told, "By building an Asia cost guard Academy in cooperation with ASEAN and IMO and having trainees from around Asia, Japan could build a regional network among the cost guards of Asia and there by establish a new maritime order for the region."¹⁵²

Table-18

Major Regional Anti piracy Activities by the Japan coast guard, July 2003-June 2004

Year	Counterparts	Activity
July, 2003	Malaysia	Training in patrolling and boarding from patrol boats.
September, 2003	India	Joint exercises with Indian coast guard.
September-October, 2003	Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand.	Aircraft patrols.
September-October, 2003	9 countries	Seminar on fighting Maritime crime.
December, 2003	Singapore	Joint exercises with Singapore's police and port guard and Maritime and port authority.
February, 2004	Thailand	Joint exercises with Royal Thai Marine authorities.
February, 2004	Thailand	Support for meeting of anti-piracy experts in Pattaya.
Feb-March, 2004	Philippines, Thailand	Boat patrols
June, 2004	16 countries, 1 region.	Meeting of coast guard heads in Tokyo.

Source: Strategic Digest, February 2005, p.49

Table-18 shows the 2003/2004, Japanese maritime activities in Asia. Table-18 also shows that during the years Japan was active about the maritime security in Asia.

4) Using Aid as a Tool

By cooperative relations and giving aid in the South Asian countries, Japan plays an important role to maintain security in the Indian Ocean.¹⁵³ Japan maintains good relations with the South Asian

countries and Japan is the one of the largest donor of the South Asian countries. Specially Japanese ODA has increased in Sri Lanka and Pakistan for the stability of the two countries.

5)Sharing Intelligence

Japan plays an important role in the Indian Ocean by sharing intelligence, exchange of sea power organization and economic cooperation with India¹⁵⁴ and Pakistan.

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, how Japan plays an active security role in Indian Ocean, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials, and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table-19 in below.

Table-19
How does Japan play an active security role in Indian Ocean?

Japan plays an active security role Indian Ocean.	In percent
By Maritime Security treaty with India.	36.50%
Japan maritime Self-Defense Forces participate the join exercise with India and US naval forces in Indian Ocean.	54.50%
Using aid as a tool.	9%
Others.	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher on 2009

Table-19 shows that 54.50% respondents believe that Japan plays active security role in Indian Ocean by Maritime Self-Defense Forces participate the join exercise with India and US naval forces in Indian Ocean, 36% respondents believe by maritime security treaty with India and 9% respondents believe by using aid as a tool Japan plays important security role in Indian Ocean.

(e) Japan's Check Mating Role in South Asia

This is first time in history that there have been three powerful countries in Asia: China, India and Japan.¹⁵⁵ Asia is becoming an arena of balance-of- power politics. China may emerge as the most powerful of three, but it is unlikely to be capable of dominating its continent.¹⁵⁶ A rising China has security threat for both India and Japan. China's ability to project naval power in the region and its improved ballistic missile capabilities, India and Japan have reason to be concerned.¹⁵⁷ Japan plays check mating role in South Asia in the following ways:

1) Security Treaty with India

Japan plays check mating role in Asia by doing security treaty with India. As one Japanese scholar Tomeda Seki has argued, "There are good reasons to set in a security framework that could contain any future Chinese adventurism. Within such an understanding a triangulation with India in the West and Japan in the East could form the basis to keep any Chinese belligerence in check and the region in peace."¹⁵⁸ On October 22, 2008, Japanese Prime Minister Tara Aso and Indian Prime Minister Monmohan Singh signed the "Joint Declaration on Security cooperation between Japan and India" in Tokyo.¹⁵⁹ By this treaty Japan and India wanted to show that they are politically ready to play the "power game" in Asia more actively.¹⁶⁰ Dr. Subhash Kapila called, "It goes beyond saying that global power games are basically focused on China today and challenge can only be restrained by "exercise of power" and not "rhetorical psychiatry" as Japan and India seem to be doing at present."¹⁶¹

2) Building Global Alliance

Japan check mate China by building global alliance. According to the Japan –US security consultative committee meeting of the February 2005, Japan established a "global alliance" with other two democratic countries Australia and India by security cooperation treaty with a number of common strategic objectives. On May 2007, a joint security declaration was signed by Japanese Prime Minister Abe and Australian Prime Minister John Howard.¹⁶² The agreement discussed on expanding bilateral cooperation in range of security field, including counterterrorism, maritime security and intelligence.¹⁶³ Japan signed security treaty with India on October

22, 2008, involving the global alliance between India, Japan, the U.S., and Australia. In September 2007, the four countries participated in a joint naval exercises in the Bay of Bengal, to show their willingness to engage in multilateral defense diplomacy as a “quarter of Democracies” in the Asia –Pacific region.¹⁶⁴ Madhuchanda Ghosh stated, “India and Japan’s participation in this type of quadrilateral cooperation is aimed at containing China, a convergence of interests among the these four powers in keeping a weary eye on China’s rapidly growing military power.”¹⁶⁵

3. Promotion of Framework for Regional Cooperation

Japan plays check mating role in Asia by promotion of framework for regional cooperation. Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan Masahiko Koumura mentioned, “We have a number of regional frameworks such as ASEAN+3, ARF and APEC that exist in a multi-layered fashion. These regional frameworks complement each other and constitute a multinational system in which concrete cooperation is promoted while common values and interests are fostered.”¹⁶⁶

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that in the South Asia’s complex security system, as a extra regional major power, Japan undoubtedly plays an important traditional security role. Japan has been playing significant role against nuclearization, terrorism, and helps to ease tension among the South Asian countries ,specially on Kashmir dispute. Japan also plays an important security role in the Indian Ocean and check mating China in this region. It is very important to note that as a major power Japan’s security role in South Asia did not increase tension like other extra-regional powers U.S., China and Israel between South Asia’s two big rival countries India and Pakistan. On the contrary, Japan helps to ease tension between the two rival countries in South Asia and Japan also helps to establish peace and stability in South Asia, because Japan’s national interest is directly related with South Asian peace and stability.

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Chapter VII

Japan's Role in Non-Traditional and Human Security in South Asia

In this chapter an attempt will be made to discuss Japan's non-traditional and human security role in South Asia. This chapter consists of three sections: (a) Why does Japan give more importance on human security? (b) Japan's role in non-traditional and human security in South Asia, and (d) Conclusion.

Why does Japan Give More Importance on Human Security?

Japan is a passive economic giant, it is playing an active human security role in South Asia. Professor Kazuhiko Okuda stated Japan "as an economic power and as a non-military power, yet responsible for the well-being of people beyond its border; Japan's foreign policy naturally follows the development Assistance (particularly ODA) to the human security agenda. And the latter becomes particularly important globally too, since the UNDP's 1994 Human Development report articulated a preventive 'people centered' approach to human security that focused on 'freedom from fear and freedom from want.'"¹

World War II was a very expensive learning experience for Japan. Not only had it caused the destruction of most of its large cities, infrastructure and transportation networks, but it had also brought the country to a period of economic depression, an alarming food shortage and a rising inflation that further threatened what remained of Japan's national strength. During World War II estimated two hundred and fourteen thousand civilian died of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombing. More than the physical and economic damage the country had suffered; the psychological pressure of the war on the Japanese was even more dangerous. They have not forgotten that the country's militarism had launched Japan on a mode of aggression and made it a hated empire throughout Asia and most of the world during that time. The prosecution of an anti imperialist war against East Asia led the Japanese, both masses and elite levels, to recoil the idea of Japan ever assuming major

responsibilities at the security dimension. Thus, Japan's principle ideology when it comes to security became that of strong anti-nuclear and anti-military sentiments.

Besides, the basic framework of Japan's security policy is largely determined by the constitution of 1947 and the security treaty with the United States concluded in 1952 and extensively revised in 1960. One of the characteristics of the constitution of 1947, written under the strong influence of the U.S. occupation forces, was its idealistic and pacific nature.

The established consensus about Japan's post war foreign policy is that, although it has the right to defend itself, Japan cannot take part in any collective security activity. Since the end of the Cold War and the Gulf War of 1991, however, this foreign policy frame work has come under scrutiny both inside and outside Japan. The fundamental issue has been: can Japan contribute to the enhancement and maintenance of international public goods, such as a stable international political and economic order, through the existing foreign policy framework, while further pursuing the well-being and prosperity of the Japanese? There are two main alternatives: One option is to pursue a foreign policy involving military activity that would eventually require major political rearrangements including amendment of Article 9 of the constitution. The other is to further pursue foreign policies not involving military activity that can make substantial international contributions within the purview of the existing tenets of the country's foreign policy. Japan took the latter option.

Japanese policy –makers have developed an alternative security policy designed to supplement or even substitute firepower in various instances. "In particular, the nation of comprehensive security policy has emphasized that Japan can contribute to regional security through an active diplomacy and the extension of economic power in the form of an Official Development Assistance (ODA) economic cooperation, thereby addressing the root economic causes of social and political instability which of the generate military conflict in the first place."² Using the premise of the concept of soft power, a general view of the mechanisms of an alternative security policy can be proposed. First, the concept points out that Japan's

utilizes non-traditional security policies in the form of peacekeeping missions, official development assistance and bilateral and multilateral agreements to push forth its security interest in the region. These alternative security policies take the form of an institutional support that attracts the other states toward Japan's desired outcome of economic stability, cooperation and peace.

Japan's Role in Non-Traditional and Human Security in South Asia

Human Security is a perspective to strengthen efforts to cope with threats to human lives, livelihoods, and dignity. Now, we find various types of threats to human lives, livelihood and dignity such as environmental degradation, illicit drugs, transnational organized crimes, poverty, exodus of refugees, infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS and anti-personnel landmines.³ Japan plays an important leadership role, based on the concept of "human security" to resolve global challenges, including the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals for which all the international community is working together, countermeasures against infectious diseases and environmental problems including climate change, and peace building.⁴ In May 2002, the then Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro strengthened efforts for the 'consolidation of peace' and made it a pillar of Japan's international cooperation. Japan's ODA related to this concept thus had three components. First, is the promotion of the peace process. Second, securing of domestic stability and security. Third, humanitarian and reconstruction assistance.

In 2003, Japan released the revised ODA charter and introduced new policy objectives such as 'human security' that focuses on the protection and empowerment of individual person by seeking to create a society that allows each person to lead a dignified life by protecting and empowering individuals and local communities exposed to, or currently under, threat, has thus gained wider recognition due to these rapidly changing circumstances in the international community. The concept of 'human security' is thus extended through Japan's ODA through the adoption of following approaches in the 2003 charter: (1) assistance that puts people at the center of concern that effectively reaches the people ; (2) assistance to strengthen local community ; (3) assistance that emphasizes

benefiting people who are exposed to threat ; (4) assistance that respects cultural diversity, and (5) cross-sectoral assistance that mobilizes a large of professional expertise.⁵ Since then Japan has taken a variety of measures to ensure that they are to provide assistance in line with this new perspective.

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, on how Japan helps to improve human security in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman ,Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table-20.

Table-20

How does Japan help to improve human security in South Asia?

Japan helps to improve human security in South Asia	In Percent
By poverty reduction	80%
Provide Aid for better health and sanitation	0%
Giving environment protection Aid	7%
By remove dysfunctional politics and helps to establish democracy and human rights	7%
Assisting ethnic conflict resolution and peace building efforts.	6%
Others	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table -20 shows how Japan helps to improve human security in South Asia. Table-20 also shows that 80% respondents believe Japan helps to improve human security in South Asia by poverty reduction, 7% respondents believe Japan helps to improve human security by giving environment protection aid, 7% respondents believe by

remove dysfunctional politics and helps to establish democracy and human rights and 6% respondents believe by assisting ethnic conflict resolution and peace building efforts Japan helps to improve human security in South Asia.

