

【論 説】

New security role of Japan-U.S. Alliance in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region ——From the perspective of Maritime Security——

Sogo Ikeda
Takuya Shimodaira

Contents

Introduction

- 1 Indian Ocean and Chinese engagement
- 2 Japan-U.S. Alliance and India for evolving maritime connectivity
- 3 Activate Asia's Democratic Security Diamond from the sea

Conclusion

Introduction

Henry Kissinger states that “India has long developed its qualities at the intersection of world orders.”¹⁾ Another, Michael J. Green who is Senior Vice President for Asia and Japan Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies mentioned that Indian Ocean is a highway for international commerce, particularly between the oil-rich Gulf States and an economically dynamic East Asia.²⁾

The United States is conducting strategic Rebalance west.³⁾ China's “One Belt, One Road” concept which combined Silk Road Economic Belt with Twenty-first Century Maritime Silk Road influences the entire region.⁴⁾ Japan announced “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy” to bear the responsibility of fostering the confluence of the Pacific and Indian Oceans and of Asia and

Africa into a place that values freedom, the rule of law, and the market economy, free from force or coercion, and making it prosperous.⁵⁾

Admiral Harry B. Harris Jr., the commander of U.S. Pacific Command, replied simply as Indo-Asia-Pacific more accurately captures the fact that Indian and Pacific Oceans are the economic lifeblood linking the Indian Subcontinent, Southeast Asia, Australia, Northeast Asia, Oceania, and the United States together.⁶⁾ This concurs with the Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe's "Confluence of the Two Seas" of the Indian and Pacific Oceans to bring a dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and prosperity.⁷⁾

Indo-Asia-Pacific region remains most consequential area for the world economy and world security. However, there is still the unavoidable and non-negligible obstacle for creating new ties in the region. It is Chinese progressive assertiveness as China expands its military footprint that alarm its neighbors. How Japan and the United States manage and incorporate China in the rules-based regional order? Which is the cooperation or competition dominated in maritime Asia? Indo-Asia-Pacific will be good driver for the rules-based world order.

1 Indian Ocean and Chinese engagement

Indian Ocean is now becoming the one of the center stage of the world which has far-reaching changes and widespread turmoil. Indian Ocean has replaced the Atlantic as the globe's busiest and most strategically significant trade and commerce corridor, carrying two-third of global oil shipments.⁸⁾ 84 percent of China's oil imports and up to 90 percent of Japan's are shipped from Middle East and Africa through the Indian Ocean.⁹⁾ The potential benefits of deeper engagement with the Indo-Asia-Pacific region are immense. The Indo-Asia-Pacific region is emerging as the epicenter of economic growth.

The People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) has expanded its operational envelop not only near-sea but also far-seas. The PLAN has regularly rotated several surface ships as part of the multinational anti-piracy cooperation to the Gulf of Aden from December 2008. On the contrary, in the South China Sea, China has always protested U. S. Navy's Freedom of Navigation Operations (USN FONOPS) in accordance with their proclaimed interpretation of jurisdiction rights.

In March 2009, USN Impeccable and Victorious were harassed by Chinese oceanographic vessels in international waters off Hainan Island. In June 2009, a Chinese submarine fouled the towed array sonar of USN warship John McCain. USN warship Cowpens nearly collided with one of the escorts of the Chinese aircraft carrier Liaoning in December 2013. China had justified its action against USN assets in accordance with its restrictive interpretation of UNCLOS provisions.¹⁰⁾ China's bases in the South China Sea are now a fact. It was too late to undo China's occupancy of the islands without military conflict. China's rise is not a problem, but the way it is exercising its power can be.

2 Japan-U.S. Alliance and India for evolving maritime connectivity

Japan and the United States have been the arguably the quintessential Pacific nation and Pacific Power for binding closely through the strong Japan-U.S. Alliance. Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe called the alliance as "Alliance of Hope" at the Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress in April 29, 2015 toward the future-oriented more prosperous world.¹¹⁾ The alliance has benefited both nations and is critical to the future of both nations. It has also been an anchor of peace, stability, and prosperity in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region.

QDR2010 emphasized, "... as its military capabilities grow, India will

contribute to Asia as a net provider of security in the Indian Ocean and beyond.”¹²⁾ Robert D. Kaplan describes India as a great pivot power for political stable, manifestly democratic, and great possibilities in twenty-first century politics.¹³⁾ The Hague’s Arbitration Tribunal on the India-Bangladesh Maritime Delimitation delivered its final verdict on maritime dispute between India and Bangladesh in the Bay of Bengal, named New More Island. India and Bangladesh resolved 40-year-old maritime dispute as India’s willingness to resolve the conflict through peaceful means and international law and its respect for arbitration by upholding the tribunal’s verdict. Not assertiveness, peaceful means and respect for the law are required in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region.

India is implementing “Act East” policy, replacing the previous “Look East” policy to more actively engage its neighbors.¹⁴⁾ Narendra Modi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India and Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan welcomed the holding of trilateral dialogue among Japan, India, and the United States, and strengthened coordination and cooperation in such areas as HA/DR, regional connectivity as well as maritime security and safety. The two Prime Ministers also welcomed continued and deepened trilateral dialogue among Japan, India, and Australia.¹⁵⁾

Japan, the United States, and India are important drivers of regional and global growth. From Africa to East Asia, they could build on the enhanced partnership to support sustainable, inclusive development, and increased regional connectivity by collaborating with the other interested partners.

3 Activate Asia’s Democratic Security Diamond from the sea

Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe declared “Asia’s Democratic Security Diamond (ADSD),” to expand allies and partner’s strategic horizons in 2012.¹⁶⁾

It is crucial to deepen and expand the network of ADSD to meet global challenges and support an open and inclusive rules-based global order based on international law.