Japan plays significant role in human security in South Asia in the following ways:

a. Japan's Role in Poverty Reduction in South Asia

Poverty reduction is main development goal shared by the international community, and is also important for removing terrorism and other reasons of instability in the world. Poverty is the key human security threat in South Asia. Most of the people live below poverty line in this region. A field survey report shows 80 percent respondents believe prime threat of human security in South Asia is poverty.⁶ Poverty in each country is caused by a complicated combination of various factors including the economic structure, politics, culture, society, history, and geography of that country. Japan gives high precedence to providing assistance to such sectors as education, health care and welfare, water sanitation and agriculture, and Japan also provided assistance in human and social development. Sustainable economic growth, increase in employment, and improvement in the quality of life are crucial to comprehend poverty reduction and Japan gives importance on providing assistance for these issues consequently. Japan helps to poverty reduction in South Asia in the following ways:

1. Providing ODA Loan

Poverty reduction is listed at the top priority issues in the revised ODA Charter of Japan. Based on concept of poverty reduction through economic growth, Japan has been providing assistance to such sectors as education, health care welfare, water and sanitation, and agriculture, all of which from the pillars of the Millennium Development Goals.⁷ Japan plays an important role in the poverty reduction of South Asia by infrastructure development(roads, bridges, local electrification, communication, etc.), supporting social and economic development activities in South Asian Countries. Japan's principal purpose is to assist developing countries in their efforts to develop economic and social infrastructure and stabilize their economies. Japan's ODA Loans for assisting self-help efforts toward sustainable economic development by providing low interest,

the technical cooperation.¹⁰ By the technical cooperation aid JICA implemented following co-operative programmes in South Asian countries :i. Training programs ; ii. Expert dispatch programme ; iii. Project-type technical co-operation programme; iv. Japan overseas cooperation volunteers (JOCV) Programme .¹¹

Table-22
Japan's Technical Cooperation Assistance in
SouthAsia(During1999-2006)
(Netdisbursements , \$ million)

Technical cooperation							
Year	Bangladesh	Bhutan	Nepal	Sri Lanka	Maldives	India	Pakistan
1999	25.04	6.58	22.88	30.10	3.78	22.48	11.82
2000	40.55	6.32	25.50	35.26	2.46	21.38	13.40
2001	33.06	4.36	19.57	31.65	1.76	18.03	11.83
2002	33.52	5.41	21.01	28.93	1.68	16.15	13.17
2003	33.01	7.20	18.31	27.03	2.09	18.82	19.70
2004	32.07	9.95	19.27	22.45	2.02	19.59	17.06
2005	30.30	8.72	18.00	27.33	3.10	17.45	18.64
2006	19.29	9.21	14.26	30.36	3.08	19.61	19.14
Total	612.35	98.90	484.07	574.37	49.09	398.61	349.11

Source:OECD/DAC,MOFA:Japan's ODA Data by Country-South West Asia, http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html [Accessed 14-06-2009]

Table-22 shows that Japan's technical cooperation assistance in South Asia during 1999 to 2006. Table -22 also shows that during 1999-2006 Japan's disbursement technical cooperation aid in Bangladesh \$ 612.35 million, in Bhutan\$98.90 million, in Nepal\$484.07million,in Sri Lanka\$574.37 million, in Maldives \$49.09 million, in India \$398.61 million and in Pakistan \$ 349.11 million.

By their training programme, JICA trained several expert persons in Bangladesh.Table-23 shows the performance of JICA in Bangladesh.

Table-23

JICA's Performance of Technical Co-operation for Bangladesh(JFY 2000-2004)

(Person)

JFY	Training participants	Experts	Survey Teams	JOCVs	Total
2000	216	61	136	29	442
2001	353	41	115	37	446
2002	251	40	95	27	413
2003	307	34	168	23	532
2004	259	49	164	39	511
Total	1286	225	678	155	2344

Source:JICA in Bangladesh:For a better tomorrow for all. Japan International Co-operation Agency, Dhaka, Bangladesh office, 2006,p.14

Table-23 shows JICA's performance of technical co-operation for Bangladesh(JFY 2000-2004).Table-23 also shows during 2000-2004 JICA trained 2344 Bangladeshi person.

Japan gives the importance of human resource development in Bhutan technical assistance has been provided in the form of counterpart training, dispatch of the experts. Total number of counter parts trained in Japan:906, experts dispatched:65, JOCVs:237, other volunteers:37.¹² Japan and Sri Lanka signed an agreement on technical cooperation in September 2005 to promote the implementation of the bilateral technical cooperation. Until the FY 2004, 6,044 trainees have been received by Japan, and 1,172 experts and 632 Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers(JOCVs) have been dispatched to Sri Lanka.¹³The Government of Japan and Pakistan signed the agreement on technical cooperation with the aim to promote smooth implementation of the bilateral technical cooperation on 30 April, 2005.JICA received 4,137 trainees from Pakistan and dispatched 872 experts to Pakistan as of the end of fiscal year 2004.¹⁴ So far,4,579 trainees have been received by Japan, and 639 experts dispatched to India as the end of fiscal year 2004.¹⁵

3. Providing Grant Aid

Japan plays an important role in the poverty reduction in South Asia by providing grant aid. Grant aid is primarily channeled to support the Basic Human Needs (BHN) such as medical services, public health, water supply and rural and agricultural development and human resource development in South Asian countries.¹⁶ Table-24 shows that during 1999-2006, Japan net disbursements of grant aid in South Asian Countries. Table-24 also shows that during 1999-2006 Japan provided to Bangladesh \$3,862.56 million, in Bhutan \$192.79 million, in India \$557.27 million, in Sri Lanka \$1,243.74 million, in Pakistan \$1,366.33 million, in Nepal \$1,301.04 million, in Maldives \$193.41 million grant Aid.

Table-24
Japan's Grant Aid in South Asian Countries (1999-2006)
(Net disbursements, \$ million)

Japan's Grant Aid in South Asia							
Year	Bangladesh	Bhutan	India	Sri Lanka	Pakistan	Nepal	Maldives
1999	201.43	11.23	14.57	34.10	22.85	41.63	15.44
2000	201.96	0.86	3.47	34.23	1.36	46.69	4.56
2001	169.22	7.42	5.32	19.61	40.03	49.72	7.67
2002	185.23	10.08	3.18	24.79	44.55	79.87	7.44
2003	94.63	9.01	2.31	19.46	54.76	38.48	4.14
2004	271.51	0.55	7.73	25.31	41.45	36.86	3.08
2005	44.43	8.08	13.75	97.38	31.11	75.53	21.13
2006	252.27	12.64	17.60	11.30	95.47	58.50	1.73
Total	3,862.56	192.79	557.27	1,243.74	1,366.33	1,301.04	193.41

Source: MOFA: Japan's ODA by Country-Southwest Asia, http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/02ap_sa01.html [Accessed 14-06-2009]

b. Japan's Role in the Natural Disasters in South Asian countries

Disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, flood, landslides, cyclone and droughts occur in various ways in South Asia almost every year. Large scale disasters not only claim the lives and properties of many, but also sometimes cause serious, long-term effects on the overall economic and social system of a country. Utilizing advanced

technologies and expertise acquired through past experiences with disasters Japan has been playing a leading role in the international cooperation and disaster reduction. In the immediate aftermath of a disaster in South Asia, Japan provided rapid assistance such as dispatching the Japan disaster relief Team for lifesaving, providing basic necessities and food, and restoration of basic human economic and social infrastructure. In addition, Japan dispatched experts specializing in such field as training, risk assessment of buildings and flood control to assist in the human capacity development.

In December 26, 2004, a powerful Tsunami struck not only the coasts of Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia but also Sri Lanka and Maldives of South Asian countries. The death toll was probably around 250,000 and many more were displaced after the destruction of their homes.¹⁷ The Tsunami tragedy demonstrated in a poignant way that deaths from natural disasters can sometimes be more devastating than wars. In this regard, the Tsunami underscores the argument that security and threats should sometimes be conceived in terms of human security.

In response to serious damages of the Tsunami, Japan as a fellow of Asian partner, took prompt action. In the immediate aftermath of the Tsunami, Japan announced on December 28, 2004 that it would provide assistance of approximately US\$30 million for immediate emergency measures and rehabilitation. Further more, Japan dispatched the Japan Disaster Relief Team (JDRT) comprised of a rescue team, a medical team, and an experts team, as well as Self Defense Forces (SDF) units to the affected areas. A total of 1,913 rescue personnel took part in the rescue efforts.¹⁸ On January 1, 2005, Prime Minister Koizumi announced that Japan would provide assistance to the maximum extent possible in three ways: financial resources, knowledge and expertise, and human resources. As for financial resources, he announced that Japan would extend up to US\$500 million of grant money to effected countries.¹⁹

Immediately following the earthquake, Japan extended total of US\$3.02 billion in emergency aid to Indonesia, Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Of the emergency assistance, Japan extended approximately 14.6 billion yen to Indonesia, approximately 8 billion yen to Sri Lanka, and approximately 2 billion yen to the Maldives in

bilateral ,non-project grant aid .These funds were to be used specifically to purchase medical supplies ,water trucks , generators , and junior high schools, and to repair police stations and building. Japan also provided emergency assistance in kind worth 60 million yen, including tents, water purifiers, blankets, generators, and medical supplies to Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Thailand.²⁰ Of the US\$ 500 million of grant money as emergency assistance pledged by Japan, the decision was made to extend US\$ 250 million as bilateral grant aid to severely hit by the disaster ,and the remaining US\$250 million as emergency humanitarian assistance via international organizations. Besides the US\$ 500 million in grant assistance, Japan utilized the Japan Social Development Fund(JSDF) in the World Bank(ADB) to provide rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance .By the end of March 2005, Japan had approved six plans for assistance, such as assistance for rebuilding people's livelihoods, worth approximately US\$ 8.3 million. In addition, a decision was made on June 2005, to extend approximately 10 billion yen in yen loans to Sri Lanka for reconstruction of small-scale infrastructures and promotion of small businesses.²¹

Japanese NGOs also help to provide assistance for Tsunami disaster under the umbrella of the Japan Platform.²² In response to the Tsunami disaster in Sumatra to distribute emergency supplies, provide emergency medical assistance, build temporary housing , and provide psychological care to children affected by the disaster, among other assistance, to the disaster refugees.²³ In addition to dispatching the JDRT's Medical team to Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the Maldives, Japan dispatched to some countries a total of 247 personnel as relief teams. The Government of Japan dispatched a disaster relief expert team composed of ten members(Official from the Cabinet Office, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, and JICA Experts) from January 16, 2005 to Sri Lanka and Maldives.²⁴

The huge earthquake that occurred in northern Pakistan on October 8, 2005, caused tremendous damage, claiming the lives of over 50,000 people and leaving another 60,000 injured.²⁵ The government of Japan provided assistance in the form of emergency supplies, personnel and financial aid. A Japan disaster relief rescue team was

dispatched on October 9, 2005, followed by a Japan disaster relief Medical team the next.

On October 10, 2005 senior Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Shuzen Tanigawa visited Pakistan to hold emergency discussions with Pakistan government officials and to observe firsthand the situation in the disaster area. Japan pledged to provide grant aid of US\$ 20 million for disaster relief in Pakistan on October 11, 2005. Of that, US\$12 million has been designated as emergency grant assistance and provided through international organizations such as the World Food Programme(WFP) and the United Nations Children's Fund(UNICEF). Emergency water and food supplies, including high energy biscuits, provided for those in the disaster-hit areas along with blankets, shelters and medical supplies.²⁶ Under the Japan Disaster Relief Law, then Japanese defense agency director general Yoshinori Ono ordered the dispatch of approximately 300 Ground and Air Self Defense Force(SDF) personnel on October 12, 2005. Following on from the advance party, a total of four C-130H transport aircraft, three UH-1 helicopters and two special government air craft dispatched to Pakistan to help in the relief efforts.²⁷ Under the umbrella of Japan Platform(JPF) Japanese NGOs dispatched missions to Pakistan. Using funds contributed by the government it engaged in supporting the distribution of essential supplies, medical support activities and the used of rescue dogs to search for survivor.²⁸

A large-scale Cyclone Sidr hit in the Southern part of Bangladesh on November 15, 2007 and at list 3,500 people died, and lot of people injured. After the large scale Cyclone Sidr in Bangladesh, the Government of Japan dispatched emergency grant aid of about\$3.67 million dollars to Bangladesh through the World Food Programme(WFP), the United Nations Children's Found(UNICEF) and World Health Organization (WHO), to support the victims. Japan also provided emergency assistance in kind worth about 35 million yen (consisting of tents, plastic sheets, blankets, portable water tanks, water purifiers, plastic canteens, power generator and sleeping mats).²⁹ Japan also provided grant aid in Bangladesh by Non-Governmental Organizations(NGOs). On September 28, 2008, Mr. Masayuki Inoue, Ambassador of Japan to Bangladesh, signed a grant contract amounting to \$ 159,908 with Ms. Tomoko Oka,

Project Coordinator of Japanese NGO “Children without Borders” (in Japanese Language “ KOKKYO naki Kodomotachi(Knk).” KnK’s established centers of non-formal education and vocational training for children and youths in five villages affected by Cyclone CIDR in Pirojpur.³⁰

Flood is a common natural disaster in South Asian countries .By giving aid Japan helps to improve human security in South Asian countries. After 2004 flood in Bangladesh, on September 14,2004, the Government of Japan provided through the United Nations Children’s Fund(UNICEF), emergency assistance of about \$ 940,000 to provide Tubwells for drinking water to Bangladesh, which had sustained damage from floods .Japan therefore provided the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers to Bangladesh with water cleaner tablets and other relief goods equivalents to \$10,000 and on August 6, 2004 Japan also extended assistance in kind(medicines and daily necessities such as clothing and soap) of about 28 million yen.³¹

After a large scale flood disaster on July 2006 in Pakistan ,the government of Japan provided emergency assistance in kind (blankets, plastic sheets ,water purifiers and electric generators, etc.)equivalent to about 10 million yen to Pakistan on August 10, 2006.³² After June 24,2007 flood in Pakistan, the government of Japan also provided emergency relief goods(sleeping pads, plastic sheets and portable jerry cans) equivalent to about 13 million yen for Pakistan on July 6, 2007.³³Japan government provided emergency assistance in kind worth about 14 million yen(consisting of tents, portable jerry cans, etc.) to Sri Lanka for flood on December 2007.³⁴Japan also provided emergency relief goods equipment about 17 million yen to the government of Sri Lanka on May 2008 flood.³⁵

c.Japan’s Role to Remove Dysfunctional Politics and Establish Human Rights and Democracy in South Asia

Japan drew the world concentration during the last several decades by its outright economic growth and exceptional political stability.After Cold War, Japan has been contributing toward democratization in the third world countries. The principles set forth in Japan’s ODA Charter show clearly that ODA cannot be provided without this linkage to foreign policy. The four principles in the

charter provided specific criteria to guide decision-making in such an event. Paying adequate attention to efforts for democratization is one of the four principles of Japan's ODA Charter.³⁶ Japan plays important role in establishing Human rights and democracy in South Asia in the following ways:

1. Providing Aid and Logistic Support

Japan's plays an important role to remove dysfunctional politics and establish human rights and democracy in South Asia by providing aid and logistic support. In support of Bhutan's transition towards a parliamentary democracy, Japan provided assistance in conducting elections, administrative capacity- building and mass-media. Japan provided emergency grant aid of approximately \$1.07 million through UNDP for the implementation of fair and peaceful general election in Bhutan on March 2008. This aid used for the following activities of general election in Bhutan on March 2008: a. Installation of equipments, such as TV sets for voters in remote areas to receive election-related information, b. Training of election commission officers, c. Installation of temporary polling stations and office equipments, d. Producing and broadcasting TV programs on elections and democracy.³⁷

Japan provided assistance for the general election in Pakistan in February 2008 to ensure free, fair and transparent election leading to the consolidation of democracy. Japan granted approximately \$3.5 million through UNDP for purchasing translucent ballot boxes, tramper-resistant seals, and screens at voting stations.³⁸ Japan strongly supports the consolidation of democracy and progress in peace process in Nepal and assistants Nepalese government's efforts to that end. Since April 2006, Japan has conducted projects to support Nepal's democratic process and peace-building. Japan is providing election-related equipment approximately \$9.5 million of non-project-grant-aid, including provision of ballot boxes(60,000 boxes), providing computers and projectors and improving IT network for the Election Commission.³⁹

The Government of Japan has provided Rs.11 million under Grassroots Human Security Projects(GGP) for "The project for election monitoring process to contribute to the enhancement of democratic process," in Sri-Lanka, which covers elections to be

held in the fiscal year of 2009, including the municipal election in Jaffna, the local elections in Vavuniya, Jaffna and Vanni, the provincial council elections in Uva and Southern provinces. The project to be implemented by People's Action for Free and Fair Elections(PAFFREL), one of the largest election monitoring NGOs in Sri Lanka, consists of: (1)provision of educational materials for voters and election organizers;(2)training for 15,000 election observers; and(3)election monitoring throughout election pre-election, election day and post –election stages.⁴⁰

2. Dispatch Special Election Observer and Monitoring Team in South Asian Countries

By dispatching special election observer mission and monitoring team, Japan plays important role to establish human rights and democracy in South Asia. As one of the co-chairs of the Tokyo conference on reconstructions and development of Sri Lanka, the Government of Japan dispatched an election observation mission to Sri Lanka to observe the general election held on April 2, 2004.The Government of Japan, taking into account the assessment by the mission and others, applauds that the election was conducted in a largely free, fair and peaceful manner throughout the country, although there were some isolated cases of violation of election laws and other malpractices.⁴¹

The Government of Japan dispatched an election observation mission from March 21, 2008 to March 26, 2008 to support fair implementation of the National Assembly election in Bhutan on March 24,2008. The mission comprised of three members, headed by Mr.Takaio Yamada, political Minister of the Japanese Embassy in India.⁴²

In response to the announcement by Pakistan President Pervaz Masharraf that the country accept election observer missions from various countries, the Government of Japan dispatched an election observer mission to Pakistan from 15 February, 2008 to 21 February, 2008 to support the consolidation of democracy and fair implementation of the general election on 18 February , 2008.The mission comprised of a dozen or more members, headed by Mr.Takao Kawakami former Japanese ambassador to Pakistan. The mission exchanged opinions and information with the central

election commission of Pakistan and election observer missions from other countries.⁴³

The election observation mission of the Government of Japan, headed by Mr.Toshiyuki Niwa in Nepal from March 29th 2008 to observe the implementation of the constituent Assembly elections, held on April 10th 2008. The Mission members observed the preparations for the polling day, the polling itself, and also the counting procedures. The mission consists of 24 members from academia, NGOs and government, working together with 12 Nepali assistants. Two Japanese Parliamentarians(MPs), Mr.Tadahiko Ito and Mr. Gaku Hashimoto also visited Nepal over the polling day. Their presence, accompanied by the Ambassador of Japan to Nepal, H.E.Mr.Tatsua Mizuno, and other Embassy staff reinforced Japan's support for the successful election and further development of democracy in Nepal.⁴⁵

The Government of Japan dispatched an election observer mission in Maldives from October 7,2008 to October 9,2008 to contribute to free and fair Presidential election on October 8, 2008.This mission was comprised of three members, headed by Mr.Kaoru Shimazaki, Minister of the Japanese Embassy in Sri Lanka(with jurisdiction over the Maldives).In the Maldives mission observed the preparation and voting, and exchanged views and information with other election observation missions. This Presidential election was the first one under the Maldives new democratic constitution which was enacted in August 2008.⁴⁵

Upon the invitation of the Government of Bangladesh, Japan was dispatched an election observation mission to Bangladesh from December 28, 2008 to December 30, 2008 to support free and fair general election on December 29, 2008.The mission was consist of seven members including two members of the House of Representatives, Mr.Goji Sakamoto(Head of the mission), Senior Secretary- General of the Japan-Bangladesh Parliamentarian's League, and Mr.Akihiro Nishimura, Secretary- General the League.The mission observed the voting and counting and exchanged views and information with other observation mission in Bangladesh.⁴⁶

3. Using Aid as a Tool to Remove Authoritarian Regime in South Asian Countries

Japan was constitutionally committed to the protection of human rights of its citizens since the coming into effect of the 1947 constitution. Popular sovereignty is one of three main ideas to the postwar political structure. Secondly, there is “pacifism” to which Japan apparently commits itself in Article 9, and, thirdly, there is the commitment to human rights, which is present in three places in the constitution. There is indirect reference in the preamble: “We recognize that all people of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.”⁴⁷

For the establishment of democracy and human rights in the third world countries, Prime Minister Kaifu Toshiki announced in April 1991, “Four ODA principles” that the Japanese Government would take into account when deciding on development assistance. The first three were concerned with military spending, but the fourth factor concerned “efforts to promote democratization, secure human rights, and move toward a market-oriented economy.”⁴⁸ The 1996 ODA White paper distinguishes between the use of foreign aid policy as a positive and negative sanction. Where favorable moves are observed, Japan will “reward” the country through extending aid. Where unfavorable moves appear they will freeze, reduce, and finally, if no change in policy is forthcoming, cease foreign aid provision.⁴⁹ Japan uses her aid as a tool to remove authoritarian regime in South Asian countries. During the mass upheaval in Bangladesh against the autocratic regime of Hossain Mohammed Ershad, Japan indicated the possibility of withholding aid to Bangladesh.⁵⁰

4. Supporting the Mass People Movement and Criticize the Authoritarian Government

Japan helps to establish human rights and democracy in South Asia by supporting the mass people movement and criticize the authoritarian government. Japan expressed its regret that members of political parties and civil society activities were arrested in Nepal. As these measures by the Government of Nepal suppressed the free political expression of the people, Japan requested that no more arrests be made and those arrested be released as promptly as

possible.⁵¹ In addition, Japan strongly condemned the acts of violence including the killing of civilians.⁵²

5.Supporting Democratic Activities and Appreciating Free and Fair Election in the South Asian Countries

Japan continues to support the democratic activities of South Asian countries. Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso stated in a daily news paper, “Japan has previously provided assistance for consolidation of democracy in Bangladesh, including personnel exchange, technical cooperation, and the dispatch of election observers. Japan intends to continue such assistance utilizing our knowledge, experience and technology.”⁵³

The government of Japan welcomed the political development in Bangladesh. Japanese press secretary stated, “The Government of Japan welcomes recent political development in Bangladesh, where all major political parties expressed their willingness to participate in the upcoming election, after the political antagonism have been overcome by the efforts of the people concerned, as an important step for strengthening and stabilizing democracy in Bangladesh.”⁵⁴ On January 6, 2009, the Government of Japan also congratulated Sheikh Hasina, President of Awami League as Prime Minister of Bangladesh, following the general election on December 29, 2009, held in free, fair, and peaceful manner. Japanese Foreign Minister Mr. Hirofumi Nakasone mentioned, “This exemplifies that consolidation of democracy in Bangladesh is making a steady progress, making a right start of a new democracy in Bangladesh.”⁵⁵

The Government of Japan welcomed the cease-fire agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Nepal and the Maoists on January 29, 2003. The Government of Japan called on all the groups concerned to cooperate with each other closely so as to resolve the conflict peacefully for the sake of the welfare of the people of Nepal.⁵⁶

On December 15, 2007, President Musharraf lifted the state of emergency of November 3 and restored the constitutional order as he publicly committed. These steps along with resignation from the Chief of Army staff were important for the consolidation of Democracy in Pakistan. The Government of Japan appreciated these

actions. Mr.Masahiko Koumura, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan stated,“The Government of Japan strongly hopes that the general election scheduled on January 8, 2008 , will be held in free and fair manner and thus, the foundation of democracy in Pakistan will be further strengthened.”⁵⁷

Japan welcomed the ratification of a new constitution by President Mamoon Abdul Gayoom on August 7, 2008 in Maldives. Japanese press secretary mentioned, “Japan believes that this is a major step forward in materializing the democratic reform under President Gayoom. Japan wishes the Presidential election, which is planned to be held before October 10, 2008, will be peaceful, free and fair . Japan will continue to assist the efforts by the government of Maldives toward democracy.”⁵⁸

The Government of Japan appreciated that the election was conducted on November 17,2005 in a largely peaceful manner in Sri Lanka. The Government of Japan expressed its heartfelt congratulations to Mr.Mahinda Rajapakse, on his election as the next President of Sri Lanka.⁵⁹ Japan welcomed the fact that the National election held in Bhutan on March 24, 2008 was conducted peacefully and successfully. The National Assembly election was a very important and major progress for Bhutan in its move towards Parliamentary Democracy.⁶⁰

The Government of Japan welcomed that the first Presidential election under the new constitution was held peacefully and successfully in the Maldives., and that Mr.Mohamed Nasheed was elected as the next President in the run off vote on October 28, 2008.Japan highly values the Maldives and its people who elected the new President through a democratic process.⁶¹

Japan congratulates on Mr.Mahinda Rajapaksa’s reelection as the president of Sri Lanka in the presidential election held on January 26,2010. Japan strongly expects that, under the leadership of President Rajapaksa, the Government of Sri Lanka will steadily and swiftly carry forward political processes for national reconciliation.⁶² To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, on how Japan helps to establish democracy and human right in South Asia, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal

questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table-25.