Prime Minister of Japan Shinzo Abe formulated three principles for the rule of law at sea.

The first principle is that states shall make and clarify their claims based on international law.

The second is that states shall not use force or coercion in trying to drive their claims.

The third principle is that states shall seek to settle disputes by peaceful means.¹⁷⁾

It is certain that the rules-based order is crucial. However, it is true that the rules-based order is getting weak. There are lots of challenges as great power China does not respect the rules and does violations in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region albeit having strategic partnership at the strategic level.

Think operationally. It will be the key driver for evolving maritime connectivity to increase the frequent naval engagements. The annual Malabar naval exercise shows possibilities for further action on maritime security in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. The Malabar exercise, which commenced in 1992, marked a turning point in the relationship between the navies of India, US, and Japan as a permanent participant in 2015.¹⁸⁾

However, the Malabar 2007 had more powerful message to the regional maritime security. It was designed to increase the ability of the five nation's maritime forces — Australia, India, Japan, Singapore, and the United States to respond to maritime threats such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and transnational challenges such as pandemic disease and natural disaster.¹⁹⁾

Japan, the United States, and India can double down on expanding

opportunities for joint and combined training and exercises. Training and exercises are just the beginning, however exercising together will lead to operating together. Furthermore, naval connectivity forms a crucial part of the multilateral cooperation in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. Working with regional partners to ensure global commons like ocean, space, and cyber remain avenues of shared prosperity. Championing unfettered access to shared domains matters.

Conclusion

Cooperation focused on operational engagement through training and exercises stimulates the gradual emergence of understanding and amelioration of mistrust among key powers. Cooperation focused on operational engagement seems to break down the boundaries between economic, geopolitical, and security competitions. The geopolitical competition is not positive-sum relationship, whereas the economic engagements can be. The security attention is minimum required to safeguard the economic interests and vulnerabilities.

The security issues in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region include East China Sea and South China Sea should not be treated separately. It is not only single issue, but regional and world order level. There is no need for America First, China first, but Asia First in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. It is not only Economy, but Security through the thickening of economic, geopolitical, and security interaction for the peace, stability, and prosperity in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region.

The merge of Japan and the United States' westward and India's eastward presages new regional driver for the peace and stability in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. The stronger Japan-U.S. Alliance brings new catalysis to the

regional order.

Japan is at a turning point in its post-war history. It is that “Japan is moving toward a redefinition of its broader role in international order.”²⁰⁾

- 1) Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, Penguin Books, 2015, p. 192.
- 2) Michael J. Green and Andrew Shearer, “Defining U.S. Indian Ocean Strategy,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2, Spring 2012, p. 177.
- 3) U.S. Department of Defense, “Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense,” January 2012.
- 4) *People’s Daily*, October 4, 2013.
- 5) Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the Opening Session of the Sixth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD VI), August 27, 2016, http://www.mofa.go.jp/af/af2/page4e_000496.html/.
- 6) Admiral Harry Harris’ Address to the Lowy Institute for International Policy, December 14, 2016, <http://www.pacom.mil/Media/Speeches-Testimony/Article/1029173/address-to-the-loy-institute-for-international-policy/>.
- 7) Shinzo Abe, “Confluence of the Two Seas,” Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the Parliament of the Republic of India, August 22, 2007, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0708/speech-2.html>
- 8) Australian Government, Department of Defense, “Defense White Paper 2013,” p. 74.
- 9) U. S. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, “Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People’s Republic of China, 2014,” p. 18.
- 10) Peter Dutton, *Military Activities in the EEZ: A US-China Dialogue on Security and International Law in the Maritime Common*, China Maritime Studies Institute, US Naval War College, 2010, pp. 20-21.
- 11) Shinzo Abe, “Toward an Alliance of Hope,” Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to a Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress, April 29, 2015, http://www.mofa.go.jp/na/na1/us/page4e_000241.html
- 12) “Quadrennial Defense Review Report,” Department of Defense, United States of America, February 2010, p. 60.
- 13) Robert D. Kaplan, *Earning the Rockies: How Geography Shapes America’s Role in the World*, Random House, 2017.
- 14) Anil Sasi, “‘Look East’ has become ‘Act East Policy,’ says PM Modi at ASEAN summit,” *The Indian Express*, November 13, 2014.
- 15) “Japan-India Joint Statement,” Japan-India Summit Meeting November 11, 2016, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000202950.pdf#search=%27japan+india+joint+statement%27>

New security role of Japan-U.S. Alliance in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region
(Ikeda, Shimodaira)

- 16) Shinzo Abe, "Asia's Democratic Security Diamond," *Project Syndicate*, December 27, 2012, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-strategic-alliance-for-japan-and-india-by-shinzo-abe?barrier=accessreg> <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0708/speech-2.html>
- 17) Shinzo Abe, "Peace and prosperity in Asia, forevermore: Japan for the rule of law, Asia for the rule of law, And the rule of law for all of us," Address by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at The 13th IISS Asian Security Summit-The Shangri-La Dialogue-Keynote Address, May 30, 2014, http://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page4e_000086.html
- 18) Vivek Raghuvanshi, "Japan To Join Malabar as Permanent Participant," *Defense News*, October 13, 2015.
- 19) "Five nations in Exercise Malabar off India," *Stars and Stripes*, September 7, 2007.
- 20) Henry Kissinger, op. cit., p.191.

- Sogo Ikeda, Professor, Dr., Faculty of Political Science and Economics, Graduate School of Political Science also
- Takuya Shimodaira, Senior Research Fellow, The National Institute for Defense Studies. He was awarded a Doctor Degree by Kokushikan University in 2009.