Table-25

How does Japan help to establish democracy and human rights in South Asia?

Japan helps to establish democracy and human rights in South Asia	In Percent
Giving Aid and Logistic support	54.50%
Dispatch election observer mission and monitoring team	15%
Using Aid as a tool to remove authoritarian regime in South Asian countries	23%
Supporting the mass people movement and criticize the authoritarian regime	7.50%
Others	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table-25 shows Japan's role in the establishment of democracy and human rights in South Asia. Table-25 also shows that 54.50% respondents believe Japan's helps to establish democracy and human rights in South Asia by giving Aid and logistic support, 23% respondents believe using aid as a tool to remove authoritarian regime in South Asian countries, 15% respondents believe dispatch election observer mission and monitoring team, 7.50% respondents believe supporting the mass people movement and criticize the authoritarian regime Japan helps to establish democracy and human rights in the South Asian countries.

c. Japan's Role to Resolve Ethnic Discrimination and Peace-Building in Sri Lanka

As the largest donor, Japan played a leading role to peace-building in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa opined, "Japan has a most important contribution to make to the peace and prosperity of Sri Lanka."⁶³ Japanese envoy Yasushi Akashi commented, "his country wanted to play a more active part in peace-building in Sri Lanka. Japan felt it had a role in Sri Lanka as the largest donor and a fellow Buddhist and Asian country."⁶⁴

Sri Lanka had a good commercial centre ever since the Persians landed there for spices a long time ago. But after independence from the British colonial rule, Sri Lanka started to become an unstable island, because of ethnic and minority discrimination. In Sri Lanka, the different ethnic communities generally use two languages, 74% of the total population of Sri Lanka are Sinhalese. They are mostly Buddhists and speak the Sinhalese Language. 18% of the population are Tamils, who are mainly Hindus, and they speak Tamil. 12.6% of this minority group consist of Ceylonese Tamils, who mainly settled in the North and East. Other 5.4% consist of Indian Tamils, British government took them from India for coffee, tea and rubber plantations. They are settled in the central hill country. Muslims of different ethnic origins constitute 7% of the population. The other 1% consists of Malays and Burger.⁶⁵ The Sinhalese and the Tamil both communities demand that they are descendants of the original settlers of the island. But main problem is that Tamil demands 33% land of the country for Tamil Eelam, as their traditional homeland, on the other hand the Sinhalese demands their right of settlement in the entire Sri Lanka as their historical right. After the independence, Government of Sri Lanka started settlement of the Sinhalese in the Eastern and the Northern provinces; minority Tamil thought they are being colonized by the majority Sinhalese in their own land.⁶⁶

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) came to power in 1956, and they declared Sinhala language the main official language of the whole Sri Lanka. Minority Tamil reacted sharply and demanded equal status for Tamil language with Sinhala. Tamil professional/half-professional men and women had a notable share

of government jobs including that of the Armed Forces, in the early 1950s.⁶⁷ According to the 'Sinhala only Act' proficiency in Sinhala was pre-condition for civil service and other government sector jobs. But the minority Tamil community rejected the decision of government. After 'Vaddukoddai Resolution' in 1976, the demand for separate Tamil state (Eelam) came in the limelight and after the July 1983 racial riots it became an issue of international politics.

The Sri Lankan ethnic conflict is over half-a-century old, of which the latter half of the period (since 1983) has been marked by civil war between the government forces and the Sri Lankan Tamil militants. About 75,000 people have lost their lives so far. Besides the war extensively destroyed the socio-economic fabric of Sri Lankan Tamil-dominated Northern and Eastern provinces. Though both the protagonists-the government of Sri Lanka and LTTE failed to reach a political solution, the Government of Sri Lanka succeeded military victory against the LTTE on May 2009.

The peace process in Sri Lanka became considerably internationalized. There were many reasons for international involvement with other than peace building in Sri Lanka.

"First, LTTE military victories in 2000 raised the specter of *de facto* partition that had clear implications for regional stability and separatist causes elsewhere around the world.

Second, after 9/11 casualty in the U.S.A., non-state military actors were increasingly viewed as a threat to global security. Even though the LTTE has never taken an anti-U.S. stance, their involvement in the transnational shadow economy inevitably attracted greater international concern. These two push factors probably induced a reappraisal of the Sri Lankan conflict by international and regional players-it was no longer seen as a minor conflict that could be left to burn out itself, since it had the potential to affect regional and global stability.

Third, for the first time in the history of the conflict, the two main parties agreed about the need for external facilitation or mediation.

Fourth, international actors made the assessment that domestic conditions were conducive for a negotiated settlement, and therefore Sri Lanka provided the opportunity for an international supported success story in liberal peace building.

Fifth, the election of a “donor-friendly” UNF government with a proclaimed economic reform agenda, helped mobilize support from international aid donors. These three “pull factors” created positive incentives for international actors to reengage with Sri Lanka.”⁶⁸

Japan as a co-chair and the largest aid donor to Sri Lanka, is an important political and economic actor. Historically, Japan’s relationship with Sri Lanka has been mainly an economic one. But the appointment of special envoy Akashi and presume of a co-chair position signified a new direction in Japan’s foreign policy, in which development assistance was to be more closely allied to the political project of peace building.

The people of Japan, after long years of isolation from the rest of the world, woke up in the first half of the 20th century to the brutality and annihilation caused by the atomic bombings. A constitution in 1947 was imposed by a conquering power. The exceptional Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which reject war as well as the maintenance of armed forces (Art.9.1 states.....the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation....,’and 9.2 states: ‘In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces as well other war potential, will never be maintained .The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.’),has gone 60 years without amendment, in a world of constant tension and constitutional amendment. Such constitutional clause which help improve peace (in ways directly inconceivable) are backed by honest and earnest political will towards the cause of peace .To assist states without favour or discrimination, with funds, finance, and other assistance in kinds, proves genuineness of Japan.⁶⁹ Supporting peace building processes for countries emerging from conflict is now one of the key priority areas of Japanese foreign policy.⁷⁰ In 1988, the then Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita affirmed in London that Japan will pursue ‘cooperation for peace’ as a new approach towards enhancing her contribution to the maintenance and reinforcement of international peace .⁷¹ In May

2002, Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro declared, Japan will “strengthen cooperation for the consolidation of peace and nation building in countries suffering from conflicts. This policy has become a new pillar of Japan’s international cooperation.”⁷² In the 2008 Policy Speech delivered by the former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda assured that Japan will continue to ‘play a responsible role in the international community as a peace fostering nation which contributes to peace and development in the world.’⁷³ At the G8 Summit (in Hokkaido), Japan set peace building as a primary area which needs greater G8 cooperation—a position which received vast support by the rest of the G8. Japan was elected the chair of the UN Peace Building Commission in June 2007 Sri Lanka was also a member of this commission.⁷⁴ Japan has employed its ODA in the UN peace-keeping and peace-building missions in selected cases.

The additional steps for peace building support can be explored particularly in Japan’s home in Asia. “One is more fully incorporating a “human security” perspective, a bottom-up and human-centered approach that Japan advocates, in international peace building support activities. Two is encouraging the involvement of private sector (business among the others) in this multi-stakeholder processes. And three is promoting South-South peace building cooperation, for example, ASEAN members supporting post-conflict countries in and outside of the region.”⁷⁵

Japan plays an important peace building role in Sri Lanka in the following ways:

1. By Giving Aid

Japan has been strengthening its efforts in the “consolidation of peace” by providing assistance for peace processes and carrying out post-conflict peace building and reconstruction assistance in diverse places of the world.⁷⁶ Japan is the largest aid donor of Sri Lanka. It accounts for 45 percent of all foreign aid to Sri Lanka.⁷⁷ Japan marks a major shift from its traditional aid policy to become a stronger political force in South Asia with the hosting of Sri Lanka’s peace talks in Tokyo. Japan had earlier declined to extend reconstruction aid to Sri Lanka until the warring parties reached a final political settlement to the conflict. But the Japanese diplomats in Colombo

stated that policy has now changed. Japan's ambassador to Sri Lanka, Seiichiro Otsuka commented, "we want to help consolidate the peace process.....and help rehabilitation and reconstruction work even before a final settlement,"⁷⁸

Tokyo also hosted an aid pledging meeting in June 2003 to drum up financial support for the war-weary nation Sri Lanka. In the Tokyo conference \$4.5 billion was pledged by international donors for Sri Lanka.⁷⁹ Besides, Japan's has been supporting Sri Lankan internally displaced persons. On the 21st of October 2005, the government of Japan and the United Nations (UN) decided to extend assistance totaling 1,309,793.10 US dollars (approximately 141.46 million yen), through the Trust Fund for Human Security to a project entitled "Support to the livelihood rehabilitation for conflict affected people engaged in Agriculture in North and East Sri Lanka. The Food and Agriculture organization of the United Nations (FAO) implemented this project. This project helped to support former internally displaced people (IDP) as well as other vulnerable groups in the Kilinochchi and Trincomalee to re-establish their former livelihood in farming."⁸⁰ Assistance materials, including 10,000 sleeping mattress, 10,000 feed-water containers, 4,000 plastic sheets, was provided for ten thousand people, in accordance with the International Peace Cooperation Law, at the request of UNHCR for a large number of IDPs caused by intensifying conflicts in July 2006. In December 2007, support for approximately \$5.0 million of rice and canned tunas for refugees mainly of northern and eastern areas through WFP.⁸¹

The Government of Japan provided a sum of \$2,739,202 (approximately Rs.300 million) towards enhancement of peace in Sri Lanka during the period of January 2008 to local and international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as well as governmental agencies in various districts of the island. Out of the total assistance the Japanese government extended to seven projects amounting \$540,631 (approximately Rs.60 million) for the livelihoods development of the conflict affected communities in the Trincomalee, Manner, Batticaloa and Vauniya districts. For the upliftment of lives of the people in remote and rural areas, the government of Japan supported six projects in Anuradapura, Badulla, Puttalam, Galle, Kuruegala and Matal districts.⁸²

The Government of Japan has extended further support for the humanitarian de-mining activities in Sri Lanka with a grant assistance of \$700,000(approximately Rs.80 million) to Swiss Foundation for Mine Action(FSD) in order to accelerate de-mining activities in the conflict affected areas of Mannar and Vavuniya, which helped resettlement of the IDPs.⁸³ On May 1,2009 the Government of Japan decided to extend emergency grant aid of up to 4 million dollars (412 million yen)as assistance for internally displaced persons(IDPs) in Sri Lanka.⁸⁴ In response to request from the International Organization for Migration(IOM), the Government of Japan, concerned about the serious humanitarian situation facing the internally displaced persons in Sri Lanka, made a cabinet decision on May 15, 2009 to provide 560 tents,30,000 jerry cans, 4,000 plastic sheets, 10,000 sleeping mats, and 1,000 mosquito nets(purchase price: approximately 47 million yen)as assistance in kind in accordance with the international Peace Cooperation Law. These goods used for the relief activities conducted by International Organization for Migration in Sri Lanka.⁸⁵Two Grant Contracts for Humanitarian Demining Activities in the North Activities in the North were signed between Mr.Kunia Takahashi, Ambassador of Japan and the representatives of DDG(Danish Demining Group)and the HALO Trust in the presence of Hon. Basil Rajapaksa, Senior Presidential Advisor and Chairman of the Presidential Task Force and Northern Development on 4th June , 2009 at the Presidential Secretariat.Though these contracts under the scheme of “Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects(GGP),”

The Government of Japan will extend grant aid totaling \$1.4 million(approximately Rs.160 million)to DDG and the HALO Trust(approximately Rs.80 million each) for humanitarian de mining activities in the North.Through this grant Japan extends its cooperation to the efforts of the Government of Sri Lanka to accelerate humanitarian de mining activity for the early return and resettlement of the Internally Displaced persons(IDPs).⁸⁶ The Government of Japan has been extending its financial assistance for enhancement of peace and development of the country throughout the past fifty six years to benefit Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities through its Official Development Assistance.

2. Use Aid as a Tool

Japan used her aid as a tool for the peace building of Sri Lanka. In July 2003, Tokyo conference declaration mentioned that, "Assistance by the donor community must be closely linked to substantial and parallel progress toward fulfillment of the objectives agreed upon by the parties in Oslo."⁸⁷ The LTTE felt that the Washington and Tokyo conferences undermined the basic principle of parity. "Conditionalities were perceived to be a one-sided exercise that aimed to discipline the LTTE rather than government."⁸⁸

Donors efforts to influence conflict and peace dynamics can broadly be divided into three areas of engagement. "First, applying peace conditionalities to reconstruction and development aid. Second, dealing with the consequences of conflict. Third, addressing the underlying causes of conflict."⁸⁹ When in 2006 the number of killing in Sri Lanka increased, Sri Lanka's warring parties resumed talks in Geneva on October 28, 2006. On behalf of Sri Lanka's key International backers, including the US, European Union and Japan, Norway's international development Minister Erik Solheim commented, "We have shown a lot of patience and we are prepared to show more, but the people in Sri Lanka and the international community will be impatient."⁹⁰ He also stated, "The island risked losing huge foreign aid and goodwill unless the government and Tamil Tiger rebels worked towards a final political solution based on a federal formula agreed in December 2002."⁹¹

3. Sending Special Envoy

Japan played commendable role in Sri Lanka by sending special envoy. With signing the cease-fire agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) in February 2002, the Government of Japan appointed Mr. Yasushi Akashi, former Undersecretary General of the United Nations with a view to contributing for peace-building, rehabilitation and reconstruction in Sri Lanka.⁹² He has provided indirect support for promoting the peace process through exchanging opinions extensively with the officials of the Sri Lankan Government, representatives of ethnic minorities and intellectuals.⁹³ Both the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE have welcomed Japan's involvement in the peace talks. Balasingham had commented, "We

except Japan to play a dual role. That is politically to encourage the parties to seek a negotiated political settlement and most certainly, economically to help the war affected people not only in the North and East but also the South, to build up their economy.”⁹⁴

Mr. Yasushi Akashi made clear Japan’s objectives in Sri Lanka in the aid meeting at Oslo of November, 2002. He stated,

“*Japan has in the past ten years had been engaged in the post conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction in Cambodia, Afghanistan, East Timor and elsewhere and now it has decided to give its support and commitment to accelerating the peace process in Sri Lanka.

*The “peace divided” in the form of reconstruction should be evenly distributed taking in to account the balance between the North-Eastern and Southern part of the country and equally sensitive balance between Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims.

*As the largest external donor country to Sri Lanka, Japan’s contribution to the social and economic development of the country would continue in a positive spirit.

*Japan will positively involve itself in the construction support in the North and East and would appeal to the two parties to achieve sustainable peace.

*Japan is ready to continue to contribute to the Sub-Committee on Intermediate and Rehabilitation as an Adviser.”⁹⁵

A Japanese spokesman in Colombo also commented, “Our role in the foreign is purely that of a peace promoter and a strong supporter of economic development, and we would never overstep this mandate.”⁹⁶

On 23 March, 2003, Mr. Akashi joined the negotiating team and facilitators to discuss the progress of the sub-committee on Immediate Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Needs in the North and East (SIHRN). The SIHRN is spearheading efforts to resettle almost a million displaced people and refugees in the North and East.⁹⁷ The LTTE’s Chief Negotiator, Mr. Aton Balasingham, told the Tamil Guardian News Paper, “The peace process is enhanced by Japan’s involvement,” He also stated, “This is first time a major Asian power has involved itself in the ongoing effort to end [Sri Lanka’s] ethnic conflict. It is also the first time Japan is actively involved in contributing to an ongoing peace process .

Japan's new role in the peace process was "crucial" as it would encourage both parties to deepen their commitment to peace process and assist in building international support for reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts."⁹⁸ A delegation of the Infrastructure Development Institute of Japan (IDI), led by Mr. Yoshyo Yabe, senior consultant and director of planning department of IDI under took a fact-finding mission in the Northeastern province from February 26 to March 6, 2003 to study rehabilitation and development plans for the region.⁹⁹

4. Become a Host of the Six Round of Peace Talks Between the Government of Sri Lanka and LTTE

Sri Lankan Government and LTTE agreed on 'a step-by-step' approach to the negotiating process. Accordingly, with Norway delegation chairing the sessions, Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE held six round of talks in various international venues starting from September 2001 to March 2003.¹⁰⁰

Japan hosted the sixth round of peace talks between the Government of Sri Lanka and LTTE in Hakone, Japan from March 18 to 21, 2003.¹⁰¹ During this round both parties agreed to acclimatize a Declaration of Human Rights and Humanitarian Principles. In the form of a programme for human rights training for LTTE cadres and government officials, police and prison officials were coordinated by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Both parties was agreed to strengthen the security situation on land. The Government of Sri Lanka and LTTE accepted the proposal submitted by the sub-committee on gender issues to establish secretariats in Kilinochchi and Colombo. In the peace talk LTTE agreed to hold local council elections with the participation of non LTTE groups in the areas under its control.¹⁰² It was the last such talks held between the government of Sri Lanka and LTTE as LTTE withdrew from the peace talks in the following month.

5. Arranging Tokyo Conference on Reconstruction and Development of Sri Lanka

Japan emerged as a leading player in the negotiations to end nearly the twenty five years of civil war. The Tokyo Conference on reconstruction and development of Sri Lanka was held on June 9 and 10, 2003 in Tokyo with the participation of Ministers and

representatives from 51 countries and 22 international organizations.¹⁰³ About the conference Japanese special envoy Mr. Yasushi Akashi stated in a Indian Magazine, “We have to promote the peace process in Sri Lanka.....Our strength lies in assistance to economic and social development and humanitarian assistance. It is a role the Japanese public strongly supports. Many in Asia also welcome thisJapan is hosting a conference mainly by donors but this definitely should not be confined to financial donors. It should include political donors.”¹⁰⁴ The Prime Minister of Japan Mr. Junichiro Koizumi in the inaugural address at the Tokyo conference on reconstruction and development of Sri Lanka stated, “I sincerely hope that the Tokyo Conference will be an opportunity to demonstrate a strong and unified commitment on the part of the international community to the peace process in Sri Lanka. The international community must show its resolve to support, in concrete terms, reconstruction and development in all of Sri Lanka, including war-torn North and East. If such support were to help the Sri Lankan people to enjoy the tangible benefits of peace, their own determination to continue efforts toward a durable peace would be even that much more firm and steadfast.”¹⁰⁵

The objectives of the conference were to provide the international community with an opportunity to demonstrate its strong and unified commitment to the reconstruction and development of Sri Lanka and to encourage the parties to redouble their efforts to make further progress in the peace process. The conference takes note of the economic challenges faced by the country and in this context endorsed the Government’s “Regaining Sri Lanka” initiative, which is a comprehensive programme to develop Sri Lanka on a balanced and equitable basis. Participants express their regret over the absence of the LTTE from the Tokyo conference.

The conference, provided the government of Sri Lanka with an opportunity to reaffirm its determination to pursue the peace process, and focus on the reconstruction and development of Sri Lanka. The conference also noted the importance of urgent humanitarian assistance as well as medium to long-term assistance to rebuild the conflict-affected areas in the North and East, assist in the development of the entire country. The conference emphasized the importance of taking full account of the delicate ethnic and

geographical balance in providing assistance. The conference welcomed the “Needs Assessment” of the North and East, which identified needs in the conflict-affected areas.

The donor community expresses its willingness to extend assistance to Sri Lanka based on the source material provided for the conference namely, “Regaining Sri Lanka,” the “Needs Assessment” of the North and East, the “Needs Assessment” for the conflict – related districts adjacent to the North and East and Bridging Document, which links the “Needs Assessments” and “Regaining Sri Lanka.”¹⁰⁶ About the importance of the Tokyo conference, Gamini Keerawella commented, “It is important for two reasons. Firstly, the Tokyo declaration on reconstruction and development set the guidelines for both parties by way of identifying linkages between donor support and progress in the peace process. Secondly, it pledged a \$4.5 billion aid package to Sri Lanka. The largest pledge came from Japan(\$1 billion over 4 years).¹⁰⁷

The first meeting to follow up the Tokyo conference was held in Colombo on September 12, 2003. The meeting was Chaired by the Mr. Yasushi Akashi assisted the EU and the USA. 12 donor countries and 7 international organizations participated in the meeting. Both parties to the peace process, the Government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam(LTTE) were also invited to the meeting. Senior Ministers and official from the government of Sri Lanka participated, while the LTTE did not attend. The participating countries and international organizations welcomed the continuing commitment of both parties to the peace process and their continued efforts to resume peace talks, with a view to achieving a durable peace based on a federal structure within a united Sri Lanka as agreed in OSLO, December 2002. They also urged strict adherence to the Memorandum of Understanding. The participants discussed the following issues:

Implementation of donor assistance after the Tokyo conference, development policy and capacity building by both parties, inter-linkage between progress in the peace process and implementation of donor support, future modalities. The participating countries and international organizations reiterated their intention to fulfill the commitment to extend assistance to Sri Lanka based upon the

principles describe in the Tokyo Declaration. They reaffirmed paragraph 18 of the Tokyo Declaration that “Assistance by the donor community must be closely linked to substantial and parallel progress in the peace process.” They reaffirmed the importance of urgent humanitarian and rehabilitation assistance in the North and the East. The participating countries and international organizations expressed their strong commitment to continue and intensify their reconstruction and development assistance to the South.¹⁰⁸

6. Japan’s Invitation Program of Young People for Promoting Sri Lanka’s Peace Process

Japan likes to develop confidence with the ethnic groups of Sri Lanka by invitation program of young people. For this they arranged several invitation program of young people for promoting Sri Lanka’s peace process. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs invited nine Sri Lankan young people (three Tamil, three Muslims, and three Sinhalese) from eastern part of Sri Lanka from February 17, 2009 to February 24, 2009 on the invitation program of young people for promoting Sri Lanka’s peace process. This was the fourth of the series, following the past invitation programs in November 2004, February 2006, and February 2008. During their stay in Japan, they met with Mr. Nobuhide Minorikawa, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Yasushi Akashi. They also exchanged their views with representative of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Sri Lanka-related NGOs and Universities.¹⁰⁹ Japanese Government believes, “The participants of this program, who will shoulder the future of Eastern Sri Lanka, where stability and development are outstanding issues after the liberation from the long-term domination by a rebel organization, are expected to learn the nation-building process through deepening their understanding on local governance system in Japan. This program also intends to build mutual confidence among the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka and promote their understanding on Japan.”¹¹⁰

7. Japan’s Steps to Remove Serious Human Casualties in Sri Lanka on January 2009 to May 2009

In the beginning of 2009, Japan took active role to remove serious human casualties in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka’s top donor Japan was cautious after the Tamil Tiger rebel’s capital fell, with an official saying that only a political solution could resolve the island’s ethnic

war. In the first week of January, 2009, Sri Lanka's army captured the de facto rebel capital Kilinochchi and stated it was closing in on the headquarters of the Tigers.¹¹¹ A Japanese foreign ministry official in charge of Sri Lankan matters commented, "The real solution to the ethnic conflict can be realized only through political efforts. Japan will keep encouraging the Sri Lankan Government to pursue a political solution to the ethnic conflict by promoting local autonomy in the North East region."¹¹² When a large number of civilians including internally displaced persons faced difficult and dangerous situation in the Northern part of Sri Lanka, Japan dispatched Mr. Yasushi Akashi, from January 21 to 25, 2009 to ensure the safety of civilians. Japan reiterated the importance of ensuring safety of civilians including internally displaced persons and their freedom of movement and aided workers access to the civilians, and hopes for progress in the political process towards a permanent solution of the ethnic conflict.¹¹³ In this regard, Japan extended since October 2008 food aid of 5,250 tones of rice to civilians in the Northern part of Sri Lanka through the World Food Programme(WFP).¹¹⁴

Japan was concerned that a large number of internally displaced persons were in a difficult situation in the Northern part of Sri Lanka. Japan welcomed the announcement of the Government of Sri Lanka on April 12, 2009 to give civilian population a chance to be released from the Fire Zone. Japan called upon Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to allow freedom of movement of the civilians and ensured their safety.¹¹⁵ Japan welcomed that in the April 20 to 22 nearly 1000,000 internally displaced persons (IDP) in the Northern part of Sri Lanka controlled by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had moved to the area by the Government of Sri Lanka. Japan called upon both the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE to respect international humanitarian laws and secured the safety of IDPs within the combat zones.¹¹⁶ G-8 Foreign Ministers expressed their deep concern about the mass civilian casualties and deteriorating humanitarian situation in Northern Sri Lanka. The G8 Foreign Ministers stated, "We are deeply concerned at reports that civilians who have been injured are unable to move to safety. Strongly condemning the use of civilians as human shields by the LTTE, the killing of civilians and terrorism in all its manifestations, we call all parties to take all necessary action to avoid further

civilian casualties. We support the decision by the UNSC to dispatch a UN humanitarian team to the no-fire zone.”¹¹⁷

In response to the situation in Sri Lanka, where hostilities between the Government and LTTE entered in a final phase, the Government of Japan dispatched again Mr. Akashi from April 30, 2009. During his stay in Sri Lanka Mr. Akashi met the government officials and representatives of the ruling and opposition parties and called to ensure the safety and security of internally displaced persons in the Northern part of Sri Lanka. He also worked on both sides to make further efforts towards political solution of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.¹¹⁸ After the announcement of the Government of Sri Lanka that more than 170,000 IDP hold as a human shield in the area controlled by the Liberation of Tamil Tigers of Eelam(LTTE) moved to the Government controlled area in the Northern part of Sri Lanka since January 2009, the Government of Japan extended grant aid up to \$4 million as assistance for internally displaced persons(IDPs) in Sri Lanka on May 1, 2009.¹¹⁹ Mr.Shintaro Ito, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Japan attended the ad hoc meeting for concerned countries and international NGO regarding Sri Lanka in New York on May 2009,where he exchanged his views regarding issues including the situation in Sri Lanka and its humanitarian situation.¹²⁰

In response to a request from the International Organization for Migration(IMO), the Government of Japan, concerned about the serious humanitarian situation facing the internally displaced person in Sri Lanka, decided to provide approximately 47 million yen as assistance in kind in Sri Lanka on May 15, 2009.¹²¹ Japan welcomed the end of the military conflict between government troops, and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam(LTTE). Japan expressed its sympathy for the many precious lives lost over twenty-five years of civil war. Japan hoped that the Government of Sri Lanka follow the proper legal procedures in its dealing with LTTE personnel who laid down their arms and surrendered.¹²²

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, on how Japan plays to resolve ethnic conflict and peace building role in Sri Lanka, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six

categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table -26.

Table-26

How does Japan play active role to resolve ethnic conflict and Peace-building in Sri Lanka?

Japan plays active role to resolve ethnic conflict and Peace-building Sri Lanka	In Percent
By giving aid	17%
By using aid as a tool	43.0%
By sending special envoy	27.0%
By arraigned Tokyo Conference on Reconstruction	13%
Others	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table-26 shows Japan's role to resolve ethnic conflict and peace-building in Sri Lanka. Table-26 also shows that 43% respondents believe that Japan plays active role to resolve ethnic conflict and peace-building in Sri Lanka by using aid as a tool, 27% respondents believe by sending special envoy, 17% respondents believe by giving aid, 13% respondents believe by arraigned Tokyo conference on reconstruction Japan plays active role to resolve ethnic conflict and peace-building in Sri Lanka.

d. Japan's Role in the Environmental Security in South Asia

Japanese environmental foreign policy, as does other foreign policy, evolves out of linked domestic and international factors. The welfare and economic progress of Japanese are heavily dependent on a stable international political and economic order. Free and open access to and steady supply of food and energy are Japan's main security concerns. As to the diplomatic means for fostering economic prosperity, postwar political structure continue to set its parameters. The no-war provision of the constitutions has rejected Japan from taking any military belligerent foreign policy. At the same time, the US-Japan security treaty has continuously accommodated Japan with

military security. After the end of the Cold War and the Gulf War of 1991, Japan's foreign policy framework has come under scrutiny both inside and outside the country. As a soft power Japan contributes to the enhancement and maintenance of international public goods, such as a stable international political and economic order, through economic cooperation, social development and environmental protection in the world.

Matching to the emerging environmental diplomacy during the Aichi Summit of 1989, the Japanese government introduced its environmental ODA policy. The main features of the policy include: (1) expending about 300 billion yen in bilateral and multilateral environment assistance for the three years beginning in 1989; emphasis on forest conservation and related research programs, especially for tropical rain forest; (2) emphasis on capacity building in ODA recipient countries; and (3) the enhancement of environmental considerations in its assistance programs.¹²³ The Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) in October 1989 published guidelines for its yen loan programme designed to improve the monitoring of environmental impact during the cycle of project development and implementation.¹²⁴ The 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) (Earth Summit) held in Rio de Janeiro adopted the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Convention on Biological Diversity. These agreements helped strengthen and existing international legal framework for the protection of the environment.

Japan pledged bilateral and multilateral ODA for environment of about \$7 to \$7.7 billion which was spread over a period of five years. Japan is also the largest contributor to the International Tropical Timber organization, UN Environment protection and other agencies.¹²⁵ Responding to these international developments and, at the same time, aiming at further articulating Japanese environmental foreign policy, the ODA charter, one of whose principles addresses the enhancement of the environment, was approved by the Cabinet on June 30, 1992.¹²⁶ The first principle of the ODA Charter stated, "Environmental conservation and development should be pursued in tandem."¹²⁷ "Technical support and capacity building are the main components of the specific policy areas subject to Japan's

environmental ODA. Specific areas include air pollution control measures, energy conservation, improvement of the residential environment (relating to water supply, sewerage systems, and disposal facilities), natural disaster prevention through flood prevention technology, forestry conservation, as well as nature conservation in general. Regarding the area of capacity building for arresting environmental degradation in developing countries, the principal measure is to foster human resources through the support for establishing and operating research and training centers for environmental protection in developing countries.”¹²⁸

The implementation of ODA projects, particularly its technical aspect, is the responsibility of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), an ODA executive agency. JICA's environmental policy has five distinctive characteristics. Two of them are environmental studies relating to the planning stage of ODA projects: that is project identification and formation studies for environmental protection. Third, JICA has also set up environmental guidelines and issued manuals for project development. The fourth and fifth features are related to human resources and capacity building respectively.¹²⁹ Japan shows some sensitivity to the environmental concerns of opponents of high-profile projects, the ability of environmental NGOs to force changes or cancellations in Japanese ODA Projects. In 1990, for example, it suspended its loan aid for the Sadar dam project in India, following protest by local residents and environmentalists.¹³⁰ In January 2008, the Government of Japan established a new ODA loan scheme, called “Climate Change Japanese ODA Loan (“Cool Earth Loan”),” as a part of “Cool Earth Partnership” in order to provide ODA loan amounting up to 500 billion yen with special interest rates for the purpose of supporting implementation of recipients' programs to address the global warming.

In South Asia Japan plays a potential role in the environmental security. Japan organized with Islamabad Strategic Study, Islamabad (ISSI), the Symposium on “Energy and Connectivity” at Islamabad in June 2008. Panelists discussed challenges accompanying increasing energy demand and others in the SAARC region, and adopted the recommendations (attached) on promoting energy cooperation including promotion of existing SAARC

projects. Improvement of Energy Infrastructure and Support for Environmental Conservation recent examples are: Haryana Transmission System Project(India); Uttar Pradesh Participatory Forest Management and Poverty Alleviation Project(India); The Project for the construction of New Kawasoti Substation (Nepal); Punjab Transmission Lines and Grid Stations Project(I)(Pakistan).¹³¹Besides this, from 1999 to 2008 Japan implemented several environmental projects in South Asian countries.

Japan implemented following environmental Projects in Bangladesh in the last ten years (1999-2008):

*In 1999, Energy saving, environmental protection and improvement of on-stream factor of Ghorasal Urea Fertilizer Factory Project.

*Project for Construction of Multipurpose Cyclone Shelters(IV).

*In 2003, the project for construction of multipurpose cyclone shelters(Phase V)(through UNICEF).

*In 2004,the project for construction of multipurpose cyclone shelters (Phase V).

*In 2005,the project for construction of multipurpose cyclone shelters(Phase V).

*The project for the improvement of the Meteorological Rader System at Cox's Bazar and Khepupara .

*In 2006,the project for the improvement of the meteorological radar system at Cox's bazaar and Khepupara.

*The project for the improvement of the storm water drainage system in Dhaka city(Phase II).¹³²

*The Project for the Establishment of the Meteorological Rader System at Moulvibazer.¹³³

*In 2008,the programme for improvement of solid waste management in Dhaka city toward the low carbon society .

*The programme for construction of multipurpose cyclone shelters in the area of effected by the Cyclone Sidr.¹³⁴

Japan also implemented following technical cooperation projects and development studies in the last 10 years in Bangladesh. Technical cooperation projects are:

*The poultry management technique improvement project in Bangladesh; the project for enhancing capacity of solid waste management in Dhaka city.

Development studies projects are:

*The Feasibility study for up gradation and expansion and expansion of Data communication/Transmission Network of Flood Forecasting and warning service; the solid waste management study in Dhaka city.¹³⁵

Besides ,March 23, 2009,Mr.Yonezo Fukuda, Charge d' Affaires ad interim ,Embassy of Japan signed a grant contract amounting to \$86,576 with Mr. Sumittananda Bhikku, Secretary General of Agrasara Memorial Society of Bangladesh for its project "Construction of Agrasara Healthcare Center "under Japan's Grant Assistance for Grass-roots Human Security Projects(GGHSP).The Japanese Government hopes that the project will improve health conditions in the area.¹³⁶

During 1999-2008 Japan implemented following energy and environment projects in India.

*In 2002,Punjab Aforestation Project(II).

*Rajasthan Forestry and Biodiversity conservation Project.

*In 2006,Tripura Forest Environmental Improvement and Poverty Alleviation Project.

*Gujarat Forestry Development Project(Phase 2) .

Japan also implemented following energy and environmental Technical cooperation projects and development studies projects in India. Implemented Technical cooperation projects are:

*The Project for Technology Transfer on Control and Abatement of River Pollution,

*The Project for Strengthening Capacity on Reconstruction and Management of Hussain sagar lake.

Development Studies Projects are:

*The Study on Integrated pollution Abatement and River Basin Management Project for Ganga Basin,

*The development study on the improvement of power distribution system of Andhra Pradesh .¹³⁷

Japan implemented in Maldives non-project grant aid in response to the disaster caused by the major earthquake off the coast of Sumatra and the Tsunami in the Indian Ocean in2004 and Maldives Tsunami Reconstruction Project in 2006.¹³⁸

Japan implemented following environmental technical cooperation projects and environmental development studies projects in Nepal in the last ten years(1999-2008).

Technical cooperation projects are;

*Community development and Forest/Watershed Conservation Project Phase II ;

*Disaster Mitigation support programme project;Phewa lake environmental Awareness and Capacity Building Project ;

*Himalaya Tea Technology Outreach and Extension Project.

Japan's implemented development studies project was the Study on the Solid Waste Management for the Kathmandu Vally.¹³⁹

Japan implemented following environmental project in Pakistan:

*The project for the establishment of environmental monitoring system;

*The project for the establishment of environmental monitoring system in 2005.

Besides,during the last ten years Japan implemented following environmental technical cooperation projects in Pakistan:

*The project for capacity development for Solid Waste Management, and the project for capacity building for solid waste management.

Japan also implemented environmental development studies projects in Pakistan;They were the study on comprehensive flood mitigation and environmental improvement plan of the Lal Nullah Basin .¹⁴⁰

Japan implemented following environmental projects, technical cooperation projects and development studies projects in Sri Lanka:

*Lunawa environment improvement and community development project in 2001;

*Plantation reform project (II) in 2002

*Environmentally friendly solution fund project(II)(E-Friends(II) in 2004.

Japan implemented technical cooperation project in Sri Lanka was :

*The capacity upgrading project for the national solid waste management support center,

Development studies projects were:

*The study on improvement of solid waste management in secondary cities;

*The study of hydropower optimization;

*The recovery, rehabilitation and development project for Tsunami affected area of Southern region in Sri Lanka during the last ten years(1999-2008).¹⁴¹

e.Japan's Role in the Improvement of Health in South Asian countries People

In South Asian countries, a large number of people suffer from lack of basic health service. Three goals of the Millennium Development Goals(MDGs) relate to the area of health :reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, and combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases .Japan has been providing assistance to address health-related priority issues, which are the promotion of maternal and child health, measures against infectious diseases, and the development of health systems. It also offers assistance in other areas of health, as well as cross-sectoral actions such as promotion of gender equality, education-related efforts, Japan has been playing a leading role in providing cooperation in the health sector in South Asia.

On January 15,2003, the Government of Japan and the United Nations(UN) extended the total of \$1,030,000 assistance through the Trust Fund for Human Security to the Project “Adolescent Girls, Trafficking and HIV/AIDS: Strengthening responses in South Asia” which was implemented by the United Nations Development Programme(UNDP).This project gave special attention to protecting children and young girls from trafficking and exposure to HIV infection in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India ,Nepal , and Pakistan. This project strengthened the protection of those who are threatened by trafficking and HIV/AIDS and to lead governments, civil society organizations and communities to make stronger network in effectively combating the challenges.¹⁴² Japan implemented several health related projects in South Asian countries during last ten years(1999-2008)for the improvement of health of the people.

Japan implemented following health related projects in Bangladesh in the last ten years :

*In 1999,Project for increase in Vaccinations to Prevent Tetanus in Newborn Infant ;

*Project for Improvements to Maternity Health Training Facilities;

- *Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis(Through UNICEF);
- *Project for countermeasures Against Iodine Deficiency Disease(Through UNICEF).
- *In 2000,Project for the Eradication of Poliomyelitis ;
- *Project for Improvement of Maternal and Child Health Training Institute.
- *In 2001, project for the Eradication of poliomyelitis.
- *In 2002,the Project for Eradication of Poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).
- *In 2003,the Project for Eradication of Poliomyelitis(through UNICEF);
- *Activities on Occupational Health and Safety conducted by Trade Union in Bangladesh.
- *In 2004, the project for infectious Diseases Prevention for Children(through UNICEF).

Japan also implemented a technical cooperation project, which was project for human resources development in reproductive Health in Bangladesh.¹⁴³

In 2000,Japan implemented Project for improvement of Maternal and Child Health and Essential equipment in Bhutan.¹⁴⁴

Japan implemented following health related projects in India in the last ten years(1999-2008):

- *In 1999, Project for the Eradication of poliomyelitis(Through UNICEF).
- *In2001,Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis.
- *In 2002, the Project for eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).
- *In 2003, the Project for improvement of Medical Equipment for Sir J.J. Hospital and Cama & Albless Hospital;
- *The project for eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).
- *In 2004,the Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF);
- *The Project for construction of Diarrheal Research and Control Centre.
- *In 2005,the Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).
- *In 2006,the Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis in India(through UNICEF).¹⁴⁵

*In 2008, the Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis in India(through UNICEF).¹⁴⁶

Japan also implemented several technical cooperation projects in India. These projects are :

*The Project for emerging Diarrheal Disease in India ;

*The Project for Prevention of Emerging Diarrheal Disease in India(Phase 2);

*Reproductive Health and Women's Empowerment;

*Reproductive Health Project in the State of Madhya Pradesh(Phase 2).¹⁴⁷

Japan implemented following health related projects in Nepal in the last ten years(1999-2008):

*In 2002,Occupation of a Health and Safety Project Conducted by Trade Union in Nepal;

*Construction of a Health Care Center at Kagati Village,Nuwakot Distrect.

*In 2003, activities on Occupational Health and Safety conducted by Trade Union in Nepal.

* In 2006,the Project for Essential Health Service for Emergency-Affected Children and Women(through UNICEF).

Japan also implemented a technical cooperation project which was Community Tuberculosis and Lung Health Project.¹⁴⁸

Besides, on 15 April, 2009, the Government of Japan and the United Nations (UN) decided to extend assistance totaling \$1,163,203.84 through the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security to a project entitled "Delivering Essential Reproductive Health Care, Education and Counseling to Vulnerable Women and Adolescent Girls of Nepal affective by conflict" in Nepal, which is going to be implemented by the United Nations Population Fund(UNFPA),the United Nations Children's Fund(UNICEF),and the World Health Organization(WHO).Social and regional disparities, insufficient delivery of basic social services such as reproductive health care and education due to the aftermath of the internal conflict threatens women and adolescent girls in remote conflict-affected areas of Nepal in terms of their health and opportunities for education .They are also exposed to the risk of gender based violence ,human trafficking and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS .This project aims at talking these problems through implementing

comprehensive activities to protect and empower women and adolescent girls in Dadeldhura, Dang, Kapilbastu, Rautahat, Mahottari and Saptari districts of Nepal.¹⁴⁹

Japan implemented following health related projects in Pakistan in the last ten years(1999-2008):

*In 1999,Project for expansion of immunization against Neonatal Tetanus;

*Project for the Eradication of Poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).

*In 2000,Project for Expansion of immunization against Neonatal Tetanus.

*In 2001,Project for Expansion of Immunization against Neonatal Tetanus ;

*Project for the Eradication of Poliomyelitis in Pakistan(through UNICEF).

*In 2002,the Project for Eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF);

*Occupational Health and Safety Project conducted by Trade Union in Pakistan.

*In 2003,the Project for eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF);

*Activity on occupational Health & Safety conducted by the Trade Union in Pakistan.

*In2004, the Project for the Eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).

*In 2005,the Project for the renovation of Islamabad Children's Hospital;

The Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis(through UNICEF).

In 2006,the Project for the eradication of poliomyelitis in Pakistan(through UNICEF).

Japan also implemented two technical cooperation Projects in Pakistan. These were:

*The Tuberculosis control project;

*EPI/Polio control project .¹⁵⁰

Japan implemented following health related projects in Sri Lanka in the last ten years(1999-2008):

*In 1999, Project for improvement of general Hospital Ratnapura.

*In 2000,Project for improvement of the National Blood Transfusion Services.

*Project for Improvement of Medical equipment in General Hospital Matara.

*Project for the Improvement of the General Hospital Ratnapura.

*In 2002, the Project for improvement of General Hospital Ratnapura.

*In 2003, Emergency grant assistance for improving Maternal and Child health care in conflict affected areas project.

Japan also implemented a technical cooperation project and a development studies project. Technical cooperation project was third country group training programme for the improvement of the Oral Health Education and Services, and development studies project was the master plan study for strengthening health system.¹⁵¹

Besides, the government of Japan through its “Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects(GGP)” has provided a total of \$173,710 to three projects. These projects are expected to improve health and livelihoods of conflict affected communities in Batticaloa and Vavunniya and of plantation communities in Rathnapura. “The Project for Developing basic infrastructure and Agriculture at a conflict affected area in Batticaloa District” will be implemented by the “Sareeram Sri Lanka National Foundation(Inc.)”(Sareeram). The amount of \$51,226 was released to construct a multipurpose community centre, and roads and distributed perennial crop plants to conflict affected communities in the Manmunai DS division in the Batticaloa district. “The Project for construction of a chest clinic in the hospital premises of general hospital, Vavunniya” will be implemented by the department of the regional director of health services, Vavunniya. An amount of \$83,639 was released to construct a chest clinic. “The Project for bringing hygienically disciplined community through development of water facilities rendering awareness to the plantation sector community” will be implemented by “community Foundation”. An amount of \$38,845 was released to construct two water systems and conduct awareness programs on hygiene disciplines in four estates in the Rathnapura District.¹⁵²

f. Japan's Role to Improve Water and Sanitation in South Asian Countries

Japan plays significant role to improve water and sanitation in South Asian countries. "Meeting the MDG Drinking Water and Sanitation Target: A Mid-Term Assessment of Progress" was compiled by WHO and UNICEF in August 2004. According to this report, approximately 1.1 billion people in 2002 worldwide had no access to safe drinking water through such means as waterworks or wells, of which approximately 0.7 billion lived in Asia. Further more, approximately 2.6 billion people around the world had no access to basic sanitation such as sewage systems, of which approximately 1.9 billion live in Asia.¹⁵³

On the occasion of the 3 World Water Forum Ministerial Conference, which was held in March 2003 in Kyoto, Japan announced the "Initiative for Japan's ODA on Water" and clarified its policy to advance comprehensive efforts including not only the provision of drinking water and sanitation, but also the improvement of water productivity, water pollution control, disaster mitigation, and water resources management.¹⁵⁴ The issue of water and sanitation is a serious problem in South Asian countries. Japan has been making major contributions in the area of water and sanitation in South Asian countries by implementing several water and sanitation projects.

Japan implemented following water and sanitation projects in Bangladesh in the last ten years(1999-2008):

*In 2002, the Project for Mitigation of Arsenic Construction (through UNICEF).

*In 2004, the Project for strengthening of water examination system.

*In 2006, Karnaphuli water supply project.

*The project for the improvement of the storm water drainage system in Dhaka city (Phase II).

Japan also implemented technical cooperation projects and development studies projects. Technical cooperation project was the project for enhancing capacity of Solid Waste Management in Dhaka city and development project was the Solid Waste Management Study in Dhaka city.¹⁵⁵

Japan implemented following water and sanitation related projects in India last ten years(1999-2008):

- *In 2003,Bisalpure Jaipur Water Supply Project(Transfer system).
- *In 2004,Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Project(II-1).
- *In 2005, Bangalore Water Supply and Sewerage Project(II-2).
- *The Project for the Development of Groundwater in the State of Utter Pradesh.
- *In 2006, Kerala Water Supply Project(II).
- * Agra Water Supply Project.
- *Orissa Integrated Sanitation Improvement Project .

Japan also implemented technical cooperation project and development studies project in India. Technical cooperation project was the Project for Strengthening Capacity on Restoration and Management of Hussainsagar lake and development studies Project was Augmentation of Water Supply and Sanitation for Goa State.¹⁵⁶

Japan implemented following water and sanitation related projects in Nepal in the last ten years(1999-2008):

- *In 2002,the Project for Improvement of Kathmandu Water Supply Facilities.
- *In 2003, the Project for Improvement of Kathmandu Water Supply Facilities.
- *In 2005, the Project for the improvement of Water Supply Facilities in Urban and Sami-Urban Centres.¹⁵⁷

Japan implemented following water and sanitation related projects in Pakistan in the last ten years(1999-2008):

- *In 2004, the Project for Improvement of Water Supply System in Faisalabad.
- *The Project for the Retrieval of Sewage and Drainage System in Lahore City.
- *In 2005, the Project for the Improvement of Water Supply System in Faisalabad.
- *In 2006,the Project for the improvement of Water Supply System in Faisalabad.¹³⁸
- *In 2008,the Project for Improvement of Water Supply System in Faisalabad.¹⁵⁹

Japan also implemented water and sanitation related technical cooperation project and development study project in Pakistan. Technical cooperation project was the project for Irrigation Management Transfer/ Water Management Expert and development studies project was the Study of Water Supply and Sewerage System in Karachi.¹⁶⁰

Japan implemented following water and sanitation projects in Sri Lanka in the last ten years(1999-2008):

*In 2000, Greater Kandy Water Supply Project.

*In 2001, Project for Improvement of Nuwara Eliya Water Supply.

*In 2002, the Project for Improvement of Nuwara Eliya Water Supply.

*In 2004, the Project for improvement of Water Supply System in Matera District.

*In 2005, the Project for Improvement of Water Supply System in Matara District.¹⁶¹

Besides, by giving aid to arrange workshop on the promotion of public awareness of water, Japan helps to improve water and sanitation in South Asian countries. The Sub regional Workshop for South and South-West Asia on the promotion of Public Awareness of Water Conservation was held in Tehran, Iran from 7 to 9 May 2003. The Workshop was co-organized by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) and the Regional Centre on Urban Water Management (RCUWM-Tehran), with financial assistance from the Government of Japan and supplementary contribution from the Government Iran. The Workshop was attended by 42 participants nominated by the Governments of the following members of UNESCAP: Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Uzbekistan. The Workshop participants recognized the growing scarcity of freshwater resources of a quality suitable for meeting an ever-growing demand for water. They agreed that water conservation and water use efficiency could be a viable and affordable solution, which would lessen the growing gap between an available water supply and consumer demand.¹⁶²

g. Japan's Role to Control Drugs Trafficking in South Asia

The drug problem is a serious global issue that must be addressed through enhanced, coordinated efforts of the international community. The two poppy growing region of the world ,the Golden Triangle(which includes Burma, Laos and Thailand) and the Golden Crescent (Consisting of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan) are in South Asia. Drug trafficking is inextricably linked with the broader issue of regional security in South Asia .Both India and Pakistan are victims of drug trafficking .In recent years in the "Golden Triangle," the problem of synthetic drugs has worsened and smuggling by international drugs syndicates has become even more sophisticated .The impact of drug problems such as narcotics on Japan is unlimited .Against this background and from the perspective of human security, Japan is placing importance on tackling the drug problems in the international community ,including narcotics, and is supporting anti-drug measures implemented under international cooperation involving related international organizations .Japan plays an important role to control drugs trafficking in South Asia in following ways.

1. Giving Aid

As for bilateral assistance, Japan is providing support to prevent drug-related crimes and enhance regulatory capabilities in South Asia .At the same time ,taking into account the poverty issue associated with drug problems ,Japan is providing assistance through the NGOs and alternative development projects to help the residents of these countries overcome poverty so they will not have to rely on the cultivation of poppy and other plants used to manufacture drugs.¹⁶³

Japan is an active participant of International conferences such as the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs(CND).In addition ,Japan annually contributes funds to the United Nations International Drug Control Programme(UNDP)Fund, which is managed and operated by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime(UNODC).In FY 2004, Japan contributed approximately \$3.04 million.¹⁶⁴

h. Japan's Role to Control Small Arms Smuggling in South Asia

The unchanged flow of small arms and light weapons to area of conflict represents a significant threat of South Asian peace and security. South Asia is experiencing a crisis due to the proliferation of small arms. Japan has been a strong advocate of implementation of the program of action to prevent the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons(SALW) and to promote international cooperation assistance. In order to contribute to the process, Japan has funded various SALW-related projects .More over, Japan has hosted and sponsored numerous seminars and workshops to address the issue of SALW and also Chaired the first Biennial Meeting of states on SALW held at UN Headquarters in July 2003.¹⁶⁵

i. Japan's Role to Control Organized Crimes in South Asia

Human trafficking, drug-related crime, cyber crime, money laundering, and other cross-boarder organized crimes are the threat of the human security in South Asia. Japan is making active contributions to the deliberations and cooperation for establishing rules and measures related to international organizations and frame works such as the UN and G8. The United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders (UNAFEI) have been conducting international training sessions since 1998 on the theme of countermeasures against international organized crimes. In FY 2004 it offered training for criminal justice officials in the area of money laundering. Human trafficking has also become an international issue .Japan has been holding seminar on immigration control annually since 1987.The purpose of this seminar is to strengthen partnerships with the immigration control organizations in Asia and other areas, as well as to improve screening technologies and promote accurate and smooth operations of immigration administration in each country. Japan organized seminar in FY2004 on "Current Situation and Measures to Combat Trafficking in Persons in Various Countries," and was geared toward promoting cooperation with other countries.¹⁶⁶

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is fair to say that as a soft power Japan plays an important role to improve human security in South Asia. Japan's role are very significant specially on the poverty reduction, establish human rights and democracy, peace-building, remove environmental security threats, improve health, water and sanitation, and control drugs trafficking, small arms smuggling and organized crimes in South Asia. By those several activities, Japan plays an important role to improve human security in South Asia's complex security system.

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Chapter VIII

Summery, Conclusions and Recommendations

Though Japan is a one of the richest and industrially developed countries of the world and South Asia is a developing region, Japan has political, economic, strategic interests in South Asia. Owing to global political structure and constitutional limitations, Japan played during the Cold War period, less significant role in South Asian security. Japan has been playing in the post Cold War period significant role in South Asian security. Japan is one of the largest ODA donor of South Asian countries .The main objectives of Japan's ODA in South Asian countries in the post Cold War period are to improve human security, develop infrastructure, strengthening democracy , disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons , remove terrorism and establish peace, stability and security in South Asia. In the wake of Soviet invention in Afghanistan, Japan started to use her ODA for strategic interest in South Asia. After Cold War, Japan's strategic and diplomatic policy in South Asia is to checkmate China. Besides, Japan playing significant role against nuclearization ,terrorism and helps to ease tension among the South Asian countries. Moreover, to remove human security threat, Japan plays important role in South Asia by poverty reducing, by helping to establish human rights and democracy, by peace-building in Sri Lanka, by removing environmental threat, by improving health, water and sanitation. Japan also helps to control drugs trafficking, small arms smuggling and organized crimes.

The relations between Japan and South Asia are very old. Japan – South Asian relation is based on the following points: Anthropological identity, Religion, Trade, Cultural and Political. Japan's main political ,strategic and economic interests in South Asia are: First , to establish free water ways of South Asia, because about 60 percent of Japan's oil imports and 40 percent of its foreign trade are transported via the Straits of Malacca and the Lombok Straits .In the field survey report 35 percent respondents believe that Japan considers South Asia strategically important as it controls the sea-lanes. Second, Japan's main goal in South Asia is economic and South Asia is an important market of Japan. 35 percent respondents believe South Asia is an important market of Japan .Third, Japan's another important strategic interest in South Asia is to check mate

China, because China is a common security threat of Japan and India. 20 percent respondents in the field survey believe China factor has enhanced the importance of South Asia.. Fourth, the diplomatic support from South Asian countries can be significant for Japan in international forum.

Japan is a largest ODA donor of South Asian countries. By promoting economic and social development within developing countries, ODA helps stability for the whole international community. After Cold War, Japan used her ODA for her strategic interest and also gave her ODA for humanitarian sectors in South Asian countries.

Japan plays traditional security role in South Asia in the following ways.

First, Japan plays a significant role in nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament in South Asia by using aid as a tool; Japan took international initiatives related to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation against India and Pakistan, bilateral talks with India and Pakistan, signing agreement with South Asian countries, appreciating disarmament and non-proliferation activities, opposing Indo-US nuclear deal .

Second , Japan plays meaningful role in the counter terrorism and extremism in South Asia by using aid as a tool, giving concession ,supplying technical support, giving information, developing joint working group, supporting Japan's allies counter terrorism activities, freezing of terrorist assets, supporting Pakistan's membership in ARF, condemning all terrorist activities in South Asia.

Third, Japan plays valuable role to ease Indo-Pak conflicts i.e. Kashmir problem, and bilateral disputes in South Asian countries ,mediating the inclusion of Pakistan at the ASEAN Regional Forum(ARF), using aid as a tool, appreciating dialogue, sending peace-keeping force, supporting SAARC activities.

Fourth, Japan plays vital role in the Indian Ocean security by doing bilateral defense exchange treaty with India, by exchanging dialogues and exercises, building a regional network, using aid as a tool, sharing intelligence.

Fifth, Japan plays outstanding role in checkmating China in South Asia by doing security treaty with India, building global alliance, promotion of frame work for regional cooperation.

Japan plays non-traditional and human security role in South Asia in the following ways:

First, Japan plays outstanding role in poverty reduction in South Asia by providing ODA loan, technical cooperation and providing grant aid.

Second, Japan plays significant role in the natural disaster in South Asian countries by providing rapid assistance such as dispatching the Japan disaster relief team for lifesaving, providing basic necessities and food, and restoration of basic human economic and social infrastructure, dispatched experts specializing in such field as training, risk assessment of buildings and flood control to assist in the human capacity development.

Third, Japan plays meaningful role to remove dysfunctional politics and establish human rights and democracy in South Asia by providing aid and logistic support, dispatching special election observer and monitoring team in South Asian countries, using aid as a tool to remove authoritarian regime in South Asian countries, supporting the mass people movement and criticize the authoritarian government, supporting democratic activities and appreciating free and fair election in the South Asian countries.

Fourth, Japan plays leading role to resolve ethnic discrimination and peace-building in Sri Lanka by giving aid, used aid as a tool, sending special envoy, hosting peace talks between the government of Sri Lanka and LTTE, arranging Tokyo conference on reconstruction and development of Sri Lanka, jointly working with other co-chair, and took steps to remove serious human casualties in Sri Lanka.

Fifth, Japan plays substantial role in the environmental security in South Asia by matching to the environmental diplomacy, introduced its environmental ODA policy, giving aid, organized symposium on "Energy and Connectivity," implementing lot of environmental projects in South Asian countries.

Sixth, Japan plays potential role in the improvement of health in South Asian countries by providing assistance to address health-related issues, to promote maternal and child health, measures against infectious diseases and development of health systems, implementing several health related projects in South Asian countries.

Seventh, Japan plays an important role to improve water and sanitation in South Asian countries by giving aid and implementing water and sanitation related projects in South Asian countries.

Eight, Japan plays a notable role to control drugs trafficking in South Asian countries by giving aid, actively participate the international organizations and arrange international seminars on drugs trafficking.

Ninth, Japan plays relevant role to control small arms smuggling and organized crimes in South Asia by strong advocate of implementation of the program of action to prevent the illicit trade and small arms and light weapons (SALW) and international cooperation assistance, holding seminar on immigration control annually, to improve screening technologies and promote accurate and smooth operations of immigration administration in each country.

The finding of the study, thus indicate that Japan plays important role in South Asian security . The review of the existing literature and data also support the fact that as an extra regional major power Japan is not the threat in South Asian security, on the contrary, it is playing a significant role to establish peace and security in South Asia.

Recommendations

Japan can contribute in South Asian peace and security in following ways:

* Japan can contribute in significant way for human security in South Asia, to engage, provide and facilitate in mitigating disasters in South Asian region through technical assistance, capacity building programs and project development.

*Japan is the largest donor in South Asian countries. Japan can contribute in South Asian peace and security by use aid as a tool.

* By economic and technical cooperation, Japan can contribute in South Asian security.

* Supporting Japanese allies, Japan can contribute in promoting peace and stability in South Asia.

* Japan can contribute in South Asian peace and security by maintaining balancing role with China.

*By contributing to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia, Japan can contribute in South Asian security.

* Kashmir is one of the main security threat of the South Asian region. Japan can contribute in South Asian security by solving the Kashmir problem.

*Japan can contribute to South Asian security by regional organizations SAARC and ARF.

* By peace keeping activities, Japan can contribute in South Asian security.

Field survey report, on which way Japan should contribute in South Asian peace and security

To demonstrate the opinion of different categories of people, on which way Japan should contribute in South Asian peace and security, researcher took interview of selected respondents by a formal questionnaire. The respondents were selected randomly from six professional categories, viz. the University teacher, Researcher, Journalist, Businessman, Government and Non-Governmental organizations officials and Political leaders in Bangladesh. Total number of respondents was sixty. Researcher administrated the opinion survey as is presented in the table below.

Table-27

Which way should Japan contribute in South Asian peace and security?

Japan should contribute in South Asian peace and security	In Percent
Peace keeping	0%
Economic and technical cooperation	50%
Use aid as a tool	14.25%
Enforcement of military presence in order to maintain peace and security	0%
Supporting Japanese allies peace and stability activities in South Asia	7.25%
Maintaining balancing role with China.	7.25%
Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia	0%
Solve the Kashmir problem	7.25%
By regional organizations SAARC and ARF	14%
Others.	0%

Source: Field survey report of the researcher in 2009

Table-27 shows that which way Japan should contribute in South Asian peace and security? It appears that 50% respondents believe Japan can contribute in South Asian peace and security by economic cooperation, 14.25% respondents believe by using aid as a tool, 14%

respondents believe by regional organizations i.e., SAARC and ARF, 7.25% respondents believe by supporting Japanese allies peace and stability activities, 7.25% respondents believe by maintaining balancing role with China and 7.25% respondents believe by solving the Kashmir problem Japan should contribute in South Asian peace and stability.

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